
The political and legal role of international straits (The Strait of Hormuz as a model)

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Abstract: Countries have been interested in the agreements regulating the straits, due to their strategic and economic importance and to ensure the safety of navigation in them, during the passage of ships and aircraft in the strait and not to close them. Given that closing the strait will threaten the security of maritime navigation and target the economic interests of all countries crossing the strait. As of the Middle Ages and passing by 1958 Geneva Convention, and up to the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Seas, countries have been trying to conclude a compromise between the international straits riparian states, whether through transit or safe passage, however, the agreements, despite their legal binding power, were unable to oblige some countries to ratify them. The vital and political interests have played a prominent role in using the straits as a political pressure card in favour of some pending issues between countries. On the other hand, the Iranian nuclear file crisis is still present to coincide with the Iranian threats to close the strait. Thus, the issue has had a political dimension affected by the result of the escalation between the two countries against the background of the presence of the former US President Donald Trump who imposed the unprecedented and severest sanctions in the history of America on the Iranian Republic. After that, President Biden assumed the new US presidency term and seeks to find a legal political harmony to compromise the crisis out of the perspective of diplomacy.

Keywords: political and legal

INTRODUCTION:

The international straits have been of crucial importance to countries, especially the countries bordering them by granting them great economic and strategic advantages. The straits have been the focus of permanent disagreement between countries, so that the on-going attempt to control some straits has exceeded five thousand years so far. Currently, their importance has been on the increase. That is to say that out of about 125 international straits in the world, about sixty straits can be considered major straits for the global trade and basic routes of communication.

Among the most important artefacts of the industrial infrastructure on the planet are the Panama Canal, the Suez Canal, the Strait of Malacca and the Strait of Hormuz, each of which is a crucial economic and strategic asset. The Strait of Hormuz is the basis of the study. It is a major route for the global oil market and the oil-exporting Arab Gulf states (Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Qatar). In fact, approximately 22 million barrels per day of oil produced were shipped through the Strait of Hormuz in the first half of 2018, which represents approximately 24% of the global oil market.

According to Contemporary Arabic Dictionary, the strait is defined as the narrow place or location of something, a narrow piece of sea between two lands, a narrow waterway between two pieces of land or between two continents, or a corridor that connects two seas, one to the other. As for the geographical definition of the international strait, it is a waterway that separates two regions and connects two seas, and it is conditioned that the waters of the strait is a part of the sea and that it is formed in a natural way and the opening of the strait is between two areas of the land and connects two areas of the sea. Charles Rousseau adds another condition which is the strait is not subject to a special regime that governs it.

International navigation depends on a finalized contract concluded between states with the aim to find a compromise between the need for freedom of the seas and the security and safety of the straits riparian states. There are several rules governing the passage in international straits according to the varied number of straits. So, the Geneva Convention was concluded in 1958 AD, and the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea and Special Laws 1982 AD (Passage Transit and safe passage), were concluded.

Problem of the study:

In 1948, the Education and Culture Organization (UNESCO) issued the main scientific research topics in political science, including the international relations, namely, the study of international law. Given that the international law is regulating the international relations and is capable of reaching appropriate and satisfactory solutions for all of the conflicting parties, however, what is happening on the ground and due to the accelerating events on the international arena and within the pending issues between countries (for example: the Iranian nuclear file), policy has become a pressure card on states. In other words, the international law has been politicized with the aim to serve the security and safety of states. This dispute has historically appeared in the Strait of Hormuz when ships were crossing the strait, despite the existence of basic rules represented in the Geneva Convention of 1958 regarding the territorial sea and the adjacent area, and the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea in 1982.

This was evident through the rejection of the United States of America and Iran of 1982 agreement. Meanwhile, Iran ratified its national maritime law in 1993, which allows innocent "safe" passage under special circumstances and does not recognize transit passage in any part of its territorial waters or the Strait of Hormuz. On the other hand, American ships apply the regulations of transit passage upon entering the Arabian Gulf, despite the fact that the 1982 Agreement neglected to mention the rights of ships and aircraft passing in transit through the International Strait.

Therefore, any political tension in the US-Iranian relations constitutes a direct threat to the global economy based on passage through the Strait of Hormuz. What is the possibility of implementing the transit and innocent "safe" passage system, what is it, what is the difference between them, and which straits in which these systems are applied? What are the most important political events affecting transit passage in the Strait of Hormuz? What is the opinion of the political elites about what is happening politically and legally in the Strait of Hormuz? How can a compromise be reached between politics and the international law regarding the Strait of Hormuz? The answer is provided by using the historical and analytical methodology to reach accurate conclusions.

First: the development of passage in the straits and the importance of the Strait of Hormuz:

Coastal states had sought in the Middle Ages to control the largest area of water which they are overlooking until 1609 AD, when talk of freedom of the seas began. In the seventeenth century, jurists agreed on what is called "the range of the cannon fire", which is based on determining the state's authority when the authority of its weapons or the range of its weapons ends. This distance or range was estimated at three nautical miles, however, this proposal was objected to by some countries such as Spain, Portugal and the Scandinavian countries. In 1930, the policy of passing through the straits was launched during the Hague Conference to discuss the concept of sovereignty over the territorial sea, and the extent of its restriction or its absolute sovereignty by the coastal state, where a distance of three miles was determined to determine the extent of the territorial sea.

In 1949, a case was brought to the International Court of Justice related to the Corfu Strait, and accordingly, the eligibility of states to allow their warships to cross in the international straits connecting two parts of the high seas without obtaining prior permission from the riparian states during peacetime was determined. The Corfu Strait issue is summarized in Albania's coastal artillery launching shells at two British warships during their passage in the Strait of Corfu on May 15, 1946, and accordingly the British government submitted a memorandum of protest to Albania regarding innocent passage in the international straits, and a warning to the Albanian government that the British government would reciprocate Albania if its ships are attacked. On November 22, two British warships were severely damaged due to colliding with naval mines, which were planted shortly before the British ships crossed. The dispute was referred to the International Court of Justice, and the court decided Albania's responsibility for the damage and concluded with a general legal principle: States have the right, in time of peace, to cross their military ships in international straits that connect two parts of the high seas without obtaining prior permission from the coastal state, provided that the passage is innocent, and unless there is an international treaty that provides otherwise, the coastal state has no right to prevent passage of ships in the international straits in peacetime " .

In 1958 AD, Geneva conference was held to find a solution to the status of the international straits related to the territorial sea and the adjacent region, and a debate revolved around the international custom regarding the permissibility of stopping passage for the straits connecting two high seas and the permissibility of stopping passage that connects between a high sea and a regional sea where there is no custom or jurisprudence which confirms this, and this, in turn, threatens the coastal states bordering a territorial sea. This threat prompted states to find a novice legal breakthrough solution for a more comprehensive agreement on the law of the seas, to avoid future potential tensions between countries.

