

## **Arab Revolutions and Non-state Actors Variable and Its Impact on Sovereignty of Arab States**

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The middle east region in general and the Arab region in particular have a large and significant segment in the strategic perception of world powers, especially in the American perception, with its geostrategic properties and geopolitical importance, it represents the link among the ancient world continents and includes the world trade routes besides being the heart of the middle east. This articular region also contains enormous wealth reserves still not fully estimated as well as its spiritual energy represented by the Islamic religion which, according to the west, poses a great danger to its interests in the region. Therefore, this region has been the focus of regional and international powers over centuries. These powers are trying to control this important geographical area of the world.

Moreover, this region has gained a kind of extraordinary character in American political disquisitions and strategic performance since War World II till now and has become an important part of the American national security if exposed to the type of security unrest and lack of political stability, which calls for intervention through all political, economic and military means to ensure and protect their vital interests.

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**Significance:** The significance of the topic lies in the quality of the events in Arab region as a result of the wave of change that affected the political systems in the region which directly affected the nature of the international relations this has removed active Arab forces from the equation of regional balance for the benefit of national and international forces and non - state actors especially after the control of these actors on large areas of land in several Arab countries. This is the matter which led to the latest chaos and political instability and insecurity which directly influenced the sovereignty of Arab states and is now threatening the future of its entity and national security.

**problem of research:** The subject of the research presented with a problem based on the analysis of the interactive relationship between Arab revolutions and Arab state sovereignty by examining the situation of the unprecedented growth of non-state actors in this region after the events of the Arab Spring which resulted in a state of chaos and lack of political stability and security. Accordingly a number of research questions will be raised and referred to in the structure of the research and will be answered in the research body.

**Research hypothesis:** This research sets out from a scientific hypothesis that there is an inverse relationship between the processes of change of political systems in Arab region and between the sovereignty of Arab states. The more chaotic and incorrect is the process of change and transformation as it opened the way for the rise of non-state actors, the also the danger of penetrating sovereignty of Arab states.

**Research structure** was divided into the following demands:

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**First demand:** strategic importance of Arab region in the awareness of world powers.

**Second demand:** dialectic of the relationship between the process of democratization and foreign interests in the Arab region.

**Third demand:** Arab political systems and the mechanisms of change.

**Fourth demand:** Arab revolutions and the variable of non-state actors and its impact on the of the Arab states sovereignty.

**The first demand: strategic importance of Arab region in the awareness of world powers.**

The Arab region enjoys geostrategic and geo-economic characteristics to be distinguished it from all other regions. It stretches from the Atlantic Ocean in the west to the Arabian Sea and the Arabian Gulf in the east. It is also one of the most vital and pivotal areas in the world because it represents a linking bridge between the continents of the ancient world (Asia, Africa and Europe) and the new world by overseeing the world's important waterways and straits such as the Strait of Gibraltar, the Bab al-Mandab Strait and the Strait of Hormuz which is considered the most important waterway of the world and the easiest for the movement of ships and marine vessels, as well as the Suez Canal, Arab region controls the three arteries of the global navigation which is the Mediterranean Sea, the Red Sea and the Arabian Gulf. This is in addition to a group of navigable rivers and ports making it an important business center in the world.

In addition to the strategic location of the Arab region, it contains enormous physical and agricultural and mineral resources, especially the energy resources (oil and natural gas), which represent the lifeblood of the

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major industrial countries<sup>1</sup>. There are (13) oil states in the Arab region out of (22) Arab states, (60%) of the Arab states are oil states that produce and export crude oil, Arab oil production is more than (28%) of the world production and Arab oil reserves are more than (61%) of the world reserves. As for the field of natural gas, Arab states contribute (26%) of the world's proven reserves of natural gas which amount to (156) trillion cubic meters. Qatar is the first owning (15) trillion cubic meters followed by the United Arab Emirates owning (6.5) billion cubic meters, then Saudi Arabia (6) billion, followed by the rest of the Arab states<sup>2</sup>.

