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## The Effect of BARJAM on the Revision of the Military policies of the members of the Persian Gulf Cooperative Council

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Received: : 15 Feb 2016 ; Accepted: 20 Aug 2016

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### Abstract:

The geopolitics, geostrategic and geo-economics position of the Persian Gulf causes this region to be the subject of attention of the ultra-regional powers. This subject became more important by the invention of fire weapons after Renaissance and the promotion of the colonic view in Europe. Spanish and British men besides the Portuguese that is America, Russia, china and European union all have tried to pursue their benefits in this region so that its due to their benefits and situation so, by direct military the subject of attention of the ultra-region powers. This subject turns Persian Gulf to an unstable region ready for increasing the crisis. One of these crises is Iranian nuclear crisis and the position of international sanctions against Iran. These sanctions are most advantageous for the regional rivals and most disadvantageous for the benefits of Iranian Islamic Republic. By concluding the nuclear negotiations between Iran and the west, those countries which were supported the superpowers opposition with Iran by the illusion of creating a tradeoff which drive there into the margin, employed some polices by the former conditions, one of them is to buy military weapons by the aforementioned conditions to create a balance in power with Islamic Republic of Iran. In this paper, we investigate the relations of Iran with the countries in this region and ultra-regional countries and the approval of BARJAM (The acronym of the comprehensive program of cooperative act between Iran and the countries named 5+1 to review the military policies in the Persian Gulf region.

**Keywords:** Security, BARJAM, Military policies, The Cooperative council of Persian Gulf, Regional crisis

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### Introduction

By the victory of Islamic Revolution in Ira in 10 Feb 1979, the equations of the middle-east

region underwent dramatic changes. The building blocks, which previously formed the conflict between universal powers suddenly,

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confronted with a new actor that was away from the eastern and western powers. The conditions worried many countries in the area, especially the autocratic and hegemonic countries. The motto of the issue of Islamic Republic from Iranian revolutionists intensified the worries of the countries in the area. Therefore, they attempted to control this new power. Attempts like war, threat, imposing sanctions and the biased propaganda, which by the help of ultra-region powers was included in the guideline of the countries in the region, especially the Arabic countries in the margin of Persian Gulf. The energy power of the industrial countries and fossilized resources existing in the area of Persian Gulf, having 64 percent of oil and gas resources of the world, brings about more sensitivity to the conditions of this area.

The industrial countries, which in their competitions gave energy the position of one of the branches of their policies, know that the domination of each of them on this vital resource will create changes in the equations of the area even in universal dimension. One of the issues, which create unity for the international sanctions imposed against Iran, is the issue of nuclear rivals in the area and the most disadvantages for the values and profits of Islamic republic of Iran.

In the paper, we try to answer a question that what are the effects of the BARJAM. Regarding the obtained data and the existing evidences, we try to approve the issue that BARJAM provide some base to increase the attempts of the member countries in Persian Gulf cooperative council in order to have access to the military weapons. The issue that causes strategic changes in decision – making and the execution of different policies and therefore creates changes in the equations of

this area. In this field, by emphasizing on the structuralism view as one of the important approaches in the field of the international relations and regional studies, we explicate the security and military category in the international relationships. On this basis, first we describe the theoretical bases of structuralism and then the perspective of this approach regarding security with a military view, the elements and variables which are effective as the effective factors to deepen and institutional the security in the area of Persian Gulf and conceptualize and theorize them in the case studies in order to conceptualize the cooperative council of the Persian Gulf as an international entity according to structuralism view. Finally, in the conclusion it is indicated that by this approach could open up a new horizon in the security and military structure in different areas in the world, so that, nowadays it has been turned in to one of the important approaches in the field of the study of security from military view point, especially in comparative analysis.

Since knowing about the issues of the material world clearly is the focus of the attentions of the structuralisms, a lot of people believe that the most important effect of the structuralism on the international relations is on knowing about the issues of the material world (Moshirzadeh, 2005: 324).