Accordingly, the United Nations General Assembly called on the International Seabed Committee to present a comprehensive agreement covering the legal aspects governing the seas and their navigation. A conference was

held in Caracas in 1974 in this regard. A special system for the passage in the straits was proposed, which differs from the high or open seas system, and from the legal system for the regional sea. In 1982, the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea that was signed in Monte Gobaye was adopted by 119 countries and ratified by most of the states, and it entered into force in 1994 after the term “transit passage” appeared in its folds.

Regarding the importance of the Strait of Hormuz, it is a waterway that connects two patches of high seas, and it is located between Iran in the north and northeast, and Oman in the south. It connects the Gulf of Oman, the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean on one side and the Arabian Gulf on the other side. The strait connects the high seas of the Arabian Gulf with the high seas of the Gulf of Oman. It is extending 104 miles in length, and the strait's width is 28 kilometres between the nearest two points, and 90 kilometres between the two farthest banks. It is considered one of the most important waterways in the world and the only outlet for a number of Arab Gulf countries (Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Kuwait, Qatar, and Bahrain) and the only corridor that extends to the Indian Ocean.

The strategic importance of the Strait of Hormuz lies in the fact that it is a major route for the global oil market and the oil-exporting Arab Gulf states. There is no alternative to it for energy transport. Energy experts and shipping companies define it as the "main neck of the world," .The specialists paid a great attention to it to refer to it as the "strategic strait", "the international safety", " the international oil corridor” and “energy artery".

More importantly, 6 Iranian strategic islands are located on a defensive curve line at the entrance to the Arabian Gulf (Qeshm, Henkam, Lark, Tunb Al-Kubra, Abu Musa, and Hormuz) .Such sites place Iran as a major player in the Arabian Gulf, and the Iranian security is linked to the stability and security of the Strait of Hormuz.

The importance of the Strait of Hormuz is represented in the shipment of approximately 22 million barrels per day of oil and oil products through the strait in the first half of 2018.This represents approximately 24% of the global oil market. On average 33 oil and LNG tankers exit from the Gulf through the strait on a daily basis to the Asian countries, including China, Japan, India and North Korea.

According to the US Energy Information Administration (EIA), the United States imported 1.7 million barrels per day of crude oil from the Arab Gulf States in 2017, less than 10% of the US consumption and approximately 28% of the world's LNG trade, which is equal to approximately 3% of the global consumption of natural gas, which moves across the Strait of Hormuz every year and requires exports from Qatar to Europe and Asia. The total exports of the Gulf States are in the range of 18.2 million barrels per day, 17 million barrels are shipped through the Strait of Hormuz. In addition, the Gulf States considerably depend on the Strait of Hormuz to export and import the goods.

Second: The definition of transit and innocent “safe” passage and the differences between them:

Transit passage was defined within the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Seas in Article 38, Paragraph Two, “Transit passage is to exercise freedom of navigation and over flight in accordance with this part for the sole purpose of continuous and rapid transit in the strait between a part of the high seas or an exclusive economic zone, other than continuing and speeding the crossing does not prevent passage through the strait for the purpose of entering, leaving or returning from a country riparian to the strait, subject to the conditions of entry into that country. Article (39) of the same agreement also included the provisions that foreign ships must abide by when crossing the strait namely, to proceed without slowing down, to refrain from threatening to use force, and not to engage in any unusual activity during passing, and to comply with the international regulations, procedures and accepted international practices for the safety of ships and their navigators at sea, and to refrain from doing any scientific research or survey activities without having permission from the riparian states to the strait as well as aircraft must fly over the strait without slowing down on the strait and to observe the regulations of the International Civil Aviation Organization.

Regarding Article (42- P4, 5) of the 1982 Sea Convention, this is related to civil and commercial ships and aircrafts that are, in principle, obliged to abide by the laws of the riparian state. The governmental and military sovereign ships and aircraft shall assume the international responsibility in the event of violating the legislation of the riparian countries of the strait that they cross. However, the failure to differentiate between the state of war and peace in transit passage, and the failure to differentiate the crossing between a floating ship and a submarine traveling under the water or an aircraft flying over the strait, this in turn posed a security risk, considering that it is the territorial waters of the riparian state.

It is meant by safe (innocent) passage is that ships can cross from the sea adjacent to a country or territorial waters, and such passage must be rapid and without stopping (Paragraph 2, Article 18 of the 1982 Agreement). Whereby innocent passage, ships have the right to anchor when necessary and innocent passage is concerned with how to cross. According to the Law of the Adjacent Seas in 1958 AD, safe passage is conditioned not to harm the regime, stability, safety and security of the country bordering the sea (Paragraph 4 Article 14).Furthermore, submarines must come out of the water and raise their flag, and the launch of equipment from warships is prohibited .Countries bordering the sea have the right to prevent the passage that affects their

security, as well as the countries bordering the sea have the full right to temporarily close part of their territorial waters to maritime navigation, provided that such closure includes every country and is not applied racially towards a certain country.

The 1958 AD Convention also dealt with guaranteeing the innocent passage of foreign ships in exchange for conditions imposed on ships in Article 14 therein, by giving that state wide powers in assessing the innocent nature of passage. The text stipulates that it is impermissible to stop innocent passage, and the violation is represented in stopping the passage that is not innocent by the coastal state, given that it has the authority to decide the condition of innocent passage. Therefore, it can prevent or obstruct navigation in the straits on the pretext that the passage is not innocent.

There are two important points related to the difference between transit passage and innocent (safe) passage. The first is that it does not include aircraft transit and that submarines do not restrict floating on the surface of the water or show their flag. This caused a problem in the straits, especially the Strait of Hormuz, as shown later on in this research.

Third: The political and legal stand of the Strait of Hormuz:

The legal status of the Strait of Hormuz was distinguished by commitment to two sets of international conventions of the seas, namely the Geneva Convention of 1958 concerned with "the territorial sea and the adjacent area" and the "United Nations Law of the Sea in 1982". The Republic of Iran refused to ratify the 1982 Seas Convention because there are some deficiencies in the system of transit passage therein, and as long as the legislative authority in Iran does not ratify it, the accession documents to the convention will not be submitted to the Convention Secretariat and the United Nations. Accordingly, Iran shall not assume any legal accountability and is not obliged to implement its provisions. This has led to political crises for Iran with other countries. Iran also ratified the 1958 Convention of the Seas, and the applicable law is the right of "safe passage."

