

Future of the Arab National Security Under International Challenges and Non- state Actors after 2003

Assistant Professor
Dr. Abdulkhaliq Shamil Mohammed
Kirkuk University
Law and Political
Science College

Assistant Teacher
Salah Ibrahim Hamad
Tikrit University
College of Political
Science

INTRODUCTION

The Arab regional system occupies a vital area which is strategically unparalleled not only because of its having a distinguished position at the heart of the communications among continents of the ancient world, and being on the ways of world trade, but also for the tremendous wealth it contains whose reserves are not estimated fully. In addition to that, it represents the heart of the Middle East, as well as its spiritual energy which is exemplified by the Islamic religion. This religion, as claimed by the West, poses a major threat to its vital interests in the region. Thus, the Arab region has always been the focus of regional and international powers which are trying to control it.

The Arab region witnessed, during the historical stages of its formation, a state of political and security instability and continuous conflicts whose intensity escalate according to the circumstances of the region, Such as Arab-Israeli wars and the first and second Gulf wars, as will as the occupation of Iraq in 2003 . This phenomenon is culminating after the so-called events

of the Arab Spring through a great variety of ethnic, nationalist and sectarian conflicts etc. Alongside the escalation of these conflicts, there was the weakness or lack of coordination in the joint Arab cooperation to reduce them which reflected on the implications of the Arab nationalist security and now threatens its future.

World states always make sure of achieving and maintaining their nationalist security as it is considered the most important thing in the life of states and their safety to the extent that when their nationalist security is at risk, these states resort to war or the threat thereof. The multiplicity of sources of threats to Arab nationalist security, whether at the regional or international level or at the level of non-state actors, makes a real motivation to unite positions and roles among the units of the system to meet these challenges.

Significance: the significance of the topic is the quality of the events that took place in the Arab region due to the wave of change that affected the political systems which directly affected the nature of the international relations in the region after it removed active Arab forces from the equation of balance to the benefit International forces and non-state actors. This led to political instability and security chaos that directly affected the structure of the Arab regional system and threatened the future of its nationalist security.

Problem: our research topic included the problem which is based on the analysis of the interactive relationship between the Arab nationalist security and the nature of the challenges facing it. This problem has several research questions which include: What is the nature of the international challenges facing the Arab nationalist security, as well as the challenges of non-state actors,

and what are the future scenes of the process of change in the Arab region and their impact on Arab nationalist security ?.

Hypothesis: the research starts from a scientific hypothesis: There is an inverse relationship between the existence of challenges and the size of the threat to the Arab region and the achievement of Arab national security. The larger the threats and challenges the Arab regional system faces, the more constraining factors that limit or hinder the process of achieving Arab nationalist security become. This drives the system units either to cooperating or further disintegration or relying on regional or international parties to achieve and ensure its security in isolation from the Arab framework.

Methodology: for the purpose of validating the hypothesis, the method of systematic analysis was adopted which helped us to explain how the Arab regional system, in most of the stages that the international system underwent, represented the arena for the interactions of regional and international powers which were sometimes competing and other times conflicting, to control the resources of the international system and administrate it. The Arab regional system became the crucible where the regional and international interests met. The strategic analysis approach was adopted in the study of strategic directions of the other states in the region, as well as the forward-looking approach that helped the researcher to develop a future vision according to available data for the future of Arab nationalist security.

Structure: The research was divided into the following demands:

The first demand: The American and Russian challenge of Arab national security .

challenges.

The second demand: Arab nationalist security and the challenge of non-state actors.

The third demand: Future of the Arab nationalist security under the process of change .

First Demand: The American and Russian challenge of Arab national security .

In its simplest form, security is defined as the reassurance of fear, or it is the ability to respond to a threat which requires a good understanding of that threat, its sources, its degree of gravity, and the values it threatens¹. The term nationalist security is actually a translation from the European term (national security). The American (Walter Lyman) first developed a specific concept of the term national security in 1943 which states: (The state is safe when it does not need to sacrifice its legitimate interests in order to avoid war and is able in case of challenge to protect those interests through waging war)², and in the same context, the League of Arab States set a definition of the concept of Arab nationalist security as: (the ability of the Arab nation to defend its security and rights, and maintain its independence and sovereignty over its territory, develop Arab capabilities and potentials in various political, economic and cultural fields based on military capacity and diplomacy, taking into account the national security needs of each state and the available capabilities and internal,

(1)Mustafa Alawi, Regional Security Between National Security and Global Security, the International Center for Future and Strategic Studies, Issue .(4), first year, Cairo April, 2005, p. 9.

(2)Quoting: Juma'a Bin Ali Juma, Arab Security in a Changing World, Madbouli Library, Cairo, 2010 , pp. 25-26.

regional and international variables that affect Arab nationalist security)¹. The Arab nationalist security is closely linked to the reality of the Arab states and the challenges they face at all levels, and that any defect that affects any part that relates to the Arab region, albeit small, affects the security of the Arab region.

For period of more than a decade and a half of time, the Arab regional system suffered a state of internal fractures and changes in its structure

as a result of a set of challenges. We can point to two main challenges:

First: Strengthening the US military presence in the region.

By the end of the Cold War and the United States' unilateral control of the international system, the Middle East, in general, and the Arab region in particular entered the heart of American national security. The US administration began building alliances with the region's leading states, and began to put strategies for the full control of this region as it represents the largest oil reserves in the world².

By the beginning of the nineties of the twentieth century, the United States was able to exploit the Second Gulf War (1990-1991) to tighten its control over the region through the establishment of military bases and deployment in a number of Arab Gulf states.

(1)IsmailQira, the League of Arab States in a Unipolar World, Journal of Arab Affairs, Issue . (81), General Secretariat of the League of Arab States, Cairo, 1995, p. 101

(2)Origin of Arab-Saudi Arabia Relations, Trans. Saad Hagra, Madbouly Library Publications, edi. 1, 1994, p. 281.

