

The Effects of the New Cold War on the Process Of Globalization

Seyed Motahareh Hosseini ^{*1}, Taleb Ibrahimi ², Yousef Jafari ³

¹ Institute for Humanities and Social Studies, Acecr

² Islamic Azad University, Bandar Dayyer Branch

³ Applied Science and Technology International University, Assaluyeh

Received: 17 Aug 2011 ; Accepted: 13 Mar 2012

Abstract: Emergence of new geopolitical affairs in the important and sensitive places of the world, like the Middle East, Balkan, Central Asia (Caucasus zone) and... has caused emergence of a new trend of so called cold war with variables like the expansion of NATO to the East, the U.S. missile Defense shield, Georgia's events, the prevalent problems of the Middle East, those of Pakistan and Afghanistan, or in a sense meaningful political conflicts, all of which might affect the previous dominant discussion, i.e. globalization and help spread the Nationalistic inclinations. Existence of such conditions and following it, its local and international effects might stop the trend of globalization, to some extent, and empower the national criteria of the governments. The present essay is a descriptive and analytical one and is based on the analysis of the present information to explore the realities of the so called New Cold War and predict its Geopolitical and political outcomes in other countries involved in the issue and, finally identify the position of countries in this challenge.

Keywords: Geopolitical Problems, New Cold War, Meaningful Political Disputes, Globalization, Nationalistic Supports.

Introduction

The present topic, New Cold War, can be investigated from different perspectives, as its political and geopolitical dimensions are going to be considered in this essay. The great powers of the world shape the international interactions and equations, and attempt to draw the international system construct. Power pretention of countries like America, Russia, China, and the like, can challenge the dominant discourses, and dominate a new political literature in the domain of international interactions. Therefore, in the present con-

Corresponding Author: ma_hoseyni@yahoo.com

dition, which countries know about the characteristics of the cold war, they can decrease the unpleasant political and economic outcomes using preventive measures, and vaccinate themselves against it.

The second part the article deals with the reasons of the appearance of the so called New Cold War with reference to the performance of great powers like America and the Russia at the international level. Russia with developments in the military, political and economic domains and its involvement in the events in Georgia intends to indicate that Moscow is after establishing its triple

power, and the U.S., also, with involvement in the areas like Caucasus and with its presence in the Middle East, and also with establishing the defense shield in Poland and the Eastern Europe wants to put an emphasis on the polarized system. In the third part of the research the Geopolitical issue, its repeated meaningfulness, and its transference to critical parts like Eurasia, New Hartland, Central Asia, the Caspian area, the Persian Gulf and the south of Asia will be investigated. The achieved results indicate that governments relied on their instinctive specifications, to some extent, and empowered the aspects that got weaker during the process of globalization, and this engraved the localized union and the appearance of the new meaning for Geopolitics. In fact, this issue deals with the political concepts of the national states during the process of the New Cold War and globalization, and it is still to expand in the cultural, economic, and social fields. There have, the main questions are:

What is the effect of the New Cold War on the concept of National states? And

What is the effect of New Cold War on the importance of geopolitical conditions? First, for surveying this case we should define Globalization and the cold war and then consider their relationships.

Definitions and Dimensions of Globalization

According to Robertson, the precedence of globalization dates back to four decades before now (Robertson 2001, 36). But, it is believed that the first definitions for the term were rendered in 1961 (Malkoha, 2000; 10). In most of the definitions, globalization is referred to an increasing homogeneity and equality process. Increase and expansion of communication systems and following that increase in communication itself, in conflicts, in relationships, and impressibilities at the global level, have made appearance of a type of global homogeneity and equality possible. Some theoreticians associate the process of equality and homogenization with the expansion of modernity

to the farthest points of the world and globalization of central features of the culture and civilization of the west (Clark 1997, 23).

By globalization we mean a shrinking process of time and space through which people of the world, more or less, consciously get integrated into a single global society (Golmohammadi, 2001, 68). Although globalization is both a paradigm used to explain global realities and phenomena and also a form of thought and insight, but it should not be misunderstood as a probable direction the countries are free to choose it or not, but what is happening is actually indicating that globalization is an unavoidable fate (Modirshanechi, 1990, 374). Globalization is a process of change through which the world changes to the one without economic borders, integrated, with the shrinkage of time and space in which cultures get mixed, the national tendencies and borders get weaker and weaker, in which democracy and national insights get dominant, and information and education are exchanged freely. Globalization is multidimensional. According to Mc Grow, Globalization is a multidimensional process with different aspects of economic, cultural, political, social and environmental (Anthony, 2003, 7-8). Here, the three economic, political, and cultural dimensions will be surveyed.

The Economic Dimension

In many theories, when globalization is going to be defined, its factor of economics is more emphasized than its political and cultural aspects. In fact what happens in the field of economics is more evident in globalization, in a way that today the talk is about the termination of the "National Economics" period (Gharib, 2002, 58). Historically, globalization in the field of economics is older. Integration of economic go-togetherness in the global dimensions was accelerated and continued when capitalism predominated as a social-economic system (waters, 2000, 102). The reason is that the economic dimension of globalization and

its different aspects are more and earlier developed than other dimensions. That is why globalization is viewed mostly from the economic perspective. Globalization from the economic dimension gives us information about the change of the world to the one without economic borders in which the economic systems get integrated, and in which the common global fundamentals and international companies which are influential in all internal economics, are guided without interference and leadership of governments. In fact, economic sectors under the effect of globalization reach a stage in which they get independence from the national states. From the most important factors in the progression of economic globalization, the following can be mentioned: the ever increasing role of multinational companies and a group of industrial, service, and informative companies with diverse activities. All these indicate the decreasing role of governments in trade, financial, and economic orientations of the world in the present condition and its stranger shape in the future (Bliss and Steve, 2004, 1162).

