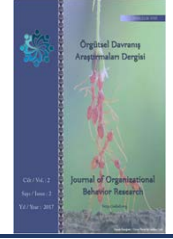




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BARRIERS TO THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN THE PERSIAN GULF REGION COUNTRIES' RELATIONS AND STRUCTURES

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ABSTRACT

Sustainable development is a model for thinking about the future in which environmental, social and economic considerations are in a balanced position to improve the quality of the human environment. Development requires a change in the mentality of the people and the political elites of governments in such a way as to be able to experience life in a safer, healthier, and higher-quality world based on rational rules. Today, even the international debates on the environment can lead to satisfactory results, only in the framework of fair and equitable relations between countries. International talks on environmental issues also clearly illustrate the fact that how the exclusion or passivity of countries in a region have been unreasonable in recent years. In addition to the political and economic disadvantages of most of the less developed countries, there are major disputes among them which prevent them from adopting joint measures and reaching the stage of sustainable development.

***Keywords:** International Relations, Globalization, Sustainable Development, Regional System, Geopolitics, Persian Gulf Region, Convergence*

INTRODUCTION

Following independence, the third world countries stepped into the development arena in an indescribable zeal but it did not take them a long time to encounter a mass of essential and fundamental problems and hindrances. The discovery and evaluation of the causal relations between the cultural variables, on one hand, and the political and economic variables, on the other hand, necessitated a healthy intellectual atmosphere and development-specific intellectuality that are unfortunately missing from the third world countries. One structural and substantial problem in the entire third world is the non-clarity of the objectives and the macro-level interests of a country and its contradiction of those of the other neighboring countries. To expand their prospective expansion options and strengthen their power of bargain, the developing countries should align themselves in a huge deal of effort with the ever democratic global system (Martin, 2000).

One of the important issues proposed in regard of obtaining and preserving political power in the current international system is coherent and unified regional system. The mechanisms of such a coherent regional system include the regional formative capabilities, valuing the regional institutionalizations, strong management and regional consensus (Sari olghlam, 2007).

The dynamicity of the international relations and the subject “sustainable development” and its related preps in the present era have been influenced by the complicated space resulting from the globalization and overshadowed by the traditional concepts and revision of the concepts,

international players with their diverse array of theories in the international relationship arena, development and interaction between the realities and theories and attentions paid to the internal and external regional and global variables that are undergoing changes in an increasing and incessant acceleration and the international relations and the necessity of development have been transformed into an interwoven, meanwhile, extensive, network (Zamani, 1997).

Common World Values

Agenda 21¹ recounts the today's necessary and emergency issues and its objective is preparing the world for confrontation with the upcoming century's challenges. The instructions therein are expressive of the global agreement and political promise by the entire countries in the highest level for the cooperation in regard of development and environment. Agenda 21 demands cooperation of the world residents for attainment of a dynamic and growing global economy (A GANDA 21, 1992). Although the cultural gaps and the lack of collaboration between many of the world's nations are considerable, the global culture is, on the other hand, shifting from multiplicity towards unity (No-Hyoung park, 1991). The thing that strikes the mind is that the countries' "national interest" makes it expedient for them to gather around in an international arena and cooperate (Mohebi, 2010).

Globalization

Globalization refers to the collection of changes encompassing all the life aspects of the today's mankind. In Robertson's mind, globalization is an economic, social, political and cultural process in the contemporary world. Globalization is a compulsory process occurring spontaneously (Mohamady, 1992).

It can be possibly stated that the most important and most substantial indicator of the current process of globalization includes the globalization of the national policies and decision-making mechanisms in various areas. Nowadays, the states are obliged to perform policies that correspond to the international institutions' decisions and regulations (Martin, 2000).

The term "globalization" has also been applied for expressing a number of economic activities, especially financial ones. Since globalization is a relatively new phenomenon and a multiform process, the forms and processes that are emerging under the effect of the new conditions cannot be readily defined. In this regard, it is better to introduce the substantial and essential characteristics of the globalization. Ricardo Peterlia knows globalization composed of the following cases:

1. Internationalization of the financial markets;
2. Internationalization of the ability system of the national communities within a world-inclusive economic and political system;
3. Reduction of the role of the national states in the designing of the world-inclusive sovereign regulations (Keyvan, 1997).