However, the US military presence in the Arab Gulf especially after the Second Gulf War took a new shape and dimension through a full military presence, through ground, naval and aerial forces which included various types of weapons and forces; a presence expressing not only the interests and objectives of the major powers but has become a cornerstone of the Gulf security strategy. The financing of this presence depended on the Gulf Cooperation Council due to being at the service of the national security of these states after these forces and fleets which were roaming the waters of the Arabian Gulf were financed by their own state¹.

Thus, the American military presence in the Gulf turned from routine military facilities to fixed military bases, and the scope of these military facilities has expanded to include most of the Gulf countries airports, seaports and camps while the fixed military bases in the Gulf became five bases * The US troops are stationed at these bases and managed by the US under military agreements with host countries. These bases are as follows: Juffair base in Bahrain, KhorAladeed base in Qatar, and Ali Al Salem base and Camp Orafjan in Kuwait and Masirah base in Oman².

(1)Haitham Kilani, Essence of Military presence, International Issues, Issue 354 , the Center for International Studies, Baghdad, (n.d.), p. 19.

(*)For more details on weapons, equipment and people at US bases in the Gulf see:

Rose Marie Hollis, The Big Middle East, (Annual Book) , Armament, Disarmament and International Security, Stockholm Institute, 2005, p. 365.

(2)Yassin Swed, Foreign Military Presence in the Gulf, and Reality and Options, an Invitation to an Arab Islamic Security in the Gulf, Center for Arab Unity Studies, edi. 1, Beirut, 2004, p. 117

In December, 2004, the United States was able to hold a defense agreement with the state of Qatar, by which it obtained several military bases there such as (KhorAladeed base, Saliyah and Umm Said bases) for a period of twenty years at least after withdrawing most of its troops from the base Riyadh in Saudi Arabia and keeping a mission of military assistance after the strained relations with Saudi Arabia because of September, 11 incidents as the majority of the perpetrators were of Saudi nationality¹. Add to this the presence of the headquarters of the US Fifth Fleet in Bahrain as well as the presence of two aircraft carriers in the Gulf region following the crisis of the Iranian nuclear program.

The US occupation of Iraq in 2003 was a new way to penetrate the Arab nationalist security after Iraq played an active role in equating the strategic balance in the region as the pattern of security relations changed from relations with an influential external force affecting the regime from outside its borders to the presence of forces with a physical existence within the system especially after the United States announced its desire of the establishment of military bases in Iraq. This comes as part of its strategy calling for a re-dispersion of forces in the region under a security agreement with Iraq of June 2009. Thus, it started to act as if it has the right to manage the affairs of the region and then influence its issues and determine its priorities as it is the dominant force in the Gulf region and it is the dominant one over the entire international system.²

(1)Ann P. Backer, American Soldiers Overseas: The Global Military Presence, London: Preager Security International, 2004, P. 172.

(2)Abdul Khaliq Abdullah, Tensions in the Gulf Regional System, Journal of International policy, Issue 114, Al - Ahram, Cairo, 1993, p. 39.

With President Barack Obama coming to office in the United States of America, the policy of the new American administration was built on the principle of the need to reduce the US military presence in the Middle East, employing soft power tools rather than hard force, and commitment not to enter into new wars and not to get involved in the region's problems especially after the agreement reached between the group (5 + 1) with Iran stressing the need to allow diplomacy to take its role in the treatment of problems in the region instead of sanctions and in the interests of the US. This is on one hand and on the other is the American retreat from the region without leaving it entirely and heading towards areas of geostrategic importance in the Asian Pacific region, and trying to penetrate the back garden of Russia, which is in the Central Asia region.

The relative retreat process from the Middle East and intensifying the trend towards Central Asia, employing the tools of soft power in the new directions of US policy, as well as holding the file of the Arab conflict - Israel were the key of recommendations in (Baker Hamilton) report and later became the work plan to Obama's administration especially with regard to Iraq and Iran¹.

In spite of the United States adoption of the international alliance to fight terrorism in 2014 after the organization of the Islamic state or the so - called (ISIS) was able to impose its control over vast areas of Iraq, Syria and Libya and of other states and after the deterioration of the security situation and the

(1) Mohamed Kamal, Obama's Principle and His Middle East Policy, International Policy, Issue 201 July 2015, p. 72.

prevalence of the phenomenon of political instability in the Arab countries where the revolutions have occurred, the principle of the actual non participation of the US forces in new battles was one of the most prominent US strategies of Barack Obama which he announced in September 2014. The military operations of the Alliance forces were limited to carrying out air strikes against the organization positions and avoiding participation in extensive US ground forces operations with concentrating upon the intelligence agencies effort and sending a number of American advisors for the purposes of training Iraqi forces. Moreover, the American administration of President Obama has been reluctant to use military force against the Syrian regime after the use of chemical weapons against civilians and sufficed itself with threatening to use it only.

The American presence in the region represented a major challenge to Arab nationalist security restricting the freedom of movement of the Arab states and exacerbating the crisis among them especially the recent Gulf crisis with the state of Qatar whether concerning the military bases, bilateral agreements or American military and security assistance within the framework of providing advice, training and protection by the American and the Israeli advisers or through the joint military maneuvers which take place from time to time with a number of Arab armies. In addition to that, there are the policies included in the US strategy of new national security announced by President Donald Trump in October 2017 which included the deployment of anti-missile system with different levels in the region aimed at the destruction of missiles in an attempt to deter Iran and North Korea on one hand and limit the movement of Russia and China, on the other, as President Trump's administration believes that the new field of competition is the outer space and that the US is determined to

face the new electronic and electromagnetic threats and attacks and work on imposing peace by force and strengthening its influence in the Middle East and Central Asia.

Second: Russian presence in the region through the Syrian file.

In 1993, the Russian Foreign Ministry and the Foreign Relations committee in the Russian parliament prepared an integrated plan of Russian policy towards the Arab region and the Middle East agreed upon by President Yeltsin, and this plan included three main principles which were¹:

- 1- Ensuring Russian interests in the Middle East region in general and the Arab region in particular and at various levels.
- 2- Preventing the spread of regional conflicts to the southern regions bordering Russia (the independent states created after the dissolution of the Soviet Union). Russia considers them its strategic and vital space and it has fears of regional conflicts that may develop to reach Russia's own borders.
- 3- Making use of the economic capacity of the region as Russia believes that there is a possibility to establish economic links between Russia and the countries of the region which represents a vital necessity to revive the Russian economy which is suffering of crises.