The first important premise of knowing about the material world is that the conceptual and normal structures also are as important as the material structures. Since the semantic systems define, how the operands must interpret their materialistic environment? The second term is that it is entities that form the advantages and actions. Alexander Vendet believes that if we believe that without interactions the countries have predefined entities

and advantage this will be wrong (Bilits, Smith, 2013: 544). By this presupposition, the middle east is one of the most critical areas in the world, and the indices of the crisis include the players' interference, geographic – strategic prominence, incongruity political issues, military and violence (Bercher, Vilkenfeld, 241: 2003- 246), which creates pessimism between the countries in the area.

Alexander George and Richard Smock believe that deterrence has been developed in three different levels in theoretical and practical terms: strategic war, limited war and infra limited in the lowest level of violence scope (Deorti, Faultzgraph, 2005: 612). The term infra limited was applied in 60s to point out to a wide scope of struggles, which were below the offbeat war. In the infra offbeat strategy which is derived from the strategy of the limited war, while the creativity is taken away from the enemy, there is a focus on this point that its power elements are not functional and by an attempt to impose a high coefficient level of vulnerability toward the enemy his defeat is possible in will and action (Jamshid, 2013: 12).

The countries in the border of the Persian Gulf make use of this strategy in the framework of constructivism, which is comprehensible to them in order to advance their goals. So that by the prominence of ideological differences, they evaluate every kind of behavior from Iran in order to confront with their policies and react to it. A view, which is also important to the Islamic Republic of Iran.

### **The effect of BARJAM on the military equations of the region**

By signing the agreement between Iran and the member countries of 5+1, there was much concern in the region because of the change in western view. The heads of the area's countries do not have a positive view towards

this agreement and this issue is intensified when the American politician approve it. For example, Henry Kissinger and shouveltz in a paper in the wall street magazine indicated that: For some people, the most precious aspect of a nuclear agreement with Iran is that the Iranians have intensified for more than decades the military enmity with the west and the international institutions now has the opportunity to provide for the stability in the middle east area. Provided that, this issue is in the favor of the strategic profits of Iran and America and also the whole middle- east Iran is a prominent national and effective government which have a powerful national culture history and has a rather young educated population and could be considered as a partner according to the final agreement (WSJ. Kissing, Shultz). Opinions like this and the limited but successful technical cooperation between Iran and USA in order to fight DAESH in Iran, intensified these concerns, so that the aforementioned countries sought for reasons for their foreign policy facing with Iran, which in the near future will become the strategic ally of the west.

### **Sabotage during negotiations:**

During the negotiations, some of the heads of Arabic countries and mostly Saudi Arabia made attempts not allow the negotiation to conclude. Different scenarios, including subornation, threatening and punishment were enforced toward these countries. It continued so that these countries, together with the Zionist regime as the first of the Islamic world, made it so difficult to come an agreement. The meeting of John Kerry, the USA foreign minister and Saud Al-Feisal Saudi Arabia's Foreign minister, which was, hold at the time of nuclear negotiations in Vienna and lasted for half an hour; it was obvious that Arabic countries are very sensitive about these nego-

tiations. According to the well – informed sources, this visit was occurred in the airport o Vienna. John Kerry the America's foreign minister after working dinner with Philip Hammond, England's foreign minister, Louran-Fabiyon, French foreign minister, Frank Walter Eshtain Mayer, German foreign minister and Katrina- Ashtone, the coordinator 5+1 group. It seems as of this meeting was hold to consult about the willing of Saudi Arabia's foreign minister. (2014, Khabaronline.ir). The evidences show that by signing the nuclear agreement between Iran and 5+1 in Genera. The revolution, which was caused by this agreement, challenged the major forces that do not agree to come to an agreement, i.e., Israel and Arabic countries and the amount of the force they exert toward America in order to come to a comprehensive agreement nuclear agreement.

According to this traditional policy, America has controlled the Middle East region and mainly the Persian Gulf all the time. In this regard weakening to role of who are against Iran in the process of coming to a prospect victory reinforces Iran position in the process of regional negotiations (Barzegar, 2013. Fa. Cmess.ir). so, because of the feeling of danger the Arabic countries likely to encounter, they have taken a trend that in the framework of the issue of power balance, develop and maintain their regional position in comparison with Iran by buying military weapons.

