Scenarios of Strategic balance and instability in the Middle East

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Abstract

The question now of the strategic balance and stability in the Middle East, and specially the era of the second Gulf war, 1990s, is to assess the impact of non-conventional weapons on the region. (Non-conventional weapons, or weapons of mass destruction, refer primarily to nuclear, biological and chemical arms, and ballistic missile systems.)

The current strategic balance in the Middle East is in transition as the region seeks a new equilibrium, an equilibrium which has been in constant flux over the past three decades. The Arab-Israeli conventional arms race began in earnest in the mid-1950s. It was not long before Israel launched its nuclear and missile development programs, making Arenas' observation seem a bit tardy. Egypt plunged into chemical and missile programs a few years later. The strategic dimension that resulted has become part and parcel of disequilibrium ever since.

In the Middle East, two tiers of states are emerging: one with advanced, non-conventional capability, and one without. Israel sits squarely in the former category and is likely to be joined, in the wider regional context, by Pakistan, Kazakhstan and Iran. Some Arab states possess limited chemical weapons and ballistic missile programs, but these remain modest in size and potential, suggesting that the Arab states are set to occupy the tier of states without non-conventional weapons capability. With the Missile Technology Control Regime in force and the Chemical Weapons Convention close to being signed, this conclusion is practically inescapable.

Key Words: Balance of Power, Middle East, Asymmetric Interests, Strategic Balance.

Introduction: (*The presence of non-conventional weapons in the Middle East context is especially dangerous; their use would be highly irrational)*.

Any regional balance of power depends heavily on great-power involvement and the ways in which such powers are engaged in regional systems. The great powers are well equipped to affect regional balances because of their superior capabilities and the local actors' dependence on stronger allies. U.S. involvement in Middle East can be assessed in this context. Theoretically speaking, balance of power encompasses three key concepts: deterrence, containment and equilibrium. Their application in the political-security system of the Middle East can cause new rounds of tensions and rivalries in the region. They pose important questions including, first, which security threats are to be deterred. Second, which actors are to be contained? And, finally, against which regional actors is power equilibrium to be maintained.

The emergence of the Middle East term at the beginning of the twentieth century is considered a shift point in the names of most of the world regions in terms of its importance and a new international strategic and the will of the great forces, which is one of the modern terms that doesn't have a specific definition .I will present a number of definitions given by the politicians of this region, including: the one who first called the term of the " Middle East" is Alferd Mahan who stated that "the Middle East, is the region, which is located at the center of the Arabian Gulf and any of the terms such as the Near East , Far East or West Asia don't apply on this definition , however, this definition does not specify the countries within the scope of this resistance spot ", the Middle East folder and North Africa" is known as the region including Turkey, Iran, the Fertile Crescent, Jordan, Palestine, the Arabian Peninsula, Egypt, Sudan, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria. There are opinions that the Middle East is intended only as Iran, Iraq, the Gulf region, and then this affirms that there is no specific definition of this region, where this name lies behind political significance to the Arab countries that define this region according to their interests and that the Middle East is one of the most important areas which is sought by all the major powers to control it, it represents the largest oil inventories in the Middle East.

The Middle East, for the purposes of this discussion, includes the Arab states, Israel, Iran and Turkey. The multiplicity and diversity of regional actors render the region highly vulnerable to external influences, especially given the relative proximity of southern Europe, the states of the former Soviet Union, and Pakistan and India. The US is a regional actor by virtue of its global reach, residual Cold war dynamics and declared interests.

The term "Middle East" may have been intimated in the 1850s in the British India Office, and then become more widely used by the US Navy Strategic, Alfred Thayer Mahan. During that time, the British and Russian empires have fought over influence in Central Asia. This competition has become known as the Great Game. Mahan didn't only absorb the strategic importance of the region, but also the position of the Arab Gulf. He called the region surrounding the Arabian Gulf as" Middle East", he said that after the Suez Canal, it is the most important corridor that should be controlled by Britain to prevent the Russians from progress toward India.

Where the Middle East is the most important regions in the world, which is rich in spiritual inheritance historically, religiously and culturally. These factors are considered so important that a whole constitutes a magnetic polarization of the world population center. Geopolitics scientists say that Middle East is heart of the earth and it is the religiously key airstrip of the three monotheistic religions Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Historically , three empires had risen and ruled the world from this region , and had a role sovereignty and leadership starting from the Empire Paranoiac, Persian Empire and then the Arab-Islamic Empire in the two capitals Baghdad and Istanbul and left all of the civilization of Persia , civilization of Assyrian and Chaldean in Iraq and the clear imprint on the rest of the civilizations of the modern world as It affected the Pharaonic civilization in Egypt and those civilization of the Greeks and Romans with Hebrew and Arab civilization in the Levant on the traditions , customs and systematic behavior , that presented social and spiritual civilization to the people of the world from below to the maximum. All of these events and others increased the importance of the Middle East, the world always and make it at the center of the lens and brought the attention of great powers, their strategies focus on the region and try to control them to the point they were considered an era for quite some time in the modern history of the conflict theater of operations and the conflict of the world.

The main causes of instability Middle East *(Instability as much by perceptions and expectations as critical economic and social pressures).*

The basis of the argument that escalation is possible in the short-term scenarios outlined below is that the region is today in a strategically unstable situation due to asymmetric interests, complex relationships between states and non-state actors, and a nascent Iranian nuclear power. In such a specific regional framework, the conditions for strategic stability identified during the Cold War may prove inadequate to prevent the outbreak of wars, and even nuclear escalation. The current series of crises in the Middle East have many causes, and causes that that vary sharply by country. They include politics, religion, and ideology – shaped in many cases by major tribal, ethnic, sectarian, and regional differences within a given nation. The political dynamics of these crises and unrest are, however, only part of the story. An examination of the broader demographic, economic and security trends in the region shows how critical these factors are in shaping public anger and discontent. They also show the critical role of governance, social change, and justice systems in shaping and dealing with each nation's problems. This briefing summarizes current statistics and data on the key trends in demographics, economics, internal security and justice systems, governance, and social change to show how they affect both the region and individual nations.