The Political Dimension

In the political domain, globalization makes national borders colorless, weakens the system of nation's government, changes the citizenship elements, empowers democracy and human rights based on global civil society and drops down the totalitarian systems (Veisi, 2003, 12). Daniel Bell claimed in the 90's that the institute of nation-state get very small for the big problems of life and very big for very small problems of life, in fact, the fast and comprehensive process of globalization during the latest decade, has elaborated the weakness and inability of the institute of the government in a very clear manner (Watters, 1995, 95). Politically it is observed that international political, economic and trading institutions are expanding their decision making, and dominate and limit governance and the decision making powers of the national governments. United

Nations, International Monetary fund, Global Bank and Global Trade Organization are institutes that have the power of decision making in the Global Peace, pose their policies on the governments and limit the power of national governments. From the other side problems arise in countries whose governments are not able to solve them individually and they require group cooperation of governments, like the problem of the ozone layer, AIDS, Natural Environmental problems, Drugs, and the like, whose cooperative solutions limit the power of governments and also comprehensiveness of international rights, and also limit the traditional performance of the governments when dealing with those problems. An example for it is supporting the Human Rights and Political freedom which deprives governments from legislating without considering the rights and freedom of their own citizens (Veisi, 2005, 12). Another aspect of the process of political globalization which might weaken the governments is blurring the boundary between exports and imports which were once under the sponsorship of governments, but it's been weakened in the process of globalization (Castels, 2001, 298).

The Cultural Dimension

What is stated in this aspect cannot tolerate more than enough attention paid to the economic and political factors. Many of these theories accept the integration and global unification, but they believe that there should be a common mass culture as its background. McLohan considers change in the communication means as a presupposition for developments in human social life and says: "man of every age is the offspring of the technology of his time" (Marshal, 1998, 78). At the termination of the 20th century, the importance of culture in reviewing the global politics which was driven from the ever increasing expansion of globalization after the cold war surged. World's getting smaller, made different cultures

closer to one another and made a challenge against the traditional cultural patterns and social orders. All nations were meeting the problem of which part of their culture should be preserved and which part should diminish, and whether the culture change makes friction. When people belonging to a culture consider the culture of another group alien and threatening, the occurrence of dispute is probable. After the Cold War cultural disputes which were hidden for long, were blazed, nations even at their locals had conflicts, but there was a more serious challenge between global forces. The West was a dominant power in the process of globalization and while it seemed that the western culture was unifying the human experiences, it caused more cultural conflicts (Bliss and Steve, 2004, 1024). In this regard Edward saeed claims that the West is providing a type of cultural Imperialism through discourse of power and alienation (mernisi, 1993, 139-141).

The Cold War

Cold War is the indicator of a historical period after the Second World War; this war can be defined as a principle combat between interests and ideas which do not get extended to a classic war. The main reason for the occurrence of such war was the nuclear weapon which prevented occurrence of a warm war. Cold War was, in fact, an economic and ideological challenge which occurred between the super powers of the time, i.e. the Russia and the U.S.A., after World War Two, Which was supported by their allies. Cold War, in practice, started in 1947 and continued to the time of Communism collapse and loss of Russia in 1991, for about four decades (Plano & Olton, 1988, 270).

The New Cold War

- **Elements of the Geopolitical Discourse of the New Cold War**

Geopolitics was ideological bath at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century; a self sufficient collection of beliefs to which many elites, and the leaders of the great powers adhered. This ideology was supporting the Imperialism of the time, a logic that justified and recommended the possession of the colonies with specific geographical situations. The geopolitical ideology, later on, was at the service of Hitler, Mussolini, and the Japanese Militaristic government to justify their expansionist insights. This ideology was put aside to some extent, at the time of Cold War, to the benefit of ideologies' competition. Today, again, the world is the observant of the hay day of the geopolitical ideology among the leadership sections of the super powers whose pioneer is the U.S.A. Actually, the American authorities have started the classic geopolitics project as an ideology, to strange the dominance of America over the most important Natural resources, power and wealth resources, in a way that there is coordination between what is conducted and the way geopolitics is thought about.

On the basis of what was mentioned, they are much frightened because of the potentiality of the oncoming competitive powers, and this idea makes the doctrine of Paul Wolf Vitz which appeared first in 1992 in Pentagon in the document of the Direction of Defense Planning. This document asked for the preventive involvement of the U.S.A. Army to frighten the appearance of a competitor especially in geopolitics and sensitive geostrategic regions like the Middle East and the Central Asia. This ideology which was kept silent in the writings of 1990's, again appeared in the general policies of Junior, Bush. This idea is manifested in the strategic document of the U.S.A. National security in September 2002, as a principle strategy. This document, evidently, announces that the final objective of the power of the America is prevention of any competitive powers' emergence, and that the U.S. uses any

means possible to achieve this objective (Klare, 2003).

Therefore, by appearance, the Spatial construct of the geopolitical New Cold War, using Mackinder's spatial model, is followed by the return of Hartland to geopolitical discussions. The formation is in this way that in the spatial pattern of the New Cold War, Hartland of Mackinder is inclined to the South of this area, to some extent, and includes an oval shaped area in which the axis of Caspian- Persian Gulf makes its large diagonal. Geographical facts are among factors which have always interested the authorities in foreign politics. In the area of the Persian Gulf and around Caspian Sea where the New Cold War is getting shaped among powers, the empowering of the players' insights, based on geographical facts and along using these facts the Ideological purposes can be observed.

