

## The Future of The Middle East (Conflict, Survival): An Analytical Study\*

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### Abstract

*This paper attempts to analyze the Middle East's future stability in the light of the developments and changes in the Arab region, as a repercussion of the Arab protests and conflicts in some of the Arab countries, especially in Syria, Libya and Yemen, which will contribute in making structural changes in the Arab region. Another goal for this study is to prove the following hypothesis: there is an interconnected relationship between the conflicts and the forms of the alliances and interventions in the Arab region and the future of the region. This Study used integrative analytical framework. This study concluded that the interactions in the Arab region after the Arab Spring became more flexible and connected to the interests related to the Arab issues, thus all patterns of interactions in the region should be reconsidered, like the style of ridged axis such as the revolutionaries and conservatives, or appeasement and opposition countries. As an outcome of the changes the Middle East witnessed and is still witnessing, in the oncoming years the Arab region will go under radical changes in the alliances which could possible go beyond the borders, as the changes after the revolutions of "The Arab Spring" are looking grim for the people in the region, it will also witness a withdraw in the role of the patriotic country, in favor of the spread of armed groups which are gaining momentum in the framework of facing the violent national country, which will be accompanied with a phase of security chaos, that the countries of the Arab Spring are now living. The study recommends calling for a structural, political and legal reformation for the Arab League, improving its role and enhancing the responsibility assumed by it, providing support for the Arab League as a regional Arabic organization maintain Arabs unity in their decisions and vision, to reinforce the unity between the countries as members, and rooting the political, economic and social cooperation between them.*

**Keywords:** Future, Middle East, Arab Spring, Conflict, Survival.

### 1. Introduction

The Arab regional system as an expression refers to the reality of Arab agglomeration or the heterogeneous system of Arab countries, like the Arabic nation or Arab citizen<sup>(1)</sup>, The Arab regional system is a part of the global or international system, as there is an overlapping and intersection between the two system in the obligation to maintain international peace and security as well as abiding by the rules of international law, and the impact the Arab system has on the international system is strongly linked to the power and solidarity of the regional system, therefore if the Arab system was in a state of internal unity, power, vitality and effectiveness with clarity in both cultural project and political vision, then it will become active and influential in the international system and vice versa<sup>(2)</sup> as the countries disproportionately affect regional borders according to its power and influence, as you can't confirm borders not consistent with the apparent behaviors of those countries, regions are a reflection of what is determined by politicians and the public. The subsystem is a regular, relative and intensive pattern of interactions, it is recognized internally and externally as it's a distinct domain by itself, it is created, established and kept by two or more neighboring parties, so the decision to create this system became possible from the active members without solely depending on a personal opinion<sup>(3)</sup>.

\*The author is highly grateful to Applied Science private University for granting full financial support to this research project.

<sup>(1)</sup> Alaro'od, Abd Al-Latief. The political effects of the second Gulf war on the Hashemite kingdom of Jordan, Unpublished PhD thesis, Um Dorman University, Sudan. 1999. p185.

<sup>(2)</sup> Al\_oyeny, Mohammad Ali. The Arab world and the international system, Arab Affairs magazine, issue (27). 1983. p8.

<sup>(3)</sup> Matar, Jameel, and Ali Al-DeenHelal. Arab regional system: A Study in Arab political relations. New and developed 5<sup>th</sup> edition. Beirut, Arab unity study center. 1986. p25.

Understanding the effects and the overlapping between the international and regional environment affected on the development nature of the Arab regional system since its establishment, the Arab league has emerged carrying three main contradictions which are nationalist ideology, acute overlap with the international environment and the logic of national sovereignty, as the unity in the Arab revolutions slogans embodied the feeling of unity in national sentiment and the demands represented as freedom and justice, it also affirmed the unity of the Arab nation characterization and components as in addition to the issues and challenges that it faces, as well as the destiny and future which unites it as if it reverted to what it was before the convention of Sykes-picot. Many leaders of the Arab revolutionary thought believe that the project of Arab renaissance, and the development, justice, achieving economic integration and building the modern Arab country as well as facing the usurper Zionist entity are considered issues of existence,

meanwhile some intellectuals in the Arab traditional politics insist on not recognizing this fact, that's why their writings and analysis's address the Arab revolt in a 'polar' logic which differentiate between the revolution in Egypt, Tunisia, Yemen, Syrian and Libya, contriving different peculiarities, concepts and elements for each, as if they are comparing between the French and Bolshevik revolutions. This research is trying to analyze the stabilization of the Middle East future in the light of the developments and changes taking place in the Arab region as a result of the repercussions of the Arab protests and conflicts in some countries, especially Syria, Libya and Yemen, which will contribute to making structural changes in the Arab region.

### ***Research problem:***

Since 2011 the Arab region had been witnessing major shifts in most Arab countries which had and will be contributing to making changes in the nature of regional relationships in the middle east in the near and far future, raising fundamental questions about the future of the region and its stability in the light of the increasing levels of regional and international interventions, these questions revolve around the following: How did the regional developments which the Arab region witnessed since 2011 had an influence on the future of the region, and how will the shape of regional interactions will look like in the future as a result of the political conflicts in the region?

### ***Research importance:***

This research acquires its importance from an intellectual perspective to a growing debate which follows the conclusion of the Arab region reality as, the conflicts in the Arab region, as well as the foreign interferences in the region's issues which will have direct impact on its political future and the relationships it's governed by, the importance of this research stems from here and the following themes:

- Being one of the recent researches that looks into the future of the Middle East in the light of the developments in the Syrian, Libyan and Yemini crisis's as well as the growing rates of foreign interferences in the region's issues and the regional power's interactions with it.
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- Being one of the recent researches that looks into this subject at this stage, a of development in rebuilding the Arab country and a shift in the pattern of alliances between the political forces in the region.

### ***Research Hypotheses:***

This research stems from the following hypothesis:

There is a correlation between the development of conflicts, the forms of alliances as well as the interventions in the Arab region with the future of the Arab region.

### ***Research mythology:***

This research is based on complementary analytical method, which relies on analyzing the reality of the Middle east and the conflicts it's witnessing then submitting it as a general framework which includes a group of subsystems (regional parties, Arab countries), in order to analyze these complex components using their interactions, understanding them as well as their national and polar tendencies, which helps us move to extrapolate the future of the Middle east, in the light of analyzing and understanding the latest developments in the region.