Global Civil Society

The global civil society is the one wherein the members' interrelationships are predefined and the legal meditative intellectuality, as well, is created with no violence for the advancing of the governments' goals (Zamani, 1997). Unlike the civil society of the liberal countries, the global civil society is established outlying the domination of the sovereign governments and

¹ Agenda 21 Charter for Future, Rio-1992



international regimes. The global civil society and the groups are constructed within the format of voluntary gatherings and institutions disregarding their identity as citizens of a certain country and beyond a political and general territory of national assemblies. The voluntary collections and gatherings of the global civil society incorporate religious organizations, private commercial institutions and non-governmental organizations. They exist by themselves and for their own benefits and in disregarding of the states' systems. The global civil society grows and blooms inside and beyond all the sovereign states and international organizations and it both shapes the general area activities and demonstrates human veneration and cultural solutions in the autonomous institutions. They act as non-governmental organization supporting the common values. The sovereign state generates power and authority in the society and it can take part in the global civil society albeit within the framework of the established and identified states. However, the global civil society should not be mistaken with the international society of the sovereign states (Christine, Gordon, 1998).

Sustainable Development and the Necessity of Legal Solutions

According to the compactness and complicity of the international issues, the increase in the mutual interdependencies and worries about the future status, the economic security has been prioritized over the military security and the countries try making use of peaceful methods in resolving their regional and international disputes and discrepancies and spend their budget and facilities and power on the social-economic development and a safer financial and welfare future (Sari olghlam, 2007).

Persian Gulf region, as the most important geostrategic space featuring abundant natural and mineral resources, is not only important for playing the connective role of a business highway between the east and the west of the world but also it is enumerated as one of the important regions in the economic and political equations of the world and it has always been a locus of disputes and various claims. In the author's idea, the creation of peaceful and agreed solutions for the resolution of the problems and challenges by the Persian Gulf region countries causes the political convergence, maturity and legal efficiency, stability and security and, finally, interests and economic booming resulting from the investment security and inclination towards sustainable development in the region. It is worth mentioning that the establishment of Iran-US arbitral tribunal was taken considering the inefficiency of the political solutions and politicians and the resultant hostility of the parties' relationships. To comprehend the geographical, ethnic, political and economic conditions and characteristics, the Persian Gulf region is investigated to the maximum possible extent so that the necessity of the problem-solving for accelerating the necessity of stability in development and not merely unstable development in the Persian Gulf region could be discerned more (Shahoveisi, 2012).

Importance and Economic Income of the Persian Gulf

Based on the experiences obtained during the recent decade, the rapid economic growth does not necessarily lead to the prosperity of the people's lives rather it can result in the increase in the revenue gap of the poor and rich classes and dispersion of indigence in the majority of the cases. The vast concept of development does not solely mean economic growth rather it embraces the development of the wages, reduction of poverty, protection of environment, regional security, political stability and, finally, development sustainability. Furthermore, the increase in the mutual global interdependency causes the development shape and its outcomes



to be transferred to the entire world. For example, based on the World Bank's estimations, two million people lose their lives annually in china due to the water and air pollution (Martin, 2000).

Economically, Persian Gulf possesses four grounds of actual and potential grounds as explained below:

1. Mineral resources
2. Natural resources of energy
3. Agricultural and commercial desirable markets

Natural Resources of Energy

Natural oil and gas are abundantly important in the global economy. The unrelenting efforts made for finding an appropriate alternative for these two strategic commodities were in vain and they did not even succeed in reducing their importance in the industrialized countries and their effects on the global economy cycle and industrial world. The importance of the oil and gas reservoirs is amongst the issues that are considered as essential and pivotal topics in the global relations after cold war. Due to the same reason, the modern future global order policy of the producing countries especially that of the Persian Gulf countries depends on the way of treating the new changes (Zamani, 2013).