As for the rest of other Arab states, Qatar comes in the sixth position with a reserve of (26) billion barrels, the seventh is Algeria with 10 billion barrels, the eighth is Oman (6) billion barrels, the ninth is Egypt (4 ) billion barrels, the tenth is Yemen (4 ) billion barrels, and then Syria (3) billion barrels, Tunisia (300) million barrels, and finally Bahrain (200) million barrels<sup>3</sup>.

Accordingly, the strategic importance of energy is described as a direct security threat to the United States

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<sup>1</sup> Majid Kayali, *Middle Eastern Project: Dimensions Pillars and Contradictions, Strategy Studies*, Emirates Center for Strategic Researches and Studies, edi 1, Issue. 13,( Abu Dhabi, 1998), p . 16.

<sup>2</sup> Thaer Khalil Hamad, *US National Security and Change in the Arab region*, Dar Al - Hamed Publishing and Distribution, edi 1, (Amman, 2016), pp.100-101. For more details See: Michael Klare, *Wars over Resources*, New Geographical of Global Conflicts, trans. Adnan Hassan, Dar Alkitab AlArabi,( Beirut , 2012), p . 54

<sup>3</sup> Abd Al-Khaliq Abdullah, *Story of Politics*, University Institution for Studies and Publishing, edi. 1, (Beirut, 2006), p. 232.  
Also Thaer Khalil Hamad op. cit. p.101.

through the IEA speculation that global energy demand will grow by 40% by 2030, with India, China and Japan accounting for half of the increase. In it, oil will be most commonly used and used by others, especially the producer from the Middle East<sup>4</sup>.

In addition to these two characteristics, there is the volume of foreign investment and trade exchange with an excellent percentage of young people working in the Arab states. These are indications of a significant economic growth expected in the Arab region if properly utilized by Arab political systems.

Based on these geo - strategic and geo - economic characteristics of the Arab region which made it the world's most sensitive to international politics and its currents and changes, hot issues raised in the Arab arena have occupied a leading position in the global players power strategies, and attracted, at the same time, the interest of regional powers affected by and affecting developments in these issues. This is the matter which made the Arab region a strategic contact point and an arena for an international competition among all parties with different interests and divergent objectives moving in the direction that achieves its objectives with the rhythm that serves its strategy <sup>5</sup> .

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<sup>4</sup> See: Graeme Hurd, *Great Powers and Strategic Stability for the 21st Century: Competing Perspectives of the Global System*, 1st Floor, (Abu Dhabi, Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, 2016), p. 150.

<sup>5</sup> Thaer Khalil Hamad, *op. cit.* p. 99.

**The second demand: dialectic relationship between the process of democratization and foreign interests in Arab region.**

The events of September 11, 2001, constituted a dividing point between past and future events in terms of the US strategic thinking. The American administration concluded that the region represents a real threat to American national security and must be penetrated and emptied of those who are hostile to America and the conspirators against it. It asserted its resolve to change the features of the Middle East, either by force, intimidation, persuasion, partnership, or even chaos<sup>6</sup>, and to replace dictatorial regimes with democratic governments with the aim of achieving success in the war on terror<sup>7</sup>.

However, the US policy in the region has traditionally been balanced between safeguarding its vital interests, ensuring stability of the friendly regimes on one hand, and the demands of democracy and human rights on the other. The successive American administrations have traditionally overlooked issues of democracy and human rights in friendly Arab states to ensure their long-term interests.

The dialectic of reform and interests led to a split of opinion within the American administration, and two points of view have appeared:

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<sup>6</sup> Said Lawendi, *Big Middle East, American Conspiracy against Arabs*, Nahdat Masr, edi. 1, (Cairo, 2005), pp. 57-58.

<sup>7</sup> James Noize, *US War on Terrorism and its Impact US - Arab Relations*, Emirates Center for Strategic Research and Studies, edi. 1, (Abu Dhabi, 2005), p. 25.

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The first believes that the autocratic repression and the absence of democracy in the region, due to rulers' dictatorship and mismanagement of resources, led to the escalation of the phenomenon of terrorism. This necessitated the creation of a comprehensive change to achieve political, economic, administrative and educational reforms, raise living standards, and increase education opportunities and the imposition of democratic practice, as well as giving a moral quality in these reforms as the United States has an enlightening message aiming at helping countries in the region to rise with significant changes in the structure of their political systems, and take the American model as the best model to be followed for the creation of change <sup>8</sup>.