- **The Origins of the New Cold War**

Collapse of the Russia, the end of Cold War in Europe and the end of the global area happened at the same time. But can it be accepted that Cold War ended at that time? Aren't the signs of the Cold War observed in other places where the U.S.A. is challenging with? It seems that giving a negative answer to the second question is not easy. Therefore, another Cold War should be sought, to make the west to think about and challenge with, after two decades. Yet, many analysts remind that there is no reason for worrying, and the Cold War with its previous expanse and appearance does not get repeated again. They remind that in the New Cold War there are no uncompromisable ideologies and competitions of super powers or the military competitions (Mullerson, 2008, 583). Moreover, Russia does no longer enjoy its glorious past Empire. It has started democracy and presence in the economic Market, and this is exactly the West society's values (yuan, 2002). They believe that the trading and economic factors are more effective than im-

munity and ideological factors in this new cold war. But, based on the reasons, it should be stated that their ideas are optimistic and unripe. There is another realistic interpretation that says the New Cold War is more deeply rooted. It has internal interwoven roots can be called systemic. In addition, these systemic activators lead both sides toward a constant divergence. The main perspective is that the issue is, to a large extent, dependant on the West that uses the opportunity along cooperation and go togetherness, not on East and specifically not on Russia.

The source of the new challenge can be organized under the topic of security, ideology, and geopolitics. The dimension of security is derived from the weakness of the government and the economic condition of Russia after its collapse that put this federation on the verge of disintegration (not only because of geopolitical reasons but of the economics of the Russia). Therefore, when Russia met a revived NATO and apparently was surrounded after the collapse of the Soviet Union, it, naturally took a defensive approach which was taken as increasing enmity by the West. Unfortunately, the world is getting returned to the past. For example, membership of Russia in NATO is now impossible and, on the other hand, such condition has dangerous side effects. More pressure of NATO (about membership of Ukraine and Georgia) will motivate Russia to revive its past policies. And this will make anti Moscow extremists in the west to get encouraged to follow their anti Russia Policies and this makes a vicious cycle (reference to the time of Cold War) (McKnight 2002, 187- 204).

Ideological dimension is, to a large extent, the outcome of security perspective. The new leadership of Russia by the Presidency of Putin, after the events of the 1990 decade, practically, got aware that the federation of Russia needs to nationalize the reforming program of post totalitarianism (Sobell, 2008).

The Geopolitical factor of the Cold War which emerged along the recent events in the global economy and with the defeat of communism in Russia and China was engraved. Revival of these traditional civilizations which is possible through their transfer to capitalism, is not the only re-equilibrium of the distribution of the global power, but is the basis of change in the relationship between the West and the Russia. Russia today along China is an unprecedented phenomenon in the international politics of the third millennium. With the collapse of the Soviet Union the principle condition for saving Russian territory, was accepting the democracy and proceeding internal developments inside this federation. Thus, in the new Russia, Preservation of security and expansion of economic and trade interests were prioritized, the same way all western powers Prioritized these objectives.

Russia is on the way of development and it will probably get more powerful in future, and this is a threat to the west. Therefore, peaceful procedures and normalization of the relations after the collapse of Russia which was concurrently managed with democratizing and the market economy caused the Russia to grow in political, economic, technological, and also military dimensions and The West looks at Russia as an instinctive threat. The optimal point in the mentioned process is when Putin lectured in Munich in 2007 and explicitly demanded the Russia's share from the international system, indicating that the system of single Pole is a threat to the international peace and security, and this was very interesting for the thinkers. As international affairs authorities believe, the new strategy of "Cooperation and Resistance" which is adopted by Putin in his foreign Politics in the military, political, and economic domains, indicates that Moscow is after stabilization of its three parted power in the world. Actually, Putin believes that, in case any crisis happens (like the late financial crisis in the world Economy), the single- pole system is after its own

benefits with imposing expenditure on others (Gaddy and Kuchins, 2008, 127- 128).

The signs of the New Cold War in geopolitical domain:

- The project of Missile Defense Shield of America in the states of the old Soviet Union.
- The Expansion of NATO to the East and the Middle East.
- Confrontation of the Russia and America in Balkan (Kosovo independence).
- Russia's invasion to Georgia during the crisis of the South Ossetia.
- Worries of the West of Russia's dominance over the energy resources (America's support of the TAPI oil pipeline against Russia's support of IPI oil pipeline (Cohen & Curtis, 2008, 2).
- The dispute between America and Russia over Iran's nuclear file.

- NATO's Expansion to the East

Although the first level of the NATO expansion to the East happened during Clinton's presidency, this plan was one of the main priorities of neoconservatives in the government of Bush. From the geopolitics perspective, neoconservatives in the government of Bush, considered the NATO expansions as to mean decrease in the Russia's territory power and the west Europe and consolidation of the American Hegemony.

One of the expansion plans of NATO to the East is to support the American military and industrial sets to access the benefits through accessing the arms markets. America, also, considers activating NATO necessary to precede its own policies, i.e., struggle with international terrorism and military preventive operations to prevent distribution of mass destruction weapons. In this way, from the perspective of America, NATO still makes the central point in the trans- Atlantic relations in which America can rely on the cooperation of its European allies to confront the new

security challenges (Wilson, 1997, 2). Russia as a great power puts objectives like territorial integrity of the country and influence in the surrounding zone in its foreign policy agenda. In this regard, although the west has tried to persuade the Russia regarding that the expansion of NATO is not a threat against this country, but is an action for the purpose of reunification of Europe and the spread of democracy, the Russian politicians have never welcomed the NATO expansionism. According to the belief of political interpreters Russia looks at the global policy with a pair of geopolitical glasses, and thus considers closeness of NATO to its borders as a threat that has to be confronted. With this approach all measures applied by Russia including cooperation with NATO and/or attempts to make closer relationship with other principle powers of the international system like, for example, China is with the objective of making stabilization against this ever expanding security organization (Kobaladze, 2002,3).