Gas

The basin of the Persian Gulf and its peripheral countries is the largest resource rich in oil and gas worldwide and it accounts for 40% of the world's natural gas reservoir and the growing trend shown by the discovery of the gas aquifers in Iran and Saudi Arabia during the recent years is indicative of the idea that the Persian Gulf region's reservoirs will be sustainable till the next 200 years with the current production rate. The discovery of the gas fields in Persian Gulf, the increase in the global oil price, reduction of the oil reservoirs, Kyoto Protocol requirements (clean fuel) and more consistency of the natural gas with the environment made the Persian Gulf become the focus of the international relations' attention during the last decade of 20th century more than ever before.

The world's energy demand will be increased by 60% between 2002 and 2030. Persian Gulf region is the largest gas exporter in 2030 and its production will be increased from 30 billion cubic meters in 2002 to 304 billion cubic meters in 2030. This is indicative of its production growth by 4.2% during this period (Veisi, 2009).

Oil

Undoubtedly, this vital liquid will become the main economic life factor of the resources up to several decades starting from now the same way that it has been the most effective natural material in the formation of the economic map of the world and same way it has been an important factor in forming the political and strategic map. Persian Gulf region with its possession of demand growth for oil, on one hand, and the depletion of the reservoirs extant in the regions of the world like North Sea and Central America, on the other hand, will cause a new energy corridor to be shaped. Definitely and surely, it can be stated that the Persian Gulf will be the apex and the origin of this corridor. The importance of energy transfer is to the extent that it gives it the importance equal to the energy itself (Askari, Mirheydar, 2003).

The reservoirs held by the CCPSG has been estimated to be 464.4 billion barrels which is equivalent to 45% of the world's reservoirs and if the reservoirs held by Iraq and Iran, reaching to 112.93 billion barrels, are added thereto, the Persian Gulf region's oil reservoirs



will be all in all 669.6 billion barrels, i.e. about 65% of the world's oil reservoir (Behruzifar, Hodayun, 2004).

- *Strategic Characters*

There is no doubt that Persian Gulf region will be always considered as a center of the large powers' competition in the international venue for its being characterized by geopolitical and geo-economical values and any tension or conflict arising in the region and leading to the creation of crisis and insecurity will be confronted with the serious reaction of the countries whose economic and political interests depend on the energy resources and their export (Shahoveisi, 2012).

Geopolitics and Geo-Economics of the Persian Gulf Region

David Sam, the former deputy of the American ministry of foreign affairs, announced that if the world is considered circular and we wish to find its center, it can be reasoned that the region is Persian Gulf. Thus, the establishment of security and stability and continuity in the Persian Gulf region will be amongst the most important priorities of the power systems in the 21st century. Now, if the region's countries are capable of establishing security and stability through agreement and cooperation via serious participation of the entire members in the region, they will most surely enjoy the merits and they can move in line with increasing of their national interests and international authority in the forthcoming decades according to the facilities and resources they have at hand.

According to the future geostrategic changes and evolutions and changing of the military capabilities and strategies and substitution of economy and gross domestic production as the scale of power determination in the course of the 21st century process of changes and the geo-economic phenomenon's becoming of a pivotal importance and the world's daily increasing need for energy resources, the importance of the Persian Gulf region has been increased by twice as much for its enjoyment of an exceptional geographical position as well as for being situated between two large sources of oil and gas in the world. It is completely vivid that if the regional countries cannot provide the required security for the production and export of Persian Gulf energy resources, the security will be most surely imposed to them from the outside and this will end at the cost of their losing of all their national interests. The security of Persian Gulf is now being turned into a big strategic challenge for the global economy.

Persian Gulf area countries have been unfortunately the consumer of security, especially the obliged consumer of a security type planned and imposed from the outside up to now. The entirely ambiguous vision of the regional countries towards one another alongside with the severe prevalent distrust and the interferences of the large powers in the past and at present have never allowed the rulers of the countries arrive at a regional consensus (Zamani, 2013).

