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**GEOPOLITICAL ROLE OF PERSIAN GULF IN DEFENSE POLICY OF ISLAMIC
REPUBLIC OF IRAN**

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ABSTRACT

Persian Gulf is a waterway that has gained attention and caused dispute of world powers for long centuries because of its geographical features, especially its relative position and underground resources. Persian Gulf is communication axis among Europe, Africa, Southern and Southeast Asia. Strategically, Persian Gulf can be considered as the most important communication center among triple continents. The Gulf creates a part of a communicative system, which can link Mediterranean Sea, Red Sea, Indian, Great and Atlantic Oceans. Geopolitical importance of Persian Gulf can be resulted from 3 factors including strategic position, export and military equipment market, and existence of large oil and gas reserves. The mentioned features has made the zone as focus point of stranger forces and has also made colonial powers to influence and occupy the zone. Defense policy of Islamic Republic of Iran, similar to other countries, is depended on its perception of national interests, threats and available opportunities for it. The main objective of the present study is determining geopolitical role of Persian Gulf in defense policy of Islamic Republic of Iran. In this regard, firstly geopolitical features of Persian Gulf would be investigated based on theoretical discussions of geopolitics and also some subjects have been also considered in same field such as reasons for attention of stranger forced to Persian Gulf, reasons of importance of Persian Gulf for superpowers and policies of superpowers in Persian Gulf in terms of their geopolitical characteristics. Then, as Islamic Republic of Iran similar to some countries has no written and documented policy in regard with defense policy for presenting a defense policy based on theoretical frameworks, models and patterns on defense policy of countries, especially written model for defense policy. The main question of the study is that: what is geopolitical role of Persian Gulf in defense policy of Islamic Republic of Iran?

Key words: geopolitics of Persian Gulf, defense policy, Islamic Republic of Iran

INTRODUCTION

Today, due to recent evolutions and collapse of bipolar regime and end of Col War and also through considering presence of independent political units (countries-nations), one of the most important and basic issues in regard with policy can be international strategy and relationships. Power of the mentioned unit is known as national power. National power of each political unit can determine national goals and interests of same country, so that leaders and politicians of each unit can achieve recognition and determination of their national interests only through investigating and analyzing potential abilities and probabilities of their society. The main goal of each political unit is same power in level of the unit or specifically national power.

In the current world, the relationship between national power and national goals is same relationship between variable and function; meaning that any kind of evolution in national power can cause change in national goals. The relationship can be expressed in this manner that although national power is main subject of art and science of strategy, military power can be the clearest dimension of national power; although the evolutions over the decades have decreased its prior importance.

Military power has considerable significance, since it is more tangible and clearer than other dimensions of power; meaning that it can be still considered as a basic and determinant factor in regard with national security of a country, especially foreign security and fighting threats of strangers. Military power, especially in sensitive situations such as crisis, war and rebellion, plays key role and employs other dimensions of power. In addition, although one can't identify military power of a country exactly without identification of other dimensions of power and analyzing them, in sensitive and critical situations, as other components and dimensions are focus point of military power, relatively identifying national power of a country can be realized through analysis and calculation of military power of the country (Samiei Isfahani, 2009).

Defense policy that is intermediate level of strategy of national security and military policy, can express manner of encountering threats by countries that endanger their survival. Defense policy of each government in response to military threats can be formed deriving from its security environment. Type and quality of the policy is absolutely depended on status of threats and potentiality of their range in terms of

limit and intensity. As the aim by taking defense policy is providing ability for defending national security against military threats, the threats can be formed mainly in framework of an environmental and regional structure. Environment can make defense policy facing basic limitations and facing also basic opportunities. In fact, in regard with designing and studying defense policy, one should consider the environment, and especially some zones such as Persian Gulf have specific position because of their sensitive function (Rabiei, 2009).

Geopolitical importance of Persian Gulf is because of three factors including strategic position, export and military equipment market, and existence of large gas and oil reserves. Persian Gulf is in a closed half that can be considered as arm of Indian Ocean and Hormuz Strait is its key. Due to the importance of Persian Gulf Zone and needs of industrial countries to it, it has gained attention of superpowers. Hence, as Iran has been located in this zone, it has a situation because of geopolitical importance in the world and has also gained attention of many superpowers and especially America. Constant presence of Americans after collapse of Soviet in this zone has doubled its importance. Hence, it seems that geopolitical role of the region has

significant role in defense policy of Islamic Republic of Iran.