**Research Terms:****– System**

A term which refers to the framework of organizing the relationships between the different parts of a group which interact with each other in a meaningful and sustained process, what is meant with international relations is the abstract concept that deals with studying of patterns, levels and intensity of the interactions among the many players who forms the elements of the system or its parts in the international scene<sup>(4)</sup>.

**– Regional:**

A term for the geographical area inhabited by the political units in the system, meaning regional in international relations; the positioning which happens between a certain number of countries in the light of a legal political organization, what unites its parties are links of proximity, language, gender, history, and common culture as well as economic and political interests<sup>(5)(2)</sup>.

**– Arab regional system :**

It is a special interactive framework between the group of Arab countries, is supposed to be characterized by the intensity of interactions, which makes the change in a part of it affect the rest, leading to implicitly recognize this system as distinctive<sup>(6)</sup>, the concept of regional system had already appeared in the science of international relations literature

as one of the analytical levels at the end of sixties of the twentieth century, it has been done to accomplish distinction between what is total and what is partial within the overall framework governing political phenomena<sup>(7)</sup>.

**– Revolutions**

The term Revolution is considered to be one of the terms that have accompanied political life since prehistory, it means the movement of the masses to protest against the bad and unacceptable social, economic and political situations, these revolutions are characterized by seeking to bring about radical changes in peoples' lives, some of these revolutions achieve the objective it set out, some fail and others are deflected from its path<sup>(8)</sup>.

**– Arab Spring revolutions:**

It is an important historic shift for the Arab region, starting from Tunisia it then moved to other Arab countries such as Egypt, Libya, Yemen and Syria where many thinkers of the Arab Spring realized that it's in fact a revolutionary protest and not only a set of partial demands or temporary uprisings, therefore these introductions apply to each of Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen and Syria, as for the rest of the Arab countries, they are closer to the state of protests as well as to movements of partial demands than to the overall revolutionary characteristics, this description reflects a moving and dynamic scene, as in it stays flexible and prone to adjustment depending on the evolution of events and interactions within each state according to the interactions between the need to protest, how its dealt with and the governing factors to its continuation<sup>(9)</sup>.

**– The Middle East:**

It is the geographical area which lies around the east and south of the Mediterranean, extending to the Persian Gulf. This term is used to refer to the countries and civilizations of this geographical area.

<sup>(4)</sup>Harb, Osama, Al-Ghazali. Arab regional system: Present situation and future challenges, the first Arab strategic conference, 15-17 September. Amman: Center of Strategic Studies- University of Jordan. 1987.p.2.

<sup>(5)</sup>studies in Arab diplomacy' Beirut: Institute of Lebanese Studies, Part v. 1967. p.258.

<sup>(6)</sup>Idris, Mohammed Saied. The regional system of the Arabian Gulf. Beirut, Lebanon. The Center for Arab Unity studies. 2000. p.15.

<sup>(7)</sup>Abdallah, Abd Al-khaliq. Gulf regional system, international politics magazine.Cairo, issue 114. 1993. p.26.

<sup>(8)</sup>Shareh, Mohammad Adel. The Arab revolutions and the features of the new Arab political thought. the Arab center for Studies and Research policy. April issue.2011.

<sup>(9)</sup>Rashid, Sameh. the harvest of the Arab Spring in its first year. Arab Affairs magazine.Issue 148. Cairo. 2011.p.14.

The area was named in the era of geographical discoveries by explorers in the old world, which is the cradle of all human civilizations as well as the cradle of all monotheistic religions<sup>(10)</sup>.

**The previous studies: Some of the most important relevant studies are the following:**

- Study by Abd Al-Hafith Abd Al-Rahiem Mahbob, (2015), entitled : A new geopolitical reality in the Middle East fueled by conflict and terrorism. The book is made of ten chapters in which he addresses the most prominent emerging conflicts in the Arab region since the start of the twentieth century , on both the political and religious levels, and the resulting outputs which affect the regional and international system form; especially those conflicts which arose after the Arab Spring revolutions, which the author argues that the United States is seeking through this 'opportunity' to 'reshape the world so the other powers would stay fragmented, fulfilling the US desires, so the United States would remain as the dominant force everywhere'.
- The study of Adnan Hayajneh (2014) entitled: The competition on the regional hegemony in the Middle East in the light of the Arab Spring from 2011 to 2014. The study provides a scientific analysis of the impact the 'Arab Spring' had on the regional dominance in the Middle East, it also explores several themes through research and analysis; regional balance and strategic map determiners, the regional balance in the region before the revolutions, regional balance after the end of the Arab Spring, the elements of regional balance as well as the upcoming regional homogeneity, measuring the new regional system and analyzing the future of the new foreign policies for the Arab countries as well as the active countries in the regional system, the future of the strategic issues in the region what with the regional system changes. The study reached a number of results one of them noted that the non-completion of the Arab Spring and its recession by military force, negatively impacted the Arab role in the regional system; and the countries which will dominate the region will be confined to Israel, Iran, Turkey as well the growing Saudi role.
- The study of Moataz Salamah (2013) entitled: The strategic shifts in the Arab regional system from 2011 to 2012. Some countries from the Arab world previously witnessed a state of division and internal political conflict, as well as the collapse or the segmentation of the country at different times (Lebanon/Somalia/Iraq) , but unlike all of the countries which are experiencing revolutions right now, the scene of the current turmoil is located in the countries which lies in the heart of the Arab world, in each of :Egypt, Tunisia, Yemen, Syria , Libya, and to some extent Jordan, Bahrain and Kuwait, which points to the possibility that the region is on the verge of a broader range of change. The regional Arab system went through an unprecedented state which only puts the future of the region on line; there is some indicators of disintegration and fragmentation which are witnessed in many of revolution countries , in the light of the new internal phenomena which highlighted scenes of violence and the inability to achieve internal stability as well as the inability to seize the historic moment which resulted in a comprehensive political change, but its manifestations had yet to appear in social, cultural and artistic aspects or values.
- The study of Jawad Al-Hamad (2012) entitled: "Features of the Arab system after the revolutions", this subject is considered to be from the field of theoretical research in drawing nearby futures, so it enters the circle of reading the phenomena and its historical movements as well as the factors it is governed by, which makes it very difficult to assert its results even if you tried to study the picture which you believe is the closest to the logic of future analysis, the theories of future science as well as the studies and experience of drawing general scenarios, that's why it is an effort and diligence which goes under review every now and then especially in the case of change in the recent data on both political and strategic levels.
- The study of Khaled Al-Hroub (2011) entitled: " The Arab revolutions and reshaping the Arab system" . This study deals with the impact of the Arab revolutions on the Arab regional system from the angle of disassembly and reassembly, it also focuses on two main aspects, the first is a pivotal scattering 'moderation' and 'reluctance'; as a result of the collapse of Mubarak's regime in Egypt, and the oncoming collapse of Assad's regime in Syria. The second aspect is the ascension of the 'Expanded Gulf bloc' that is seeking to include both of Jordan and Morocco to the Gulf cooperation Council. The following lines are a consummation to the contemplation of the process of disassembly and assembly by looking at the change in three fronts:

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<sup>(10)</sup> Abd Al-Jawad, Abd Al-Jawad Sayed. The history of the Middle East. Alexandria. The Egyptian house for publishing and printing. 2006

Egypt's position and role, the position of the Islamic parties and their role, also the prospect for segmentation and division in some Arab countries.

- The Study of Loqman Omar Mahmoud Al-Naimi<sup>(2011)</sup> entitled<sup>(11)</sup>: "Turkey and the political transformations in the Arab region, a study in the Turkish position and the regional role" This study examined the nature of the revolutions taking place in the Arab region, the factors and the reasons that led to it, the positions of Turkey from these revolutions which differed from one country to another, as well as the principles that the Turkish government leaned on while adopting those positions which is taking into account the national interests, and adopting the people's slogans in freedom and democracy, rejecting any direct western military interference in the path of public revolutions, as well as maintaining the infrastructure of the countries in which the revolutions occur.

### ***What distinguishes this from the previous studies?***

This study is characterized in its attempt to re-introduce this vital and crucial issue at the level of nations, countries or region especially for those researchers who already have research interests in Middle East issues as one of the regional systems which are gaining great importance in the future and stability of the international order.

### ***Chapter II: The Arab Spring and the stability of the Arab region***

A number of civil revolutions swept through the Arab region at the end of 2010, those revolutions played a crucial role in guiding the events, and through it the Arab citizens managed to break the barrier of fear, heading towards identifying their new identity which is based on emphasizing their role in the fate of their countries and nation. What occurred of revolutions in the Arab world was a result of the failure of democracy and the harvest of fake democracy, which obscured the real issues of the nation, and prevented the construction of the country, society and system on the basis of good citizenship, and it was the reason behind the loss of peoples' confidence in the political systems, as well as the many corruptions that carved into the body of the Arab nation<sup>(12)(1)</sup>.

The Arab Spring revolutions proved that nothing is impossible, and that political systems must work to meet the demands of the public who refuse injustice and tyranny, those revolutions also resulted in bringing about political reformation in many Arab countries, it also played a role in changing many of the Arab regimes. There were a lot of factors behind these revolutions, like the economic, political and social injustice, and the most important reason behind its success is the ignorance of the driving force behind it as well as the unity of the Arab community<sup>(13)(2)</sup>. The Arab revolutions have several distinctions which made them different from the previous revolutions, some of these features are<sup>(14)(3)</sup>:

1. The main objective of the Arab Spring revolutions is to achieve democracy in a number of Arab countries, and to change a number of regimes like the regime of Zain Al-Abidine Ben Ali, the president of Tunisia<sup>(15)</sup>.
2. These revolutions accomplished what the Islamic movements was unable to, and the youth movements which used several instruments for the success of the revolutions such as the use of media especially social media<sup>(16)</sup>.

These revolutions have led to a change in many of the Arab regimes; (the Tunisian regime, the Egyptian regime and the Yemeni regime), another revolution also occurred in Bahrain, which led the Bahrain to ask for assistance from other countries to contain the revolution, a state of emergency was declared as well as the declaration of martial laws<sup>(17)</sup> As for Jordan it wasn't far from the Arab Spring events, but the regime was able to achieve many of the popular demands in making the sought constitutional reforms. This chapter will be undertaken through the following sections:

(11) Al-Naimi, Loqman Omar Mahmoud. Turkey and the political transformations in the Arab region, a study in the Turkish position and regional role. Strategic analysis. Issue 63. Iraq: Center for Regional Studies. University of Mosul. 2011.

(12) Hattamleh, Mohammad. The Arab Revolt "Arab Spring". University of Jordan. Amman. 2012. p.70.

(13) J. weideh, Nasir, and Khalaf, Khalied. The Arab revolutions in a scale. Alexandria, Dar Al-wafa' for the universe of printing. p.17

(14) Al-Madani, Tawfieg, previous citation, p.60.

(15) Balqiz, Abd Al-Ilah. The Arab Spring, to where, a new horizon for democratic change, the democratic Arab Spring, the exception proves the rule. Beirut: Center for Arab Unity Studies. 2015. p.81.

(16) Al-Zoubi, Jameson. Arab revolutions allow conservative controversy. Al-Ittihad newspaper. May 18. 2011. p.3.

(17) Balqiz, Abd Al-Ilah. previous citation. p.126.

First section: What are the Arab Spring Revolutions.

Second section: The impact of the Arab Spring on the Middle East

Third section: The Future of the Middle East.

### ***First Section: What are the Arab Spring revolutions?***

#### ***One: the definition of the Arab Spring***

The term Arab Spring or The Spring of Arabian Change, is a pure western term, proposed by the Western media, perhaps in the moment of recalling the spring of Prague in 1968; in which the Soviet Union and its allies crushed it in August of the same year amid the remarkable indifference of the West, which was busy then with the Western Indifference movements, offset by the obvious western interest in the recent events happening in the Arab world<sup>(1)</sup>. The Arab Spring could be defined as " Cases of popular rejection of the Arab regimes and opposing them"<sup>(18)(2)</sup>. The term Arab Spring was also projected on all of the events which occurred in the Arab region, it was first used by the British Independent newspaper at the beginning of the Tunisian Revolution<sup>(19)</sup>. It is also known as: a wave of Arab revolutionary protest, set off from Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen and Syria, and formed a state of protests in other Arab countries in which it is closer to partial movements than to the characteristics of a full blown out revolution<sup>(20)</sup>.