The Geostrategic Importance of the Persian Gulf Region

The heads of seven industrial countries of the world declared in 1989 that Persian Gulf will be considered as the west's strategic depth within the next fifty years and serious plans have to be made for the safeguarding of its security. Persian Gulf region is envisioned as one of the very important and sensitive regions of the world in the turn of the new millennium for its geostrategic importance. In 1996, Jordis Von Lohausen divided the world into three large regions and the region wherein the Persian Gulf is positioned was recounted as "the center of the center". In his beliefs, any power established in the Persian Gulf region can put pressure on



the rivals based on energy access. Jean Jacques Servan Schreiber, the author of the book “world struggle”, believes that domination over Persian Gulf is the prelude to the world domination. During the past years, convergence and participation have been discussed as a necessary and required principle in the region. To do so, the presented solutions, all of which have been offered by the military and security strategists for the implementation of participatory security pattern in the Persian Gulf, have been discussed in the following forms as the preliminary answers:

- 1) Periodical regular security conversation in high and intermediate levels
- 2) Trust-building via agreements on informing about military maneuvers
- 3) Reaching agreements about the control of weapons of mass destruction
- 4) Active cooperation in the environment preservation via enforcement of Kuwait Convention

The formation and execution of security pact and development of the cooperation between the seven Persian Gulf area countries along with Iran for the safeguarding of the regional security and the oil export stream without the involvement of the foreign forces have been presumed as the most appropriate and less costly form of participation from the viewpoint of the Iranian security strategists (Veisi, 2009).

Playing an effective role in the decision-making process entails an appropriate international environment set by the initiation of democratization of the organizations and international relations (Martin, 2000). But, the experiences and the existence of the intense discrepancies during long years and failure in reaching regional agreements and rational and proper resolving of the conflicts are all reflective of the inefficiency of the solutions devised based on the security, military and political perspectives (Veisi, 2009).

Convergence, the Need of the Today's World

The essential shift of the global geopolitics in 1990 from bipolar system relying on the ideological differences towards a multipolar procedural system laid on the geo-economics considerations has provided all the regions around the globe with an unprecedented condition for the creation of regional convergence and/or economic grouping. Naturally, it is not beneficial for the countries residing the region to, considering the importance of the Persian Gulf region, remain ignorant of the potential and gigantic economic and geopolitical abilities and capacities and the necessities of the sustainable development process in respect to the vital changes in the balance of the modern geopolitics and geo-strategy for the 21st century. There are at least two substantial forces encouraging the convergence of the Persian Gulf border countries, enable global opportunities for getting freed of the political domination of superpowers and resorting to the regional grouping; the second is the emphasis of the regional facilities on the necessity of preferring the national interests via having the sustainable development concentrated on the trans regional geopolitical expediencies (Akbari, Moalemi, 2005).

- ***Convergence:***

Convergence is defined as a movement process along with the cooperation between the states and gradual transferring of authority to the transnational institutions. It is also a move along the homogenization and creation of a global or regional civil society that occurs voluntarily and adaptively (contractually). The trans-governmental rather than intra-governmental relations are practically dealt with in convergence process.



Adopting a functionalist approach, David Mitrani believes that the increasing complexity of the government system and/or the international relations increases the nonpolitical duties of the governments and he knows that the solution to the problem necessitates the cooperation between technocrats more than the political elites. Functional cooperation in one sector makes it possible to be expanded to the other sectors and these collaborations little-by-little crawl to the political domain. Mitrani is of the belief that the today's modern communities have caused many problems the solving of which is unaccusable by the political elites. The similarity of the created problems for the entire countries forces them take measures to be able to resolve the existent intense problems and tensions. Resistance to the expansion and distribution of the convergence under the circumstances that the extant shareholding groups amongst the member states feel that they can take advantage of the process's interests is far from being thinkable. In this case, they move more seriously towards achieving a higher convergence level (Mohamady, 1992).

- *Cooperation, a Conceptual Investigation:*

Literally, cooperation is synonymous to collaboration and coordination in such a way that Seyom Brown² knows cooperation as a coordinate behavior that is exhibited consciously by two or several actors. In Robert Keoheane's idea, cooperation does not need the governments not to have any interest conflict rather it means that how they can be able to overcome the disputes in line with their conflicting interests. Therefore, by cooperation here, the joint venture and coordination of the governments for achieving common objectives and/or resolving of the discrepancy or a certain problem is intended. Such cooperation can be turned from an abstract state into a completely objective situation. In this regard, two cases are briefly pointed out under the title of economic integration and communication theory (Jokar, Tusi, 2010)

- 1) Based on the Theory of Economic Integration amongst the countries having common economic interests and shared political bonds, it can lead to the reallocation of the resources, production increase, commerce and welfare (Akbari, Moalemi, 2005).