There was no distinguished role for the Russian Federation in the post - Cold War in the Middle East region in general and the

(1)Luma Mudar Alemara, Russian Strategy after the Cold War and its Implications for the Arab Region, Center for Arab Unity Studies, Beirut, edi.1, 2009, pp. 262-263.

Arab region in particular because the area was under the US control as the dominant state and leader of the international system. It has been responsible for the management of the problems afflicting the region, particularly the issue of Arab - Israeli conflict, oil and ensuring allied systems according to policy that serves its interests and the interests of its allies. However, after the American occupation of Iraq in 2003, the United States adopted the deployment of missile bases in Eastern Europe and Turkey within the missile shield project claiming that it was directed Against Iran. Russia realized that it was facing strategic challenges that threaten its national security and therefore saw the need to penetrate this barrier which imposes a restriction on it. Thus, it started in an attempt to revive its role in the region by consolidating its relations with Syria because of the historical relationship between the two countries and also because of the loss of Russia's strategic ally, Iraq.

With the outbreak of revolutions in early 2011 and because of the chaos and security gap experienced by the countries that have undergone change, armed groups rushed to control large areas of land in Iraq and Syria. There was also the revival of the political movement of Islam in the Republics of Central Asia and the Caucasus as well as the situation in Chechnya. All of these events constituted a deep concern for the Russian Federation, for fear of the transfer of this phenomenon to the independent states to the south of Russia, for lack of confidence in these countries to control the security and stability. This is on one hand, and on the other, Russia sees that the overthrow of the Syrian regime will pave the way for the rise of radical Islamic currents to power in and this will pose a major threat to its national security. Therefore, Russia, along with China, was the biggest supporter to keep the

Syrian regime in power and made a great effort at the Geneva meetings to find a political solution to preserve the regime¹.

In addition to that, Syria is a strategic point of reference for Russia and a great opportunity for it to regain its regional role in the region and the world. Through maintaining the Syrian regime in power, it ensures its protection of the ports of the Russian fleet in Tartous, the last bastion in the Middle East, as well as ensuring the military and economic interests and the protection of Christian Orthodox, Circassian and Armenian minorities who are pro-Syrian regime².

The Russian intervention in Syrian affairs which culminated militarily on 30 September 2015 under the slogan of the fight against terrorism comes, in fact, within the Russian strategy that aims in the short run to the protection of the Syrian regime and the containment of the organization (ISIS) and an attempt to impose the Russian logic in any political solution to the Syrian crisis. In addition, it comes to cut off any external military intervention in Syria especially from Turkey or the West or even from the Arab countries while in the medium and long run it aims to build a stable base in the Levant and revive old relations with Egypt and Iraq, drag America and Europe to the negotiation table including the crises of Syria and Ukraine, consolidate the Russian presence in the region, restore the status of Russia as a superpower in the global system, and break the American and Western monopoly of the arms market in the Arab region by increasing the volume of

(1)Elias Farahat, Strategic Conflict in the Middle East, Shu'on Al-Awsat, Center for Strategic Studies, Beirut, Issue 147, October, 2014, p.26.

(2)Nadia SaadEddin, The Approaches of Major Powers in the Middle East, Supplement to Strategic Transformation, International Policy, Issue 203, Cairo, December 2016 , p.16.

Russian military sales to some forces in the region such as Egypt, Algeria and others.

Thus, Russia tries to exploit the vital issues of the region, and the Syrian file in particular, to maximize its strength and to restore its position in the equation of global power balance and to ensure its interests in the region as an effective and influential force in the international relations at the expense of the Arab security system with further penetration.

Second demand: The challenge of non-state actors (ISIS) for Arab national security .

For the purpose of not elaborating on the issue of the challenge of non-state actors we will limit to dealing with terrorist organizations as an international actor and its impact on Arab national security.

Many experts and specialists in the terrorism affairs see that in spite of overthrowing Taliban regime in Afghanistan in 2002 by the international coalition for the war on terrorism which was led by the United States, Al-Qaeda was not eliminated in a complete manner¹. On the contrary of that, the instability escalated, the security situation deteriorated and the circle of terrorism expanded in the Arab region.

In its issue of spring 2008, a periodical, (The Washington Quarterly), has published a study entitled: The Third Front for Al-Qaida Saudi Arabia, which sees that the return of hundreds of fighters from al-Qaeda from Saudi origins after the fall of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan to Saudi Arabia and some other

(1) Wesley Clark, Victory in Modern Wars - Iraq, Terrorism and the American Empire, trans. Omar Ayoubi, Arab Book House, Beirut, 2004, p. 113 onwards.

Arab countries to work, through what they have of experience in fighting and tactics and material support, with static cells that have been working covertly in the Arab region¹.

The American occupation of Iraq in 2003 produced new data which reflected negatively on the regional environment surrounding it. At the time when the regions of Europe, Latin America and Central Asia, were the areas for the large spread of the phenomenon of terrorism, to the extent that some called them areas of breeding terrorism, this occupation led to widening the circle of international terrorism and helped to transfer its weight from Central Asia to the Middle East. The terrorist operations, in fact, are no longer confined to Europe and Central Asia, but they have increased remarkably in the Arab and Islamic states, particularly in the regional neighbors of Iraq. For example, most cities of Saudi Arabia, especially Riyadh, witnessed turbulences and explosions (such as the Saudi National Security Building in Saudi Arabia) in addition to Kuwait, Qatar, and other Gulf states, as well as Yemen and Taba, the Egyptian tourist city, which witnessed explosions that have killed dozens of Jewish tourists.

