

other, often quite far from religion, motives in the process of involving Muslim states in regional armed conflicts in neighboring countries.

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2019.02.013. ABOLFAZL DELAVARI. LESSONS OF HISTORY: RELATIONS BETWEEN RUSSIA AND IRAN. (On the Need for a Transition to Multivector and Symmetrical Relations) // *"Sotrudnichestvo Rossii i Irana v politicheskoy, ekonomicheskoy i kul'turnoy oblasti kak faktor ukrepleniya mira i bezopasnosti v Evrazii: Materialy Mezhdunarodnoy nauchno-prakticheskoy konferentsii 19 oktyabrya 2016."* Moscow, FSBEI HE MSLU, 2017, P. 37–43.

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As the researcher notes, the relations between Russia and Iran were often unidirectional, asymmetric and had a tactical character for a long period. In the first decades of the 19th century, the two countries fought wars that ended with the transition of a large part of Iran to Russia, as a result of which Russia received political and legal privileges and economic concessions. Over the next 180 years, relations between Iran and Russia have never been strong enough. However, in some periods the ties were strengthened and there were temporary alliances between the governments of the two countries.

In the first half of the 19th century the shahs and nobles Qajars took the ideology of Russia through connections with it (including on relations with England and Germany, as well as on the command of Russian officers – the only organized military force in Iran – the Cossack brigade). Nevertheless, Iranian ruling circles were often dissatisfied with the country's dependence on Russia. Dissatisfaction with the Russian socio-political non-governmental forces was most evident during the Constitutional revolution. Iranian constitutionalists viewed the Russian government as a force supporting the Qajar dictatorship. The steps of this government played a role in dispersing the first Majlis with the open support of Muhammad Ali Shah and the Shah's Cossack brigade in the fight against the constitutionalists, while the Russian government issued an ultimatum to the Iranian side, demanding the removal of the mission of American financial advisers, which the second Majlis hired to carry out financial reform. Russian troops occupied the northern regions of Iran as a result of an ultimatum; subsequently during World War I, Russia occupied a large part of Iran. These events had a negative impact on the attitude of Iranian society to the Russians.

In the first years after the end of the First World War, the promises of the leaders of the Russian Revolution, based on the completion of the expansion policy of tsarist times and its compensation, were brought to life. In the years between the two world wars, the Soviet Union was in opposition to Western countries, which caused a cooling of relations between Iran and Russia in the field of economy and technology. Gradually, the trend of expansionary state policy emerged during the Second World War and after the introduction of Russian armed forces in Iran (taking into account strategic interests and security considerations as opposed to Western influence). The support of the compromise movements in north-western Iran from the Soviet government, as well as attempts to benefit from the oil concession produced in northern Iran, as well as the refusal to withdraw troops (according to the 1941 Treaty) also significantly worsened

the attitude towards the Soviet Union. At the same time, some of the left-wing forces of Iran, such as the Tudeh party, openly supported the policies of the government of the Soviet Union in those years. When strong anti-imperialist nationalism arose in Iran, the people of Iran once again awoke distrust towards the policies of the Soviet Union during the movement to nationalize the oil industry. When Mosaddyk became prime minister, the Soviet government did not support his struggle for the nationalization of oil resources. Such actions were perceived as a program of imperialist policy, and a little later the Soviet government refused to pay wartime debt to Iran.

In the period after the 1953 coup d'état and before the 1979 Islamic revolution, Soviet-Iranian relations were unstable and depended on ensuring security, building strategic relations with Western countries, as well as limited and short-term economic interests. After the 1979 Islamic revolution, it was expected that relations between Iran and the USSR would become more stable thanks to the anti-American sentiment that prevailed in Iran's political life and the attempts of the Soviet government to develop relations with Iran. Despite this, the difficulties that existed previously in relations between the two countries were not resolved. This was especially evident during the Iran-Iraq war. The Soviet government chose to maintain strategic relations with Iraq and supported it, in particular, supplied weapons and ammunition, although it officially took a neutral position.

The end of the Iran-Iraq war was accompanied by the beginning of changes and the internal political conflict within the USSR. Iranian politicians expected that favorable conditions would emerge for the development of stable strategic relations between the two countries after Russia had bid farewell to communism. The gradual build-up of the U.S. military contingent in the region (first during the Iraq attack on Kuwait, and then the US attack on Afghanistan and Iraq) became a cause for concern for Iran. Iran's limited capabilities and the U.S. influence on Russia in the 1990s did not help improve relations between Iran and Russia. At the

beginning of the 21st century, Iran's need for support from the new political figures of Russia has increased again as tense relations with the world community arose as a result of Iran's nuclear program. It seemed that a suitable occasion appeared for strengthening and developing relations between the two countries. In this situation, Russia sided with Iran and agreed to complete the construction of the Bushehr nuclear power plant. To strengthen the relations between the two countries in the field of politics and security, an important factor was the agreement on the sale of S-300 anti-aircraft missile systems to Iran. Despite this, cooperation between Iran and Russia depended to a large extent on relations between Russia and the West.

Relations between Russia and Iran became more "cool" with the onset of events related to the "Arab Spring" in 2012, accompanied by the fall and weakening of Russian-supported governments in countries such as Syria and Libya, as well as changes in the situation in Ukraine. Since the beginning of the civil war in Syria, relations between Russia and Turkey have deteriorated, and vice versa – the cooperation between Iran and Russia has expanded. Over the past two years, Iran has given permission for the first time to use its country's airspace for Russian aircraft and long-range missiles to suppress Assad's opponents, in addition to close cooperation between the two countries in support of the Assad regime. Russia also shipped several S-300 systems to Iran. In mid-summer 2016, the authorities of the two countries confirmed that Iran has given Russia the opportunity to use one of its military bases near Hamadan for aviation flights. Thus, the current state of affairs clearly shows the unprecedented rapprochement of the two countries and the development of strategic cooperation. Despite this, there have been several cases demonstrating the distrust of the parties and the instability of relations even in such conditions. For example, there were restrictions in the trade turnover between Russia and Iran (especially with regard to food) immediately after Russia improved its relations with Turkey. Some Iranian officials (including the defense minister and military adviser to the

supreme leader) did not hide their displeasure and mistrust after it became known that Russia was using the Iranian military air base.

The researcher concludes that relations between Iran and Russia went up and down during the 19th and 20th centuries. Political relations between states did not affect the socio-cultural sphere. Having considered the dynamics of development of relations at the state and socio-cultural levels over the past two centuries, Abolfazl Delavari considers it necessary to make some suggestions:

1) Russian politicians need to rethink the structure of relations with Iran and make efforts to eliminate the negative consequences;

2) The development of the socio-cultural sphere should take place not only through governments, but also through intellectual and cultural elites, economic leaders, civil society organizations and the development of bilateral tourism;

3) The development of academic and scientific contacts can contribute to the strengthening of comprehensive relations and strategic balance between the state and the society of both countries.

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AZIZ NIYAZI. SYRIA: HUMANITARIAN LOSSES OF THE WAR // *The article was written for the bulletin "Russia and the Moslem World".*

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Abstract. In the article there are provisional results of humanitarian losses in Syria, since 2011 on the basis of the UN