The Middle East is the world's "primary theater" for terrorist activity, according to the State Department's 2014 Country Reports on Terrorism. The most striking development in the past year is the rise of ISIS - also known as ISIL, Daesh, or the Islamic State - and its self-proclaimed caliphate in Syria and Iraq. In 2014, al Qaeda affiliates also took advantage of political instability in the region to conduct operations, particularly in Yemen, Syria, and North Africa.

Furthermore, the Middle East has not given up on the unique description that has been given to it among the various regions of the world for decades as the world's most inflamed issues and crises and that the international community the major international powers failed in finding solutions, until now to these issues and crises that is described as «chronic» .The development and its aftermath are considered a serious threat to international peace and security.

Despite the enormous expanse of some countries, the critical "conflict areas" are relatively small and tend to comprise the borders of several states. Concentrations of population, administration, economic activity and infrastructure in rival states are often in close proximity. The distances separating the main sub-regions are not great. With the proliferation of intermediate-range ballistic missiles and mid-air refueling for combat aircraft, most of the states in the region possess the means to threaten the other key states. Iraq, by 1990-1991, was effectively extending its strategic reach into the Gulf and Arab-Israeli theaters. Israel has demonstrated its reach through ballistic missile and satellite launches and by bombing targets as far apart as Baghdad and Tunis. India's nuclear capability and Pakistan's recent declaration that it has become a "nuclear power," not to mention Iran's weapons programs, can affect the strategic posture and security not only of Iraq and the Gulf but also of Syria and Israel (and ultimately Egypt).

These issues make this region the most inflamed for several factors, the first and the important of its strategic location as located in the heart of the world making it the focus of attention of the major powers for centuries under the struggles for spheres of influence; where this area has become of vital importance in the military strategies of major countries in the modern era in Under it approached the main conflict centers in the world. The second factor is the riches of the region

specifically oil and energy sources; it owns nearly 60% of proven oil reserves globally (40% of the Arabian Gulf area) making it the focus of the ambitions of the major countries where is the oil is the mainstay of the economies of these countries which are mainly based on industry. The third factor is the existence of Israel originated by the West in the region of Palestine account as a base and to be an obstacle to the unity of the peoples of the region and the depletion of their strengths and resources through the many wars that have sparked since its establishment in 1948, both against neighboring countries or against the Palestinians, and the fourth factor is the geographical proximity to the Middle East of the European continent means the occurrence of the region in the vital area of the European national security that made the European countries affected by the developments in the region, which prompts them to interfere in their affairs in one way or another under the pretext of protecting security. The fifth factor is the emergence of regional powers in the region that have ambitions to do regional roles for domination and influence, through the adoption of interventionist policy in the affairs of other countries and the adoption of sophisticated arming programs constitute an element of concern major powers are motivated to intervene in the area . the sixth factor is the emergence of another kind of the output of the conflict on the one hand for interventions major powers in the region and the output on the other hand for regional powers policies of internal conflicts, whether sectarian or ethnic, which makes the countries in the region in front of the challenge of maintaining its integrity and internal unity because of these crises and issues taking place in the Middle East. It is a natural result of these factors, but that the latter is an essential reason for its continuation and intensification of a source of instability in the region. If you take a light on the developments of some of those issues and crises you'll discover that it will remain for the foreseeable future threat elements capable of igniting the region.

The strategic and political linkages and challenges between sub-regions and regional issues were driven home by the US-led coalition effort against Iraq: first when the US secured the active involvement of Egypt and Syria (and Arab states as far away as Morocco) and deployed allied forces to Turkey as well as the Gulf; and second when the US moved in the post-war period to promote an Arab-Israeli peace settlement. Middle East states have built on these linkages in the past, with Israeli offers of nuclear-capable ballistic missiles to Iran in the 1970s and Iraqi-Egyptian collaboration on ballistic missile development in the 1980s.

We would like to shed some light upon, some trends in demographics, economics, internal security and justice systems, governance, and social change show how much other factors affect both the region and individual nations, and will remain sources of violence and instability until they are dealt with. They show how basic data on the size of given economies, per capita incomes, populations, and population growth rates also contribute to instability. Finally, they illustrate the critical role of governance, social change, and justice systems in shaping and dealing with each nation's problems. The analysis is divided into eleven main sections covering every state in the Middle East and North Africa:

1- Comparisons Between regions.
2- The Critical Importance of National Differences and the Problem of Perceptions.
3- Population Growth: Demographics Threaten the Stability of Virtually Every MENA State.
4- Human Economics, Not Macroeconomics, Drive Instability: Low per capita incomes in most states. Very poor income distribution, and serious – if uncertain – poverty levels.

5- The Illusion of Regional Oil Wealth: Most petroleum exporting countries end up as rentier states with distort economies, limited job creation, and limited per capita income.

6- Poverty, Food Supply and Costs Are a Serious Issue and Key Cause of Instability: Some estimates indicate the region has an exceptionally high spending on food as a percent of total income.

7- Ethnic, Sectarian, and Tribal Differences: "Clash Within A Civilization": Not a "clash between civilizations," but an Arab and Islamic world torn by internal ideological conflicts and power struggles.

8- Rapid Social Change and Uncertainty and Risk: Past social norms, social stability, status, roles, and leadership elites replaced by constant change in unstable and often socially anonymous conditions.

9- Excessive Security, Weak Rule of Law, and Sometimes Repression: Failures threaten stability and often the regime as much as the people.

10- Problems in Governance, Corruption, Inefficient State Sectors, Barriers to Business and Growth: Over-dependence on non-competitive state industries, government jobs for employment, mixed with corruption and barriers to private sector growth and job creation.

11- Problems in Governance, Uncertain Provision of Key Services: Problems in funding education, health, water, refuse removal, housing, and mixed use of subsidies and barriers.