The second considers that the traditional interests of the United States of America in the region, which were sponsored by autocratic regimes, require constant protection. This may happen through the alliance with these regimes in addition to the fact that the autocratic regimes in the region have cooperated closely with the United States in the war on terror <sup>9</sup>.

This state of balance seems to be clear in the formulation of American disquisition. The policies it followed with the states of the region differ from one state to another depending on the importance of that state

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<sup>8</sup> Said Lawendi, *Big Middle East , American Conspiracy against the Arabs*, op. cit,p.58.

<sup>9</sup> Moataz Salamah, *Political Reform, American Policy and Arab Responses*, *Kurrsat Strategia*, Issue. (153), the fifteenth year, Al - Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies,( Cairo, 2005), p . 16.

and what it represents for US interests, and the quality of the existing ties or the risks that are expected of it.

In other words, the vital interests are the main element and the main mover of the American policy, not the process of political reform and democracy. If democracy is in conflict with the American interests in the region with anti-American regimes being in power, the US administration will disregard the reform and democracy project as a whole and will work very hard to preserve its interests. Perhaps the arrival of Hamas to the Palestinian Authority, in the legislative elections in 2006, the best proof of this. As a reaction to that, the US administration cut off aid to the Palestinian people and incited the states to boycott the new Palestinian Authority. As such, what is the position of the United States concerning the change of Arab regimes in the region after the popular protests? Especially, after the access of those whom it fears and describes as radical Islamic parties to power after they became on the top of the ruling power in the democratic way that it calls for and occupies states in its name.

In a study by RAND, (The Future Security Environment in the Middle East), it says that the American position, supporting the democratic transition in the Arab states is governed by the factor of American interests, in short and long terms. In the long run, democratization is an American interest because it achieves stability and reduces conflicts because the democratic states are less inclined to get involved in conflicts with neighboring states and more ready for peace whereas the non - democratic states are more willing to wage war. In the short run, the democratic transformation harms American interests as it increases internal instability in Arab states, and then threatens

regional stability, and increases hostile feelings to the United States. Furthermore, it may allow the arrival of groups hostile to the US interests to power, and negatively affect the willingness of governments to cooperate in security with the United States, and may reflect negatively on US interests in the region, including Israel's interests in peace<sup>10</sup>.

In the sense, the United States is unwilling to support or allow a democratic process which could lead to outcomes that run counter to its priorities and interests in the region. Democracy and dictatorship are not important to the United States as long as American interests are achieved.

**The third demand: Arab political systems and the mechanisms of change.**

Arab political systems have common characteristics, most notably the institutionalization of corruption and security repression by the regimes governing, the structuring of political obstruction with political frameworks that do not allow free expression, the failure of traditional forces to absorb and understand new youth movements. Also, the development gaps between different regions within the country, the monopoly of the state resources by the few elite through embodying the equation (the marriage of power and capital) and the spread of poverty and unemployment in Arab societies<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>10</sup> Ismail Serageldin, Arab Reform Observatory, Problems and Effects, Dar Hala Publishing and Distribution, edi. 1, (Cairo, 2009), pp. 65-66.

<sup>11</sup> Khaled Hanafi Ali, Successive Uprisings, International Politics, Al - Ahram Center, Issue. 184,( Cairo: April 2011), pp . 56-57.