One of the other definitions is " a series of uprisings against the government in various countries in North Africa and the Middle East, emerging from Tunisia at the end of 2010"<sup>(21)</sup>. Also known as a series of activities that range from political protests to a civil war which took place in many Arab countries including, Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Syria in the year 2010.

From the above, it can be said that the revolutions of the Arab Spring are revolutions that aspired for freedom, dignity and legitimate rights it also wanted to get rid of the corruption and injustice that prevailed in many of the Arab regimes, what distinguished it from other revolutions is its aim to make fundamental changes in the social, political and economic realities, these revolutions demonstrated that it is possible to happen from the inside without any external help and its demand for democracy as a necessary condition and it broke the barrier of fear and dread for the sake of making change, it also demonstrated the increase of Arab consciousness and the participation of all classes of people, working on neutralizing the army and showed the inability of security forces in facing them, and the fact that the Islamists had no key role in the revolutions, in addition to that social media was used to accomplish these revolutions. There was variation in the Arab media's position on these revolutions, the contradiction in the positions of the Arab and regional systems also showed through these revolutions<sup>(22)</sup>.

Not of the Arab countries carefully received the Arab Spring with caution, as they overthrew allied regimes, or because the results are not guaranteed in concern to its ability for creating stable political systems, as in Tunisia, Libya, Yemen and that applies to Syria too, especially since any political vacancy in Syria will create political chaos similar to Iraq's which is exploited by other regional forces, particularly since Iran to increase its influence in the Arab region, the most important repercussion of the Arab revolutions is on the Arab national security as the process of 'disassembly and re-arrangement' which is taking place in the Arab system after these revolutions, in other words it could be said that the Arab Spring revolutions led to the demise of two parties which dominated for some time the moderation and opposition camps, as Egypt represented an important role as a moderator while Syria led the Arab opposition supported by Iran and Hezbollah in Lebanon<sup>(23)(1)</sup>.

<sup>(18)</sup> Mostafa, Mohammad and Sabri, Abd Al-Rahman and Wazni, Khal, Abu Arjah, Tayseer. The political and social roots of the current changes in the Arab countries. Amman: Abd Al-Hameed Shoman Foundation. 2012. p.12

<sup>(19)</sup> The same citation. p.12.

<sup>(20)</sup> Abdeen, Sharshaf. The EU and the search for a role in the under the shades of the Arab revolutions. The Egyptian newspaper Al-Ahram. Cairo. May 12. Issue 45621. 2011. p 15.

<sup>(21)</sup> Mousa, Reem. The Arab Spring and the future of political change. The seventieth Philadelphia conference for the faculty of Arts. Philadelphia University. Jordan. 2013. p.33.

<sup>(22)</sup> Al-Shibli, Jamal. The Arabs, Europe, contemporary political vision. First edition. Beirut: Arab Institution for Studies and Publishing. 2000. p.33

<sup>(23)</sup> Jibreel, Amjad Ahmad. The Arab revolutions and Arab inter-relations, the Egyptian-Saudi conflict as a model. Arab Affairs magazine. Issue 150. 2012. p 184.

Since the start of 2011 the Arab System has been going through a clear phase of change, as a result to the Revolutions in Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, Libya and Syria, as the region is witnessing a state of conflict which has affected Arab-Arab relations, there are regional powers and international others waiting for the opportunity to dismantle the Arab ranks and keep them in a cycle of violence and political and security turmoil in order to accomplish their interests and objectives in the area, which seems to be going through a dangerous turn especially in the transitional phases which has yet to witness stability, but on the contrary is witnessing chaos and protests.

The Arab Spring affects Arab-Arab relations which could be summarized as follows:

- A. The nature of the transitional phase which some of the Arab countries are going through as in Tunisia, Libya, Egypt and Yemen is reflected on the Arab system which is controlled by a state of chaos, confusion and anxiety and this creates a suitable environment for the rise of inter-Arab relations.
- B. The reflection of Arab Spring revolutions on the future of Arab-Arab relations depends on the nature and the level of impact these revolutions has on the Arab internal and political situation, and the promotion of inter-Arab relations depends on the paths taken by these relations in the aftermath of the revolutions and in this context, it is necessary to activate the role of the Arab league and modernize its structure for it to be able to keep up with the regional and international developments.
- C. Most of the current Arab media is concentrating on the Arab-Arab issues by giving support to one of the parties feuding instead of focusing on developing solutions and carrying out reforms.

***Two: The level of external interference in the Arab region issues.***

The level of external penetration in the Arab system increase after the Arab Spring, and the Arab Spring revolutions did not occur because of the pervasive external forces, indeed those forces were surprised by it, but they regained their balance soon after and intervened in the Arab Spring revolutions path, as for the Western countries have turned the page on traditional Western projects which compete with the Arab system after the bipolar system, such as the European-Mediterranean project, the Mediterranean Union project, and even the project of the Middle East in its traditional form, which is built on the economic cooperation between the Arabs and Israelis, all of these projects were replaced by a new Western project characterized by essentially being sectarian in its nature, a forward-looking project revolving around the saying "the optimum for the conflicts in the Middle East is not be only government against government, but communities against each other, meaning instead of the conflict between Iran and Saudi Arabia, let the confrontation be between Islamic sects, as it is a direct feud with further reach".

The other dimension for this Western project divides the Arab system like a new Sykes-Pico division shaped around the distribution of oil and locations, starting with Libya and Iraq and what will proceed them from countries, Libya's oil was distributed with true excellence with rates of 30% for France and 20% for Britain, and other rates for Italy and the United States. With respect to the locations,

there is a US fleet base in Tripoli, and a CIA center in Benghazi, as the united States quickly adjusted their policies that it regained its influence with the arrival of cooperative powers to the rule, they also guided the Arab spring in the direction that achieves their interests, and for the first time the NATO was able to overthrow an Arab regime by military force, a fundamental shift that foreshadows the transformation of the alliance to a guardian for the Arab Security in the context of looking forward to assuming this role on the global scale as an alternative for the United Nations<sup>(24)</sup>.