By the beginning of the year 2011, the Arab region witnessed a security gap and a lack of political stability because of the changes that took place in a number of political systems thereby opening the door to the armed groups to fill this gap in the security system. These groups controlled important joints in a number of countries and started to use these resources. In June 2014, the organization of the Islamic state or what is known as (isis) controlled large tracts of land in Iraq and Syria, and a

(1)The Center for Strategic Studies and International, Tird Frond Rule of Saudi Arabia, The Washington Quarterly, spring, 2008. <http://www.annabaa.Org/arch-docu>.

number of armed groups in Libya, Egypt and other countries pledged allegiance to it which posed a serious threat to the Arab security system.

This led (Richard Haas) to describe the Middle East region in general and the Arab region in particular as the cauldron of conflict in the world and they represent a source of various kinds of political and security instability of states, and the region has become a source of exporting terrorism. The global terrorism index of 2015, issued by the Economy and Peace Institute, indicated a steady increase in the number of victims of terrorism in the year 2014, to reach 80 % over the year 2013. Four of the Arab region states came within the top ten in the index. Iraq occupied the first place, Syria ranked fifth, Yemen ranked seventh and Libya ranked ninth¹.

The seriousness of the terrorist organizations is not only in the size and number of suicide bombings carried out against civilians, but the real danger is that these organizations have become international actors influencing the course and nature of international relations, especially after they announced their establishment under the Islamic state title.

These terrorist organizations have worked on developing their objectives in terms of nature and scope. They are no longer limited to threaten the national security of a state but have come to represent a threat to the existence of the state itself, a challenge to its sovereignty and disregard to its political borders. These organizations also controlled large amounts of weapons of Arab

(1)Quoted from Ali Al-Din Hilal, Renewed Importance : Criticism of Thesis of Middle East Decline, Strategic Transformation, International Politics, Issue 203, Cairo, December 2016 , p. 10.

armies in Libya, Iraq and Syria. They had relations with regional and international parties providing them with weapons, which made the capabilities of these organizations beyond the capabilities of a single state or the alliance of several states. In addition to that, they threatened the economic security of some states, the region and even the world as in damaging important sectors, like the tourism sector in Egypt and adversely affecting the oil prices and others as a result of the smuggling operations run by these organizations as well as the threat of international trade through the targeting of aircrafts and ships. Add to this, the change in the methods of armed conflict management which combine the methods of regular forces and the highly violent terrorist activity.

There is also the sophisticated media abilities causing significant moral impact among the communities which complicated the demands of media and security to face them¹. These organizations also controlled the international passages and the water dams which formed a threat to the food security for a number of states in the region. They also worked on destroying archaeological sites and smuggled antiquities. All these actions represented serious and significant challenges to the nationalist and regional security surpassing the single state ability and thus required joint international efforts to eradicate them within the framework of fighting international terrorism.

The third demand: Future of Arab nationalist security.

(1) Dalal Mohamed El Sayed, The Future of Security Arrangements in the Middle East, Supplementary Strategic Transformation, International Policy, Issue 203, Cairo, December 2016, pp. 19-20.

The talk about the future scenes of Arab nationalist security and the effective means needed to meet the challenges upon all levels prompts us to ask important questions regarding the ability of the units of the system to find harmony and agreement on the priorities of the Arab nationalist security. So, what are the policies required to deal with these challenges? And is it possible to come up with a common strategy to confront these challenges effectively and not theoretically? For the purpose of answering these questions, we addressed this subject through the following scenes:

First scene: Arab cooperation to maintain nationalist security

The difficult and dangerous circumstances which threaten the existence and security of the Arab regional system necessitate the rearrangement of the Arab cards through a clear and common strategic vision based on collective Arab solidarity to achieve the unified Arab rising project. In the context of Arab cooperation, the idea of establishing a joint Arab force was within the framework of a unified Arab strategy and under Article (9) of the Charter of the Arab League which states that:

"The states of the League of Arab States wishing for closer cooperation and stronger ties than those stated by the provisions of this Charter may conclude such agreements as may be necessary for the achievement of these purposes, and the treaties and agreements already concluded or subsequently concluded by a state of the League with any other state do not bind or restrict other members".

In an attempt to implement the project of establishing a joint Arab force starting from the Joint Defense and Economic Cooperation Treaty, which was held in Alexandria in 1950, and

the following agreements of bilateral or collective treaties, there was the call made by President Abdel Fattah al-Sisi during the Summit, which was held in March 2015 , for the need to coordinate efforts and plans to establish a joint Arab force to meet the challenges facing the Arab countries at various levels and to maintain the Arab nationalist security and guarantee its future.

In fact, the establishment of the joint Arab force is extremely difficult, if not impossible, if we take into consideration the available data. The absence of security and joint military coordination is one of the biggest challenges facing the Arab regional system due to the sensitivity of treatment because of the lack of political consensus among the Arab states as a result of the lack trust among Arab leaders especially after the Gulf crisis in 1990. Iraq's entering of Kuwait represented a collapse for the Arab nationalist security theory, and shaking of the pillar of the common enemy because the threat and danger did not come from an external enemy rather it came from an Arab country. Therefore, the joint Arab force project faces a set of problems and obstacles, including procedural issues, since the project is still in the process of theorizing as an idea and did not move to the practical stage to build institutions that take responsibility for setting goals and setting priorities and drawing plans and policies. It did not set the extent to which this force will be able to address the local or regional sources of threat. Also, the readiness of this force requires sufficient time for the purpose of preparation and coordination and determining its functions and whereabouts in addition to the financial requirements. This is on one hand.

On the other hand, there is the pressure exerted on the Arab countries by regional powers (Turkey, Iran and Israel) and major international powers, especially the United States of America,

which is working to prevent the formation of a joint Arab force by deepening the Arab-Arab differences and destroying the growing Arab forces and working on removing them of the equation of regional balance as it did happen with Iraq and Syria for the benefit of regional forces other than the Arab. As for the Arab Gulf states, they have prepared troops within the framework of the Gulf Cooperation Council represented by the forces of the island's joint shield.