Among other reason for the expansion of NATO to the East are following:

- A. Consolidation of the Hegemonic power of America.
- B. Security and stabilization enforcement provision.
- C. Cooperation for preserving peace.
- D. Accessing the economic resources.
- E. And, the most important reason, dominance over New Hartland.

Events that caused the movement for empowering national governments, in this process, are as follows:

- **Pakistan Incident**

Challenges between Pakistan and America have increased recently. One of their apparent examples is the nuclear alliance between America and India and change in the strategic unison of America and India to replace Pakistan. This union caused the following: changing the balance against Pakistan, China and Russia, ever increas-

ing control over nuclear establishments of India by America, and the like.

Invasion of American forces to parts of Pakistan to prevent the influence of terrorism which confronted Pakistani's objection to the policies of the U.S. because of neglecting the independence and governance of Pakistan and the letter the Pakistani Prime minister wrote to the American Ambassador on the interference into and denunciation of Pakistan's governance, were all conducted in this regard. These cases are the indicators of Nation-state which had lost importance in the process of globalization.

Poland's missile defense shield: The objective of America by administering such plan was to build a strong defense system against unprecedented future events while keeping Russia detached from its zone of influence. Americans are strongly uncertain about the future leaders of Moscow and the happenings in this country, thus, establishing a complex and powerful Missile shield system was regarded as a preventive and cautious measure, in response, Russia reacted and caused a new wave of competition, but with the presidency of Obama, this plan lost its importance when the defense shield was removed.

- **Kosovo Independence**

Kosovo is an area in the South of Serbia with 2,000,000 populations of which 100 thousand live in the North of this zone and 90% of whom is Albanian in nature. Kosovo was under the dominance of Yugoslavia to the year 1974 when it confronted the Albanians reactions after it was granted autonomy. It was in 1996 that Serbian militia attempted ethnic cleansing, and the chaos continued to some years after (Knezevic, 2000, 226-227).

In this regard, Kosovo's parliament announced, formally, the political independence of this district from Serbia, with the help of NATO specially America in February 18th of 2008 when it met the opposition of Russia and Serbia. Undoubtedly-

ly, the independence of Kosovo should be analyzed along the competition of the west and the East. America as a global super power is after increasing its hegemonic power. On the basis of this, the president of this country, concurrent with the announcement of Kosovo's independence, sent the victory message to the people of Kosovo from Africa several times and considered it as a correct action and in line with the global peace (Fox news, 18Feb, 2008). Many of the European countries also recognized this independence, officially. It was during this process that after increasing the power and limiting the power margins of Russia and the East that Russia started worrying about the west's proceed in its own zone and considered the independence of Kosovo as limiting factor for the global Peace, and that is why late Moamar Kaddafi the Libyan leader predicted that the independence of Kosovo makes the ground ready for another Cold War in the domain of the East and the West Geopolitical competitions.

This indicates that the competition between Russia and the America like the old Cold War which was along the national interests of the countries can affect the weaker countries' independence.

Turmoil of Caucasia and Georgia

Georgia has been the most independent country among the previous Russian republic ones, since its independence in 1991. Russia confronted the independence of Georgia, by severely supporting the minorities in separatist regions like Abkhazia and Southern Ossetia, and with the presidency of Putin in Russia this pressure was engraved, by pressing Tbilisi to change its inclination toward the West. This is happening when the security of Georgia is of utmost importance for the West, especially for the U.S. yet; Russia is after weakening and annexing Georgia to its land by provoking the ethnic differences and separatist disputes (Cornell, 2008; 238-239).

In March 2008 southern Ossetia requested its own separation from Georgia after the West's support from the Kosovo's independence (Goliath, March 17th 2008). In this month Georgia presented a request to join NATO and made the Russian parliament require the government to recognize the Southern Ossetia and Abkhazia's independence (Reuters, March 20, 2008). Following these developments, Georgia suggested agreement in sharing the power, in April 2008, which met disagreement of the Southern Ossetia and insistence of this separatist region on complete independence. After years of tension between the Russian government and Georgia and after months of unrest and involvement in the separatist regions of South Ossetia and Abkhazia, after days of heavy battle between Georgian forces and the separatists of the South Ossetia, the real war started.

With transitions based on separatist conflicts in Georgia and military confrontation of this country with the Russian Federation, this country could not get confined in a limited area and very fast got international dimensions; and caused serious confrontation of Russia and the West (Hogenraad and Garagozor, 2008; 9). Financial and military support of the America and its allies from Georgia and involvement of Russia in the recent war to the benefit of the South Ossetia, the tension between Ossetia and Georgia turned to a functional conflict of Russia and America. At that time the U.S. president condemned the invasion and considered the action as the violation against the governance and integrity of the country (Guardian, Aug 21, 2008).

Finally, on the basis of an agreement suggested by Nikolai Sarkoozi the president of France, Russian forces agreed to leave the place with complete and permanent cease of military operations in Georgia. Yet, the Russian foreign minister emphasized that Abkhazia and Southern Ossetia never again will join Georgia (Civil, Aug22, 2008).

Many interpreters, by reference to the statements and positioning of the Russian authorities, believe that the support of the Russian Federation from ethnic movements in Georgia is a reaction toward the support of the west from the independence of Kosovo (<http://www.news.bbc.co.uk>).

Finally, although, during the old Cold War many countries enjoyed independence because of the competition between two super powers, during the time after that, especially during the new cold war, too, many small countries achieved independence because of the support of powerful countries. This topic also was to some extent adversative to the parameters of globalization along consolidating the motivation for Nation-state relations.