It has to be added that although some researchers do not know development as synonymous to the growth, development in many of the third world countries necessitates social, cultural as well as economic change (A GANDA 21, 1992). The important point in the development of the interstate economic relations, realized as the constituents of sustainable development in Brunt Land Report and it has been attended to during the recent decades, is that the foreign policy cannot be distinguished from economic development meaning that the thought and practical channel of the foreign policy cannot be separated from the economic development (Sari olghlam, 2007).

Nowadays, the global markets' goals are no more consistent with the centralized decision—making process. Due to the same reason, the supportive feelings and mindset are increased amongst the groups that are seeking for regionalism hence the national governments have most predominantly been inclined towards regionalism thereby to immunize their economy against the global problems and, in the meanwhile, attain competitive advantage in the global markets.

² Brown, Seyom, *International Relations in a Changing Global System: Toward a Theory of the World Politics*, Westview Press



Before the formation of integration, each country is a separate economic system but, after integration, the business transactions and economic collaborations are increased between the countries and the economic resources of these countries are merged and a larger economic system is obtained that can per se cause the reduction of the expansion costs of international work division pattern, reallocation of the resources and increase of business for the countries. Various types of economic integration are free trade zones, customs unions, joint markets, monetary unions and economic syndicates (Akbari, Moalemi, 2005).

- 2) Communication Theory: it is believed that the various units cooperate to achieve peace. The mutual relationship and accountability is a must for these communities and they can be augmented via increasing the transactions and reactions between the system members.

The Position of Regional Convergence in The Persian Gulf

Joseph Frankel states in the book named “the contemporary theory of international relations” that the term “convergence” refers to both coming together and the outcome of such a process. Convergence can be rendered in two ways: one is the process during which the nations withdraw from their own tendencies and abilities in respect to an independent foreign policy strategy as well as their own essential domestic policies and, instead, look for common decision-making and/or the delegation of the decisions to the new supervisory organizations serving modern functions based on the international laws and the other is the gradual perfection of a collective decision-making system amongst the nation. Phillip Jacob defines convergence process as a process and as a final status. Karl W. Deutch speaks of convergence as a process resulting in the creation of safe communities. In fact, convergence is a concept in the realm of political and regional sciences is a term in geography field and, considering the region concept that features convergence charge, regional convergence comes about more easily with its specific conditions in terms of the commonalities (Emam Jomezade, Firuzy, 2007).

Although it seems that Persian Gulf region countries have common objectives in the economic grounds, besides creating economic welfare and internal security orders, they can attain optimum results in their foreign relations within the framework of the regional economic unions and politics via coordinating their policies and by surfacing their political volitions for cooperation in this area but the lack of seriously attending to the regional discrepancies have not permitted the use of such a precious opportunity so far and the countries of the region have subsequently been inflicted with problems hence postponing their full-scale, not temporary, development (Shirazi, Mehrzari Akhund, 2007).

- *Regional Convergence and Problems Ahead*

One of the most famous theoreticians of peace is Karl Deutsch. He names security community the region wherein peace rules. In his opinion, security community is composed of a group of people who have become integrated. By integration, the arrival of the people of a land at a sort of collective sense and establishment of the institutions and adequate and robust processes for the actualization of the expectations pertinent to peaceful change are intended. Boutros Ghali³

³ Boutros-Ghali was an Egyptian politician and diplomat who was the sixth Secretary-General of the United Nations from January 1992 to December 1996

believes that peace is the prerequisite to the development. One of the development plans of the UN is that security should be sought in development. The concept “sustainable development” brings about an important change in the understanding of the humans’ relationships with one another (Eivazi, 2018).