In terms of geopolitical position, Iran has been surrounded by 6 geopolitical areas including geopolitical area of Persian Gulf, geopolitical area of Oman Sea and Indian Ocean, geopolitical area of Iran Plateau, geopolitical area of Central Asia, Caspian and Caucasus geopolitical area, and geopolitical area of Anatoly and Middle East. However, due to sensitivity and importance of geopolitical area of Persian Gulf and on the other hand, basic goal of defense policy of countries that is disposing security threats and supplying national goals of countries, the study has been conducted to determine that the area is so significant for Iran and that whether defense policy of Islamic Republic of Iran has been formed adjusted with removing existing threats in this zone or not (Nikoo, 2011).

Defense policy of Islamic Republic of Iran should be empowered due to conditions and requirements of the region, so that it can show adequate response adjusted with the current situation. Exact recognition of geopolitical zone of Persian Gulf can provide such necessity and deformation in policy making system for purpose of creating capabilities, training and suitable strategies for suitable management of the region of Iran.

Theories and approaches existing for geopolitics and Persian Gulf

Mackinder and Spykman theory

Halford Mackinder has conducted a study under the title of Geographical Axis of History by 1904 and has announced that a country can be successful to gain world power, if it is owner of lands in the world. He has presented Heartland Theory. Based on the theory, every country that is dominated on Heartland can have dominance on whole world. In his opinion, Eastern Europe is heartland. Mackinder stated that heartland zone has been surrounded by a curve-shaped margin. In this theory, Persian Gulf has been considered in limit of the curve. Hence, the zone used to be considered among key zones for disputes between Soviet and US. As heartland zone was under dominance of Soviet, it could raise constant concern of America. Americans were concerned about dominance of Soviet on curved margin of it. Hence, they taken action to sign military treaties such as NATO, CENTO and SEATO in this region and created military stations in whole marginal curve (Jafari Valadani, 2002, p.5).

Years later, one of the theorists of geopolitics named NJ Spykman created some changes in Theory of Heartland and presented Rimland Theory. He believed that

every government, which is owner of Rimlands, can have dominance on the world. In his theory, Persian Gulf can be considered as a region in Rimland (Hafeznia, 2006).

Theory of Sea Geopolitics: Theory of Sea Power, Alfred Thayer Mahan

According to Mahan, the main condition for unity of a world power is having dominance on seas i.e. having control on seas can be the first step toward gaining better world power. In his opinion, in disputes among powers, those powers that are in sea position have more facilities for taking innovation in action compared to others.

Mahan has presented a war communion, in which controlling seas is the first condition required for gaining world power. In addition, he believed that no country can at the same time be owner of wide lands and powerful sea power, since problems with defending boundaries of a territory against powerful competitor that has land power can avoid success of competition in priority of sea power.

Based on analyzing sea power of Britain and World Sea History, Mahan could recognize 6 factors effective significantly sea power. The factors included geographical location, natural features, length of coast and area of the territory,

population, national features, policy of the government and political leaders.

Alfred Thayer Mahan has emphasized in his book on describing Nelson's Life that the first condition for gaining world power is controlling sea pathways and strategic straits, since worldwide crises occur around the pathways. In addition, he believed that 6 factors are effective for being a superpower as follows:

- Suitable geographical position for controlling sea pathways
- Creating suitable coastal lines to create ports and shelters
- Length of coasts and area of the territory
- Facility of defense and population for dominating and controlling possessions
- National characteristics, adjustment with sailing and trade with other nations
- Policy of the government and political leaders for futurism and implementing it

Although the details presented by Mahan and other theorists of Sea School in field of strategy and sea power have been changed a lot now, the changes have not decreased strategic importance of Persia Gulf, but also it can be considered as one of the most important zones in the world because of its

important and sensitive position (Hafeznia, 1992, p.6).