- **Reconceptualization of Geopolitics**

Substantively, geopolitics of the New Cold War is a return to the geopolitics of the colonization era. Geopolitics was also ideological at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. This ideology during the cold war was, to a large extent, put aside to the benefit of ideological competitions. Today, however, the world witnesses the rude resurrection of geopolitical ideology in the leadership cadre of super powers and specially, the U.S. In fact, authorities of the U.S. have started the classic geopolitical project to consolidate the dominance of America over the most important natural resources, power and wealth sources, in a way that there is total ideological coordination between what is conducted and the ideological thinking process.

On the basis of this, they panic of the potentiality of upcoming competitive powers, and this idea makes the basis of Paul Wolf Vitz doctrine which appeared, for the first time, in the 1994- 1996 document of guiding defense design of Pentagon in 1992. This document required America's military preventive involvement to frighten and prevent emergence of an equal competitor, especially in sensitive geopolitical and geostrategic areas

like the Middle East and the central Asia. This thought which had diminished in the writings of the 1990s, reemerged in the military, public politics of the government of Bush Junior. This idea is brought in the strategic document of the national security of the U.S. in September 2002 as the original thought and strategy. This document exactly announces that the ultimate purpose of the U.S. is preventing the emergence of anticompetitive power and that the U.S. uses any means to prevent this happening: Therefore, today geopolitics is at the service of the west ideology.

The New Cold War is happening around the geopolitical concept and this axis, like the old Cold War is a part of Hartland defined by Mackinder. The Caspian- Persian Gulf axis with emphasis on the global development process from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian Sea is the axis of the geopolitical change in international systems which are getting shaped on the basis of the New Cold War whose signs of appearance are observable from very present time. Relation between two centers of geopolitical and the energy of the world, i.e. Persian Gulf and the Caspian sea are highly important, strategically and competition over the dominance on closest axes of these two centers, make the bases for international system developments. Therefore, formally, spatial construction of the New Cold War was followed by Hartland's return to geopolitical discussions, using the spatial model of Mackinder, in this way that in the New Cold War Spatial model, Hartland Mackinder is inclined toward the South, to some extent and comprises an oval shaped area, whose large diagonal is the axis of Caspian- Persian Gulf. In the classic thought of geopolitics, the global politics is based on the issue that who will dominate Eurasia. Now, after one century, the effort of actors in the central and Southern part of Eurasia has prepared a more extension competition basis, to draw the geopolitical map of the region along global objectives and interests, from anew. In this map the role of geopolitical inten-

tions and ideas based on cultural, civilization and ideological superiority is totally evident. Locations which are attended to, along the New Cold War are as follows:

Eurasia Strategic Areas

Sir Mackinder, the most famous initiator of the traditional geopolitical founder's (short, 1994:18) theory was proposed to put emphasis on the importance of Eurasia geopolitics. In Mackinder's theory, the continent of Europe- Asia and the North of Africa together make a big land which is surrounded with a big body of water, and in Africa, the great Sahara makes the North get separated from the South. This land can be called Global Island. This big global island which is called the axis area by Mackinder is a big area which is limited in the North to the Arctic Ocean and in the west to the alley of Volga River, in the South to Himalaya and in the East to Siberia. Therefore, the axis area includes a great part of Russia, the western part of China, and parts of Mongolia and Iran. Importance of this area by Mackinder cannot be threatened by any country's naval force. In a book Mackinder wrote in 1919, he changed the name of axis area to Hartland. Hartland is more spread than the axis area, and includes the whole Russia to the Baltic sea, the navigating areas of the Middle and lower Danube, the black sea, Asia Minor, Armenia, Iran, Tibet, and Mongolia (Mir-Heidar, 1978, 23- 27).

New Hartland

This concept is taken from the theory of Hartland Mackinder to show the importance of a sensitive geopolitical area whose center is shaped by the centrality of Caspian- Persian Gulf. That is why any security problem related to these two areas accepts the global and local attentions (Kemp, 1997: 13- 16). The New Hartland includes the southern part of Hartland Mackinder and part of Rim land considered by Spikeman

which in fact pushes the 20th century Hartland slightly to the Southern part of this area. Iran, because of its sensitive condition in the Middle East and being located between two areas of the Persian Gulf, and the central Asia and Caucasus, is introduced as the New Hartland.

Today, Eurasia continent has changed to the main arena of collision of global civilization's interests. The Southern Caucasus because of its strategic condition and its great energy resources is very important. Another reason for its increased geopolitical importance is that Caucasus is placed between Iran and Russia and relates Asia to Europe, and has changed to a place for exporting goods and Energy from East to West and from North to South. Security of the Southern Caucasus is of utmost importance and the expansion of Atlantic Euro structures to the Eastern Europe and the western security interests in the central Asian countries, Afghanistan, and the Middle East has changed the condition of the Southern Caucasus to a critical geostrategic area. And this is all happening when there is no preset symbol or structure for the security problems of the area and no specified security arrangements have been shaped for the security of the Southern Caucasus. In this condition of security vacuum, NATO, America, and Russia can introduce their presence in the area and make an effective security mechanism for the Southern Caucasus to the benefit of themselves whose real example is the confrontation of Georgia and Russia. Meanwhile, we can observe the growth of geopolitical encounters. The activities of the U.S. and Britain that try to supervise, with any possible means, the interest and communicating procedures of Eurasia, make the greatest danger. English speakers, after gaining results in Balkan, the Near East, Central Asia, and Caucasus try to neutralize the geopolitical power of the main countries of this continent, especially China, Russia, Germany, and Iran. From among the Atlantic strategist's programs are reconstruction of geopolitical construct of the central Asia and the

Middle East, and helping the formation of new governments for Kurdistan, Baluchistan, Pashtunistan and other governmental units in the political map of the world.