Based on this agreement, Iran can impose its laws and conditions that were passed in 1935 on the foreign ships that enter its territorial waters, especially after its ratification of its national maritime law in 1993, which allows innocent passage under certain circumstances but does not include any indication regarding the transit passage through the Strait of Hormuz and was not recognized as an international strait on the grounds that the legislation supersedes all previous laws and regulations.

According to Articles (4, 5, and 6) of the law, the entry of naval vessels of other countries must have the prior approval from Iran. Regarding Article (2) of the law, it stipulates that the duration of peace on warships is provided by informing officials of a period that is at least (8) days before entering the territorial waters. Regarding Article (4) of the law, it stipulates that submarines shall sail over the surface of the water only, unless these warships belong to an enemy state, in this case, the country's laws and procedures, as well as international laws related to war and neutral countries, shall be applied, as well as the external naval ships can navigate in the Iranian territorial waters according to safe passage.

Among the complications and shortcomings of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Seas with respect to submarines, which (Article 20) obliged them to float on the surface during the innocent passage in the territorial seas, whereas, the transit passage law did not decide on giving them the right to descend under the surface of the water, however, the American submarines often remain underwater when passing through the Strait of Hormuz.

In addition, Article 6 of the Protocol Reform of the Law on Defining the Limits of Coastal Waters and the Area Adjacent to Iran, related to the Principle Line and Inland Waters, which was approved by the Iranian government on April 12, 1959, stipulates the following: The waters between the coast and the principle lines and the waters that are 12 nautical miles from the Iranian islands is Iranian territorial waters. Thus, Iran has the right to its territorial waters, including the Strait of Hormuz, and based on its security interests, it has the right to suspend maritime passage in a part of the Strait of Hormuz that lies within the scope of its territorial waters. Therefore, according to the legal system of "safe navigation" in (Article 19), whatsoever country can stop innocent passage in specific areas of its territorial seas for security reasons (Article 25) and this was evident in Iran's addressing the illegal entry of the American commercial ship in 2016, as well as addressing the five soldiers of the British sailors in 2009 when they entered Iran's territorial waters illegally.

Therefrom, Iran's non- recognition of the transit passage in any part of its territorial waters or in the Strait of Hormuz and the threat to close the strait and its abstention from ratifying the 1982 AD Agreement, in exchange of the United States' non-compliance with the 1958 AD Agreement regarding the innocent passage articles, puts the two countries within another political deadlock that is crystallized in the nuclear file of Iran and its use as a pressure card by both sides. Despite and under the framework of the United Nations Convention on Maritime Law, the state can generally impede ships from entering its territorial waters if the passage harms its regime, security or peace.

Regarding the political role concerned with the Strait of Hormuz and the threat to close it, it comes under the name of "snowball", in other words, the consequences will increase so that the whole world is adversely

affected. The closure directly hits Iran's economy, and harms Iran's allies such as China and Japan. China is the first trading partner of Iran. As the volume of trade exchange between them amounted to \$ 37 billion in 2017. China is also the largest buyer of the Iranian oil. It is worth noting that China has rejected the United States 'request to stop buying the Iranian oil, regardless of its pledge not to increase its purchases in the future (more than 700,000 barrels of oil per day was bought by China from January to May 2018, with a value exceeding \$ 8 billion).

It is worth noting, however, that India is also one of Iran's largest customers of oil, and during the US withdrawal from the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action and announcing its intention to re-impose sanctions on Iran, the Indian Foreign Minister Sushma Swaraj was quoted saying "India is only committed to comply with the UN sanctions and not unilateral sanctions imposed by any country,". China, in its turn, also indicated that it may not comply with the United States 'request to halt all imports from Iran. Likewise, Turkey, which is also the fourth largest importer of oil from Iran, informed the US officials that it will not comply with the sanctions decisions on Iran as well.

Here, we find that the Iranian-American crisis has entered into a "snowball" and the crisis is expanding to the Allied countries on both sides. Meanwhile, the Strait of Hormuz is the arena of conflict at the international level, and has moved from the point of disagreement over some crossing points to the political confrontation in the strait itself. In the fall of 2011, the United States of America, the United Kingdom, and France did so by strengthening their military presence in the Gulf region.

In January 2012, the US aircraft carrier "Abraham Lincoln" was sent across the Strait of Hormuz to carry out maritime security operations, accompanied by a British warship and a French warship. According to a statement issued by the British Ministry of Defence, this step was taken to affirm an unwavering international commitment to preserving passage rights under the international law.

As for the beginning of the actual political crisis in the Strait of Hormuz, it is related to the withdrawal of the United States of America from the Iranian nuclear agreement. This agreement is considered one of the most important agreements signed during the term of former US President Barack Obama, along with imposing a set of sanctions packages on Iran, which led to an increase in tension between the two parties. It started with statements and media threats, and then it entered into force by targeting the US spy plane which was downed by Iran in the territorial waters. The Iranian-American discord started as of President Trump's win of the presidential elections and his categorical rejection of the Iran-US agreement.

Trump declared if he wins the presidential elections: "My first priority is to dismantle the disastrous deal with Iran, and let me tell you that this deal is disastrous for America, Israel and the entire Middle East. The problem is fundamental here. We have rewarded the world's leading state sponsor of terrorism with \$ 957 billion, however, we haven't received anything in return, and they can keep the terms and still get the bomb once the time runs out. Of course, they will keep the billions, and the billions of dollars that we have given them in a stupid way. "

He added that the agreement wasted the commercial interests of the United States, and provided tremendous funds to Iran that it used to finance terrorism, and did not provide guarantees for the period after the validity of the 2025 AD agreement, and the said agreement does not restrain the Iranian ambition from dominating the Middle East Region. Then, on May 8, 2018, the US President Donald Trump took a decision to exit the Iran nuclear deal, leaving more tension and legal crises related to passage in the Strait of Hormuz.

The crisis was renewed in June 2019, when the Iranian Revolutionary Guards shot down an American Triton MQ-4C reconnaissance drone belonging to the US Navy after entering Iranian airspace. Iran stated, however, that "our borders are red lines, and we will respond strongly to any attack ... Iran is not seeking a war with any country, but we are ready to defend it "This incident came days after the US Department of Defence (the Pentagon) announced the deployment of an additional 1,000 soldiers and Patriot missile batteries in the Arabian Gulf region, in response to what Washington described as "hostile behaviour "on the side of the Iranian forces.