Moreover, the instability of the region is not reducible to balance versus asymmetry. Conflict arising from territorial disputes and exacerbated by social and economic factors is the root cause of the regional arms race. It is in this context that non-conventional weapons exert a strongly destabilizing influence, due to their own intrinsic features -- especially their perceived utility for launching surprise "demonstration" attacks. The distinction, partly contrived, between "tactical" and "strategic" -- can encourage the view that these weapons can be employed in situations that fall short of a war of survival. That such weapons are considered relevant to the conduct of war at the operational level was made evident by Iraqi use of chemical weapons against Iran during the first Gulf war and ballistic missiles against a nuclear-armed Israel in the second one. For Israel, which fears losing its conventional and technological superiority over the Arab armies, nuclear weapons have offered a means since 1967 of constraining Arab war plans. The strategic limitation influenced the choice of operational tactics, but did not prevent war in October 1973: Both Egypt and Syria resorted to air-to-surface and surface-to-surface missiles when they considered Israeli strategic bombing to have exceeded certain "red lines.

Here I would say that, the Arab states in the region fears are not far-fetched. There has been a distinct blurring of conceptual boundaries concerning the function of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and the doctrines governing their use. This increasing ambiguity has already led to the battlefield uses previously cited, and subtle outward shifts in Israeli doctrine and policy have been reflected in concrete changes in force structure and deployment, incorporating non-conventional capabilities in force structures and operational war-waging doctrines.

Therefore, by the 2011, the Arab spring has deepened the gap between the main regional powers in the Middle East, still the absence of "balance of power" in the region exist, that is due to:

1- The impact of the Arab spring on the "strategic balance "in the Arab region , especially between Israel and Syria, also between Israel and Egypt, as Egypt still very busy by its internal

affairs, (economic crisis, politically divided, limited budget for developing its military capabilities), also Syria under – any scenario- needs at least for a decade to come back again to the strategic balance equation in the middle east.

2-The impact of the Arab spring on the strategic balance between some big regional power in the region, specially Iran and Turkey ,both countries tried to impose their regional projects especially in the Arab   region (politically and economically). the Iranian - Turkish conflict has emerged in Iraq(Kurdistan region) also in the gulf state, Egypt, and now in Syria. It seems that Turkey can gain this battle in the near future.

3-Absence of the balance of power between Iran and the gulf countries especially after the collapse of the relative strategic balance existed in the 1970s and 1980s, with the end of the Israeli conflict). There are also conflicts specific to sovereignty between Iran and United Arab Emirates, there is an ongoing border dispute between Iraq and Kuwait, despite the two countries having already delineated their borders. There is undeclared dispute between Egypt and Israel on the maritime border in the east of the Mediterranean Sea.

Therefore, the state of flux in the Middle East strategic equilibrium became especially acute and prompted intensive counter-moves on all sides from the late 1970s onwards, following the withdrawal of Egypt from the Arab-Israeli conflict and the rise and collapse of the Shah's military ambitions for Iran. The consequences were not long in coming: Iraq's invasion of Iran, Israel's bombing of Iraq's Osirak reactor and invasion of Lebanon, and Syria's acquisition of SS-21 missiles, among others. The acceleration of the Middle East non-conventional arms race in the second half of the 1980s reached a crescendo in the spring of 1990 with the exchange of threats between Iraq and Israel and then the invasion of Kuwait.

Historical and geographical importance of the Middle East: Home to the Cradle of Civilization, the Middle East (usually interchangeable with the Near East) has seen many of the world's oldest cultures and civilizations. This history started from the earliest human settlements, continuing through several major pre- and post-Islamic Empires through to the modern collection of nation-states covering the Middle East today.

The Middle East is a large and diverse geographical area located in southwest Asia and northeast Africa. It extends over 2,000 miles from the Black Sea in the north to the Arabian Sea in the south, and about 1,000 miles from the Mediterranean Sea in the west to the mountains of Iran. The term "Middle East" came into common use in the early twentieth century, but remains loosely defined. One term sometimes applied to part of this area is "Fertile Crescent," which was coined by James Henry Breasted in 1914 to refer to the arc of fertile agricultural zones that formed the basis for early civilizations, in what is now Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, and Israel. Scholars studying the ancient past usually use the term "Near East" for this area.

Geographically, the Middle East can be thought of as Western Asia without the Caucasus but with Egypt, which is the non-Maghreb part of Northern Africa. The Middle East was the first to experience a Neolithic Revolution (c. the 10th millennium BC), as well as the first to enter the Bronze Age (c. 3300–1200 BC) and Iron Age (c. 1200–500 BC).

Historically human populations have tended to settle around bodies of water, which is reflected in modern population density patterns. Irrigation systems were extremely important for the agricultural Middle East: for Egypt that of the lower Nile River, and for Mesopotamia that of

the Tigris River and Euphrates River. Levantine agriculture depended on precipitation rather than on the river-based irrigation of Egypt and Mesopotamia, resulting in preference for different crops. Since travel was faster and easier by sea, civilizations along the Mediterranean, such as Phoenicia and later Greece, participated in intense trade. Similarly, Ancient Yemen, much more conducive to agriculture than the rest of the Arabian Peninsula, sea traded heavily with the Horn of Africa, some of which it lingual Sanitized. The Andante Arabs, inhabiting the drier desert areas of the Middle East, were all nomadic pastoralists before some began settling in city states, with the geo-linguistic distribution today being divided between the Gulf, the Najd and the Hejaz in the Peninsula, as well as the Bedouin areas beyond the Peninsula. Middle East has its global importance of the first class, and this lies in two directions:

1. Economic importance: economic importance in the region is because of the presence of oil where oil reserves in the Middle East is estimated for 66% of oil international reserves .At the end of the twentieth century, the Middle East produced about a third of the world's oil, this region is the main supplier of oil to the world advanced especially Europe, the United States, Russia and Japan, and this has given to some countries in the Middle East much economic power that has affected on the peoples of the region. Middle Eastern oil is present in abundance

2.   in the Gulf region, and on this basis the major powers trying to oversee the region and today the only supervisor of the region is the United States of America. Especially for oil in the Middle East that it is inexpensive recipe, and from each oil well , large amounts are extracted and there is no need to drill many deep wells.