Central Asia

Central Asia refers to a region of the central Asia or the Eastern part of the Caspian which is the territory of five Muslim republics of Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan and is located between the latitudes of 38-55, and East longitude of 48- 88 (Administration of scientific technical journal of sepehr, 1993:223). This region is important because of its rich energy resources. Competition between Russia and America in this region has always existed continuously, but after the events of the September 11, this competition gained more depth and expansion. Although Vladimir Putin the last president and today's prime minister of Russia, at first, did not consider the presence of westerners in the central Eurasia as a threat for his country (Rumer, 2002: 30), but when the plans of the U.S. and those of the NATO for longer stay in the region was more clarified, the gaps deepened (Coolae, 2005: 20). In response to the action of westerners, many Russians believed that Moscow should take any measure into consideration to keep the region in the influential domain of Russia (Shermatove, 2002: 11- 13).

Caspian Region

The Caspian Sea has had a specific geopolitical condition and has always been under consideration, historically, because of being located between two big areas of Asia and Europe. This sea is the largest and the richest lake of the world with an area of more than 370 thousand cubic kilometers with rich resources of oil, gas and biologic reserves, and suitable for navigating possibilities (Amir Ahmadian 1996:119). The geopolitical area of Caspian as a functional area in the

global system consists of five political units including the adjacent countries of Russia, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, and Islamic Republic of Iran, which take their identity from the Caspian Sea and are all gathered around it. The Caspian sea has a unique condition because of its political-security importance, its economic capacity; i.e. possessing the great energy resources which makes about 17 to 44 Billion Barrels according to the estimations of the Ministry of Energy of America, and about 235 to 335 Billion cubic meter of natural gas resources (Energy information Administration, 1998: 1) and its historical condition has been interested by the regional powers like Iran, Russia, ... and cross- regional powers like the United States, China, European countries, Israel, and Expansion of NATO to the East has made the sever competition between Russia and America more evident.

West- South Asia

This is a political- economic and cultural area located inside the west borders of Indochina, the South borders of Russia, Eastern borders of Europe and Africa and the North of Indian ocean including the Middle East geopolitical areas, Central Eurasia and two countries of Afghanistan and Pakistan, South Western Asia, conceptually means that most of the countries and especially the center of this area is located in the South Western Asia (Rezaie, 2004, 35- 38), out of which Afghanistan has a critical geopolitical condition.

Afghanistan and its New Geopolitical Condition

Afghanistan is a country with the area of 647497 cubic kilometers (Gitashenasi, atlas, 1995: 12) which is located in the West South of Asia, and topographically makes the Eastern part of the Iran Plateau. The country is confined in the North to the countries of Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan, in the west, to Iran, in the

south to Pakistan and in the East to the countries of Pakistan, China and Tajikistan. Afghanistan, geopolitically is barren and deprived from accessing the global free waters. It meets real problems in this regard; Moreover, it is located along the communicative direction joining Middle Asia to the Indian Ocean, the geopolitical situation of which had put Afghanistan inside the competition cycle of the global powers (America and Russia) and assault of the Red Army of Russia in 1979 which was followed by the counter reaction of America, during the Cold War. After the Cold War, and during the present time Afghanistan is considered as a communication bridge that can open a rout from the Indian ocean to the Middle Asia, by local and global powers that do not have access to the central Asia. On the other hand, adjacency of Afghanistan with the Islamic Republic of Iran as a country in opposition with America is important because of two reasons for America: 1. It can be used as a pressure fever against the Islamic Republic of Iran, and 2. Preventing the presence and influence of Iran in Afghanistan can deprive its presence in the Middle Asia and countries that speak in Farsi, and prevent connection between Iran and China as common opposite forces against America, at the global level.

In the process of international relations and especially during the process of colonial competition, Afghanistan was counted on as an important geostrategic axis. Continuous greeds and efforts of powers like Russia and England to influence in and dominate on this country during the last two centuries were for controlling the strategic condition of Afghanistan. New geopolitical importance of Afghanistan is because of two important phenomena: first, change in the nature of international relations and politics toward Afghanistan, and second, metamorphosis in the mental constructs and policies inside the country which is administered along the process of development of making an ideal nation. Accordingly, the developments in recent years have increased the sensitivity and

geopolitical position of this country. The new policies which are dominant over the global politics, toward Afghanistan, have changed this country from a dangerous and unsecured island to the one interested by the global society. Therefore, the new geopolitical elements of Afghanistan are coded on some principles predicated.

- Presence and support of the U.S.
- Development of national government constructs
- Continuation of terrorism cycle
- The phenomena of drugs as a political economy.
- Adjacency with Iran

The Middle East and the Persian Gulf

Middle East is also the center of the old world, a region at the heart of which the Persian Gulf is located and is considered as the center of the center. It is not only oil which is the important problem of this region. This region is the most critical point in the old world. Any turmoil which occurs in this area because of external factors has outcomes for two continents of Europe and Africa. In order for the energy to be sent to where it is going to be used, sound and safe, security provision for this region is very important. This type of security is an imposed one, as its establishment in the Near East has been observed for different reasons by super powers during the recent years. They try to provide security for exporting oil with cheap price, without any barriers on the way of its permanent exporting, just for their own benefits. This- might not, however, be that much interesting for the owners. That is why, in the 21 century we observe many disputes between owners of energy and super powers. Although, the Persian Gulf oil field still contains the greatest resource for energy, with the opening of the big Caspian oil field to the world, there is a serious decrease in exclusive reliance of many energy user countries, to the Persian Gulf oil field and this issue is very serious for them (Klinghoffer, 2004: 1367).