We find here, that Iran has applied the legal agreement based on the Sea Agreement for transit passage, which is based on the riparian state's exercise of its sovereignty and other rights over the waters that make up the strait, the bottom of that water, and what is below the bottom, as well as on the air space over the strait, however, this incident constituted a new crisis for Iran and the countries crossing the strait and allies of the United States of America. The strait was considered the territorial waters of the riparian state. Moreover, such maritime rights must be exercised in a manner that does not conflict with the rules of transit and other rules of the international law.

The Strait of Hormuz enters a new crisis through the so-called "tanker war". On May 12, 2019, Iran targeted four tankers off the coast of Fujairah in the United Arab Emirates (two Saudi oil tankers, an Emirati ship, and a Norwegian ship). The United States accused Iran of being behind the incident, with Iran denying that accusation. Fears rose on investments in the Gulf States as well as on the financial markets, with the increase in the costs of insuring debts in Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Lebanon for five years, according to data from the energy data analysis company "I.T.S Market". Prior to this, Iran announced on May 8, 2018, that it would abandon parts of

its obligations under the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action in the absence of the diplomatic solution to ease restrictions imposed on its oil and financial transactions as a result of the US withdrawal from the nuclear agreement with Iran.

Moreover, matters worsened by Iran's attempts to politically escalate its stance and exert pressure on the Western countries on November 6, 2019, when President Rouhani ordered the Iranian Energy Organization (IEO) to introduce uranium gas into centrifuges installed at Ford's facility, in violation of the agreement banning the activities of Enrichment at the site established under the Iran nuclear deal. On his side, the US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo announced in a statement issued on November 7 that: "The expansion of sensitive nuclear proliferation activities in Iran raises fears that Iran itself will face the option of rapid nuclear penetration."

However, the US-Iranian relations entered a new phase that may be positive on the short run, after John Biden won the US presidency. Here, politics is crystallized basing on a diplomatic standpoint to put its fingerprints on the legal tension and maritime problems in the Strait of Hormuz, on the grounds that the crisis in the Strait of Hormuz is primarily political and emerged directly after the American withdrawal from the nuclear agreement in addition to the fundamentally opposing ideologies between the former President Donald Trump and the Iranian President Rouhani.

In his statement, the Iranian President Rouhani welcomed the end of Donald Trump's presidency term, saying: "Today ends a tyrannical era; it is the last day in his sinister term." He added "A person whose whole four year-terms has just yielded nothing but injustice, corruption and causing problems for his people and the world". The Iranian hopes, following Biden's winning the US presidency, increased with the possibility of resuming negotiations with the United States regarding the nuclear file, provided that Iran returns to the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action and thus gradually the US lifts the economic sanctions imposed on Iran thereof.

Validity and reliability of the instruments of the research:

Validity of the questionnaire:

It means the ability of the questionnaire to measure what was formulated to measure.

Validity on internal consistency:

1- Calculating the correlation coefficients between the score of each of the statements comprising each axis and the total score of the axis in the questionnaire.

2- Calculating the correlation coefficients between the total score for each axis of the questionnaire and the total score of the scale.

The first axis: the importance of the Strait of Hormuz:

The validity was calculated using internal consistency by calculating the correlation coefficient (Pearson correlation coefficient) between the score of each statement and the score of the axis (the importance of the Strait of Hormuz), and the following table shows this:

Table 1: Values of the correlation coefficients between the score of each statement and the score of the axis (importance of the Strait of Hormuz)

No.	Correlation	Significance	No.	Correlation	Significance
-1	0.918	0.01	3-	0.602	0.05
-2	0.726	0.01	4-	0.853	0.01

Table (1) shows that the correlation coefficients are all significant at the level (0.01 - 0.05) because they are close to the correct one, which indicates the validity and homogeneity of the questionnaire statements.

The second axis: Access to the political events:

Validity was calculated using internal consistency by calculating the correlation coefficient (Pearson correlation coefficient) between the score of each statement and the score of the axis (access to political events), and the following table shows this:

Table 2: Values of the correlation coefficients between the score of each statement and the score of the axis (access to the political events)

No.	Correlation	Significance	No.	Correlation	Significance
-1	0.892	0.01	3-	0.781	0.01
-2	0.640	0.05	4-	0.824	0.01

Table (2) shows that the correlation coefficients are all significant at the level (0.01 - 0.05) because they are close to the correct one, which indicates the validity and homogeneity of the questionnaire statements.

The third axis: the realistic and actual role of the political events in applying the conventions of the law of the seas:

Validity was calculated using internal consistency by calculating the correlation coefficient (Pearson correlation coefficient) between the score of each statement and the score of the axis (the realistic and actual role of political events in applying the conventions of the law of the seas), and the following table shows this:

Table 3: Values of the correlation coefficients between the score of each statement and the score of the axis (the realistic and actual role of the political events in applying the conventions of the law of the seas)

No.	Correlation	Significance	No.	Correlation	Significance
-1	0.860	0.01	3-	0.618	0.05
-2	0.748	0.01	4-	0.943	0.01

Table (3) shows that the correlation coefficients are all significant at the level (0.01 - 0.05) because they are close to the correct one, which indicates the validity and homogeneity of the questionnaire statements.

Validity by using internal consistency between the total score for each axis and the total score of the questionnaire:

Validity was calculated using internal consistency by calculating the correlation coefficient (Pearson correlation coefficient) between the total score of each axis (the importance of the Strait of Hormuz, access to the political events, the realistic and actual role of the political events in applying the conventions of the law of the seas) and the total score of the questionnaire, and the following table shows this:

Table 4: Values of the correlation coefficients between the total score of each axis (the importance of the Strait of Hormuz, access to the political events, the realistic and actual role of the political events in applying the conventions of the law of the seas) and the overall score of the questionnaire

Axes	Correlation	Significance
The first axis: the importance of the Strait of Hormuz	0.754	0.01
The second axis: Access to the political events:	0.816	0.01
The third axis: the realistic and actual role of the political events in applying the conventions of the law of the seas	0.798	0.01

Table (4) shows that the correlation coefficients are all significant at the level (0.01) because they are close to the correct one, which indicates the validity and homogeneity of the survey axes.

Reliability

Reliability means the accuracy of the test in measurement and observation, its lack of contradiction with itself, its consistency regarding the information it provides us with about the subject's behavior, which is the ratio between the variance of the score on the questionnaire that indicates the actual performance of the subject. Reliability was calculated by:

- 1- Alpha Cronbach laboratories.
- 2- The split-half method.