As for Russia and China they have strongly and unexpectedly entered to the heart of the Arab system equations, as the Arab had the notion that they were not interested in the Arab politics, but in the context of the Syrian crisis they strongly intervened to prevent the western project which was supported by Gulf cooperation Council (GCC) and the Arab league to overthrow the Syrian regime, indeed, the future of the Arab system will depend greatly on the policies of those two countries, for if the Russian and Chinese vision prevails, a new Arab regional system will emerge, as for the future of Arab structure will depend on the outcome of the intervention of both countries in the Syrian crisis which will threaten of the return of bilateral or multilateral polarity.

<sup>(24)</sup>Jibril, Amjad Ahmad.the same previous reference. p.185

The Arab Spring led to a significant decline in the centrality of the Arab system, compared to what it was at the end of bipolarity as this system no longer has the importance it had at the time, this is seen in the new policy announced by the US Secretary of State (Hillary Clinton) on 11 November 2011 as the movement towards Asia, as the move towards Asia does not mean neglecting the Middle East, But it is obvious that the Middle East including the Arab System is no longer the focus of attention for the United States, and the marginalization of the Arab system is evident at two dimensions, the first is embodied by the marginalization of the Arab -Israeli conflict and escalating the Arab-Iranian issue ,as well as the sectarian Sunni-Shiite conflicts in the interests of other regional powers (Israel) and international powers (The United States and the European Union)<sup>(25)</sup>. The other dimension lies in the marginalization of the Arab system which strikes it in the core, as it is related to the marginalization of the oil and natural gas, which are the two most important resources for the Arab region, as the centrality of the Arab region depends on the oil exporting Arab countries to have oil reserves equivalent to two-thirds of global reserves, and thanks to these preserves those countries accumulated financial surpluses enabling them to influence the regional interaction<sup>(26)</sup>.

### ***Three: The roles of traditional and new forces in the Arab system***

In the wake of the Arab Spring revolutions the roles of traditional regional forces changed and new forces to the Arab system operations, as the rational forces are divides into two types Arab forces and ,non-Arab ones which are located outside the Arab system but play internal roles, as for the Arab forces we can say that as a part of the marginalization process their role declined especially Egypt; after being fully engaged in trying to seize the revolution and direct it in favor of the Muslim Brotherhood movement on the other hand civil forces worked to resist this orientation. In contrast the Saudi role ascended along with the rest of the GCC countries as they sought to play an active role to stop the spread of the Arab spring revolutions to its territory, and fill the void left by Egypt<sup>(27)</sup>.

As for Iran it merited from the fall of the Mubarak regime in Egypt which was the most hostile regional system towards it, It also sought to open the contact channels with the new regimes in the Arab systems , but did not pan out as it was faced with a sectarian wall which was fueled by the United States, and employed by most Sunni powers in the region, including Al-Azhar which felt that all rapprochement with Iran is only opening the way to the spread of the Shiite sect, but Iran continued its role, based on its control of Iraq and its transformation to a nuclear power capable of enriching uranium, the explicit Iranian interference in the Syrian crisis came to bring Iran back to the heart of the Arab system, as it helped the Syrian regime to survive, and if Iran succeed in doing so, they will play a pivotal role in the Arab systems in the oncoming years<sup>(28)</sup>. As for the new forces in the region one of them is NATO, which appeared in the Arab system for the first time by introducing Atlantic -Mediterranean initiative in 1994 a discussion between the NATO, a number of Arab countries on the Mediterranean and Israel, and then through its role in Iraq after the US invasion in 2003 by contributing in training the Iraqi forces, then by pitching the Istanbul cooperation initiative in 2004

whereby four Gulf states Kuwait, UAE, Bahrain and Qatar cooperated with the alliance, but after the Arab Spring revolutions the NATO interferes for the time to conduct military operations in the heart of the Arab system, through the role it played in the destruction of the Libyan forces under the guise of protecting Libyan civilians from these forces, and after the operation the alliance began practicing roles in Libya as part of training the Libyan forces, and then the alliance came to be a directly active participant in the Arab system<sup>(29)</sup>. The Islamic movements in its various factions entered the field of exercising overt political action, including the formation of political parties, those factions ranged between those who were excluded from political actions which include the relatively moderate movements such as the Muslim Brotherhood, Salafi movements like ( The Salafist call) and movements of Salafi Jihadist such as Al-Jemaah Al- Islamiyah in Egypt, in addition to the Judicial Islamic factions that were distancing themselves from politics such as Sufi movements .

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<sup>(25)</sup> Haykel, Mohammad Hassanein. Haykel's conversation with the pyramids in September 23.2012.p.22.

<sup>(26)</sup> Moharb, Mahmoud. Israel and the strategic changes in the Arab world. Political Strategic in the Arab World Studies Center. 2012. p38

<sup>(27)</sup> Moharb Mahmoud. Same refrence.p.39.

<sup>(28)</sup> Khawaja, Mohammad. America and Israel and the Arab Movement. The East Affairs magazine. 2011. p76.

<sup>(29)</sup> Kushk, Ashraf. NATO's new partnership to intervening in the Arab crises. International Politics magazine. Issue 185. 2011. p.25.

All of those factions established political parties with which it entered the realm of elections, and for the first time the Salafi Jihadist movements were active in the hearts of the Arab system, using violence as in what happened to the role that Al-Qaeda assumed and is still assuming in Sinai, in Syrian and before that in Yemen<sup>(30)</sup>.

### ***Second section: The impact of the Arab spring revolutions on the Middle East***

The Arab spring revolutions had impacted the Middle East greatly and that shows through:

- A. The international and regional interventions in the Arab affairs especially the countries involved in the revolutions.
- B. Breach of the national Arab security starting from Iraq, through Yemen and to Syria.
- C. Preoccupation of the Arab armies in the internal affairs, as for the Egyptian army, it was tasked to restore the security and stability in the country; in Syria, the Syrian army is still fighting a number of different rebel groups; the Yemeni army is occupied with its war with Al-Qaeda groups in the county, and finally in Iraq the Iraqi army is fighting its battles with both Al-Qaeda and ISIS groups.
- D. The deterioration of the security, social and economical conditions in the countries involved in the Arab spring, because of the violent demonstrations and protests which happened in the region.
- E. Erosion and depletion of the Arab military in maintaining the internal security in Tunisia, Yemen, Egypt and Syria.