The area which has had the superior geopolitical and geostrategic place from the view point of

different countries is the Persian Gulf. In comparison with other areas of the Middle East, Persian Gulf enjoys distinctive characteristics considering the density of oil rich countries with convulsive conditions and internal weaknesses, dependence on foreign powers, geopolitical adjacency with Pakistan and Afghanistan, and the major distinction between political- economic constructs of the Persian Gulf. This part of the world that is named Middle East- is in fact a collection of several distinct geopolitical areas like Persian Gulf, Shamat, the North Africa, any one of which makes a separate region because of the present coordination in its surrounding phenomena (Mojtahedzadeh, 2000:334).

The region of Persian Gulf has attracted the attention of many powers, because of its one hundred years of historical importance for the reason of discovering and exporting the oil, having expanded sources of energy and being the bed for developments in political- economic and of course, security issues. During the last fifty years, Persian Gulf has, undoubtedly been one of the most important and critical areas of the world in geopolitical insights and strategic computations. Considering the present transformations at the international level, wars, conflicts of the last two decades, Revolution of Iran, and opposition with the Arab- Israel Peace trend, it can be claimed that in the twenty first century the location will be the focus of insights and strategic calculations and according to classic geopolitics, will be named, the Hartland or the Heart of the earth. Still powerful countries are after their influence in this region and competing with each other. From among these countries, America directly, and Russia indirectly look for complete dominance over this region. For Americas, Persian Gulf is important because:

1. Persian Gulf region has the richest oil reservoirs.
2. Persian Gulf is the continuation of Indian Ocean, strategically.

3. Persian Gulf has joined with the involvements of Arabs and Israelis.
4. It is a place in danger because of political Islam in the regional countries and its on-going trend.
5. Dependence of the west industry to the security of oil in this region.

Forty years ago when British and France in 1956 in the Suez Canal war ended their empires, the United States announced its presence in the most dangerous points of the world, the Middle East (Ikenburg, 2003:248- 249). Today the U.S. is more than other trans- regional or even regional countries determinate of the security relations in the Persian Gulf. Today, USA plays the role of the gendarme of the region and it seems that it has, at least a short- term program to take out its forces from the region and assign the security and stability of the region to a collective local security system or its advocacy to other countries. The reason is that the need of this country to be present effectively in the Persian Gulf is much beyond the objectives like overthrowing Saddam Hussein (Philips, 2003:38). The basis for the U.S. strategies from the very beginning of its effective presence has been preservation of power distribution along with an increase in the power of effectiveness in diminishing the chaos in the region, to keep its relative priority.

Conclusion

The new strategy (cooperation and resistance) that Russia has taken in the military, political, and economic field, indicates that Moscow is after establishing its triple power in the world. There are many cases showing the issue, like its attempts to establish the Russian dominance over the North Pole, suspending the membership of Russia in the treaties of standard weapons in Europe, Russia's reaction toward the establishment of Missile Defense shield system of America in the East of Europe with the means of energy, prevention and disagreement with Kosovo indepen-

dence regarding the western support of it, the issue of Georgia considering the Russian support from the separatist groups of Southern Ossetia, and finally pressing Georgia to change its strategic position by violent instruments to restrict NATO from the East side. All these show that Russia still is looking for stabilization of its power in these regions. Prevention of some countries like Pakistan, which try to stabilize their political and military independence, from involvement of foreigners in their internal affairs, and separatist activities of some autonomous lands to achieve their political and military independence are indicators that powerful countries tend to overlook, intentionally or non-intentionally some of the globalization components to achieve more benefits. Considering that during the New Cold War while many countries looked for the local unison or after their national interests, unilateralistically, the national interests are believed to be the principle strategy. Thus, in this period, the influential zones and geopolitical areas get their real meanings, like strategic areas of Eurasia where the recent events are happening and it shows that big powers are trying to stabilize their powers in these areas. The oval range of energy with two diagonals of central Asia and Persian Gulf are of the most competitive variables between the powers in the New Cold War. Persian Gulf, also, among places that have been interested by great powers either during the old Cold War or the New Cold War, but it showed more during the New Cold War. Geopolitical situation of Afghanistan because of joining the central Asia to Indian Ocean and having the same border with Iran which is called the heart of the Middle East has made it so important that the U.S. has imposed its power on it.

References

- Ahmadian, A (1996). *Geography of Caspian Sea*, quarterly of central Asia studies, fifth year, No. 14.
- Anthony, M. (2003). *Transformation of Democracy, Globalization and Territorial Democracy*, Cambridge, Polity Press.
- Aterz, M. (2000). *Globalization*. Trans. by Mardani Givi, E. and Moridi, S. Tehran, Industrial Administration Organization.
- Bliss, J.S. (2004). *Globalization: International relations during the New Era*. Trans. by Rahchamani, A. Tehran, cultural studies and International Research Institute, Abrar-e Moaser-e Iran.
- Caster, M. (2001). *Age of Information. vol.2 Power, Identity*. Translated by Chavoshian, H. Tehran Tarh-e Noor Publisher.
- Castles Manuel (2001). *Epoch of Information, volume 2: Power, Identity*. Trans. by Hussein Chavoshian, Tehran: Tarhe Noor Publisher.
- Civil. (2008). "Tbilisi, Moscow Set Short-Term Agenda for Talks", Available at: www.civil.ge/eng/article.php?id=9115
- Clark, I. (1997). *Globalization and fragmentation*, Oxford University press.
- Cornel. S. (2008). *Georgia after the Independence: Difficulties and Geopolitic Reasons for the American Politics*. Translated by Toee Sarkani, M. Quarterly of Central Asia and Caucasus, No.63.
- Energy Information Administration (1998). *Caspian Sea Region* Washington, D.C.U.S Government.
- Fox News (18 Feb 2008), "Serbia Recalls U.S. Ambassador after Bush. EU Countries Recognize Kosovo as Independent", available at: www.foxnews.com/story/0,2933,331018,00.html.
- Geographical Atlas; (1997). *Geographical and cartographic organization*, Sa, Sixth edition, Tehran.
- Gaddy, C. and Kuchins, A. (2008), *Putin's Plan*. The Washington.
- Gharib, H. (2001), *Globalization, Security Challenge of I. R. of IRAN*, Monthly paper for political, economic information, The 15th year, No. 167-168.