2. Strategic importance: the word strategy is a word of Greek origin and comes of the word "Astratejos" which means a commander of great significance, the Middle East has long very great important strategy between the surrounding areas, as it is a link or bridge between the countries and other continents of the world.

The middle site is of the attributes of mind and important status is the weight of objects of regular which is undoubtedly the midst of engineering .If we look at the world map, we find the Middle East region is located in the gravity center of the world in its location and border crossings strategy {Dardanelles to the Suez Canal and then the Strait of Bab el Mandeb and Hormuz} up North Advanced industrial south, the less fortunate and the capitalist West which rich and charm. the Middle East region is located on the outskirts of three continents, namely Asia, Europe, Africa and its beaches overlooking the Mediterranean Sea, the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean which is known as warm water that has been and continues to the north a cold weather and icy sometimes dreams and seeks access to it than this unique site infused East temperate climate in all four seasons winter, spring, summer and autumn alternate regularly in most of its countries giving the sites which attracts tourists from all over the world as well as the products of agricultural , animal and fish available and fresh throughout the year and have a special taste of and the figure below explains the site Middle East in the world.

The Middle East witnesses at the present time many of the changes that indicate a significant shift in the balance of power in the background of the so-called « Arab Spring » and the escalation of violence in Syria, Yemen, and the deterioration of the situation in the countries of the Arab Spring, which resulted in a try regional and international powers leapfrog opportunities to maximize its interests through the use of such changes across redraw the strategic roles in the region.

Here we must refer to events that have affected the strategic security of the region of the Middle East, mainly namely pushed the issue, since Israel's announcement its independence in 1946 and is in a state of war with all the countries in the region, and Arab countries have fought three wars with Israel since its establishment, in years, 1948,1956,1967 and 1973, since then and after the failure that has become by Arab countries, Egypt reached a peace agreement with Israel in 1979 where there was a cautious calm between Arab states and Israel to the year 1988 where the first began talks to find a just peace and comprehensive peace between the Arab states and Israel. If we look at the process of peaceful settlement in the Middle East on the Israeli-Palestinian track, we will find that the process, which was launched in 1989 under American auspices facing failure in light opposes the Israeli and Palestinian positions, negotiations are supposed to be the peace process in the coming year, which began its few years they have become obstacle not peace . many developments occurred since its launch, which focused on the final status issues, most notably the issues of borders, settlements, Jerusalem and the right of return of refugees, and sought US Secretary of State «John Kerry» to reach a framework by the end of the negotiations an agreement in April 2014 enable it to extend the negotiations until the end of the year with a plan include a call for an end to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the establishment of a Palestinian state based on 1967 borders with a land swap and the recognition of the Jadishness' of the state high security arrangements on the borders and Jerusalem as capital of two states. This pays to anticipate failure to plan «Kerry» that the Palestinian side rejects the idea of Jewish state of Israel while the latter insists on this condition, and the Netanyahu government refuses to dismantle any Israeli settlements built on Palestinian land or forcing any Israeli settlers to evacuate the Palestinian territories, even in the framework of the final solution with the Palestinians. In addition, Israel is demanding to keep its military forces in the «depressions» means that any future political solution threatens the independence of a Palestinian state because the Palestinians will not possess any guarantees about the troops not to re-occupation of the Palestinian State .the failure of the negotiations is certainly (which is what Israel wants and working for it) and the survival of the Palestinian issue without a solution would mean a continuation of the causes of tension and instability in the Middle East. If we let the peaceful settlement process and we moved to Iraq, we will find that the situation in this country is the other one of the region's instability factors, what is suffering from the lack of political and security stability is the dominant feature of it since the establishment of the United States invading and occupation in 2003, and even after the withdrawal of its troops at the end of in 2016, helped by the sectarian policy of the Prime Minister «Nuri al-Maliki» marginalization of Sunni leaders and not driven to work towards national reconciliation and to involve all factions of society in the government .. but that Sunni tribes recently accused it of targeting in Anbar province, instead of targeting the organization of the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant «Daash», prompting a number of regions and the Sunni provinces to call for declaring an independent regions like Kurdistan region of Iraq, and the Iranian role escalating in Iraq and the failure of the United States contributed to the aggravation of the dispute between the Iraqi political forces; the Iranian role has not changed after the conclusion of the agreement nuclear program with the West. The matter becomes worse escalation of violence in the region; where the United Nations mission reported in Iraq, Syria and Yemen that the years 2014 and 2015, the deadliest after the killing and wounding of tens of thousands of civilians either out violence in different parts of the province, as well as the risks of organizing «« Daash »no longer limited to a specific area, but it is now threatening all countries in the region. It seems that the situation in Syria is darker, since the outbreak of the Syrian revolution in March 2011 fell nearly 500 people dead due to the clashes between the armed Syrian regime

forces and the opposition is tens of thousands of people and millions of displaced persons and refugees, which faced different reactions at the regional and international levels between pro-Syrian regime (Russia, Iran and the Lebanese Hezbollah) and a supporter of the Syrian opposition (Saudi Arabia, Entity and most Western countries), in the absence of «Bashar al-Assad» system power and the insistence of the opposition to the absence of the exclusion «Al assad » in any settlement determine the future of power in Syria. As well as the situation is no different for Yemen; where the other is suffering from a lack of political and security stability in the current war (storm packets) against the coup on the legitimacy of the group al-Huthi and militias supporting it by the ousted President Ali Saleh

It should be noted also to one of the other factors, that the problem of water scarcity is the other one of instability in the Middle East factors; the per capita water ranges in the region of 500-600 cubic meters per year and up in some countries to less than 200 cubic meters, while per capita globally 4 thousand cubic meters per year. Given the fact that the water poverty line is 1,000 cubic meters per person per year, this means that the Middle East went into the water poverty in the light of the rapid population growth and over-water, pollution from pesticides and fertilizers pumping as well as the accelerating climate, which leads to dehydration Lakes change and rivers and decreasing rainfall. The indicators show clearly that the region is on the verge of conflicts between its countries around the water, Egypt is currently facing the problem of building Ethiopia to meet the Renaissance and which will certainly affect the share of the Nile water after the dam project is complete, and the Palestinians in the West Bank are facing an acute problem under the monopoly of Israel's water Sea of Galilee and inventory underground water in the West this with Turkey declared a state of emergency due to the drought that plagued the country and led to low water levels behind dams and the outbreak of the crisis in drinking water consumption. A crisis that can be experienced by neighboring countries, especially Syria and Iraq, especially since the Tigris and Euphrates rivers originate from Turkish territory. And of course we do not need to say that Gulf Arab states are already experiencing the poorest in the water under the depletion of stocks of groundwater a problem that is trying to address them through water desalination operations.