As a matter of fact, the Joint Arab Defense Treaty had become useless because it had not been able to prevent Iraq from invading Kuwait on August 2, 1990 nor had it been able to prevent the United States war on Iraq and occupying it in the year 2003. The process of the occupation of Iraq ended this treaty and omitted it from the Arabic dictionary because this crisis showed the inability of the Arab regional system to achieve security for its members. This crisis stressed that the Arab countries give priority to their international obligations when they conflict with their obligations under this system¹.

The developments in the Arab region at the beginning of 2011 and the accompanying changes in the ruling political regimes in the region, whether through the democratic means (the case of Egypt) or through the military means (the case of Libya) and the subsequent internal cracks in the security situations, culminated in the control of the organization of the Islamic State or the so-called (isis) over large areas of land in Iraq, Syria, Libya and other countries.

(1) Muhammad Saad Abu Amoud, The American War on Iraq and the Arab System, Al-Siyassa Al-Dawliya, Issue 135 , Al-Ahram, Cairo, July 2003 , p. 104.

A number of states, instead of confronting the escalating threats of terrorist organizations that threaten Arab national security, have gone on to provide support and facilities to these organizations to serve regional and international agendas and exacerbated the threat to the Arab region.

Therefore, the process requires the cessation of interference in internal affairs among states as well as the cessation of the process of supporting and financing the sources of terrorist threats, inciting or embracing them, and above all, reaching a common agreement among all states in the region to maintain the cracks in the relations between the Arab states and to find common grounds to confront the threats after determining their priorities and means of treatment and the necessary tools for doing so.

Second Scene: Fragmentation and Weakness.

Despite the potentials and capabilities of the Arab regional system, it is in fact the weakest and most negative system in the world in dealing with the new world order¹. The United States seeks to contain the Arab regional system politically, economically and culturally and to adapt its political movement in accordance with the requirements of the United States interests at the regional and global levels².

The United States and its allies of the colonial states, led by Britain, have adopted a strategic dismantling of the nation-states

(1)Mohsen Khalil, The New International Variables and their Risks to Arab National Security, Journal of Political Studies, Issue 1 , House of Wisdom, Baghdad, 1999, p. 10.

(2)Ammar bin Sultan, America and the Arabs, Future Developments in the Light of New International Transformations, Umm al-Maarek Magazine, Issue 5, Umm al-Mariq Research Center, Baghdad, 1996, p.10.

and adopted the fragmentation of what can further be fragmented also after they realized that the division imposed on the Arab world by Sykes-Pico agreement (1916) and other former projects did not prevent the emergence of active Arab forces in some Arab countries such as Iraq, Egypt and Syria which were able to achieve a level of economic and military development¹.

With the end of the cold war, the collapse of the former Soviet Union and the growing desire of America for global hegemony, there was a need to secure control over the areas and regions with a capacity of vital resources and new projects emerged calling for re-dividing the Arab world. New clear maps were leaked emphasizing the fragmentation of the Arabic entities and the abortion of the independent Arab political systems and the transformation of the region into some small and sectarian states accompanied by raging cultural wars which were heralded by the writings of Brzezinski, Defers, Bernardo Lewis, Huntington, Lamar, Fukuyama and others.

One of the most serious challenges facing the Arab regional system is the continuing fragmentation which is affecting its political, social and economic security and stability as the Iraq invasion of Kuwait in August 1990 was one of the weakness in the Arab – Arab relations that led to a rift in the Arab security system and prompted the Arab countries to rethink the enemy after the threat came from an Arab country and the countries turned away from nationalism and called on Qatar, national interests deepened the Arab differences, dispelled its capabilities and wealth and established the subordination to the Zionist and American projects

(1)Abdul Salam al - Baghdadi: Arab Nationalist Security and the Contemporary International Challenges, Political Affairs Magazine, Issue 106, Republic Center for International Studies, Baghdad,1996, pp. 48-49.

in the region and finally replaced the nationalist state which represent the real development project of the Arab Nation¹.

The attack on Iraq and its occupation is an attack on the entire Arab regional system with the aim of controlling and dismantling it on the way to change it as is evidenced by the new strategic tendencies of the United States, which were revealed by the America national security strategy of 2002. These tendencies have acquired a hostile ideological character and aimed at attacking any Arab nationalist or Islamic trend in the region to weaken and control its countries in preparation for plundering their wealth within the framework of false middle-eastern partnerships that guarantee the permanence of American global hegemony. Therefore, the first notion for Iraq's occupation and change, according to the Zionist-American plan, was to be the spear head for the change of the whole region as stated by the former US president George W. Bush in his speech in February 2003 when he said that a liberated Iraq could show the role that freedom could play in changing this region with its great importance².

It is clear that the project of occupying Iraq, bringing about change and dividing it into three small states, will not stop with this country. It will include other countries in the region, even if not all the states of the region, not necessarily through military

(1)See Munir Shafiq: Fragmentation and the National State (exploratory reading), Dar Alshurook, Cairo, 2001, pp. 36 – 40,Also Burhan Ghalioun, The Arab Tribulation, The State Against the Nation, The Center for Arab Unity Studies, edi. 1, Beirut, 1999, p. 8.

(2)See Navin Abdel Moneim Massad: The New Arab Regional System, the National Council for Culture, Arts and Literature, Alqaren Tenth Cultural Festival, January 2004, pp. 6-8.

occupation, change and division but through stirring ethnic, sectarian, political and partisan differences and employing them in such a way as to facilitate the dismantling of social cohesion, political unity and patriotism in the name of democracy, human rights and national minorities, as is happening in Sudan, so that they serve the Zionist American plan to be applied in the Arab region through dividing the units of the Arab regional system to small and weak states on sectarian and ethnic grounds easy to control after the liquidation of the national idea, sovereignty of the nation state and the national unity project. In fact, the Arab region is subject to a new division, a new Sykes- Picot¹.

The Arab regional system, instead of facing the challenges and taking responsibility for resolving the issues and the problems that surround it, has been unable to reach firm decisions to solve the critical crises. It has become a tool to justify and make decisions that are compatible with the policies of the acting great powers in the region. So, the United States, after its occupation of Iraq, started promoting the idea that a new situation has arisen in the region and the Arab countries should adapt themselves with this situation. It did not stop at this point but the US administration began to disguise behind the interests which know the flaws of the system and start the work to correct them. In the event of the continued weakness and erosion of the Arab regional system, it will threaten to create a new framework namely, the Middle East framework.

