

The effect of BARJAM on the revision of the military policies in the members of the Persian Gulf cooperative council

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Abstract:

The effect of BARJAM on the revision of the military policies of the members of the Persian sea cooperative consultation.

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The geopolitic, geostrategic and geoeconomic position of the Persian gulf causes this region to be the subject of attention of the ultra-region powers.

This subject became more important by the invention of fire weapons after Renaissance and the promotion of the colored 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 became more important the invention of five 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 interference, receiving support from the, creating regional and religious and the other types of interference, they have pursued their goals. This subject turns Persian Gulf to an unstable and 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 trade off which drive there into the margin, employed some policies by the former conditions, one of them is to buy military equipment by the a formentioned 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 region 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, regions crisis.

Statement of the problem:

By the victory of Islamic Revolution in Iran in 22 Bahman 1357, the equations of the middle-east region undergone dramatic changes. The building blocks which previously formed the conflict between universal powers suddenly 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 hegemonist countries. The motto of the issue of Islamic Republic from Iranian revolutionists intensified the worries of the countries in the area. So, 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 creates unity for the international sanctions imposed against Iran is the issue of nuclear rivals in the area and the most disadvantage for the values and profits of Islamic republic of Iran.

In the paper, we try to answer this question that what are the effects of the BARJAM (comprehensive program of cooperative work) on the military policies of the (PGCC) P Regarding the obtained data and the existing evidences, we try to opprove the issue that BARJAM provide some base to increase the attempts of the member countries in Persian gulf cooperative council in order to home access to the military we a pons. The issue that causes strategic changes in decision – making and the execution of different policies and therefore creates changer in the equations of this area. In this field, by emphasizing on the structural 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 institutionize 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 structural view. Finally, in the conclusion it is indicated that bow this approach could open up a new horizon in the security and military structure in different oreas in the world, so that, nowadays it has been turned in to one of the important approaches in the field of the stady 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 structuralists 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, 1384: 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 operants must interpret their materialistic environment? The second term is that it's entities that form the advantages and actions. Alexander Vexnet believes that if we believe that without interactions the countries have predefined entities and advantage this will be wrong (Bilits, smith, 1392: 544). By this presupposition, the middle east is one of the most critical areas in the world, and the and the indices of the crisis include the players interference, geographic – strategic prominence, incongruity political issues, military and violence (Bercher, Vilkenfeld, 241: 1382- 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, 1384: 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, 1392: 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 ideologic 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

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 don't have a positive view towards this agreement and this issue is intensified when the American politician approve it. For example, Henry Kesinjer and shouveltz in a paper in the wallstreet magazine indicated that: For some people, the mast precious aspect of a neuclear agreement with Iran is that the Iranians have intensified for more than decades the military enemitg 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 favour 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 also the limited but successful technical cooperation between Iran and USA in order to fight DAESH in Iran, intensified these concerns, so that the a forementioned 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 come to a conclusion. 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-Faysal Saudi Arabia's Foreign minister which was held 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 well – informed sources, this visit was occurred in the airport of Vienna. John Kerry the America's foreign minister after working dinner with Philip Hammond, England's foreign minister, Laurent Fabius, French foreign minister, Frank Walter Steinmeier, German foreign minister and Catherine Ashton,

the coordinator 5+1 group. It seems as if this meeting was held to consult about the willings of Saudi Arabia's foreign minister.

(1393. Khabaronline.ir). The evidence show 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, ie, Israel and Arab countries and the amount of the force they exert toward America in order to come to a comprehensive 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 the role of whom are against Iran in the process of coming to a prospect treaty reinforces Iran position in the process of regional negotiations (Barzegar, 1392. Fa. Cmess.ir). so, because of the feeling of danger the Arab 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 equipments.

1- 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 strait of Hormoz is located between Persian gulf and Oman sea, but it is usually considered as a part of Persian gulf (Noor Baksh, 1362: 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 Arab 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. But 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 wasn't formed (Elahi, 1384: 424). By the rectory 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 defelate 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 cooperations 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 in ternatinal study about the in ternational balance which have been issaed as the strategic cooperation f Arabic countries wies with the USA and the change in the security balance in the counties which an location on the border of the persian gulf. USA has an important role in militany balance of

the persian gulf in the futere. America holds a 7.9 milliars role between 2004 to 2007 out of 30/5 milliard role of the Arabic countries in buying military equipments. Between 2008 to 2011 also these countries pwrchased 75/6 milliard dollars of these equipments and America itself gave them 64/5 milliard dollars of these eqaipments.