And last but not least is the problem of nuclear proliferation problems that threaten the stability of the region in the presence of s Israel possesses an arsenal of nuclear weapons (more than two hundred atomic bomb), and the presence of regional power ,Iran, which is trying to acquire nuclear capabilities. In spite of the recent West with Iran's agreement to some degree from the rush of Iran in the direction of the possession of nuclear weapons, an end, however, Iran's nuclear ambitions as well as worries Israel and makes it seeks to settle the Iranian nuclear program encourages other countries that are also seeking to acquire nuclear programs under the slogan used in power generation or water desalination and other civilian uses, which means the creation of a nuclear race in the region and therefore to devote instability there. All these issues and the previous crises, affecting almost the majority of the Middle Eastern countries which means that this vital region of the world live on a volcano, which is likely to continue in this position as long as the international community insists on ignoring or not to deal seriously with these issues and crises like waiting to ignite the region more and more in order to move to solve it .. and if they do not realize, especially Western countries, the seriousness of the deterioration of the situation and its negative consequences on the proven security. There is no doubt that in bringing international attention to these issues and crises will be only countries in the region move in this direction with a reminder of the international

community the enormity of the price that can be paid from the security and stability of the world if these issues and crises remained on the ignition.

Inter-Arab conflicts: The internal conflicts or civil Arab of a complex nature or the issues that are related to social, economic, cultural and religious political in nature, both internal and external dimensions, as well as historical extensions Hence, the reasons and issues of Arab internal conflicts interfere with the composite nature in all its aspects and referred dimensions to the emergence of internal conflicts is not an Arab phenomenon behavior or place the Arab world, it is an international phenomenon linking the "same rights" in various parts of the world and covers most of the continents of the world this ground, but the luck of the Arab world, these conflicts are quite a few. "The united Arab nation in morale in terms of values and culture, but they are fragmented in economic and social crises. This is what led and lead to a real emergence of multiplicity and unity in the Arab character. The phenomenon of pluralities or variations is a natural phenomenon in all nations and peoples. However, problem lies in the tendency of the phenomenon to violence and conflict. "

The Arab internal conflicts have received special attention with the end of the twentieth century of international and regional powers. It is expected that this interest lasts at least for is short by these forces, and that the strategic importance of the region and the Arab world, in addition to the increased risk and the impact of these conflicts on the regional and international security and stability and that the seriousness of the Arab internal conflicts and their impact on Arab interests on the one hand, and on the international vital interests on the other hand, paid researchers in the Arab and Western worlds to identify the most important crises and the nature of these conflicts and their causes. This is what we are trying to identify it in this study.

The causes of the Arab and issues of internal conflicts Can be divided into two levels: first, at the level of the internal causes/ factors .second, on the level of external factors and the reasons for any non-Arab factors.

First internal factors:
1- The crisis of legitimacy of the ruling political power.
2- Strangeness of political power from its surroundings politically and culturally.
3- Ignorance of religion , ignorance of political history and ethnic community.
4- The absence of a clear relationship "contractual" fair between the state and the various sects.
5- Forced composition country in the Arab world (country state crisis).
6- Absence of "cultural control" when the difference.
7- Role of the "elite" or minorities in the political system.
8- The existence of problems in the contemporary Arab Thought.

Second: External factors:
1- The negative role of Orientals and colonialism and missionary in the Arab world
2- Regional Security disorder, conflicts of Saudi Arab
3- Rivalry between world powers about influence in the Arab world during the Cold War
4- Zionist role of inter-Arab conflicts.

The internal factors: The crisis of legitimacy of the ruling political power in the Arab world or the weakness of the fragility of legitimacy that are based on them, they are living "crisis of legitimacy" as the majority of the Arab regimes did not come to power through a real democracy. So the people

belonging to the political system limited or marginal, almost exclusively in fear or for some classes of people narrow interests and the absence of legal means   as well as the absence of the most important foundations of the democratic nature of political power. As the saying goes, the systems with the "diversity" of ethnic or sectarian or religious or tribal within the entity or contemporary Arab state deal was not democratically dealing either behavior authoritarian that was unwilling to "the legitimacy of the political system" or lever of the forces of "diversity "or" minority ", if they advocate and supporter of the political system. Both cases or situations cause in internal conflicts.

***The first case*:** The authoritarian behavior of the political system led to the persecution of "minority", so the reaction is violence and conflict with the political system.

The second case: "The forces of diversity" in favor of the political system is democratic got special privileges on the rest of the people account, which led to the creation of a gap born of hatred and hostility between the privileges of "minority" and the general public, have developed or may develop later to contrast relationship in the interests and relationships of conflict and violence. Where Arab internal conflicts have received special attention with the end of the twentieth century of international and regional powers .It is expected that this interest at least lasts for is short by these forces, and that the strategic importance of the region and the Arab world, in addition to the increased risk and the impact of these conflicts on the regional and international security and stability.

On the other hand, the nature of the dictatorship (authoritarian) political system a "legitimate" fragile rejects the participation of the people or political forces in the resolution, and often resort to dictatorial power in dealing with people, and to restrict freedoms. This authoritarian nature was a key reason for the popularity of violent reactions against the political system. In many cases the weapon and violence is the rule in the relationship between political power and authoritarian groups or opposition to the policies and decisions of the ruling political system in some Arab countries, political movements.