(1) Abdul Rahman Fadel, Impact September 11th Events on US Foreign Policy, A Study of US Attitudes Towards the Middle East, unpublished Master Thesis, Faculty of Political Science, University of Baghdad, 2005, p. 166.

The Arab regional system suffered during the Iraqi crises at the internal, regional and international levels. At the international level, the pressure was on aborting all the steps taken by the Arab system on the Iraqi issue. Also, the regional level was putting a strong pressure on the Arab system to undermine the policies which it has already approved¹.

Third scene: The Arab dependency on international variables to ensure the national security.

The events of August 2, 1990 (the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait) represented a dangerous precedent and a landmark in the Arab solidarity project when the Gulf states (Kuwait first) started to leave the Arab fold circle and tend towards the narrow national outlook under the pretext that the Arab system did not ensure its security against aggression and that the threat and danger came from a member state in the Arab regional system and not from the Zionist enemy. This, in turn, increased the Arab differences and deepened the fragmentation. In this context, most of the Arabian Gulf countries abandoned their association with the Arab regional system and began concluding joint security agreements with the west, particularly with the United States, and allowing the establishment of foreign military bases on their territory.

The Arab system units differ in the means and mechanisms which they have adopted in dealing with critical conditions and security threats. During the phase prior to the Arab revolutions, some of these units were linked with Western states through security and joint defense agreements, especially with the United States so that they might be able to protect the governing regimes

(1) Fouad Ayam , Iraq and The Arabs Future, Foreign Affairs, January / February 2003, p.2.

and ensure their remaining in power. This was the case with the vast majority of the Arab Gulf states while others believed that the normalization of relations with Israel is the guarantor against the threats. This was what the Sultanate of Oman, Qatar and other countries did .

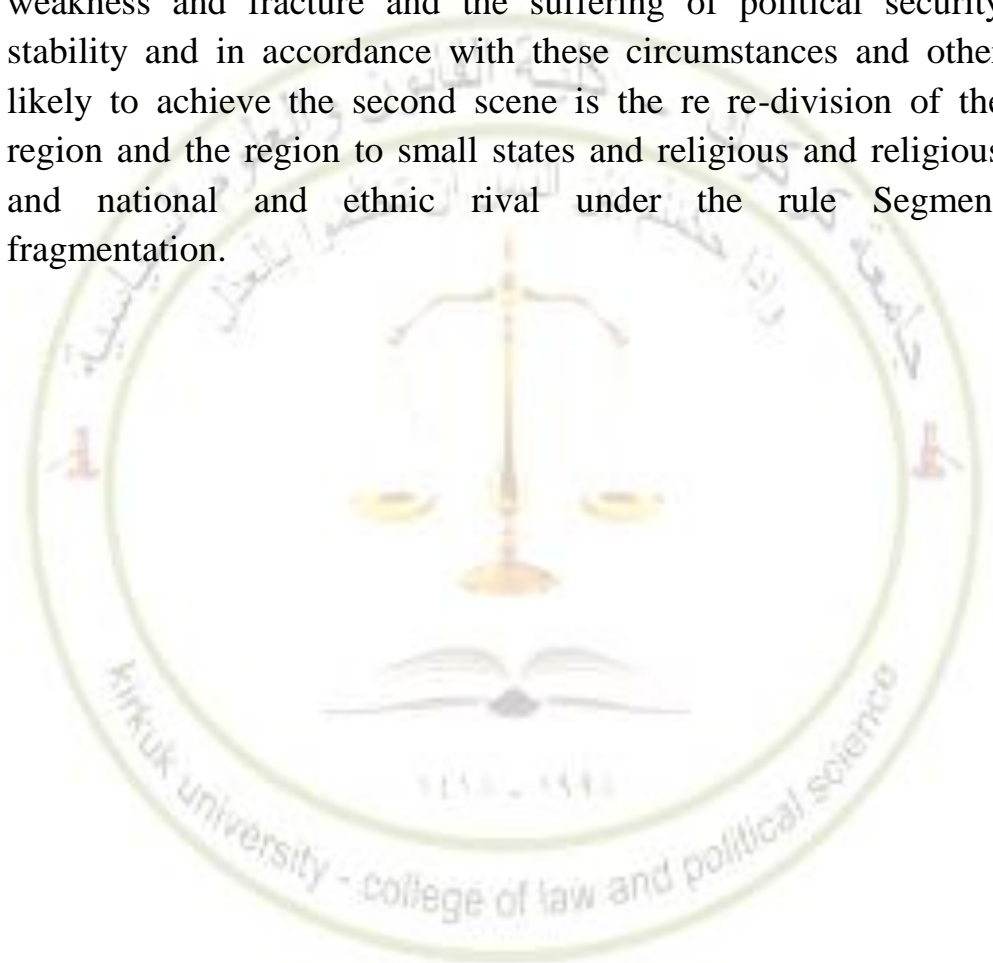
In the current stage, the region faces challenges that threaten the Arab entity if not the whole regional system. As long as there are common challenges, cooperation is needed. Some countries have therefore seen the need to redraw coalitions in the region or enter into new alliances to confront threats like (The four-party alliance and the Islamic alliance). However, these coalitions have taken on a narrow sectarian character, as they included monolithic states. In addition to that, these coalitions were more of media campaigns than of actual reality. They were a reaction to coalitions with opposing approach and orientation .

Other countries have adopted the option of confronting the growing security threats such as Morocco which dismantled and eliminated dozens of terrorist cells, the most recent of which was the BeniMellal cell on November 16, 2015. Tunisia has also adopted a moratorium on all activities of suspected associations, confiscation of their assets and arresting many of the terrorists. Algeria closed its borders with Libya and Mali and coordinated with the French side to eliminate the security threats rising in the Sahel and Sahara region. Also some states adopted legislations to counter terrorism and dry its funding sources such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, The United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Qatar, Morocco and Tunisia¹, There are others who demanded

(1)Sami al- Salami, Policies of Uncertainty: Arab States Response to Structural Transformations in the Middle East, International Politics, Strategy Shifts Annex, issue 203, January 2016, p. 26.

international support from major powers within the international coalition to counter terrorism such as Iraq and the Syrian demand for the Russian support .