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In fact, the ruling elites in Arab world have always been an obstacle to social demands that reforms in the political system should be carried out, and they have not often hesitated to fight, circumvent, and falsify those demands. In rare cases, they have been able to contain them through the realization of some of them, in form, and to abort them eventually. These are also the paradoxes of the official Arab policy, more popular oppression<sup>12</sup>, A number of studies by elite researchers on the Middle East have revealed that: Despite the region's oil wealth and strategic commercial location, its unemployment rate is twice that of the global average of young people and women, with the number of people living in poverty growing in crowded neighborhoods, while Small elite more influence on land and resources)<sup>13</sup> Therefore, the process of change has become an urgent necessity, and for the purpose of identifying the mechanisms of change in Arab political systems, we will address them through three main divisions as shown below:

### **First: Change by hard - solid power (Iraq model).**

Solid power, military and economic, can be classified as hard power represented by military force. Joseph Nay calls it (Hard Power) and the solid power represented by the economic power and its term in English is (Solid Power). The logical truth that everyone understands

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<sup>12</sup> Abdul Ilah Belkeziz, Reform in the Arab World, Almustakbal Al-Arabi Journal, Issue (304), the Center for Arab Unity Studies,( Beirut, 2004), p . 86.

<sup>13</sup> Hillary Clinton, Difficult Choices, i 1, translation: Mireille Younes,( Beirut, Publications Company for Distribution and Publishing, 2015), p. 324

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power as the solid power when the first historical standard was based on a military force as a basis for change. The solid power is based on the physical material pattern<sup>14</sup>.

In light of the study of the process of change in the Arab region, the United States believes that it has a moral responsibility as a different nation from other nations. Additionally, as a saving force in international politics, This belief gives the right to it to its power effectively to spread its global values relying on military force as a key tool for change. This type of thinking, especially in the administration of former President Bush Jr. led to excessive use of military force and reliance on it as a likely option in its international relations. This was evident in the US National Security Strategy of 2002.

Indeed, after the rapid success of the war in Afghanistan, the new conservatives began to push for the war in Iraq. On the one hand the New American Century Group presented the view that any strategy aimed at eliminating terrorism must include a vigorous effort to remove the political system in Iraq from power, and failure to do so would represent an early, perhaps decisive, surrender in the war on international terrorism<sup>15</sup>. On the other hands, from the point of view of the US administration Iraq is a great opportunity to bring democracy to the Middle East.

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14 Joseph Nye, *Future of American Power*, edi. 1, Emirates Center for Strategic Research and Studies, (Dubai, 2012), pp. 22-23.

15 Speech to the Neo- Conservative former US President George W. Bush in September 2002.  
[http:// www.newamericancentury.org/ Bushletter.htm](http://www.newamericancentury.org/Bushletter.htm)

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President Bush Jr. administration is convinced: that if Iraq became a democratic state, it would be possible to form a starting point for the democratic transformation in the region<sup>16</sup>. However, the losses suffered by the United States as a result of the 2003 war on Iraq, forced the new administration of President (Barack Obama) to rely on the exit strategy of the US armed forces fighting from Iraq after the 2003 war<sup>17</sup>. And prefer soft power as a tool for change in the region.

It also included President Obama's strategy in the world through the plan to establish a joint force for 2020, where the document was issued under the title: (maintaining the global leadership of the United States: defense priorities for the twenty-first century), in which President (Obama) that the new strategy Issued in a transitional phase of US military forces after several years of wars in the world, and the US president left no doubt that the structure and composition of future military power will help reduce the US budget deficit, debt and other economic problems<sup>18</sup>.

**Second: soft power change (Tunisia - Egypt model).**

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<sup>16</sup> Fawaz Gerges, *Obama and the Middle East an Approach Between the Disquisition and policies*, edi. 1, Strategic Studies, Emirates Center, (Abu Dhabi 2001), p . 14.

<sup>17</sup> Henry Kissinger, *The World Order, Reflections on Vanguard of Nations*, Translation: Fadel Jettker, (Beirut, Dar al-Kitab al-Arabi, 2015), p. 319.

For more details on US President Obama's strategy, see:

- Wael Abdul Rahman, *US Strategic Planning Beyond 2008: The Obama Administration as a Model*, (Riyadh, Obeikan Library, 2016).

- Sabah Abdul Razzaq Kubba, *US President Barack Obama's Foreign Policy towards Iraq*, 1st Floor, (Baghdad, Al-Ahmadi Technical Printing Company, 2015), p. 68.