Effective factors in geopolitics of Persian Gulf Zone

a) Geographical position

Strategic zone of Persian Gulf, which has been considered as one of the main subsystems in Southwest Asia in the recent classifications, has formed areas between 16° to 40° of Northern width and 32° to 57° of eastern length. The water zone of "Persian Gulf" has been located as a sea with low depth in Indian Ocean and is between 34° and 30° of northern width and 48° to 57° of eastern length. Whole northern coastal band of Persian Gulf is limited to Islamic Republic of Iran. The zone is limited to Iraq and Kuwait from northwest direction; from southwest and southern direction is also limited to Arabia, AUE, Qatar and Bahrain; from southeast direction is limited to a part of Oman (in threshold of Hormuz Strait) (Armed Forces Geographical Organization, 2007, p.3).

b) Geographical dimensions

Dimensions of Persian Gulf's pit have been presented differently in different sources. Based on satellite images and available hydrography maps in the GO, area of the water zone is 237000km² and its length from span of Hormuz Strait to Kuwait Coasts is equal to 870km. Depth

determining maps in Persian Gulf indicate different depths. However, depth of the water zone is averagely 35m, which increases to its maximum level to 126m around Abu Musa Island (Armed Forces Geographical Organization, 2007, p.5).

Emergence of Persian Gulf

Persian Gulf is remnant of a big pit that has been in past times of geology under effect of pressure resulted from volcanoes of Iran Plateau. Also, stability of Arabia Plateau against the tectonic reactions has developed its width and depth. 500 million years ago, the solid crust of the earth formed a unit continent, in which evolutionally the gap between Northern America and Europe and the other gap between Asia and Antarctica were being formed. 140 million years ago at the beginning of the second age, the gap between Europe and America became wider and the gap between India and Australia paved the way for formation of Indian Ocean. 45 million years ago, at the early third age, Atlantic Basin was emerged; Southern America was separated from Africa and Australia gone away from Antarctic and moved toward East. As a result, Indian Ocean was emerged and the gap between Asia and Africa proved also introduction for emergence of Persian Gulf. Among important events in the middle of third age so far, one can refer to generation

of gaps and cracks in Eastern Africa, formation of Red Sea, Gulf of Aden and pits of Eastern Africa. By that time, mountains of Iran Plateau were also formed gradually and finally, progress of a branch of Oman Gulf in the base of these mountains and their plains resulted in formation and emergence of Persian Gulf (Armed Forces Geographical Organization, 2007, p.5).

Topography of Persian Gulf Zone

Persian Gulf Zone can be divided to several zones in terms of topography. Very high units, high units, hilly zones and low-height and plain zones can be placed in this classification. Dispersion of high and very high units is mainly placed in limit of divisions of Islamic Republic of Iran and has encompassed the country through procedure of northwest-northeast and northwest-south and southeast. The highest zones of Persian Gulf, which are sometimes more than 5000m in height, have been placed in the mentioned topography unit. High unit located in South of Iran has been continued in same line of Persian Gulf. The unit has been also stretched in some regions to the adjacency of Persian Gulf waters and has caused creation of high lands and overhang of bottom of Persian Gulf in addition to coasts. Another high zone includes low-width zones but important in north and northeast of Iraq. The high unit

that is tail of Alborz and Zagros Mountains has numerous advantages for the country in terms of hydro-climate. In southern part of Persian Gulf waters, no considerable high land can be observed. Only in west and southwest of Saudi Arabia, some high narrow lands have been evolved with the procedure of northwest-southeast direction, which can form Hejaz and Asir Mountains in the region. Except for three mentioned zones, other parts of the region have been formed of hilly plains and low-height zones (Armed Forces Geographical Organization, 2007, p.7).

Persian Gulf Cooperation Council and security issue

6 Arabic countries in Persian Gulf Zone (AUE, Bahrain, Arabia, Oman, Qatar and Kuwait) established a council by 1981 among themselves under the title of “Persian Gulf Cooperation Council” without presence of Iran and Iraq. The 6 countries, except for Arabia, became independent during 50 and 60s decades and early 70s decade of 20th century. Hence, lack of independence before this and security and economic dependence of these countries on outside zones could be considered as one of the most common factors among these countries and naturally, each country could take some actions for purpose of forming a

union for preserving common interests (Noori, 2010).

In 1980 and after invasion of Iraq to Iran, Arabic Countries in Persian Gulf Zone began to study draft of “Collective Security” Treaty, so that a technical union became responsible for founding Bill of Cooperation Council on March of same year. Basis of the project was presented in an English Newspaper with some orientations as follows:

- Realization of collective security depending on transnational security
- Jeopardize of security of each country could affect security of others too
- In order to provide security, regional countries should help each country, which asks for their assistance
- Damaging security of each country can cause damage for security of other countries too
- Arabia is ready for helping Arabic Countries in this region to fight against conspiracies. In March 22th of 1980, officials of the mentioned countries gathered together in Riyadh and published an official Announcement in March 26th of same year to announce existence of Cooperation Council officially.