#### **Disagreement between Iran and the council members:**

The position of the Persian Gulf is like an indentation, which connects to Indian Ocean through Oman Sea. Strategic start of Hormoz is located between Persian Gulf and Oman

Sea, but it is usually considered as a part of Persian Gulf (Noorbaksh, 1983: 21-25).

This region and its strait are considered as the most crucial regions of the world.

The cooperative council of the Persian Gulf is also consisted of 6 oil producing Arabic countries for the Persian Gulf, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, United Arabic Emirates, Bahrain, Qatar and Oman which include northern coasts. The idea of forming such a council also was formed in the first years of 1350s (1970) in which Iran, in Pahlavi's time must also be a member of that. However, because of the opposition of Iran and the pessimism of some Arabic regimes of peninsula toward the role of the king of Iran, this council was not formed (Elahi, 2005: 424). By the victory of Islamic revolution, the Arabic countries in the border of the Persian Gulf tried to form the cooperative council of the Persian Gulf by the direct support of America in order to defeat the formation of Islamic revolution and defeat the possible risk of democratic riots, in spite of the fact that their stated policy was to emphasize on the economic issues and mass security cooperation in the next stage, but in fact in order to make a balance against Islamic republic of Iran. The worldwide equations for the rejection of the effect of the conflict of the actor's benefits for are systemically changing and most of the time the center of this change is revolving.

According to the research of the strategic international study about the international balance which have been issued as the strategic cooperation of Arabic countries with the USA and the change in the security balance in the counties which are located on the border of the Persian Gulf. USA has an important role in military balance of the Persian Gulf in the future. America holds a 7.9 milli-

ards role between 2004 to 2007 out of 30/5 milliard role of the Arabic countries in buying military weapons. Between 2008 to 2011 also these countries purchased 75/6 milliard dollars of these weapons and America itself gave them 64/5 milliard dollars of these weapons.

A research institute shows that from the October 2010 until the October 2014. America sold 90 435-milliard dollars of the military weapons to Saudi Arabia (Cordesman. 2015).

In the most recent published news. Saudi Arabia has increased the military budget of this country in 2016 to 191 Saudis milliard rails, which equals to 50 milliards and 800 million dollars.

This number in comparison to the last year shows an increase equal to 50 milliards and 800 million dollars. In the official statement of Saudi Arabia, it has been stated that the military budget includes the budget, which is dedicated to buy weapons military resources and the support of the army's weapons.

The military budget of Saudi Arabia increased while Saudi government issued the budget of this country in by 200 milliard Rails, which is equal to 53 milliard dollars under funding. will be the fourth successive year in which Saudi Arabia confronts under funding (pars today. Com).

The security and defense agency of America's Department of Defense claimed that: Qatar, by 21 million 881 million dollars' weapons shore in the last two months is in the first rank among the weapons customers in the south of the Persian Gulf.

In this regard. Kuwait, by buying 11 milliards and 837 million dollars of weapons is in the second order. In addition, during this time, Saudi Arabia by buying 3 million and 500 million dollars is in the third order and Emirates buying 3 million dollars and 510

million dollars is in the four orders of the customers of buying American weapons.

#### **Multi fold purchases:**

Saudi Arabia itself bought 5/5 times more than Iran bought weapons and emirates in spite of the fact that it has a small country, bought weapons twice more than Iran.

If all the countries of cooperative council of the Persian Gulf are compared with Iran, these countries have 9 times more than Iran the military weapons. The service of congress researches of the USA estimates that Iran between 2004 to 2007 receives 34 million dollars of new weapons and between 2008 until 2011; this number reaches 800 million dollars, and totally does not have any access to modern weapons. Arabic countries of the Persian Gulf in this era had 22/6 million dollars of weapons and in the first period of comparative study. This number reached 159(Cordesman. 2015).