The impact of the Arab spring revolutions was dangerous and terrifying on the neighboring countries to Syria, as the Syrian revolution led to the migration of millions of refugees to the geographically nearby countries ( Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan), those refugees had an effect on the security, social and economic aspects in both Lebanon and Jordan, which led to an unstable situation, which could at any moment explode in the two countries, the instability is caused by the multiple terrorist groups found on the Syrian arena, and the fear of some of their individuals gaining entry to Jordan, as in what happened in Lebanon, and then God forbid them doing a number of bombings to shake the security and stability throughout Jordan, there is also the fear of the dormant individuals who follow the Salafist jihadist movements in Jordan, as they start their works by rattling the security and this is what these gangs threaten every now and then. what becomes clear from above, is the huge impact the Arab spring revolutions had on the spread of extremism, it also gave way for international and regional powers to intervene in Arab affairs, also the Arab security became widely breached, which poses a serious threat on the Arab regional security in the light of the different parties which are intervening in the Arab spring revolution countries, this aggravation of the political, social and economic situations led to the build up in the Arab societies, that when given the chance to express this tension, arose angry which led to the distortion in the security and political situations and raising the roof of the popular demands until it reached the ruling-leadership which were deemed the reason behind bringing those societies to this extent of humiliation, subservience and dependency.

Iran is seeking to dominate the Arab system by intervening in Arab affairs, so it intervened in Iraq and its affairs so the security of Iraq became linked to the security of Iran, and the interferences in the Syrian affairs are strategic interventions, because Iran sees that its security is from the security of Syria; Syria plays the role of opposition in the issues of the middle east, and it represents the forefront of resistance and objection, so the support of Iran to Syria stems from the strategic interests of both parties. The political situation and security in Syria significantly impacts the Arab regional order as the inability of the Arab system in solving the Syrian issue became clear, this system even through its foundation the League Of Arab States has not been able to put an end to the Syrian tragedy, this Arabian vacancy in taking part in Syria led to the involvement of Iran in Syrian affairs which only heightened and escalated the conflict, and kept it going, as the Syrian regime was supported politically, economically and militarily by Iran. These international and regional interventions in the Arab spring came late, after the revolutions surprised both regional and international circles, the intrusions came after the size of the revolution, its goals and demands became clear; those intrusions were motivated by gaining those new leaderships to their advantage, and then through those leaders these external powers could take a hand in the internal affairs accomplishing their goals.

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<sup>(30)</sup> Rajab, Eman. The new players, and the patterns and roles of actors from outside countries in the Arab region. International Policy magazine. Issue 187.2012.p.38.

In the light of these changes and developments that the Arab region went and is still going through, the Arabian countries are in a state of disintegration, weakness and instability, this led to an event of failure and breakdown in some Arab countries as the official Arabian system became ancient, without the capability to defend itself or make an impact within its internal units<sup>(1)</sup>, indeed the Arab reality is in a state of tension and suffering in the face of challenges and dangers that surrounds it, wither it concerns the Arab reality itself and its internal situation, or what concerns its relationship with other countries on the regional and international level, making it as system unable to solve a lot of the issues and files which has been suspended for a long time, as a result of the absence of a real political administration, clear vision and political plans when it comes to taking a decision in the Arab countries, but the most important this is its inability to formulate a clear and specific strategy which aims to strengthen the collaboration,<sup>(31)</sup> increase the resources, and unleashing abilities on strong and firm foundations of cooperation and solidarity<sup>(32)</sup>. The popular protests and the Arab revolutions revealed many of the weaknesses of the Arab league through its attitude and failed management of these uprisings, this shows through<sup>(33)</sup>:

1. The big gap between the Arab league which supports the Arab regimes against the public, as the issues of democracy, freedom, representing human rights and change are not top priority concerns of the Arab league, and as the pact states that the league's role is to confirm the states leaderships without interfering in its affairs.
2. The Arab league sought to solve its issues and internal affairs with the help of external powers, and that is clearly represented in what happened in the Libyan crisis, when it asked the international security council to intervene in solving the Libyan issue, there was also a heated debate on taking a similar international help to settle the Syrian case, the Yemeni issue is another example as it was settled by the Gulf initiative<sup>(34)</sup>.
3. There is a big appeal for some of the Arab countries toward the regional groupings which could be considered the alternative to the Arab league, like the invitation from the Gulf Cooperation to include Jordan and Morocco to it, and some other groupings<sup>(35)</sup>.
4. Most of the participating countries in the league has sultanate regimes which makes it difficult to consider the Arab leagues' decisions as ones to support democracy, so the democratic stance of the league is only the product of the pressures of the Arab revolutions and how it benefits the participating countries, and in return those decisions compel each member of the league to think of change and how it support their interests.
5. The Arab leagues' move toward the Syrian crisis is only an accidental awakening, as it only came in line with the recent developments produced by the Arab spring revolutions<sup>(36)</sup>.
6. There is a great impasse facing the Arab world, which is represented in the inability of the Arab league and its absence in taking the active role which is required of it in solving its own problems without any external interference.

The Arab revolutions which the Arab region witnessed led to a partial change in the pattern of performance of the Arab league with these revolutions, and with all of this the Arab league did not take advantage of this change and development; without a statement in its pact to enforce this role for the league, this limits its ability and efficiency in solving the leagues problems on its own, that's why we should enhance the role of the Arab league and increase its affectivity in real change even if that took the modification of some of the terms in the charter which it was established on<sup>(37)</sup>.

<sup>(31)</sup>Eied, Mohammad Badawi. Against Systems? Interventional roles of the Arab League in the regional crises. International politics magazine. Issue 18. Cairo. January 2012. p24.