Table 5: Values of the coefficient of reliability of the questionnaire axes

Axes	Alpha coefficient	Split Half
The first axis: the importance of the Strait of Hormuz	0.804	0.771 – 0.832
The second axis: Access to the political events:	0.766	0.731 – 0.795
The third axis: the realistic and actual role of the political events in applying the conventions of the law of the seas	0.927	0.890 – 0.954

Reliability of the questionnaire as a whole	0.881	0.852 – 0.910
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Table (5) shows that that all the values of the reliability coefficients: alpha coefficient, split-half, are significant at the level of 0.01, which indicates the reliability of the questionnaire.

General data

1- Specialty: Table (6) and chart (1) show the distribution of the sample of the research according to the specialty variable.

Table 6: Distribution of the sample of the research according to the specialty variable

Specialty	Number	Percentage
Political Science	71	47.3%
Strategic Studies	78	52.7%
Aggregate	150	100%

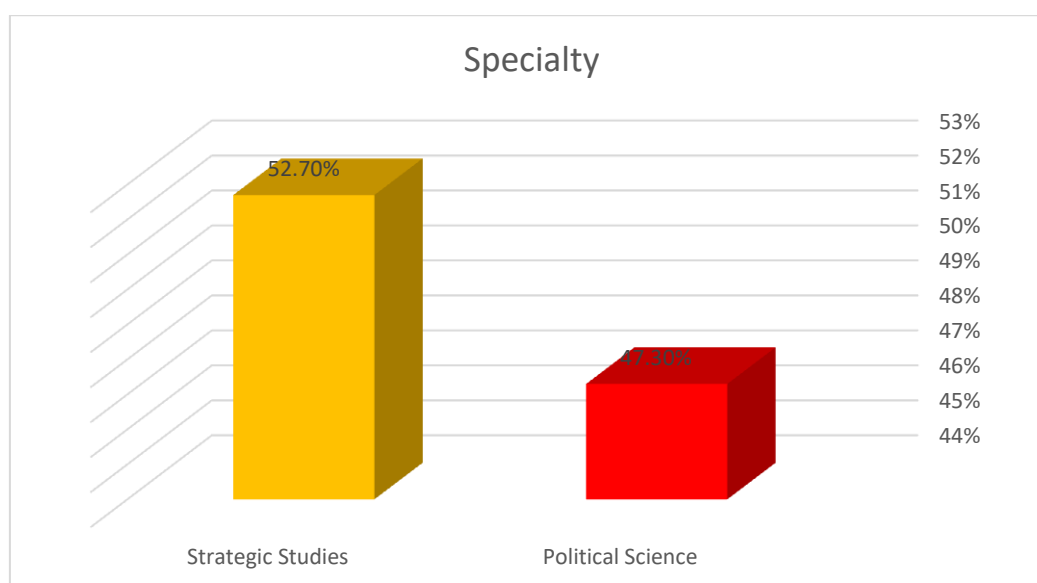


Fig.1: shows the distribution of the sample of the research according to the specialty variable

Table (6) and figure (1) show that 79 members of the sample of the research at the strategic studies by 52.7%, whereas, 71 members of the sample of the research at the political science by 47.3%.

2- Job :

Table (7) and figure (2) show the distribution of the sample of the research according to job variable.

Table 7: Distribution of the sample of the research according to the job variable

Job	Number	Percentage
Associate professor	87	58%
Professor	63	42%
Aggregate	150	100%

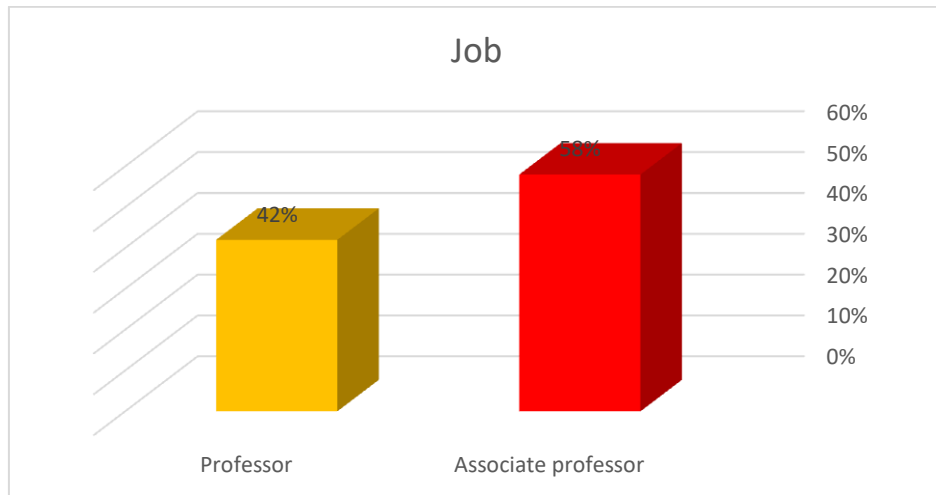


Figure (2) shows the distribution of the sample of the research according to the job variable

Table (7) and figure (2) show that 87 members of the sample of the research are associate professors by 58%, whereas, 63 members of the sample of the research are professors by 42%.

RESULTS:

The first hypothesis:

There are statistically significant differences between the average scores of the sample members regarding the importance of the Strait of Hormuz according to the variables of the study.

To verify this hypothesis, a T-test was applied to the scores of the sample members regarding the importance of the Strait of Hormuz, and the following tables show this:

Table 8: Differences in the average scores of the sample members regarding the importance of the Strait of Hormuz according to the variable of specialty

Specialty	Arithmetic mean	Standard deviation	Sample	Scores of freedom	(T) value	Significance
Political science	12.204	1.698	71	148	10.458	Significant at 0.01 in favor of the strategic studies
Strategic science	18.632	2.846	79			