Hence, the absence of "legitimacy" of the political system as a result of the absence of the role or the will of the people of all classes and walks of life and all its components free choice, have led to conflicts between political power on the one hand, and between communities or the forces of "diversity" on the other hand. If the availability of free choice and acceptance of the political system gave birth to the "legitimate" which recognizes people's different religions.

Strangeness of political power (the country's political system) politically and culturally popular for its surroundings. Meant by "strangeness" political power is the spacing and possibly conflict between cultural and ideological affiliation of the people and the nation, and between the cultural and ideological affiliation to the ruling power. The people are predominantly belonging to the Arab and Islamic civilization, while political power is dominated by "Western cultural affiliation" at least at the level of behavior and practice. Also, this divergence or conflict between the two parties culturally and ideologically, followed by a "political We strangeness," The people wants "an independent and free" state of political will, and the political system that goes with the policies "dependency" of great powers in the Cold War and beyond. This "alienation" cultural ideological and political coincided with frustration GPC of "the ruling political power failure" in the management of local home issues (achievement of comprehensive development, the provision of freedoms, the eradication of poverty and unemployment), or failure in the external world issues such as the question of Palestine.

As a result of this "alienation and failure" no longer "state" able to collect their legitimacy from the nation or the people therefore resorted to physical force naked, which prompted to the conflicts between them and the internal armed opposition movements in a number of Arab countries.

Religious ignorance and ignorance of political history of the ethnic community which is the enemy of humanity and human societies in general, which is for the Arab world with a strong adhesion and pride in their culture and religion the human environment, and full of ethnic diversity, a weapon or an essential source of violence. As is known, the Islam is the dominant religion in the Arab world, Ignorance of the Islamic religion, this religion is the dynamic nature and strength ideology, have been dealt with ignorance and its contents and public purposes, and stay away by all the times and requirements, and place it in the " strangeness " and "isolation" civilized. Although it is the religion of "dialogue" and "acquaintance" and "moderation" and "global", that is, with the other cultural openness within the Arab community or outside. In another, the deal with the ignorance of Islam and put it in a narrow frameworks and " strangeness " and "isolation" and lock it from the world of jurisprudence in the contemporary changes and confined in a circle "inertia" intellectual, and remove it from nature moderation establish a climate of militancy.

On the other hand, the "ignorance" of political history, and the weakness of "awareness" movement of history and politics by individuals or follow entities led to ethnic intolerance, Weak "awareness" movement historical fallacies and distortion of the facts surrounding the ethnic entities, it has led to cultural ethno-genesis a nature of the "oppressed", in addition to the weakness of "political awareness" what you are doing "elites" or political symbols of ethnic entities of "exploitation" of the reality of ethnic entities, in the interests of the "elites or symbols" political and ethnic entity, both characterizations led to a feeling "injustice and oppression" by the minorities are paying more ethnic intolerance. And ignorance of "religious", ignorance of "historical political" ethnic community coincided with the political persecution by the political system, and the failure of the state in the management and development of the Arab community, which was born violent internal conflicts in a number of Arab countries.

The absence or fragility of the relationship fair "contractual" between the state and the various sects in many Arab countries internal conflicts between political power on the one hand, ethnic or religious minorities on the other hand, because of the absence of a relationship "contractual" clear and binding and at the same fair time, contractual relationship may be through treaties or agreements between the parties, or through the constitution defines each party's rights and duties are clearly without prejudice, with the existence of mechanisms which obliges each party to apply the terms of the contractual relationship. Sometimes the contractual relationship may be clear its terms and obligations, but there may be procrastination or lack of commitment or application of this contractual relationship of one of the parties on the grounds of local solicitor variables, regional or international, change or affect the interests of the political system or political elite or leaders of the minority. Perhaps the experience of Iraq with the Kurds, the clearest example of that, despite the existence of a contractual relationship between political power and ethnic Kurdish entity representing the "self-rule" but that developments created by the Second Gulf War led to a lack of commitment to them. While the experience with south Sudan concerning the difference about the contractual relationship between the political system and actors within the South Sudanese minority's items.

 "Many of Arab States to the internal conflicts between political power on the one hand, and ethnic or religious minorities on the other hand, because of the absence of a relationship" contractual "clear and binding and at the same time fair"

In addition to the probably of the lack of clarity or agreement on the contractual relationship terms, there are sometimes the absence of the institutional dimension of the contractual relationship which makes them non-continuous or stable; because of the "individual" political power and its mode or because of the changing nature of the political system or to change of the "external" links of the forces active in many ethnic or religious minorities.

Forced composition of the country in the Arab world (country state crisis): After the collapse of the Ottoman rule of the Arab world, the British and French occupation forces divided the Arab world into a small entities; therefore process of the emergence of this Arab country entities has been forced, was not making the political boundaries of country state homogeneous with cultural, social, ethnic, tribal and clan boundaries; in other words, has attracted entity State communities heterogeneous but conflicting sometimes ethnic or sectarian or tribal or sectarian, and this configuration or forced emerging country entities making the country the Arab states sometimes unprepared "automatically" and a hotbed of conflicts when there are political environment and socio-economic as well as some other factors that I refer to it later, such as political dictatorship.

This forced configuration country state opens the door to talk about the extent of contemporary Entity state's failure to be a unified cultural identity of the nation on the one hand, and to meet the requirements and needs of the nation's second hand, and their ability to perform the political and security function of the nation from a third party. It seems that these three aspects have made the country the state in "state of crisis", and this situation was a major cause (in the periphery of the Arab world); either to politicians merger, or conglomerate group of nation-states to develop their own rather than develop its role and effectiveness (as is the case with Europe). Or direction toward disintegration to weaker or more entities but the country closer to the cultural and civilization identity of the nation, as happened, for example, with the disintegration of Yugoslavia culturally ethnically, or the former Soviet Union. Is the Arab state Entity is facing a two-way and are enforced? (Either because of internal conflicts, or because of the absence of central authority, as happened in Iraq, Syria, Libya and Yemen).