<sup>(32)</sup> Rashid sameh, The harvest of the Arabian spring in its first year, arabian affairs magazine, issue148, Qairo, winter2011, p16-19

<sup>(33)</sup>Al-Habbas, Khaled Bin Nayef. The Arab regional system and the neighboring powers. Arab Affairs magazine. Issue 148. Cairo. 2011 Winter. p 195-196.

<sup>(34)</sup>Abd Al-Kareem, Ibrahim and others. Estimating the position of the Arab revolutions. Middle East monthly. Middle East Studies Center, Issue 23. Amman, Jordan. First Edition. 2012. p75.

<sup>(35)</sup>Abd Al-Kareem, Ibrahim and others. Same reference. p.75.

<sup>(36)</sup>Abd Al-Fattah, Basheir. The Arab League and the Arab Spring hurricane. Arab Affairs magazine. Issue 151. Cairo. 2012 Autumn. p82-83.

<sup>(37)</sup>Ali, Khalied Hanafi. Un-uniified country: Changes in the form of the country in the stages after the Arab revolutions. International Politics magazine extension. issue 189. 2012. p6

**Section three: the future of the Middle East**

As a result of the protests in the Arabian region a lot of questions arose overcoming the scenarios about the failings of the collapse of the political systems and the possibilities of the continued state of unrest, to more complicated scenarios concerned with the future of the region, as the Arabian countries could not deepen the concepts of citizenship, justice, and freedom or accommodating ethnic identities and accents, the people's demands which led to the collapse of the political system in Libya, Syria and Yemen are the same reason which led call of a review of the shape of a united country in favor of states each has its own self management, which limits the dilemmas of marginalization, the suppression of ethnic freedom and fair distribution of wealth, this all depends on different factors like the wealth of the country and social and political structure, and the pervasive interests as well as external factors<sup>(1)</sup>, or it could be enough to transform the shape of the political power toward decentralization taking it as a ruling strategy and as a guarantee to not reproduce those domineering regulations which failed to meet the needs of the community and failed to accomplish national integration, however to dispense of the patterns of the central rule there must be appropriate conditions which provides the balance between social and political powers, in addition to constitutional and legal ground , for if it fails it could lead to the disintegration of the country into small states<sup>(38)</sup>.

The challenge that the Arabian county faced made it a must for everyone to find a proper and clear form to overcome the historical, social and political situations it's facing and the developments it goes through to reach a dependable state of maturity on which we can build the country for it would be vulnerable for destruction otherwise, as the emergence of the revolutions against the Arab systems is a product of centralization and failing to contain the political conflicts, as well as the conflicts between the different groups which were faced with extreme violence for their demands, and thus it failed to accommodate other groups through the use of specific mechanisms to solve internal political and social disputes, perhaps the mechanisms used in the Arab region to deal with such disputes are not new but they present a way to deal with them and stops it from raising and causing more outbreaks to avoid the failure of the country and political shred as a result of internal, regional and sectarian conflicts.

***The continuation of the united shape of the country with reconstructing the nature of the power and rule***

The supporters of this trend sees that the united country is not a failed scheme, in fact it accomplished a number of achievements, but it was marred by the diversion of its natural path by taking on the colors of tyranny and undemocracy, therefore we can fix that issue by reorganizing the shape and the nature of the ruling powers and their pole in making and performing economical and social policies, and regardless of the rebelling foundation against the unified central state and its inheritance which is trying to reconsider the shape of the country, for the shape of the unified country ' in the eyes of its supporters' still represent the subject of any change, it also represents the incubator and the sponsor for the national groups, and the process of settling internal conflicts and disputes is an institutional process and is accomplished by building a strong and unified country, therefore necessity is the reason why we need to the shift in the shape of power and the nature of the ruling regimes as a grantee against the production of a tyrannical power, abolishing the boundaries between the country and political system, through different processes like adopting demonstrative decentralization or consensual democracy<sup>(1)</sup>. As consensual democracy operate according a mechanism which represent all components of community and the relative distribution of political and economic resources, and adopting an electoral system based on a proportional representation facilitating a collation government, where all different groups enjoy the right to veto power, or to object on the decision which affect those groups in all aspects but especially in both cultural and educational fields<sup>(39)</sup>.

Lebanon is considered the first Arabian country to apply consensual democracy, then Iraq in the year 2003, and even with the flaws in application that lies in the government instability and the reluctance to solve important issues, the consensual democracy remains as an available mechanism to deal with the escalation of conflicts and internal disputes, and as a way to keep the unity of the country.

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<sup>(38)</sup>Mukhmier, Mariam Waheed. Non-Centralized power, the shift in power in the phase after the Arab revolutions. International Politics magazine extension.issue 189. 2012. p13.

<sup>(39)</sup>Hussein, Alwan Hussein. Building the country and national unity in Iraq. Annual Scientific Conference of the faculty of political Science papers, University of Baghdad. Political Science magazine. Issue36. 2008.p157

The second mechanism lies in reshaping the political system, and the authorial power of central government through directing to a system of administrative decentralization and strengthening its foundation and necessities. The Arab countries failure is attributed to its sever foundations, and the expanse of its functions and duties, also the countries' inability to meet the demands of the different parts and groups of community, as the adoption of a decentralized system leads to more efficiency and achieves equality of resources and power, and reduces the tension between the different individuals and groups in the society, and thus achieves stability<sup>(40)</sup>.

***There are three possible scenarios for the countries in the region, as follows:***

**One: The Islamic Middle East:** this scenario is built on the possibility of the success of some Islamic political powers in reaching the role of authority, according to this scenario the political Islamic powers which had been excluded from the political field, or at least had been marginalized in most of Arab countries, will be able to breach the current systems, and carry out bloody upheavals to take revenge on the political powers which demonized it, excluded it and legitimized it's blood. The success of this scenario is attached to attach to the following conditions: first: if Islamic power in achieves success in a country - for example- Egypt, it will be followed by Islamic revolutions in most of the adjacent countries. Secondly: If the Islamic state 'ISIS' succeed in resisting the military strikes against it from the union countries, taking root and triumph in the Syrian and Iraqi territories, marginalizing the Shiite's power in these two countries, oppressing all of the other Shiite sects in the Arab gulf and Lebanon. Third: The success of Sunni Islamic powers, by working together and not falling in the trap of internal conflicts. The fourth and final condition: gaining both international support (America) and regional (Turkey) so it could root itself in the region. In the light of all of the developments that are happening in the Arab region, and in most of the Arab countries, this is a very weak and unimaginable scenario which would be hard to accomplish in the next stages<sup>(41)</sup>.