The importance of the regional convergence is not hidden from anyone. According to the economic and political competitions in the today’s world, regional convergence and unification appears necessary for the alleviation of the damages and tensions. To form a regional convergence in Persian Gulf, there is a need for certain conditions that cause cooperation and closeness of the countries of the region but the psychological, historical and cultural issues of the third world countries have turned up in such a way that a sort of culture has come about in these systems barring their political development both in the inside and outside. And, it has to be pointed out that the economic system and political system of a community originate from its cultural system and every social system acts under the shadow of its cultural system (Haji Hashem, 2007).

The existence of abstract thoughts and the differences in the discourse, inconsideration regarding the conceptual preps of the cooperation and convergence, negligence of the collective identity formation, the governance of privative attitudes over the regional relations are the most prominent specifications shaping the political and behavioral culture of the political elites of the region. In terms of the social matters, the Arab countries of the Persian Gulf region are nearly similar in the majority of the cases. The non-native composition of the workforce, incongruence, social-class gaps, religious differences, modernism and the absence of the open policy system and the existence of such crises as the identity crisis, participation and distribution crises and, finally, the misconception of the principles of the social status development have made them appear similar to one another (Emam Jomezade, Firuzi, 2007). The problems in the face of the Persian Gulf region countries for achieving regional convergence can be divided into two parts: internal ones stemming from the structural problems of the Persian Gulf countries’ communities and external ones resulting from the absence of livability of a collective space between the countries and, more substantially, border disputes. Both of them are capable of influencing one another.

Intergovernmental Structural Problems in the Persian Gulf communities

One of the most sensitive and most acute problems in the Persian Gulf region is the collective distrust and the absence of a perfect space made up of mutual trust that has to be achieved before formulating any collective cooperation equation because the trust-building interventions in a space wherein the diversity of the thoughts is the main impediment to the cooperation and convergence can pave the way for climbing up to the next stage as the first step. To attain a principled and reliable regional formula, the countries of the region do not find a solution unless they solidified their cordial relationships and mutual cooperation with one another. The Persian Gulf countries suffer from numerous problems in achieving a full-scale agreement for reaching convergence and insuring the regional security. The most substantial of these problems are:

- 1) Ethnic, racial and political discrepancies both inside and outside for securing a social base and taking over the power by the lobbies supported by the other states;



- 2) The prevalence of discrimination for the distribution of wealth and power via religious beliefs and ideological differences between the Shiites and Sunnis and the emergence of extremist religious groups
- 3) The influence of the foreign powers in the class governing the society and the legitimacy of the rulers
- 4) The existence of ethnic nationalism and national identity crisis as well as support of the opposition groups in the neighboring countries and expansion of the intervening actions
- 5) Arm races between the countries of the region and endorsement of the military treaties with the countries outside the region (Mohamady, 1992).

- *Dilemmas Caused by Border Disputes*

From the perspective of the maritime law, one of the unique characteristics of Persian Gulf is that it is situated in the entire region on the continental shelf which has imposed particular problems and issues on the peripheral countries and their way of political communication.

About 19 cases of the border and territorial discrepancies of the Persian Gulf countries have been apparently resolved based on the border contracts and about 16 cases of the territorial and border discrepancies are still in effect and unresolved between the countries of the region. In between, there are 12 cases of territorial and border dispute between seven united sheikh-dwelling regions alone in UAE and they have been considered wholly as one case for their being situated in a single political federation. It is as such that the signing of border and territorial contracts in this region has rarely followed by the total resolving of the disputes and the large number of the border contracts signed between the Persian Gulf governments and the repetitive revocation or breach of them is well-expressive of the issue. This is why there are more than 60 border agreements concluded between Persian Gulf countries during the years from 1918 to 1995 in such a way that since the beginning of the 20th century till the end of 1995, the region has witnessed over 60 noteworthy border clashes and war between the coastline countries. This is while many of the border conflicts between the Arab states in Persian Gulf region have not been reported.

It has to be asserted that the formation of the regional convergence is confronted with substantial problems and barriers under the present conditions. In this regard, effort will be made to clarify the convergence and divergence factors in the region as well as the radical roots of the distrust and lack of convergence in the Persian Gulf region. The convergence factors are the dependency of the countries of the region, historical bonds, geography, environmental collaborations and fundamentalism as a pervasive transnational phenomenon. The economic and military incongruence appears as a big problem on the way to such participations that cannot be easily attained (Emam Jomezade, Furuzy, 2007).