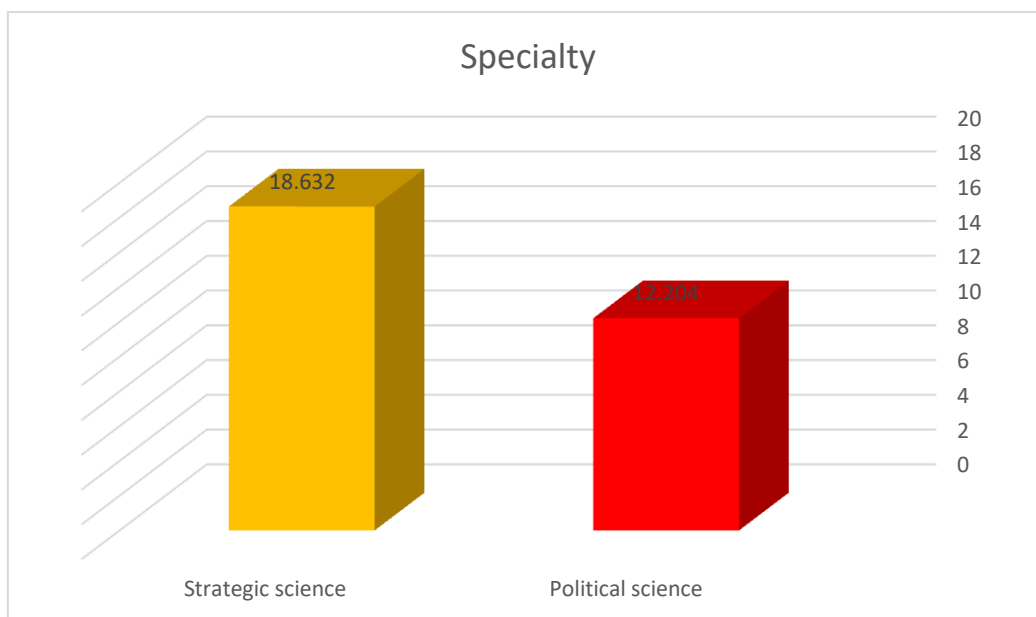


Fig.3:Differences in the average scores of the sample members regarding the importance of the Strait of Hormuz according to the variable of specialty

Table (8) and figure (3) that the value of (T) was (10.458), which is a statistically significant value at the level of significance (0.01) in favor of the sample members at the strategic studies, where, the average score of the sample at the strategic studies was (18,632), whereas, the average score of the sample at political science was (12.204), which indicates that the sample members at the strategic studies were more aware of the importance of the Strait of Hormuz than the sample members at political science.

Table 9: Differences in the average scores of the sample members regarding the importance of the Strait of Hormuz according to the job variable

Job	Asthmatic mean	Standard deviation	Sample	Scores of freedom	(T) value	Significance
Associate Professor	15.552	2.637	87	148	8.821	Significant at 0.01 in favor of Professors
Professor	19.041	3.778	63			

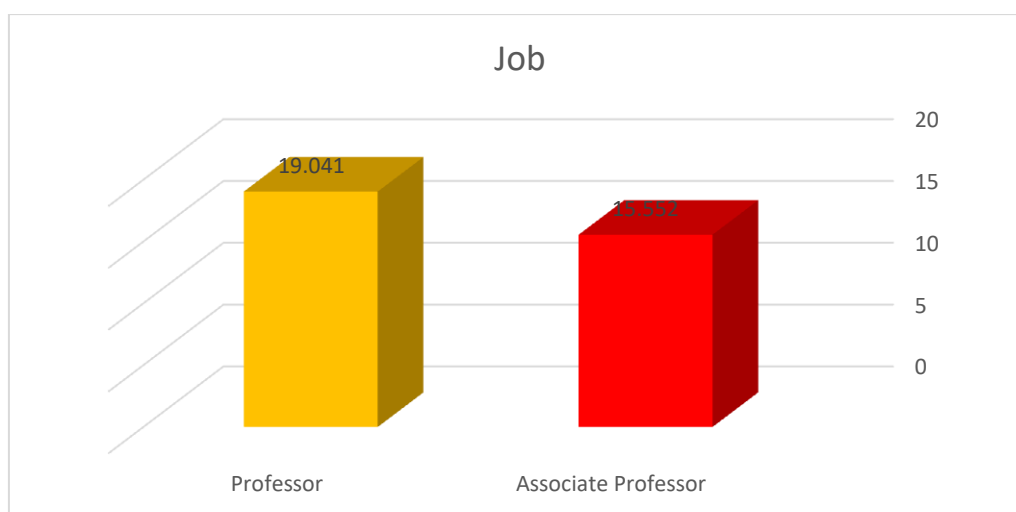


Fig.4: Differences in the average scores of the sample members regarding the importance of the Strait of Hormuz according to the job variable.

Table (9) and figure (4) show that the value of (T) was (8,821), which is a statistically significant value at the level of significance (0.01) in favor of the sample members who are professors, where the average score of the sample members who are professors was (19,041), whereas, the average score of the sample members who are associate professors was (15.552) , which indicates that the sample members who are professors were more aware of the importance of the Strait of Hormuz than the sample members who are associate professors.

The second hypothesis:

There are statistically significant differences between the average scores of the sample members regarding accessing the political events according to the study variables.

With the aim to verify this hypothesis, a (T) test was applied to the scores of the sample members regarding accessing the political events, and the following tables show this:

Table 10: Differences in the average scores of the sample members regarding accessing the political events according to the variable of specialty

Specialty	Arithmetic mean	Standard deviation	Sample	Scores of freedom	(T) value	Significance
Political science	10.158	1.997	71	148	9.708	Significant at 0.01 in favor of the strategic studies
Strategic science	17.632	2.456	79			

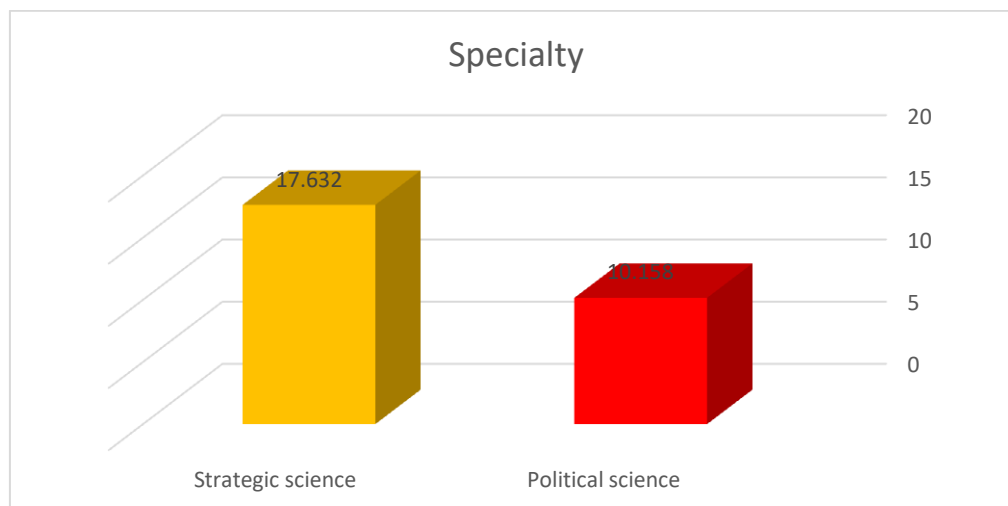


Fig.5:Differences in the average scores of the sample members regarding accessing the political events according to the variable of specialty

Table (10) and figure (5) show that the value of (T) was (9.708), which is a statistically significant value at the level of significance (0.01) in favor of the sample members at the strategic studies, where the average score of the sample at the strategic studies was (17,632), whereas, the average score of the sample at political science was (10,158), which indicates that the sample members at the strategic studies were more familiar with the political events than the sample members at political science.