Admiral (Joseph Nye) defines soft power as the ability to attract the attention and persuade, Soft power derives from its cultural, political or other attractions<sup>19</sup>. It is translated in the dissemination of ideas, values, ideologies and promotion of goods, services and information programs<sup>20</sup>.

"Morgenthau" sees that the soft tools or mechanisms in terms of cultural power are the meanest tools used to impose colonial control and the most intelligent. This is because they target the minds to control, wash and nurture in accordance with the purpose or means desired of that unit in international interactions,<sup>21</sup>.

As a result of failures suffered by the US administration under former President Bush Jr. in many external files, particularly in Afghanistan and Iraq , and because of its excessive dependence on solid military force. Also prompting many intellectuals and politicians to adopt new proposals emphasizing the importance of

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<sup>18</sup> For more details on the 2015 US National Security Strategy, see the link: The National Security Strategy 2015: [https:// www. White house go sites/default/files/docs/ 2015-national-security- strategy.pdf](https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/2015-national-security-strategy.pdf).

<sup>19</sup> Yahya Al-Yahyaoui. Soft Power, New Attitudes of Domination, Almustakbal Al-Arabi Book Series, Issue 369, Arab Unity Studies Center,( Beirut, 2009), p.31.

<sup>20</sup> Ahmed Farouk Abdel Azim, Policy of Force in the US project of the Global System, Alsiasah Aldawlia Journal, Issue. (158), Al - Ahram, (Cairo 2004), pp. 33-36

<sup>21</sup> Ismail Sabri Mukalid, Theories of International Politics , Comparative Analysis, That Alsasil publications, (Kuwait, 1987), p . 83.

the soft power and the dissemination of American set of values .

As much as Arab world is concerned, the modern technology and the expansion of the use of means of communication among young people played a major role in galvanizing to demand change as the state is no longer able to withhold information. The communication channels and the global satellite stations are affordable to every single citizen. The availability of these means made any Arab citizen compare his situation in his country and the status of his peers in Europe and America. When he found his position lagging behind his counterparts in the Western world, he used this technology to express his desire to change in a sarcastic way to express his rejection to wards Arab political systems and their failure to manage power.

After the incident of the young Tunisian Mohamed Bouazizi, who burned himself on Friday, December 17, 2010 in front of the headquarters of the state of Sidi Bouzid in protest against a policewoman who confiscated his cart that sold fruit and vegetables after slapping him, the revolution broke out and young people were affected by the incident above. The Tunisian regime could not withstand protests which led to the overthrow of President Zain Al-Abidine Bin Ali. The fever of Arab revolutions and protests spread quickly to Egypt that was not better off than Tunisia. As a result of the Egyptian citizens' being influenced by the Tunisian revolution, the Egyptian revolution broke out in January 25, 2011 and Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak was forced to step down.

**Third: change by intelligent power (Libya model).**

Intelligent power is a combination of hard and soft power i.e. the process of linking tolerance and intensity. The intelligent power of (Richard Armitage and Joseph Nye) means the fusion of hard power and soft power. By

combining these two powers, which are called (smart power)<sup>22</sup>, the United States will be able to deal with global challenges. There are many challenges facing the United States, not of a military nature like the rise of China to the world ranks, for example. The reliance on military force alone, as happened in the war on Iraq was a fundamental reason in the direction of the curve of American power down, and the US military dominance is no longer feasible in an era where information is circulating and war is privatized<sup>23</sup>.

The first application fields of US smart power has already been used in Libya with the outbreak of the Arab revolutions of 2011. If we go back to the roots and causes of change in Arab region in general and Libya in particular, we find that it did not happen by chance without introductions. The United States managed through internet and the media mechanism that invaded the minds to the hearts and formed generations of young people, created a large gap between people and systems and became the nucleus for the start of the revolution. Later, it was able to overthrow the regime of Gaddafi and other systems in the region. The United States and European countries imposed economic sanctions on Muammar Gaddafi regime by freezing Libyan financial assets abroad and banning oil exports helped to flow the outbreak of the revolution. They pushed the United Nations to issue resolution number (1970) on February

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<sup>22</sup> Haider Sami, *Smart Power in US Foreign Policy after 2008*, 1st Floor, (Beirut: Bisan Publishing & Distribution, 2017).p.18.