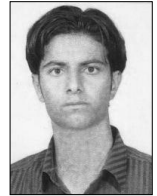
- Gitashenasi, Atlas (1995), Geography and Cartography Organization, the 6th edition. Tehran.
- Holliday, F. (1997). History of the Cold War. Translated by Mahdavi, H. Abdol Reza. Tehran, No Publisher.
- GolMohammadi, A. (2001), Globalization, Culture and identity. Tehran: Nay Publishing, p. 68.
- Guardian (21 Aug 2008), "Russians march into Georgia as full- scale war looms". Available at: www.guardian.co.uk/world/2008/aug/11/georgia.russia13.
- Hogenraad, Robert and Garagozov, Rauf (2008), "The Age of Divergence: Georgia and the Lost Certainties of the West", Sixth General Meeting of World Public Forum. Rhodes. October. Available at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/europe/7246505.stm>
- Iceberg, J. J. (2003). the only superpower (Hegemony in America during century 21), Translated by Azim Fazli Pour. Tehran: Abrar Moaser.
- Ikenbury, J.J. (2003). The Only Super Power: Hegemony of America in the 21 century. Translated by Fazlipoor, A. Tehran, Abrar-e Moaser.
- Klare, M (2003), "The New Geopolitics", Monthly Review, Vol, 55. No. 3, Jul-Aug. available at: <http://monthlyreview.org/0703klare.htm>
- Klinghoffer, A (2004), "American oil diplomacy in the Persian Gulf and the Caspian Sea". Middle-town, Vol, 41, No. 7, Mar.
- Knezevic, A (2000), "Kosovo: A Short History", Canadian Slavonic Papers, Vol. 42, No 1/2, Mar/Jun.
- Kobaladze, M. (2002), "Russia in NATO: attesting the impossible "From. www.caei.com.ar.
- McKnight, D (2002), Espionage and the Roots of the Cold War: The conspiratorial Heritage, London: Rout ledge.
- Mernisi, F. (1993). Islam and Democracy, London: Virage.
- Mirheidar, D. (1996). Basics of Political Geography. Tehran, SAMT Publication.
- Modir Shanechi, M. (1990). Communications and its Role in the world Today. Quarterly of Foreign Policies, fourth year.
- Mojtahedzadeh, P. (2000). Security and Territory Problems in Persian Gulf). Tehran, Atae Publication.
- Mullerson, R. (2008). "The New Cold War: How the Kremlin Menaces both Russia and the West", Chinese Journal of International Law, Vol. 7, No. 2, Jul.
- Naghizadeh, A. (2004). History of Diplomacy and International Relations from Vestefali to present. Tehran, Ghomes Publisher.
- Papeli yazdi, M.H. (1993). Articles on Afghanistan, war and Politics. Papeli Yazdi Publisher, Association of Iranology.
- Philips, K. (2003). "Why I am no Longer a Conservative", the American Conservative. Oct Available at: http://bias.blogfodder.net/archives/2003_10.html, p 38.
- Plano, J .C & Olton, R. (1988). The International Relations Dictionary. California: Longman.
- Reuters (20 Mar 2008). "Russian parliament to warn Georgia on NATO entry", available at: www.reuters.com/article/latestCrisis/idUSL2021210.
- Rezaee, M. (2004). Regional Iran. Tehran Geographical organization Publishers- Armforces.
- Rumer, E.B (2002). "Flash man's Revenge: Central Asia after September 11", Strategic Forum, No 195. 1 Dec. available at: <http://handle.dtic.mil/100.2/ADA422104>
- Roland, R. (2001). Globalization. Translated by Pooladi, K. Tehran: Palp Publisher in cooperation with the international center of civilization Discourse.
- Saadatmand, A.(1967). Cold War during 1945-1962. Tehran. The University of Tehran Publication.
- Shadmani, A. (1997). An Introduction to the Cold War. Tehran. Amirkabir Publication

- Shermatova, S (2002), "Moscow Steps Up Central Asian Interest", RCA, N 125. 17 Jun.
- Short, J.R. (1994). An Introduction to Political Geography. London & New York: Routledge.
- Sobell, V. (2008). "The Origins of the New Cold War", Center for Defense Information, 20 Mar. available at: www.cdi.org/russia/johnson/2008-60-22a.cfm
- Veisi, M. (2005). Globalization and the process of Democratization in Iran. MA Thesis. Shahid Beheshti University.
- Watters, M. (1995). Globalization, London: Routledge.



Seyed Motahareh Hosseini

She has received her PhD from Tehran University in the field of Political Sociology and is currently associated professor in Institute of Humanities and Social Studies, Acecr.



Taleb Ibrahimi

He has M.A in International Relations and is lecture in Islamic Azad University, Bandar Dayyer Branch.



Yousef Jafari

He has M.A in International Relations and is lecture in Applied Science and Technology International University, Assaluyeh.