The bottom line is that the available data on the ground and what is witnessed by units of the Arab system of deterioration, weakness and fracture and the suffering of political security stability and in accordance with these circumstances and other likely to achieve the second scene is the re re-division of the region and the region to small states and religious and religious and national and ethnic rival under the rule Segment fragmentation.



Conclusion

Through the above, we conclude that the Arab regional system suffered significant pressures on the international, regional and internal levels during the period of the invasion of Iraq in 2003. On the international level, the pressure headed towards aborting all the steps taken by the Arab system on the Iraqi issue. The regional pressure was also strong on the Arab system in order to abandon the policies that it approved.

The American occupation of Iraq was the straw that broke the back of the Arab regional system. As a result of this, the region witnessed a major deterioration in the political and security situation along with a decline in the level of the Arab system performance represented by the performance of the political systems of the states in terms of restricting freedoms and disrespect for human rights. Arab peoples led popular protests against many of the ruling regimes policies. Therefore, the region witnessed a wave of change that brought down a number of regimes and the rose Islamist currents to power (a process that was not detached from planning and international intervention). Along with these events, there was the prevalence of a condition of stringent chaos in most of the Arab states which opened the way for the control of extremist groups on many large areas of land in Iraq, Syria, Libya and other countries in Africa and the Arab Maghreb.

The overthrow of the political systems in a number of Arab states, the disintegration of the central state and the loss of security and stability have given regional and international neighbors an opportunity to intervene in internal affairs under the pretext of preventing the spread of terrorism to the territories and defending their interests in the region.

We believe that if the world is to fight terrorism and armed violence, it must mobilize its forces to neutralize the American and Israeli aggressive policies and offer, instead, its qualitative alternative of development and reconstruction. Only then the

world will be safe, reassured and forward looking. The world is invited to strongly face the aggressive American arrogance which represents terrorism in its fullest form. It is, first and foremost, the sponsor of terrorism in the world and uses it to serve its interests and colonial purposes.

The American project, which the United States is trying to impose on the Arab region, aims to eliminate the Arab regional system through the unleashing of natural contradictions inherent in the region (religious, ethnic, racial, sectarian) and to refuse to abide by the limits of the existing states borders inherited from the era of European colonialism, in other words, the fragmentation of what has been fragmented, the division of what has been divided into via the Sykes-Picot Convention into small weak states having different ethnic, tribal and religious loyalties and distancing them from national and nationalist affiliations in order to obliterate the cultural identity of the region and dissolve them in a wider space.

The Americans also seek to alienate the Arab collective mind through the establishment of normalization concepts and the Middle East culture rather than Arab culture which enhances the Arab fragmentation and limits the potential for the advancement of Arab regional framework in favor of creating a supra-nationalist (Middle Eastern) multi-ethnic one that is linked to the American strategy in which the Zionist entity is the important part in the region as its being the strategic ally and the guarantor of American interests. In addition, it seeks to tighten its control over the economic resources in the region, especially oil and gas in order to link the process of the global economy with the American will to coincide with occasional military force to prevent the appearance of any competitor threatening the US interests.

Bibliography

1. Abdullah, Abdul Khaliq. "Tensions in the Gulf Regional System."
Journal of International policy. Issue 114, Al - Ahram, Cairo, 1993.
2. Al-Ani, Mustafa. "Iranian Interference Policy in Iraq, Security and Terrorism Bulletin," Issue . 3. July 2006.
3. Alawi, Mustafa, "Regional Security Between National Security and Global Security," the International Center for Future and Strategic Studies, Issue .(4), first year, Cairo April, 2005.
4. Al-Baghdadi, Abdul Salam. "Arab Nationalist Security and the Contemporary International Challenges," Political Affairs Magazine, Issue 106, Republic Center for International Studies, Baghdad,1996.
5. Alemara, Luma Mudar. "Russian Strategy after the Cold War and its Implications for the Arab Region," Center for Arab Unity Studies, Beirut, edi.1, 2009.
6. Al-Salami, Sami. "Policies of Uncertainty: Arab States Response to Structural Transformations in the Middle East," International Politics, Strategy Shifts Annex, issue 203, January 2016.