- *Imbalance of Power*

Every country should be able to pass the security phase in the area of politics. The important issue in the communication between two individuals, two institutions, two nations and two countries is security meaning that these dyads cannot enter cooperation arena as long as the security problems persist between them (Sari olghlam, 2007).

The different structure of the power between the countries of the region is a factor giving rise to divergence that can cause the emergence of crisis and distrust. The competition between Iran and Saudi Arabia over leadership of the region is a factor that has come about due to the



extant power structure and there is a large level difference between potential power of Iran, Iraq, with a relatively large difference, Saudi Arabia and five other small countries of the region. Resultantly, the countries of the region try reaching a power level competitive with that of Iran via signing military-security contracts with superpowers outside the region so that they can moderate the power structure to their own benefit and this causes arms competition and creation of more severe tension and distancing away from cooperation and trust space (Shirazi, Mehrzari Akhund, 2007).

- *The lack of a Culture of Tolerance and Discourse among the Gulf states*

The other factor for the creation of foreign policy intellectuality and economic development is the creation of maximal distance between the domestic policy and foreign policy. It has to be stated that the foreign policy is infeasible without foreign coalition. One should work in coalition so as to grant efficiency to foreign policy and render it fruitful and also in order to have many friends and fewer enemies (Sari olghlam, 2007).

The diversity of the political motivations, ideologies, life level, resources and national reservoirs, population texture, different perceptions of security, regional countries' lack of supplementary economy, industrial, economic as well as political structure in the Persian Gulf countries worsens the convergence problem. These countries' lack of a long-term vision means they do not have prospective views about the structural problems. The identical economic construct and needlessness of the countries of the region from one another have made the convergence in Persian Gulf be more of an economic but descending aspect. Cooperation council countries have economies relied on their oil revenues and this has caused the members feel the need for cooperation and convergence to a lesser degree (Emam Jomezade, Firuzy, 2007).

- *Lack of Organizational Solidarity:*

Organizational solidarity speaks about the common membership of the countries in a region in the regional and global organizations and its role in the convergence process. In other words, the more the countries in a region commonly and collectively join the regional and global organizations, then, the more they can enjoy higher communication following which the likelihood of convergence between them is increased.

The absence of the mechanisms required for the resolution of the regional discrepancies causes the international organizations not to have so much hope in the creation and revitalization of stability in the region. Essentially, there is no organization called regional unless it is worthy of the appellation. They are either too vast and have non-regional members like the Arab League and Organization of Islamic Cooperation or they do not include important countries of the region like Iran and Iraq like Gulf Cooperation Council that was founded against Iran and Iraq and did not accept none of them as its members (Mohamady, 1992).

CONCLUSION

At present, Persian Gulf area countries are passing the development path in a very fragile and unstable condition and they have been interlaced with one another in a network of mutual security interactions and interdependencies. Therefore, the countries of the region are dramatically influenced in security terms by one another's interventions. On the other hand, these countries mostly have common concerns regarding the security threats and challenges in



regional level. The issue, more than anything else, is reflective of the idea that the coping with such challenges can only be eased through collective intervention with the participation of all the countries residing the region. This way, the collective security system in the Persian Gulf region is a system based on the participation by all the members and the development of every country is pending over the regional development and it is an appropriate locus for the proposition of the members' common issues and concerns as well as a locality for the formation of patterns of trust built between the members. According to the fact that the political solutions do not necessarily meet the parties' interests and that it has been proved by experience that the security and military pacts have been less capable of being accompanied by convergence in the region, peaceful legal solutions should be devised in a consensus by the jurists from all the countries in the region so as to resolve the disputes, discrepancies and quarrels, in every ground, following which security and sustainable development could be attained. In cases like Iran-US arbitration, disregarding the political hostilities, experience has shown that the jurists' capabilities are promising in the resolution of the political bottlenecks, especially in a tension-prone region like Persian Gulf, and commitment to and concentration on the necessity of sustainable development

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