Table 11:Differences in the average scores of the sample members regarding accessing the political events according to the job variable

Job	Asthmatic mean	Standard deviation	Sample	Scores of freedom	(T) value	Significance
Associate Professor	11.427	2.351	87	148	10.136	Significant at 0.01 in favor of Professors
Professor	18.227	3.204	63			

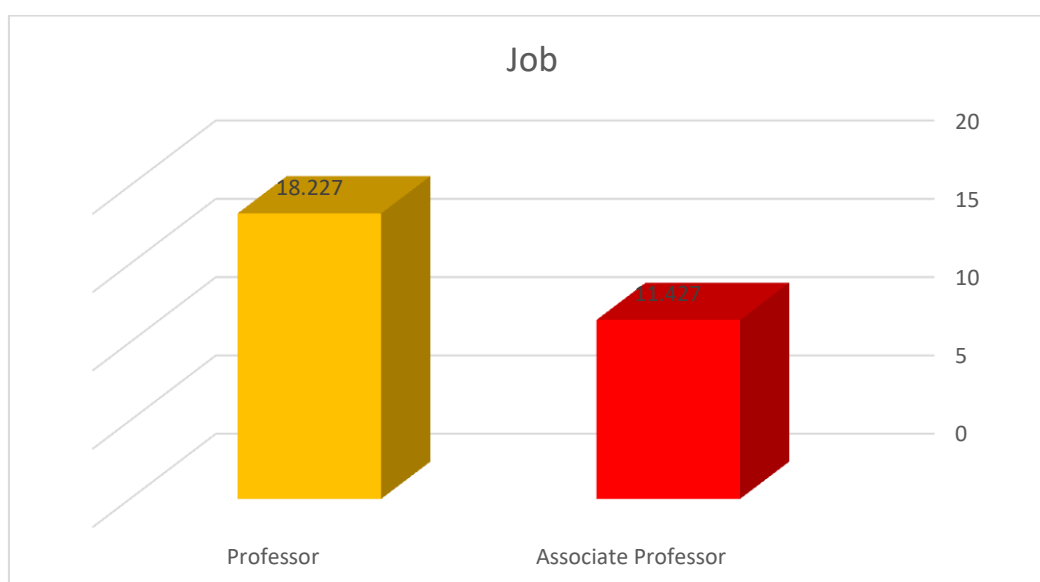


Fig.6:Differences in the average scores of the sample members regarding accessing the political events according to the job variable

Table (11) and figure (6) show that the value of (T) was (10.136), which is a statistically significant value at the level of significance (0.01) in favor of the sample members who are professors, where the average score of the sample members who are professors was (18,227), whereas, the average score of the sample who are Associate

Professors was (11,427), which indicates that the sample members who are professors were more familiar with the political events than the sample members who are associate professors.

The third hypothesis:

There are statistically significant differences between the average scores of the sample members regarding the realistic and actual role of the political events in applying the conventions of the law of the seas according to the variables of the study.

With the aim to verify this hypothesis, a (T) test was applied to the scores of the sample members regarding the realistic and actual role of the political events in applying the conventions of the law of the seas, and the following tables show this:

Table (12) Differences in the average scores of the sample members regarding the realistic and actual role of the political events in applying the conventions of the law of the seas according to the variable of specialty

Specialty	Arithmetic mean	Standard deviation	Sample	Scores of freedom	(T) value	Significance
Political science	14.228	2.152	71	148	2.351	Significant at 0.05 in favor of the strategic studies
Strategic science	16.531	2.891	79			

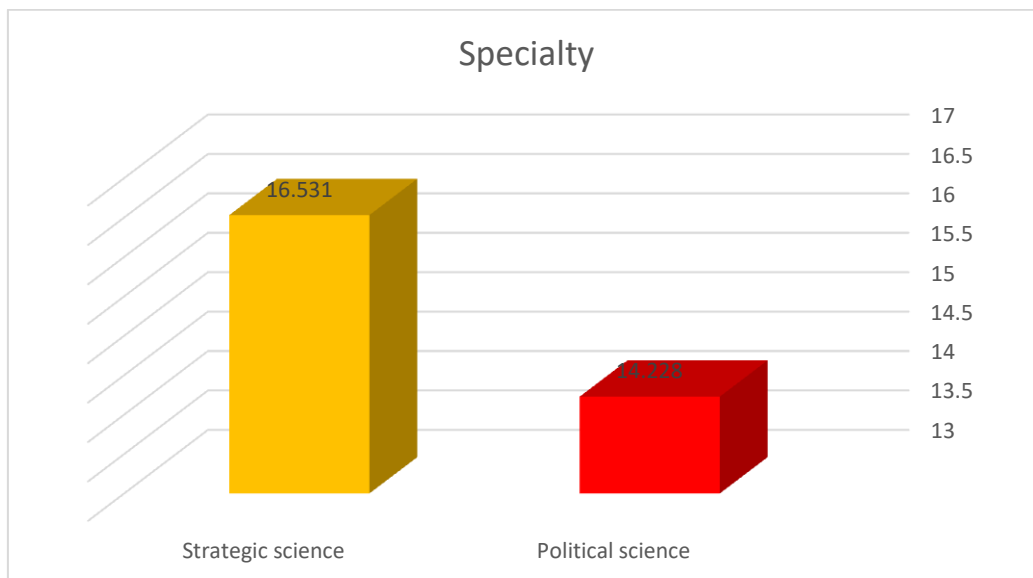


Fig.7: Differences in the average scores of the sample members regarding the realistic and actual role of the political events in applying the conventions of the law of the seas according to the variable of specialty

Table (12) and figure (7) show that the value of (T) was (2.351), which is a statistically significant value at the level of significance (0.05) in favor of the sample members at the strategic studies, where the average score of the sample at the strategic studies was (16.531), whereas, the average score of the sample at political science was (14.228), which indicates that the sample members at the strategic studies were more familiar with the realistic and actual role of the political events in applying the conventions of the law of the seas than the sample members at political science.