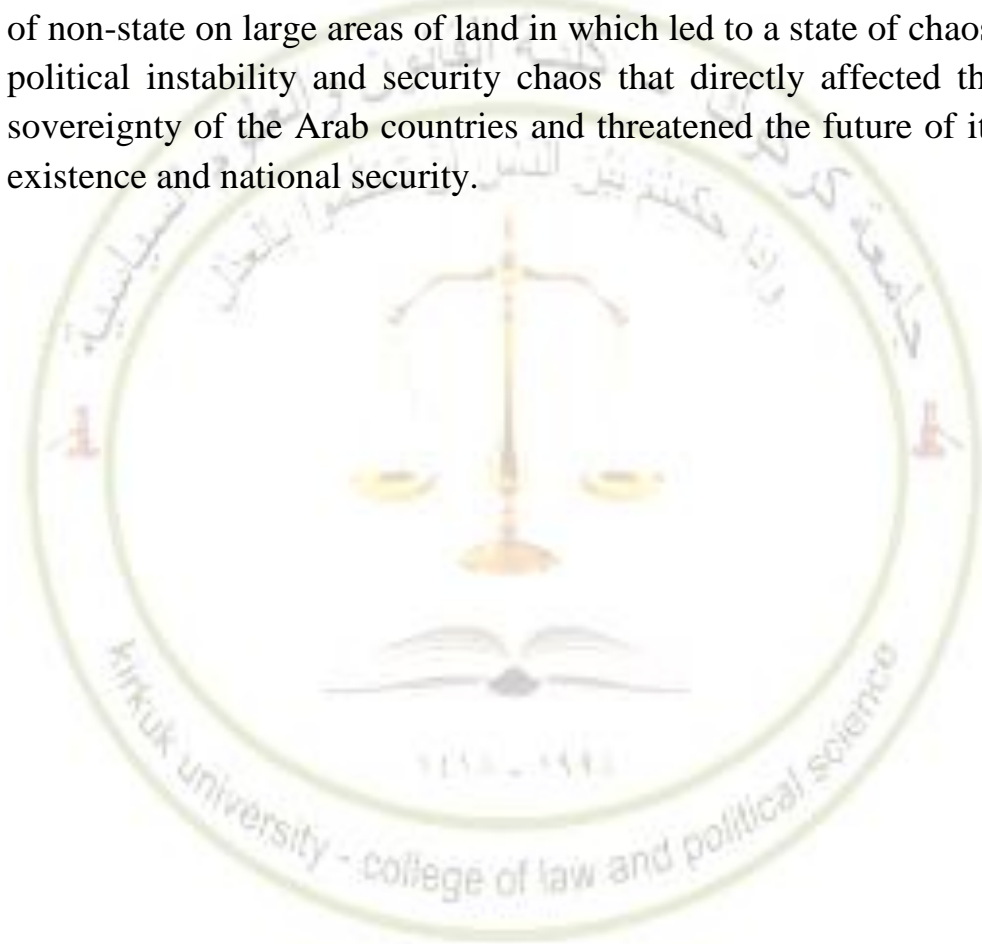
7. Ayam, Fouad. Iraq and the Arabs Future, Foreign Affairs, January / February 2003.
8. Backer, Ann P. American Soldiers Overseas: The Global Military Presence. London: Preager Security International, 2004.
- Clark, Wesley. Victory in Modern Wars - Iraq, Terrorism and the American Empire. trans. Omar Ayoubi, Arab Book House. Beirut, 2004.
9. El Sayed, Dalal Mohamed. "The Future of Security Arrangements in the Middle East, Supplementary Strategic Transformation," International Policy, Issue 203, Cairo, December 2016.
10. Fadel, Abdul Rahman. Impact of September 11th Events on US Foreign Policy, a Study of US Attitudes towards the Middle East, unpublished Master Thesis. Faculty of Political Science, University of Baghdad, 2005.
11. Farahat, Elias. "Strategic Conflict in the Middle East," Shu'on Al-Awsat, Center for Strategic Studies, Beirut, Issue 147, October, 2014.
12. Hagra, Saad. Madbouly Library Publications, edi.1, 1994. Hilal, Ali Al-Din. "Renewed Importance: Criticism of Thesis of Middle East Decline, Strategic Transformation," International Politics, Issue

- 203, Cairo, December 2016.
13. Hollis, Rose Marie. The Big Middle East (Annual Book)
Armament,
Disarmament and International Security. Stockholm Institute,
2005.
- Juma, Juma'a Bin Ali. Arab Security in a Changing World.
Madbouli
Library, Cairo, 2010.
14. Kamal, Mohamed. "Obama's Principle and His Middle East
Policy,"
International Policy, Issue 201 July 2015.
15. Khalil, Mohsen. "The New International Variables and their
Risks to
Arab National Security," Journal of Political Studies, Issue 1,
House of
Wisdom, Baghdad, 1999.
16. Kilani, Haitham. "Essence of Military presence,"
International Issues,
Issue 354 , the Center for International Studies, Baghdad, (n.d).
17. Massad, Navin Abdel Moneim. "The New Arab Regional
System, the
National Council for Culture, Arts and Literature," Alqaren Tenth
Cultural Festival, January 2004, pp. 6-8.
18. Policy After the Fall of Baghdad, translations, Issue. (6),
International
Center for Future and Strategic Studies, Year 1, 2005.
19. Qira, Ismail. "League of Arab States in a Unipolar World,"
Journal of

- Arab Affairs, Issue . (81), General Secretariat of the League of Arab States, Cairo, 1995.
20. SaadEddin, Nadia. "The Approaches of Major Powers in the Middle East, Supplement to Strategic Transformation," International Policy, Issue 203, Cairo, December 2016.
21. Shafiq, Munir: "Fragmentation and the National State (exploratory reading)," Dar Alshurook, Cairo,2001.
22. Sultan, Ammar bin." America and the Arabs, Future Developments in the Light of New International Transformations," Umm Al-Maarek Magazine, Issue 5, Umm Al-Maarek Research Center, Baghdad, 1996.
23. Swed, Yassin. Foreign Military Presence in the Gulf, and Reality and Options, an Invitation to an Arab Islamic Security in the Gulf, Center for Arab Unity Studies, edi. 1, Beirut, 2004.
24. The Center for Strategic Studies and International, Tird Frond Rule of Saudi Arabia,The Washington Quarterly, spring, 2008.[http:// www.annabaaorg/arch-docu](http://www.annabaaorg/arch-docu).

ABSTRACT :

The Arab region witnessed several repercussions due the wave of change that affected the political systems in 2011, and International Challenges affected directly the nature of the international relations in the region after the Arab powers removed the regional balance equation, especially after the control of non-state on large areas of land in which led to a state of chaos, political instability and security chaos that directly affected the sovereignty of the Arab countries and threatened the future of its existence and national security.



المخلص:

شهدت المنطقة العربية عدة تداعيات جراء موجة التغيير التي طالت النظم السياسية فيها عام ٢٠١١ ، فضلاً عن التحديات الدولية أثرت بصورة مباشرة على طبيعة العلاقات الدولية في المنطقة بعد أن أبعدت قوى عربية فاعلة عن معادلة التوازن الاقليمية، لا سيما بعد سيطرة فواعل دولية من غير الدول على مناطق واسعة من الأراضي في عدة دول عربية، الأمر الذي أحدث حالة من الفوضى وعدم الاستقرار السياسي والانفلات الأمني أثرت بصورة مباشرة على سيادة الدول العربية وباتت تهدد مستقبل كيانها وأمنها القومي.