Cooperation council and Islamic Republic of Iran

Relations of Islamic Republic of Iran with Cooperation Council of Persian Gulf can be divided to two sections including Imposed War age and post-imposed war age (Vosughi, 2008).

Imposed War Age

Persian Gulf Cooperation Council was established about 8 months after beginning of Imposed War (Sep 22nd of 1985) by Iraq and crippling of forced of the country in Iran. Arab Countries in South of Persian Gulf were active since beginning of War in regard with strategy of America against Islamic Republic of Iran based on controlling Islamic Revolution and preventing its fluorescence in the region and provided considerable aids for Iraq. Hence, one can explain general position of the Council against Imposed War and recognition of its strategy against Islamic republic of Iran on War.

In presence of considerable orientations toward Iraq, the Council was afraid of this issue that Iran or Iraq become absolute power for Persian Gulf after war and that balance between them be destroyed and the zone become under effect of a unit power. Hence, the probability was weak for Council to ask for absolute victory of Iraq.

In short, strategy of Cooperation Council on war can be presented as follows: contrary to adherence of Iraq, the council attempted to maintain disputes in a desirable level to avoid spread of war to other remained countries. At the same time, hidden pleasure was existed in some countries of council based on this issue that the war should be continued until generalization to neighbor countries. Imposed War provided the best chance for the Arabia to take significantly advantage of the war through weakening two competitors in the region through establishing Cooperation Council without Iran and Iraq (Cordsman, 2002).

After lost of ups and downs of relations between Iran and Cooperation Council during war, the country accepted Resolution 598 of the UN. Since then, physical positions of Cooperation Council about Iran and Iraq reached a relative balance.

Post-Imposed War age

By this age, relations of Iran and Cooperation Council became focus point of land claims of Emirate against Islamic Republic of Iran. By 1992, the first Summit of Council was hold after presentation of chimerical claims of Emirate on Iranian Islands. Claims on Islands were also presented in same summit.

Islamic Republic of Iran has been constantly believed in sustainable principles of

observing good neighborhood and making peaceful relationships with its neighbors for purpose of making rises of opponents of sustainable security neutral in Persian Gulf Zone. Iran has also attempted over the years to follow policy of patience and self-esteem and confidence-building to show his good will for solving disputes. The country has also attempted to make the regional countries aware of their vital interests in light of sustainability and security in the region through holding negotiations and peaceful talks to solve the disputes.

According to fundamental policy of Islamic Republic of Iran based on dispute solution through peaceful follow up of détente policy and cooperation and designing new security system in Persian Gulf Zone based on denial of presence of strangers in the region, necessity of discriminating and investigating confidence-building measures would be felt more than before.

Causes of importance of Persian Gulf for superpowers

Persian Gulf has gained attention of superpowers constantly because of its geopolitical elements, existence of oil reserves and need of industrial countries to it. Occurrence of Islamic Revolution in Iran, attack of Iraq to Iran, military participation of powers in the region, occupation of Kuwait by Iraq and its liberation by

international coalition under leadership of America and recently collapse of Saddam's Regime and occupation of the country by Anglo-American forces have been several events that have increased importance of the region more than before for worldwide people over the late quarter of the century. In the age of Cold War and competition of two superpowers America and Soviet, the region changed into their backyard similar to other Third World Regions (Darvishi Setalani, 2005).

By that time, America was attempting to follow some active strategies in Persian Gulf in order to preserve its dominance on international political economy and international relations. Nixon's two-column strategy, Carter's human rights doctrine, rapid establishment of reaction force and expanding it in Reagan age and also increasing presence of American Military Forces in this region in time of first and second wars of Persian Gulf have been practical examples of the strategies. However, balance of forces by the time of Cold War could make other actors to respect influence scope of both superpowers (Asadian, 2002).

End of the Cold War and collapse of former Soviet and also disability of Russia in playing active role in international and regional equations provided an exceptional

opportunity for America to do its best for purpose of stabilizing monopole security pattern in the Persian Gulf.