<sup>23</sup> Joseph Nye, *op. cit*, p . 34.

26, 2011, for the imposition of economic sanctions, the freezing of assets, banning the sales of arms and preventing Gaddafi's family and those who involved in the suppression of demonstrators from traveling and issued judicial orders against them from the International Criminal Court, as well as air strikes by NATO against vital sites in Libya<sup>24</sup>.

**The fourth demand: Arab revolutions and the variable of non-state actors and its impact on the sovereignty of Arab states.**

The international relations are no longer restricted between the basic units (the states) of the international system. There are even entities, flows and trans-boundary bodies capable of getting rid of the control of governments including political, ideological and humanitarian groups called transnational forces. These organizations are very weak as they cannot compete with states but cannot be neglected in any way because of their impact on international relations<sup>25</sup>. Especially if they receive the support of influential international and regional powers. In the field of international relations. Actors can be defined as entities whose actions exceed the boundaries of the state and thus actively participate in cross-border relations and contacts.<sup>26</sup> They are called the non-state actors, and the non-state actor which is the subject of our research is the terrorist organizations or

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<sup>24</sup>. Saif Nusrat Tawfiq, *Approaches of Smart Power as a Mechanism of International mechanisms of change: the United States model*, edi. 1, the Arab Center for Strategic Studies and Research,( Doha 2016) , p . 37.

<sup>25</sup> Saad Hakki Tawfiq, *Principles of International Relations*, edi. 5, Almaktaba Alkanonia,( Baghdad 2011), p . 91.

what has become known as the Islamic state in Iraq and Syria abbreviated as (ISIS)<sup>27</sup>.

However, Arab revolutions produced a new situation at the level of Arab political systems represented by the dominance of the Islamic forces on power after the change which led to the unprecedented activity of the Islamic currents, moderate and extremist. Consequently, this appeared through the spread of ideologies of political Islam in the Arab region.

Here, a question is posed. What is the secret in the sudden rise of Islamic currents in the elections that followed the process of political change in all Arab states that have undergone change. Even though these forces did not have the first spark for the start of the revolution? In fact apart from the internal reasons represented by the nature of the treatment, Arab political systems resort to with these currents and the persecution, arrests, killings and displacement of their supporters. The main reason we believe lies in the nature of American attitudes toward Arab region as they portrayed the change as a golden opportunity for Arab people for progress and freedom from the corrupt authoritarian systems and as an opportunity to achieve democratic governance. American attitudes also tried to send messages to Arab and Muslim

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<sup>26</sup> Philip Brjaro and Mohammad Reda Jalili, *International Relations*, edi 1, Trans: Hanan Fawzi Hamdan, Alhilal Printing and Publishing, (Beirut, Library 2009),p. 39.

<sup>27</sup> See: David Hudson, " President Obama: We will degrade and Ultimately Destory ISIS " White House blog, September 10,2014, retrieved from <https://www.Whitehouse.gov/blog/2014/09/10/president - Obama - we - will - degrade - and - ultimately - destroy - isis>, January 8, 2017.

peoples on one hand and the western world on the other. Through the first message they are trying to persuade these peoples of the inability and failure of Islamic systems in the management of power and authority through the failure of new administrations in governance and rampant corruption. As well as the behavior of Islamic personalities that took high power after the stage of change indicating, The second message is an attempt to slow down the speed of the religious transformation from Christianity and Judaism to the Islamic religion. European countries and the United States are witnessing in order to tarnish the spotless image of Islam through scenes and horrific images of acts committed by terrorist groups in the name of Islam such as killing, burning and destruction. It is an attempt to reduce the tendencies of those wishing to enter Islam.

Following the changes that took place in a number of political systems, Arab region witnessed a state of security gap and political instability which opened the door for armed fundamentalist groups to fill the gap in security system. These groups controlled important joints in a number of states that have been affected by change and started exploiting the resources of these states having been able to tighten its grip on large areas of land in Iraq and Syria and received allegiance by several other armed groups in Libya, Egypt and other states which created a serious threat not only to the security system in the region but for the international peace and security.