The absence of "cultural control" at the difference: As noted at the beginning , the "pluralism" in the communities is a human domain , whether "pluralism" ethnic various forms of color, origin, sex, race, or cultural pluralism, or a plurality of tribal and clan, in which the different local customs, traditions and characteristics of the people play a role essential. There is also a difference in religions or sects in the same religion. Pluralism is the origin of the humanitarian community, including the Arab community; where he says the Almighty "and made you into nations and tribes so." The central question here is how do we make of pluralism in the Arab community / regional state "diversity", and make the relationship between the groups and sects and ethnicities different society (in the Arab world or among civilizations) relationship "long" and "cooperation" (virtue, righteousness and piety), Instead of relationship "dominance" or "persecution" and then evolve into a "dispute and conflict," relations. In other words, make the integration of the different sects and ethnicities culturally integrated into society and not forced. Hence, the concept of "cultural control" is a positive attitude toward pluralism, in other words, is civilized behavior when the difference with the "other" both in terms of readiness for "recognition" or "accept" the other the presence or accept

coexistence with the "difference" intellectual, political or ethnic or religious with the other. At the same time, access to the resolution of conflicts with the "other" in society through peaceful means, rather than the means of physical violence or armed force. In fact, the absence of this "cultural control" in communal ethnic or religious ties to each other in Arab Entity state, or in a relationship with the political power of minorities in the Arab Entity entities, it led to many armed conflicts in a number of Arab countries.

"The concept of" cultural control "is a positive attitude toward pluralism, in other words, is civilized behavior when you disagree with the" other "both in terms of readiness for" recognition "or" accept "the other the presence or accept coexistence with the" difference "intellectual, political or ethnic with religious or other "

In this context, it can put the issue of "minority" the dominance of the "majority" in some Arab country entities with the inability of this minority, often, about getting a "legitimate" free will of the majority. At the same time he refused to take this minority and its "size" natural categories within the different communities and society; which prompts them to use "legitimate force" to maintain the physical location extraordinary. In contrast, the "ignore or exclude" or not to "recognize" the rights of the majority of political and cultural minority, or oppression paid to resort to physical force to lift the injustice and to obtain their rights. Both situations caused in armed conflicts in some Arab countries.

The role of the "elite" or minorities in the political system: It is known that the political elite is the center, which captures the strength, or the possession of power in the center of the state, political or minority regime; therefore, the political elite and the nature of its role was a factor of the key factors that were and still play a pivotal role in creating or making conflicts or settled. As the one politicians and researchers about the importance of the role of the elite he says, "the political elite is the elite of the community as a heart of flesh, pulsing flesh grows pulse, social and political entity in the flesh and in the conditions of performance levels.

The political elite, or the political power, is the locomotive that pulls the movement of evolution and development to the various tracks, if followed locomotive on track strongly and enjoyed a suitable pay flourished continued development and evolution.

Perhaps it can be said that it is not much different both about the importance and centrality of the role of political elites in the life of our Arab societies, perhaps largely exceeds those in many other countries in the contemporary world. "

The most important roles of the elite, whether political, military or cultural in Arab internal conflicts are as follows:

First, at the level of the state or political system: Sometimes it led the political elite or military role in the inside of some Arab states to "strangeness" politically and culturally for the state of their societies. Where it practiced role in creating cultural and political class "surprising" and far from the cultural and civilization nature self Arab and Muslim community. Creating a gap or "antagonism" environment and "aversion" between the ruling political powers on the one hand, and between members of the community with a spontaneous and automatic link with the Arab Islamic civilization.

The dominance of "individuality" and "ambitions" in the political and economic structure of the state and the political system which produced a financially , administratively and politically a corrupt system which constitutes a "frustrating" and "poor" and "absence" of justice is located on different people and groups.

This represents the political and military elite, the basic fulcrum of the political system of the dictatorial and authoritarian behavior and political persecution in some Arab countries. Previously, we pointed to the impact of this kind of political system in the making of local conflicts. As it is obvious to the impact of a political persecution and the role of the state to create the right environment for violence and political tension within the same Arab community.

At the level of sectarian religious or ethnic minorities, the role of the elite, represent the following: The political and cultural elite minorities are the other serves as a guidance and influence leaders or political influence in the behavior of the minority, and here the nature of their positions and their behavior was lead to "coexistence" or "conflict" between the Arab minority and the Entity state that settles it. Where it dominated the political and cultural elites "external link" and "foreign loyalties" and the implementation of the interests of foreign countries or international forces, in many cases these countries were of a hostile nature of some outs to the ambitions and interests of the foreign powers the Arab regimes, and perhaps these external ambitions of the public interest of national minorities and state together account, and this atmosphere, external links and rivalries were reflected in the form of violence and the behavior of my struggle between the "minority", and "state of the majority" and perhaps the cases of Sudan and Iraq, one of the most obvious examples.

"The political and cultural elite minority serves as a guidance and influence leaders or political influence in the behavior of the minority, and here the nature of their positions and their behavior was lead to" coexistence "or" conflict "between the Arab minority and country where the State which stabilizes"

Finally, the elites minority played a key role in shaping the cultural and political visions, religious minorities and this sometimes and created minorities sometimes filled with uncertainty and caution against the community minority .it is reinforced by the cultural and political discrimination, and impeding the political and social process of integration of these minorities within the Entity state. In other words, sometimes it led to the creation of this elite cultural isolation, political and religious environment of hostility between the minority community and the majority community. This isolation and hostile environment combined with a number of other internal factors that have been referred to a private persecution of the political system, to find a hotbed of internal conflicts in some Arab societies.