A research mstitute shows that from the october 2010 till the october 2014. America sold 90 435 milliard dolar of the millitaryequipments to saudi Arabia (cordesman. 2015).

In the most recent published news. Saudi Arabia has increased the military budjet of this country in 2017 to 191 saudis milliard rial which equals to 50 milliard and 800 million dollar.

This number in compari son to the last year shows an in cvease equal to 50 milliard and 800 million dollar. In the official statement of saudi Arabia it has been stated that the military budjet includes the budjet which is dedicated to buy equipments military resources and the support of the army's equipments.

The military budjet of saudi Arabia in creased while saudigoverment issued the budjet of this country in 2017 by 200 milliard Rials which is equal to 53 milliard dollars under funding. 2017, will be the foarthsaccessive year in which saudi Arabia confronts under funding(par stoday. Com).

The searicity and defense agency of America's Department of Defense claimed that: Q atar, by 21 milliond 881 million dollars equipments

shore in the last two months is in the first rank among the equipment customers in the south of the Persian Gulf.

In this regard, Kuwait, by buying 11 billion and 837 million dollars of equipments is in the second order. Also, during this time, Saudi Arabia by buying 3 billion and 500 million dollars is in the third order and the Emirates buying 3 billion and 510 million dollars is in the fourth order of the customers of buying American equipments.

1-3-1: multi fold purchases:

Saudi Arabia itself bought 5/5 times more than Iran bought American equipments and the Emirates in spite of the fact that it has a small country. Bought equipments twice more than Iran.

If all the countries of the cooperative council of the Persian Gulf are compared with Iran.

These countries have 9 times more than Iran the military equipments. The service of congress researches of the USA estimates that Iran between 2004 to 2007 received 34 million dollars of new equipments and between 2008 till 2011 this number reaches 800 million dollars, and totally doesn't have any access to modern equipments. Arabic countries of the Persian Gulf in this era had 22/6 million dollars of equipments and in the first period of comparative study. This number reached 159 (Cordesman, 2015).

3-3-1: Diagram of buying equipments:

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 equipments to Arabic countries previously was approved by the Zionist regime because this regime was concerned about the Zionist regime because this regime was concerned about the unsetting of the power balance with Arabic countries. But this principle after BARJAM and Obama's time was ignored.

This is the result from the concern of these countries and the vast attempt of the West to reduce this concern. Stockholm Reconciliation Study Institution 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 3 times of the military budget of China is in the second order of the world.

In this year, China, 216 billion costs.

Also, 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 (farhangnews.ir.)

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

Foreign minister which was held at the time of nuclear negotiations in Vienna and lasted for half an hour, it was obvious that Arab countries are very sensitive about these negotiations. According to the well-informed sources, this visit was arranged in the airport of Vienna –John Kerry, the American foreign minister after that working dinner with Philip Hammond, England's Foreign minister, Frank-Walter Steinmeier, German foreign minister and Catherine Ashton, the coordinator of 5+1 group. It seems as if this meeting was held to consult about the willingness of Saudi Arabia's foreign minister (1393). Khabar online.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 Arab countries and the amount of the force they exert toward America in order to come to a comprehensive 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 the role of whom are against Iran in the process of coming to a prospective victory reinforces Iran's position in the process of regional negotiations (Bawzegar, 1392. Fa. Cmess.ir). So, because of the

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1 . Disagreement between Iran and the council members

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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 started 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 actor's benefits are systematically changing and most of the time, the center of this change is revolving on energy. The conflict-oriented approach relates to the situations in which new powers are forming in the international environment. This trend began in the first 1990s. New quests could create oriented center and centrifugal orientations. James R. Zouka considers this process as a result of chaos in the international policy and also the atmospheric attitudes in areas security. The concept of securitization according to the cooperative council members is very complex. Arabic governors in the 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 (alwaght.com).