The events of the Arab Spring in 2011 provided the appropriate platform for these areas to become incubators of terrorist organizations, especially after they developed their strategy to take a foothold in important areas of it, and carried out many operations inside and outside these

countries, which led to action. An international group on the terrorist phenomenon, including the international coalition against ISIS in Syria and Iraq <sup>28</sup>.

These regimes believe in ideas and beliefs that intersect with the political process as a whole and reject the way they are governed by the regime. Rather, they call for changing them. They believe that these political regimes do not govern according to Islamic law (Sharia) and as a result of financial and military support they receive from major and regional states. These terrorist organizations have become international actors influential and world-wide spread, have assets in international banks, media organizations, websites on the world wide web and other interfaces. Hence, these terrorist organizations were used as a card by international and regional forces to implement political agendas that serve their national interests <sup>29</sup>.

As a result of the role played by these organizations and the activities they carry out and influence in international arena and in international relations through their network of internationally supported and subsidized organizations, they have been described as international non-state actors or secondary players in international relations <sup>30</sup>, after they announced their establishment as a state under the title of the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria.

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<sup>28</sup> Ahmed Sayed Ahmed, UN Security Council and Terrorism: Ineffective Resolutions, Cairo, Al-Ahram Foundation, International Politics, No.204, (Journal, 2016), p. 118.

<sup>29</sup> Khader Abbas Atwan et al, the Change in the Arab Region and its Impact on the Arab Gulf States Systems, Journal of the Faculty of Law and Political Science, University of Kirkuk, Issue. 18, Part II, (2016), p. 349.

These terrorist organizations have worked on the development of their objectives in terms of nature and scope and no longer limited to threatening the national security of a state. Rather, they have become a threat to the structure of the state itself and a challenge for the sovereignty of states and disregard of political boundaries through the nature and quality of operations carried out. The control of these organizations on large quantities of weapons of Arab armies in Libya, Iraq and Syria has increased the strength and size of their influence. Add to this, their ties with influential regional and international parties offering them financial and military support which made the abilities of these organizations exceed the abilities of a single state or a coalition of several states.

There is also the change in the pattern and methods of armed conflict management. These organizations combine the methods of regular forces with the highly violent terrorist activity, as well as the sophisticated media capabilities that have a very significant moral impact on the communities which makes it difficult to face them in the media and security fields<sup>31</sup>.

These terrorist organizations represent a threat to economic security across the state or the region and even the world through damage to important sectors, such as tourism and the negative impact on oil prices and others by smuggling operations run by these organizations as well as the threat of international trade through targeting aircrafts and ships in addition to the control of these organizations on international waterways and dams which posed a threat to food security for a number of states in the region. They also worked on the destruction of archaeological sites and smuggling of antiquities. All these actions represented serious and significant challenges to national and regional security that exceeded the borders of the state and its capabilities. Therefore, this required joint international efforts to eliminate it within the framework of the fight against international terrorism<sup>32</sup>.

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<sup>30</sup> for more see: Saad Hakki Tawfiq, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-104.

<sup>31</sup> Dalal Mohamed El Sayed, *The Future of Security Arrangements in the Middle East*, Supplement to Strategic Transformation, *Alsiasah Aldawlia*, Issue. 203, Cairo, (December 2016), pp. 19-20.

<sup>32</sup> For more details on international efforts to combat terrorist organizations see: Fattouh Abu Dahab Heikal, *International Intervention to Combat Terrorism and its Implications for National Sovereignty*, 1st Floor, UAE, (Abu Dhabi: Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research, 2014).