The recent policy, which can be considered as a reflection of efforts of Americans for institutionalizing desired modern world system, is exactly in conflict with Iran's security goal and interests.

America's novel doctrine about Persian Gulf

It would be necessary for people around the world to know this issue about Persian Gulf that any action taken by foreign forces to occupy Persian Gulf can be regarded as an action against vital interests of the U.S and it would be defended using all facilities and military forces (Minaie, 2007, p.200).

Based on designing and implementing a novel strategy since early 1980s decade, America has taken action for purpose of providing required conditions and different political and military and security supports for desired groups and wings. Hence, it has caused important changes in zone of Persian Gulf (Asadi, 2002).

With the beginning of war between Iran and Iraq, Government of America set its strategy in Persian Gulf as follows:

1. Access to oil of Persian Gulf and freely transportation of ships
2. Preventing expansionism of Soviet in Persian Gulf Zone

3. Preserving commercial, economic and diplomacy relations with regional countries

Presence of American forces in Persian Gulf, especially in Saudi Arabia since 1991, became a challenging issue in the Persian Gulf. This made American forces and coalition partners to control Saddam and control stability of the region and guarantee access to oil.

After collapse of USSR, the US followed its target in Persian Gulf. Its first goal was the main and stable goal of the US and the second one followed the first goal. The two targets have been as follows:

- a) Constant access to oil of Persian Gulf in reasonable price
- b) Preserving regional security and integrity of countries in the region against hegemonic threats (Ibrahimi, 2009).

Invasion of the US to Iraq provided the conditions for presence of America in the region more than before. Since then, , Washington has been involved in security issues of Persian Gulf not only through Persian Gulf Cooperation Council, but also it has influenced using considerable presence of military forces. The said country has established some stations in the region for purpose of protecting oil

resources and its allies (Deilami Moezi, 2010, p.85).

After September 11 attack, America began to conduct suitable political and military exploitation in Afghanistan and Central Asia and Middle East through designing a scenario. However, its main objective has not been in fact developing influence of authority and power by the government in the region and it has been attempted to increase its world dominance through founding fighting against terrorism to control and decrease influences of its potential and current competitors in field of the competition. Since early 1980s decade, a hidden challenge of power and competition- but apparently a shortsighted cooperation- is being continued between two superpowers America and England in the Middle East. After collapse of Soviet and end of the Cold War (1991), America tended to develop NATO toward the East, so that it can become close to boundaries of Russia Federation and China as much as possible. Goals of America in Persian Gulf after September 11 Attack, has been in fact empowerment and development of same previous policies, but with more power and seriousness in the current calm and desirable conditions. In addition to realize other regional goals after September 11 Attack, US tends to complete its military and

political dominance area in surrounding areas of Iran to impose more mental-political pressures on Iran (Asadi, 2002, p.752-754).

Investigations based on realities in the region indicate that current strategy of the US in long-term would be unable to provide stability in the Persian Gulf. The strategy use to consider mainly intensification of stresses and disputes among and even in regional countries and has been less in regard with propagating required basis or cooperation and stability in this region. In addition to use military instruments in Persian Gulf, America has attempted to consider a pattern based on unilateralism as power-building context and to implement their opposition to other countries in this framework in practice. Events of years 2001-2005 indicate conditions, under which America has had required structural power for fighting regional threats in Persian Gulf and has also attempted to organize regional order based on its operational capability. However, strategy of the US in the Persian Gulf encompasses fluctuating lines between realism perspective resulted from Hubs Theory in regard with International relations and idealistic perspective based on Liberalism basis, basic principle and instrument for survival of countries in an unorganized and competitive world for

removing other countries similar to styles in the age of Cold War is observable in American policies in the Persian Gulf. Clearly, taking such policies by the US in Persian Gulf can motivate other competitors of the US around the world such as China, Europe, and Russia and hence, they would indicate more aggressive strategy in their neighborhood regions. In such a tight competitive environment, even Arab conservative countries in the Persian Gulf would be persuaded that security policies of the region should be defined in global framework. As a result of defects of American policy in Persian Gulf that can be intensified with Iraq events, new concepts of policy would be dominated on thought and performance of experts dominant on Persian Gulf Countries. Regional governments would use assistance of different trans-regional powers for purpose of preserving balance of the power aiming at preserving governance, internal stability and foreign security (Imami, 2010).