#### **Diagram of buying weapons:**

The diagram below shows the military expenses of Iran with the member countries of cooperative council of the Persian Gulf even before BARJAM According to the information, which has been issued by American resources, Arabic countries continuously, attempted to buy the most modern military services after signing BARJAM. A significant point is that it is common than selling military weapons to Arabic countries previously was approved by Zionist regime because this regime was concerned about the Zionist regime because this regime was concerned about the unsettlement of the power balance with Arabic countries. However, this principle after BARJAM and Obama's time was ignored.

This results from the concern of these countries and the vast attempt of the west to

reduce this concern- stock Holm reconciliation study in situation estimates the yearly military costs of most of the big countries of the world.

According to the claim of this institution, UN in (2014) expended 610 million dollars for the military costs and this number is nearly three times of the military budget of china is in the second order of the world.

In this year, china, 216 milliard costs.

In addition, Saudi Arabia has reached a significant growth and was in the fourth rank in the world.

According to this ranking, Saudi Arabia increases its military costs to 35% by 2013 (Farhang news .ir.)

According to this statics, buying military weapons by Saudi Arabia between 2009, 2014 is 18 times more than Iran and this number amounts to.

Foreigner minister, which was, hold at the time of nuclear negotiations in Vienna and lasted for half an hour, it was obvious that Arabic countries are very sensitive about these negotiations. According to the will-informed sources, this visit was occurred in the airport of Vienna –John-Kerry , the Americas foreign minister after that working dinner with Phillip Hammond, England's , Foreign minister ,frank Walter Eshtain Mayeri German foreign minister and Katrina-Ashtone , the coordinator of 5+1 group . it seems as if this meeting was hold to consult about the willing of Saudi Arabia's foreign minister (2014). Khabar oneline.ir). The evidence shows that by signing the nuclear agreement between Iran and 5+1 in Geneva. This revolution challenged the major forces that do not agree to come to an agreement, i.e., Israel and Arabic countries and the amount of the force they exert toward Ameri-

ca in order to come to a comprehensive agreement nuclear agreement According to this traditional policy. American has controlled the Middle East region and mainly the Persian Gulf all the time. In this regard weakening to role of who are against Iran in the process of coming to a prospect victory reinforces Iran position in the process of regional negotiations (Barzegar, 2013. Fa. Cmess.ir). So, because of the feeling of danger the Arabic countries likely to encounter, they have taken A trend that in the framework of the issue of power balance, develop and maintain their region position in comparison with Iran by buying military weapons.

New quests could create oriented center and centrifuged orientations. James Rosenau considers this process as a result of chaos in the international policy and also the attitudes in areas security the concept of securitization according to the cooperative council members is very complex Arabic governors in the of Persian Gulf have many fundamental disagreements over the regional or western oriented security with Islamic republic of Iran opposes the presence of the west and America in the region. From one hand, the west especially America is the enemy of Islamic republic. on the other hand, the influence of west in the structure of these countries creates diverge movements between these countries and Iran. By the deduction that they couldn't themselves with this deduction that he, himself couldn't provide for the security, by signing military contracts, wants the presence of the USA and west in the Persian Gulf and makes it possible to provide for the security in the Persian Gulf only by the presence of powerful countries like America. the issue which because of the military weakness in these countries against Iran and the support in

order to support the conservative regimes against the democratic movements (al-waght.com).

The issue, which because of the Iran phobia policy of the western countries and greeting of the countries result the lack of agreement to design a regional-centered policy. Ideological contradictions between Iran and the super powers, especially America causes that Islamic republic of Iran does not report the necessary reports about its nuclear activities. This attempt was revealed after 18 years in the crisis of discrepancies between America and Iraq about the massacre, ie. 2002 (Gharayagh Zandi: 2008 .13-14)

By wide advertisements, which have been formed in this field, the nuclear issue of Iran becomes one of the longest international crises in this century.

Maybe we could consider May 2003 as the first official time that the world society considered it for pending the nuclear activity. The concentrated negotiations and the evolutions in Sad Abad statement, Brussels and Paris agreement were the result of the negotiations, which was formed between Iran and west until 2007.