Table 13 :Differences in the average scores of the sample members regarding the realistic and actual role of the political events in applying the conventions of the law of the seas according to the job variable

Job	Asthmatic mean	Standard deviation	Sample	Scores of freedom	(T) value	Significance
Associate Professor	12.214	2.114	87	148	11.159	Significant at 0.01 in favor of
Professor	17.691	3.058	63			

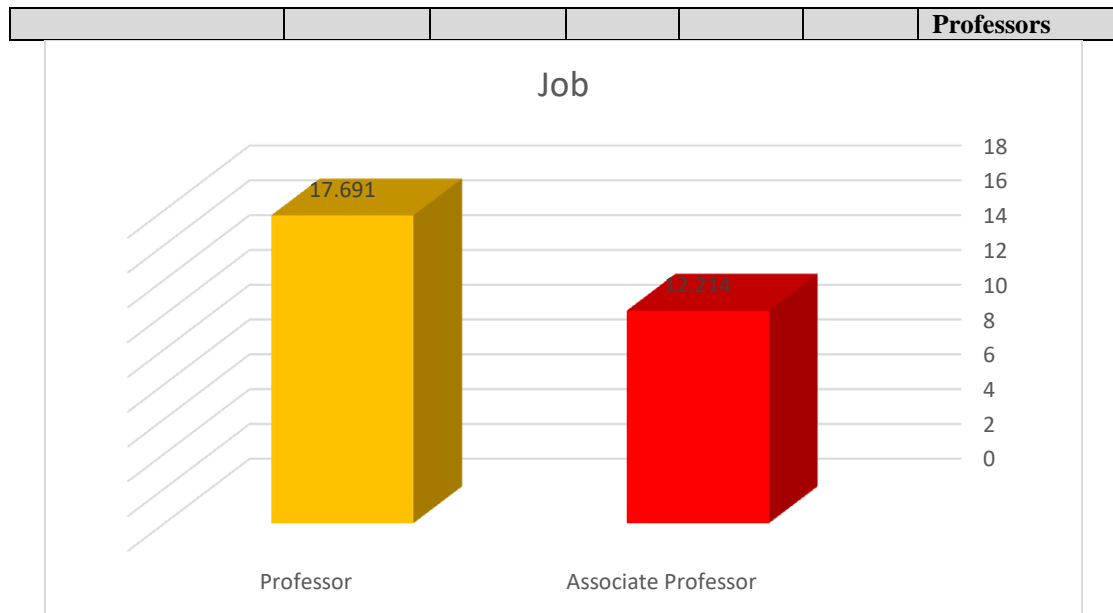


Fig.8:Differences in the average scores of the sample members regarding the realistic and actual role of the political events in applying the conventions of the law of the seas according to the job variable

Table (13) and figure (8) show that the value of (T) was (11.159), which is a statistically significant value at the level of significance (0.01) in favor of the sample members who are professors, where the average score of the sample members who are professors was (17.691), whereas, the average score of the sample who are Associate Professors was (12.214), which indicates that the sample members who are professors were more familiar with the realistic and actual role of the political events in applying the conventions of the law of the seas than the sample members who are associate professors.

The fourth hypothesis:

There is a correlation between the axes of the questionnaire of the political and legal role of international straits and the variables of the study.

With the aim to verify the validity of this hypothesis, a correlation matrix was created between the axes of the questionnaire of the political and legal role of the international straits and the study variables, and the following table shows the values of the correlation coefficients:

Table 14:Matrix of correlation between the axes of the questionnaire of the political and legal role of the international straits and the variables of the study

	The importance of the Strait of Hormuz	Access to the political events	The realistic and actual role of the political events in applying the conventions of the law of the seas	The political and legal role of the straits as a whole
Specialty	0.914**	0.612*	0.823**	0.792**
Job	0.638*	0.707**	0.935**	0.846**

Table (14) shows that there is a direct correlation between the axes of the questionnaire of the political and legal role of the international straits and the study variables at the significance level of 0.01, 0.05, so the deeper the specialty, the greater the understanding of the political and legal role of the international straits in its axes "The importance of the Strait of Hormuz, access to the political events, and the realistic and actual role of the political events in applying the conventions of the law of the seas .Likewise, the higher the position, the greater the understanding of the political and legal role of the international straits in its axes, the importance of the Strait of Hormuz, access to the political events, and the realistic and actual role of the political events in applying the conventions of the law of the seas.

CONCLUSION:

When politics goes back to its correct roots, it will only be the art of governance, the general welfare of the ruled people, the authoritarian distribution of values and other terms that only contribute to the continuity of relations between the ruler and the ruled people as well as the regional and international relations. Our study was crystallized in the overlap extent of politics, with its diplomatic and legal sides, and how the international relations which are based on escalation, threats and sanctions have had adverse effects that have upended the balance of international law and ignited the fuse of war, as represented in the events of the Strait of Hormuz.

Therefrom, the previous US administration headed by Donald Trump worked on a miscalculation of the Iranian position, as Trump failed and worked to increase Iran's hardness and its determination in enriching uranium by more than what was agreed upon, and the escalation in the Strait of Hormuz region, in exchange for withdrawing from the nuclear agreement and imposing unprecedented economic sanctions on Iran, such sanctions which have never been seen in the history of the United States of America. With John Biden winning the US presidency, signs of an agreement began to appear, despite the consistent American foreign policy towards Iran. However, the diplomatic approach is the best route in the international politics.

Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister Abbas Araghchi stated that "It is natural that in the event of new circumstances arise, Iran will adopt appropriate methods and solutions in accordance with these circumstances to secure its interests and face any new pressures or potential threats.". The new conditions in Biden's presidency term are based on the diplomatic approach, despite the pressure Biden facing to restore the partnership between the Democratic and Republican parties partnership in foreign policy, in exchange for the Republican Party's opposition to the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (the nuclear file) in addition to Iran's fears of losing confidence once again in the American administration after 2024 coming US presidency elections if the American elections produce a new administration that will undermine the plans that preceded it.

The nuclear agreement has only three years left, and there is no other way but to seek to sit at the negotiating table to compromise the conflicting interests between the two parties to find an opportunity for the success of the negotiations, by drawing up a new agreement which motivates the United States' return to the nuclear agreement along with lifting the sanctions imposed on Iran and seeking not to allow Iran to own the nuclear bomb, in light of information issued by the International Atomic Energy Agency that confirms that Iran has 12 times the amount of low-enriched uranium than what is permitted under the terms of the "Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action", so that the American administration can seek to reduce the enriched Iranian uranium from 2,400 kilograms to 1,000 kilograms, along with dismantling two series of advanced centrifuges that were installed, as well as restoring confidence with the new US administration by canceling the freezing of access to accounts that maintain Iranian foreign currency reserves in addition to easing economic sanctions on Iran. All this will lead to a state of stability in the Strait of Hormuz while respecting the entire maritime agreements, and avoiding escalation in light of the two parties' efforts to impose control over the Middle East region.

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