Doctrine and military-defensive strategy of Islamic Republic of Iran in Persian Gulf

Islamic Republic of Iran has designed general policies of Fifth Development Plan and announced it to President on behalf of Supreme Leader to provide a powerful country in the region with priority of

cooperation with world countries. the most important issues in regard with political, defense and security affairs on regional and international issues referred in Fifth Development plan are as follows: promotion of dignity, position, authority and role of Islamic Republic of Iran in the region and international system for purpose of empowering national security and developing national interests through:

- Empowerment and regional and international cooperation with the priority of neighborhood countries
- Empowering constructor relations with non-hostile countries
- Utilizing the relations for purpose of increasing national power
- Fighting against over-demanding and aggressive actions in foreign relationships
- Attempting to provide more convergence and unity among Islamic countries
- Organization and cooperation for purpose of providing new considerations and economic, political, cultural regional and international systems with the aim of supplying global peace and security
- Active participation in international and regional organizations and attempting to make changes in

existing procedures based on Islamic values

- Promoting managerial function of Iran in distribution and transition of energy, increase in export opportunities, attraction of asset and advanced technologies, helping centralization of monetary and banking system and independent insurances with the help of regional and Islamic countries with the aim of decreasing dependence on monetary system of dominant regime
- Empowerment of cultural, legal, political and economic interaction with the world, especially area of Islamic-Iranian Civilization (Chupani Rostami & et al, 2010).

The most important objective of Islamic Republic of Iran in 20-year Perspective Document is promoting regional position and the biggest barrier against achieving the target is military-informative presence of the US in this region. Typically, US have increased its physical and military presence in this region to control movements completely and to limit regional diplomacy of Iran. As a result, realization of new security arrangement, whether pervasively among all countries in Persian Gulf Zone or in bilateral or multilateral frames, can break the current limited space created by military

presence of America in the region and can also empower regional and international position of Iran to some extent. Islamic Republic of Iran believes that marginal countries of Persian Gulf have some boundary disputes in many cases, which are potential to size of crisis of 1990-1991 and military invasion of Iraq to Kuwait. Therefore, signing defense-security treaties commonly with neighbor countries in Persian Gulf Zone can enable these countries to take effective measures for purpose of solving the problems through peaceful methods (Sayyari, 2009, p.19).

CONCLUSION

Because of special geopolitical position of Iran resulted from geopolitical position of Persian Gulf, Islamic Republic of Iran has a brilliant position in the region and in the world. As Iran has been located in north of Persian Gulf and Oman Sea and possesses strategic island like Greater and Lesser Tunb, Abu Musa, Qeshm, Khark and also because of existence of Hormuz strategic strait, it has strategic military importance and position. Hence, the zone has high position in the region and in the world. Other factors are also effective in this regard such as variable climate, existence of Alborz and Zagros Mountains, long coasts with Persian Gulf and with Caspian Sea and being in a significantly desirable position to

prevent influences in its boundaries. Islamic Republic of Iran is so powerful in regard with protecting its boundaries and national interests against foreign military threats through using mentioned natural factors. Powerful presence of Iran's Military Forces in Persian Gulf and other regions of Hormuz with neighbor countries and powerful concentration in Hormuz strategic islands can be considered as winning card and military advantages of Islamic Republic of Iran.

Presence of navies from America, England, France and other beneficiary countries in this zone has made Iran to attempt to empower its navy in the Persian Gulf and perform different military maneuvers to display its power, authority and military capabilities in this region.

Defense strategy of Islamic Republic of Iran is based on interconnected security, prevention and aggressive defense and at the same time, following threat strategy against threat based on statements of Supreme Leader. Defense doctrine of Islamic Republic of Iran in Persian Gulf is depended on neutralizing military power of America in the region and following strategy of threat against threat. Defense strategy of Islamic republic of Iran in Persian Gulf as the most important country of the gulf in time after Imposed War

follows localization of security, trans-regional defense, moment readiness and preventive strategy. Accordingly, annually armed forces hold various maneuvers for purpose of examining their military and defense power. The maneuvers have significant relationship with Iran's political strategy, since Islamic Republic of Iran has had constantly a position against security in Persian Gulf over the 3 decades. This position is based on localization of regional security without interferences of trans-regional powers.

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