The confrontation with the super powers : In spring ,2007, a news was reported about the beginning of Natanz activities and while Europe , America and the media dependent on them were dubious about their success .The report of Al Baradeii about putting into operation thousands centrifugal devices in Natanz , was considered as the end of all doubts, so that the world wide society score this situation and attempt to create an obstacle for the Iranian peaceful activities (Mafi/2016 Khabar online.ir). The treat for military attack, creation of international for economic sanctions, political assassination of nuclear scientists and attack them using the destructive internet viruses, etc. Were

attempts that were applied by the certificate or without the certification of UN in order to acquiesce Iran .Finally Joint comprehensive plan of Action (BARJAM) Was concluded in the course of the comprehensive agreement about the nuclear program of Iran and following the nuclear understanding of Loazan in (14 January 2015) in Vienna, Australia between Iran and German 5+1 group.

### **The mass military trades:**

According to the existing statistics, in the recent years, the countries in the southern boundaries of the Persian Gulf have become the biggest customer of America's government in the recent years has sold milliard dollars of air, sea ground and missile weapons to Qatar, emirates, Bahrain and Oman. The member countries of this council all are the America's alleys.

Buying military weapons is an all-winning game, which could bring about a huge profit for the western unstable economics by the mass debt and the lack of budget.

The researches of the strategic and international center show new military changes for the countries which are near by the Persian Gulf. This research is issued in the name of the strategic cooperation of the Arab countries with the USA and changing the security balance in the countries which are located on the border of the Persian Gulf in this study some researches about the amount of military services costs in Iran and the countries in the border of the Persian Gulf have been issued regarding the prohibition of selling modern weapons to Iran Also these researches examine the military cooperation of Arabic countries on the border of the Persian Gulf with the USA the results show that the Arabic countries on the border of the Persian Gulf , before coming into nuclear agreement, have bought military weapons in

a large scale . These researches show that according to the cooperative doctrine of the USA with the Arabic countries, the most equipped and super updated weapons are in these countries

Excuse justifying the staggering costs of these countries in the view of the common people. This issue, after BARJAM is accompanied by a consolation from the western countries, so that while making huge benefits, they try to show their good intention by selling the modern and expensive weapons to the Arabic countries in the area.

**The competition of Iran and Saudi Arabia:**

The confrontation between Iran and Saudi Arabia as two regional powers causes that the other small countries of the Persian Gulf area also play a role in this game. Therefore, by worsening the contrasts by a considerable harmony, they are to marginalize the role of Iran in the regional equations.

In this direction, we observe some ipsilateral biases with Saudi Arabia against Iran. Meanwhile, Bahrain's positions have much intensity. According to Mehr report and as Russia ALYOM, Ahmad-Ibn-e-Khalifa, the foreign minister of Bahrain in the new conference in Moscow indicated that Iran must change its policies regarding the countries that are located on the border of the Persian Gulf; otherwise, these countries would defend themselves (fararu.com). On the other hand, holding several military maneuvers by Islamic Republic of Iran is an alarm for the Arabic countries. Iran holds these maneuvers by the slogan of message of peace and insists that these maneuvers are not hold against any country. However, Arabic countries have their own interpretation. They consider the increasing military power of Iran as a treat

for them. When this treat accompanies the weak support of America of these countries, a situation arises which is unacceptable for them. Hence, they show sensitivity to it by exact observation of this subject. The danger of an Iran, which is united against America, reminds the security issues in 1970s for the countries, which are members of cooperative council of the Persian Gulf, especially Saudi Arabia that directly or indirectly is exerted throughout the region. In this period, Iran went into the margin as the gendarme of the area the rule of Arabs in the equations. Only when Iran contrasted with the west, these countries could create a position for themselves by uniting with the west. So, the repetition of the near past of the history is not disregarded. From their viewpoint, the mass military purchasing which alongside the other issues creates economic relations with the west brings about a kind of specific peace for these countries.