As a matter of fact, the greatest challenges faced by Arab states as a result of the domination of terrorist organizations on large areas in a number of Arab countries and the prevalence of political and security instability is the state of violations against Arab sovereignty and the systematic penetration of the political borders of these countries by the neighboring regional countries under the pretext of protecting their national security and prevent the infiltration of terrorists into their territory. For instance, the active and influential Iranian presence in Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Yemen and a number of Arab Gulf states to the repeated Turkish military interventions in Iraqi Kurdistan, as well as the process of the (Israeli ) planning and implementation of threats and destruction policies in addition to the redeployment of American forces under the pretext of eliminating the terrorist organizations and armed groups. Add to this the Russian military presence in Syria and management of military operations against terrorist organizations; not only this, but almost certainly most Arab states are exposed to the same thing of penetration of their borders and violation of their sovereignty by other states or interference in their internal affairs. On the one hand, Sudan is witnessing interference by African countries in the south and in Darfur and Somalia is witnessing the same situation by the strong Ethiopian presence in it.

On the other hand, it what is greater in violation and more influential that the major and regional states are holding conferences and symposia setting up projects and making decisions regarding the problems suffered by Arab states without calling them to attend these conferences or seeking the opinion of Arab political systems. Rather, these influential states deliberately shut them out and relied instead on some parties who do not represent these Arab states and are nationals of other states. This is definitely to ensure their interests at the expense of the interests of the states and peoples of Arab region which threatens the future of sovereignty and entity of Arab states and also threatens their existence and national security.

## **Conclusion**

According to what have been said, it is necessary to sum up following conclusions, as follows:

- 1- The Arab region has assumed exceptional importance in the strategic thinking of the United States and major world powers because of its geostrategic characteristics and geopolitical status that distinguish it from other regions in the world which requires control and utilization of its resources for the sustainability of American leadership of the world order and to prevent the emergence of any competing force even of its strategic allies.

- 2- The changes that the American strategic thinking witnessed after the events of September 11, 2001, imposed on America making change in Arab region. However, what matters in this change is the securing and stability of its vital interests in the important areas of the world, especially the Arab region. Any economic or social success or arrival of national government to power in any country would represent a great danger that must be destroyed before becoming epidemic, which means the use of change for the sake of interest and not for the principle.
- 3- Arab political systems are similar in terms of governance and power management. All of them, whatever their type is, adopt the non-democratic method of governance, prevent public freedoms, use the means of oppression and tyranny and monopolize money and power at the expense of the people.
- 4- The United States has adopted several mechanisms to bring the change in Arab region in line with the strategic vision of the American administration for each stage and for local, regional and international considerations required.
- 5- Arab revolutions produced a new state of Arab political systems represented by the dominance of Islamic forces, moderate and radical, with unprecedented effectiveness on power. This is not a spontaneous process but it is within the planned US strategy which aims at hitting Islam from the inside and tarnishing its image in collective Arab and Western minds through the ugly manners and behaviors of armed groups and organizations in the name of Islam.
- 6- One of the greatest challenges of popular protests and Arab revolutions after the terrorist organizations controlled large areas of the lands of Arab states and the phenomenon of political and security chaos is the state of violations against Arab sovereignty and systematic infiltration of political borders of these countries by neighboring regional countries on the pretext of protecting their national security as well as international interventions to rearrange the geopolitical map of the region and its fragmentation into small rivalries on national, ethnic and sectarian bases for the service of the interests of America and Zionism.

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## الملخص

تحاول الدراسة بيان طبيعة التحولات السياسية والأمنية التي طرأت على المنطقة العربية جراء موجة الاحتجاجات الشعبية التي شهدتها عدة دول عربية عام 2011، وأفضت الى تغيير في النظم السياسية الحاكمة في عدد من الدول ، الأمر الذي أحدث حالة من عدم الاستقرار السياسي والفرغ الأمني في هذه الدول استطاعت قوى وفواعل

دولية من غير الدول ملء الفراغ الحاصل في المؤسسات العسكرية والأمنية مما انعكست تداعيات ذلك ليس على السيادة والأمن القومي لدول المنطقة فحسب ، بل انعكس ذلك على السلم والأمن الدوليين.

### **Abstract**

*This study attempts to explain the nature of the political and security shifts that took place in the Arab region due to the wave of popular protests in several Arab countries in 2011 and led to a change in the political regimes in a number of these countries. This caused a state of political instability and security gap in these countries. International forces and non-state actors were able to fill this gap in military and security institutions which had implications not only for the sovereignty and national security of the countries of the region but also for international peace and security.*