**Two: the democratic Middle East:** This scenario is built on the uprising of real democracy in the Arab countries, and the success of this scenario requires the availability of real political will from the Arab nation for change performance with accordance of strong foundation which help to build a modern and real democratic foundations. Even though this scenario still plays in the minds of many the region's youth especially those who lived through the events of 2011, however the difficulty of achieving this scenario depends on the fact that the national and regional support for this second wave of Arab or middle eastern revolutions will be limited in the light of the high cost of the continuing changes in the field's foundations. As well as the absence of the political and economical substitutions for the powers which dream of change in the region, also it's limited friction with the masses, it's inability to develop frameworks to crowd and engage, in addition to the impact of political oil factor in keeping those conservative situations and supporting traditional power which distance this scenario from this account.

**Three: The Sectarian Middle East:** This scenario is based on the continued fragmentation and division of the Middle east countries between two axes; the Sunni power, led by Saudi Arabia and Turkey with the support of Egypt and the Gulf countries, who stand in opposition to Shiite camp, led by Iran with the help of its traditional allies in Lebanon, Syria, Iraq and Yemen, where those who are Christian or not Muslim will be marginalized. In this scenario the Americans are unable to reach a final deal with Iran. This scenario remains as the most susceptible in the light of the complications in the Middle Eastern scene, what with the quadrupled competition between America, Russia, China and Europe to attract allies in the region. This scenario will benefit four main parties, the first one, is the regional conservative power in the Arab gulf, the next party are the regional non-state actors especially the strict and terrorist movements, the third party is represented by military generals and internal security, the fourth and final beneficiary party from these disputes is Israel<sup>(42)</sup>.

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<sup>(40)</sup>Mous'ed ,Nevine. Religious, sectarian and ethnic conflicts in the Arab world.The Arab Future magazine.Arab Unity Studies Center. Beirut,.Issue 364.2009.p.74.

<sup>(41)</sup>Mous'ed, Nevine. The same reference..p.75.

<sup>(42)</sup>Mawloud, Mohammad Omar. Federalism, and applicability as a political system, Iraq as a model. University Cooperation for publication and distribution.First edition. Lebanon. 2009. p.146

***The conclusion***

The relationship and the interaction between the Arabian system, the Middle Eastern national system, and the international system is ruled by two key sectors; the first lies in the agenda of this system and its central case (the Palestinian case), the other sector is the Egyptian leadership for this system especially in the fifties and sixties of the twentieth century, when Egypt directed its main interest to the privacy of the Arabian system, also to preserve and promote it by calling for Arab unity, and making sure it's not lost in the broader regional system interaction as well as the interactions on the international system. While Egypt directed its main attention to both issues of Arab unity and Palestine, it was defying the policies of international alliances, and refuses to engage with them claiming positive neutrality for third world countries and then non-aligned policy.

The special circumstances in the Middle East led to some tensions in the relationship between the Arab system and both of the regional Middle Eastern and the international systems, for when the international system was witnessing important developments its structure after the fall the bipolar system, with the entry of new actors in its membership, turning it from only a regional system with only the memberships of countries, to an international system which combines the membership of countries in one hand, and the membership of many of organizations and bodies with strong influence in regional politics, like regional organizations, multicultural companies, World Trade organization and G20, for the new international system, which temporarily leaned towards a more unilateral character, then transformed into something more 'Non-polar', hoping to head to a multipolar system. The international system witnessed an important prominence for the regional role on the role of national country, where the countries in the same region competed for interaction, and sometimes their relationship between the same region overcame their relationship with the leadership of the international system and its international organization (The United Nations)

***The Results***

The countries in the Arab region became more pragmatic in managing their foreign relationships, including their relationships with the countries which poses a threat, these developments makes it unrealistic to consider the possibility of split in the region to both rigid and fixable entities, as these categories no longer work because of the interactions happening in the Arabic region, as it's clear that the lineup is not fixed and is connected to certain issues, without effecting the other regional matters.

As a result of the changes that the Middle east witnessed and is still witnessing, the Arabic region will be witnessing in the near future some radical changes in the alliances and it may reach the borders, as it seems that the changes after the 'Arabic spring' will be sever on the nations of the region, it will also see the decline n the role of the national country in favor of armed groups which are gaining momentum in the framework of facing the violent part of the national country, which will be accompanied with a phase of security chaos as what the Arab spring countries are experiencing.

Generally it's not expected that an out or a solution will be found in the near future for the Syrian, Iraqi or Lebanese crisis, due to the depth of the need for change, and the accumulation of previous crises which were only fed by the recent crime. We should not wait any political solution before we accomplish a military triumph over the center of evil, and it's expected to commit humanitarian purgation crimes on a big scale in the next phase (which will be the worst in value) in this conflict, it seems.

Even with the disintegrating and divisive route that is happening in the Middle East region and in most countries, it's predicted that the region is heading to unity in the end, due to the overlap of its components and the complexity of interests, as each divided section is limited to itself and is unable to proceed, and the division of Syria according to the regional influence could be another initiator to up the support given to the revolutionaries, in addition to opening its borders with the neighboring countries, and uniting the region in a different future.

***Recommendations:***

- The call for reform of the structure, legal, and political for the Arab league improving its role and enhancing the responsibility assumed by it, also supporting the Arab league as an Arab national organization which maintains the unity of the Arab in their decisions and vision to enhance the unity between the member countries, solidifying the political, economic and social communion between them.

- Working on the activation of Arab economic integration, in a way that achieves integration between the Arab countries the poor and rich, investing in the Arabian minds, experiences and power, also the activation of the other institutions of joint Arab work in what would serve the nation.
- Working to resolve bilateral disputes directly before any Arab summit, by neutralizing the problems and postponing the talk, there must be multiple bilateral meetings among Arab leaders regularly, before the summit in no less than a month, to approximate the point of views of the leaders to solve their different views, then they will call for a summit.

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