**More penetration of the ultra-regional powers:**

Regarding the democratic structure of the powers in this area, the democratic illegitimacy is the concern of most of them. For this reason and in order to obtain legitimacy, looking outside and uniting by the ultra-regional powers is in the agenda of these countries. Therefore, taking the opposition strategy and trying to make a coalition with the super powers makes it possible for these powers to come into this area. In the recent months, we see the travelling of the head of countries like America, France and England to this area. The travels that their most important point is mass contractions to buy military weapons. Sometimes, we also observe the contractions for returning the colo-



nial European countries to the area. In October 2016 according to Daily Mail, it was claimed that, Britain would soon open its permanent military base in Bahrain. According to the reports, this marine military base which is the first permanent base of Britain in the Persian Gulf, after 40 years will be opened in the next ad month and the English navies will be sent there (daily.mail.co.UK).

This military basis which is located in Salman seaport and was opened in November, 12,2016 will be used by English navy force and the special force of this country. Using this military base could send more battleships to the Persian Gulf. In order to establish England military base in Bahrain, 30 million pounds have been paid and this base has the capacity to set six—service men. Al-e Khalifa regime paid 75 percent of the establishment cost of this military base and only 25 percent for the construction of this base has been provided by English( telegraph.co.UK). Paying 75 percent of the budget for the establishment of this base is itself a solid reason for the readiness of Arabic countries to bring the ultra-regional powers into the Persian Gulf and theretofore to complex the security equations in this region. The members of the cooperative council, by setting Iran in the position of the enemy have compiled their own strategy. By this view, many risks, which could be resulted from the applied policies, are ignored. Therefore, by a specific definition of the national security, they took a policy that its output is to be further from the framework of the society, trusting more on the outside power, giving priority to the international legitimacy, even by scarifying the most sensitive issues related to the national security.

**The new situations in the new American government:**

By the entrance of Donald Trump as America's president into the White House and his contradictory slogans, the types of military interactions have become vague by the American regional partners. The dealer nature of Donald Trump is to get more profit. So, in spite of taking the strategy of the mad man by this president, in the future, each side that could have a good with a better quality to trade, could have Washington as its companion partner. From the author's point of view, Donald Trump, in spite of the behaviors he shows, has a deliberate policy and tries to force the others to play in the ground that he has designed. So, by abating the fever of the entrance of the new president and designing the rules of the game, more maturity will be seen in the policy of the heads of the White House. The principle of the pivotal advantages will become more evident in the international relations as the most basic pivot. The background of the America's president makes the importance of the economic advantages more important. This issue will affect the equations of the Persian Gulf region, especially in the military dimension.

#### **Conclusion:**

The history is abundant with the repetition of situations in which the super powers scared the small countries around them. This is an issue, which comes from the nature of the power. Also in the area of the Persian Gulf, this issue is witnessed. The power and independence of Islamic republic of Iran which in spite of the ups and downs during its life after the revolution of 1974 always and especially in the military dimension has its growth and independence route and it causes that its neighbors and some of the countries worry about this on the after hand because in the last years the tension

level between Iran and the super powers was increasing, and the lack of trust which resulted from it was increasing too, a kind of assurance has been created in the areas countries against Iran through its union with the world powers.

After signing (BARJAM) program between Iran and the west, the countries in the area have experienced some kind of chaos. the chaos resulted from not having the international allies, the scare resulted from being for from Iran and the changes in the estimations of the super powers which turns into an intolerable night more the issue they are to get free from by buying the military weapons and conclusion of the Military conventions with the ultra-regional powers that always has been the cause of the objection of Iran try to get free from it.

Because the international situation is always changing. those countries could play in the game of the power and as a result could have more prestige that in their policy they have efficient alternatives .by the election of the new president of America and in spite of the treats that he brings about for the area some opportunities have been created. it seems as if the Islamic republic of Iran regarding the specific international situations confront some real and plausible situations in political, economic, cultural and military dimensions. The attempt in this field could be valuable if it could have on effect on the ideals of these countries. For this reason, the author believes that till the formation of this important issue, we observe the intensity in the military – weapons competitions between the countries in the area. These competitions in

the future provide the settings for various crises. Crises, which in spite of the abundant profit of the weaponry companies in the area, no party will win in it .

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