The issue which because of their phobia policy of the western countries and greeting of the countries result the lack of agreement to design a regional-centered policy. Ideologic contradictions between Iran and the super powers, especially America causes that Islamic Republic of Iran doesn't report the necessary reports about its activities of nuclear. This attempt was revealed after 18 years in the crisis of this coverencies between America and Iraq about the massare, ie. 1381 (Gharayaghzandi :1387 .13-14)

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

Maybe we could consider Khordad 82 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, Broksel and Paris agreement were the result of the negotiations which was formed between Iran and West till 1386.

confrontation with the super powers : in spreang ,86,a news was reported about the begining of natanz activities and while Europe , america and the media dependent on them were doabious about their success .the report of al Boradei about putting into operation thousands centrifugal devices in natanz , was considered as the end of au doubts, so that the world wide society score this situation and attempt to create an obstacle for the iranian peaceful activities(Mafi/1395 khabaroneline .ir) . the treast for militoryattaek,creation of international for economic sanctions, political assassination of neuclear scientists and attak them using the destructive internet viruses, and etc .were attempts that were opplied by the certificate or without the certificated of UN in order to acquiescairan .Finally Joint comprehencive plan of Action (Barjam) Was concluded in the course of the comprehensive agreement about the neuclear program of iran and following the neucherunderstandingafloazan in 23 tir 1394 (14 janvie 2015)in vienna , australia between iran and german 5+1 group.

2-1 : the mass military trades:

According to the existing statistics, in the recent years, the countries in the southern boundries of the pertion gulf have become the biggest custorner of americas government in the recent years has sold miliarddollar,s of air , sea ground and missleequipments to qatar , imirates , bahrain and oman . the member countries of this council all are the americas alleys .

Buying military equipment is a au wining game which could bring about a huge profit for the western unstsble economics by the mass debt and the lack of badjet .

The researches of the strategic and international center show new military changes for the countries which are near by the 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 akrelocated on the broder of the persion gulf in this study some researches about the amount of martitaryservises costs in iran and the countries in the border of the persion gulf have been issued regarding the prohibithion of selling modern equipments to iran Also these reserches examine the military cooperation of Arabic countries on the broder of the persion gulf with the usa the resalts show that the arabic countries on the broder of the persion gulf , before corning into neuclear agreement, have bought military equipments in a large scale . thesereserches show that according to the cooperative doctorine of the usa with the arabic , countries , the most equipped and super updated equipments are in these countries

Excuse to justify 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 equipment to the Arabic countries in the area.

1-2: 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. So, 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 got much intensity. According to Mehr report and as Russia ALYOM, Ahmad-Ibn-e-Khalifeh, 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 counties. Iran holds these maneuvers by the slogan of message of peace and also insists that

these maneuvers are not hold against any country. But 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 which directly or indirectly is exerted through outthe region. In this period, Iran went into the argin 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.

1-3: 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. So, 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 equipment. Sometimes, we also observe the contractions for returning the colonial European countries to the area. In Aban, 1395, according to Daily Mail, it was claimed that, Britain will 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(dailymail.co.UK).

This military basis which is located in Salman seaport and was opened in Aban,22,1395 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 6—service men. Al-e Khalifeh 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 thertefore 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. So, 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.

2-3: 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, himself has designed. So, by abating the fever of the entrance of the new president and also 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 evident. The power and independence of the Islamic Republic of Iran which in spite of the ups and downs during its life after the revolution of 1353 always and especially in the military dimension has its growth and independence route and it causes that its neighbours and some of the countries worry about this on the other 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 area 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 far 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 equipments and conclusion of the military conventions with the ultra-regional powers that always has been the cause of the objection of Iran to get free from it.

Because the international situation are 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 iranoregarding the specific international situations comfront some real and plausible situations in political,economical, cultural and military dimensians . the attempt in this field couldbe valuable provided that it could have on effect on the ideals of these countries .for this reason the author believes that till the formastic of this important issue , we observe the intensily in the military –equipmental competitions between the countries in the area. These competitions in the future provide the settings for variouscrisises. Crises which in spite of the abundant profit of the eaponry companies in the avea, no party will win in it

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