The existence of problems in contemporary Arab thought: There are a number of problems in the nature of contemporary Arab thought were sometimes a cause of Arab internal conflicts and sometimes Arab, and these problems:

First problem: The absence of a "lifestyle" or "comprehensive intellectual system" for various aspects of life, whether economic, social or political, thus opening the way for political systems to search for "imported systems" far from the Department of Arab-Islamic civilization, to manage daily life. These systems ranging from Western capitalism or socialism. Which it led to the contradictions of ideology, social and political entity within the same country, centered around opposition blocs or "power" fight together the political forces (such as the communist parties conflict with some of the

Arab political systems). Or opposition to other political forces such as the (left-wing parties with Islamic movements).

The second problem: The absence of "civilized political and social vision" to the relationship with the non-Arab ethnic minorities.

In the contemporary Arab world, despite entering the exercise of power, and responding to the problems of reality and its challenges; including non-Arab minorities problems. However, the contemporary Arab political thought still lacks the vision theory or philosophical methodology, and intellectual foundations of a civilized and clear project within renaissance in how to deal with the problem of minorities. This shortcoming has led to confusion in the world of political practice and confusion in the public policies of the Arab state towards these minorities as political systems dealt with the non-Arab minorities within the visions of "security" Self, timely and visions associated with the interests of the political system and not the interests of the state, and its vision of cultural relations between the community and its functions categories. And not within the perspectives on the state's relationship with the individual and society, and the nature of the role of the state "urban" to the community. This imbalance made the focus of the relationship between the political system and the non-Arab minorities is a security axis, not a civilized relationship, this axis was born or has been associated with the relationship of suspicion and caution and questioning the loyalty between the two parties. Making the integration of minorities process difficult process, and provided the park appropriate for the seeds of conflict and discord and violence in the Arab state Entity containing society "minority" ethnic non-Arab.

Second: External factors: The external factors, whether regional or international were and are still a strong and influential or active role in inter-Arab conflicts, but the success of these external factors in the growth of the Arab internal conflicts would not have been in the absence of internal factors of conflicts in the Arab countries; the basic principle is the viability of the internal environment of the negative reaction with external influences and that is the exception. We can summarize the most important factors and causes or outboard motors influential in Arab internal conflicts, as the following:

The negative role of many of the forces of Orientals and evangelization, in addition to the role of colonialism in the Arab world. Historically, these three forces tried to create hostile cultural and religious isolation between minorities and the society of the majority, there is no secret to a role of these forces in the industry and the formulation of cultural and political elites within homogeneous patterns with them to the leadership of countries or Arab communities or ethnic and religious minorities, as a result of these elites. As noted previously, a pivotal role in the Arab civil conflicts; Colonialism was feeding racism and sectarian conflicts on the one hand, and creates a historical and cultural inaccuracies between community groups and more particularly between the majority and the "minority". It is a third party was working on the creation of political intrigue and hatred between segments of society; to keep the hotbeds of conflict within a single Arab state, as well as between the Arab countries.

Regional security disorder, Arab-Arab conflicts. The case of lack of security and political stability in the Arab world and the Middle East was the lead and a clear role in the escalation of Arab or escalation of internal conflicts. It is no secret, for example, the impact of problems and relations with Turkey and Iran, the Kurds on the Iraqi Kurds; as well as the role of Ethiopia, Eritrea and

Uganda problems on the problem of southern Sudan, the Arab-Israeli conflict on some internal Arab conflicts, as we shall see later.

"The absence of security and political stability in which live the Arab world and the Middle East, was the lead and a clear role in the escalation of Arab or escalation of internal conflicts. It is no secret, for example, the impact of problems and relations with Turkey and Iran, the Kurds on the Iraqi Kurds. "

On the other hand, the conflict between the Arab countries, have had a severe negative consequences for the internal Arab conflicts. In the context of the "repercussions of the Arab –Arab conflicts, it must be recognized that the regional dragged conflict and international powers to intervene, have emerged the question of interference in internal affairs, leading in many cases to the" internationalization "of the inter-Arab conflicts, and the resulting complexity of the settlement or solution to this conflicts led to prolong. As a result, the international interests and the interests of regional foreign powers intervened frequently with many internal factors and civil strife Arab , making this means of external forces of conflict to put pressure on Arab political decision.

Competition among international powers on further domination and influence in the Arab region in the world during the Cold War. Rivalry between world powers about more influence and control in the area of the Arab world, it was often a cause of internal conflicts in some Arab countries. All of the powers of the time are supporting the conflict, or paid to the armed conflict between local opposition forces against the political pro regime's and authority of the other great powers, and in particular for use by some leftist forces backed by the Soviet Union in some Arab countries to the conflict, and to resort to violence against some political systems which it was supported by the United States or the West in general, and vice versa. There are several cases in this area such as: the Sultanate of Oman, Somalia, Sudan.

In the post-Cold War, the competition between world powers about influence in the region, despite the polar control mono / the United States and for the decline in this competition, however, there was a competition, in particular French-American on some areas of Africa, and some countries Arab in Africa, as each side tries to support the forces cooperating with it in his struggle with the internal opposition forces loyal to the other party.

The Zionist role of inter-Arab conflicts. As is known, the Israeli entity is a foreign body implantation in the center of the Arab body, and this strange entity was rejected by the immune in the Arab body, which threatens its existence and of his being. In order to maintain the existence and survival and further expansion it was necessary to try and break the fragmentation of the Arab body to weaken immunity and resistance to the Zionist entity. Hence, one Israeli researcher summarizes the Israeli vision of the composition of the Arab region, and a strategy to deal with it by saying "the Middle East is only the Mosaic peoples, cultures and systems of nations and groups that are not happy with control, if Israel is able to connect to all these groups of anti-Arabism and Islam, it will surely be able to break up the Muslim world ".

There are many projects of Israeli official statements where Israeli officials talked about the fragmentation and dividing of the Arab and Muslim through a strategy to small states based on sectarian and ethnic lines. For example, the views of Sharon in the eighties especially when he was a defense minister. He was calling to contact the minorities to break up and divide the Arab countries.

In light of this strategy at the end, Israel played a clear role in providing logistical and military support for minorities sectarian / religious, ethnic and in some Arab countries, to strengthen its role in the dispute and its conflict with the Arab central state, or against the opposition to Israel's existence political forces, and this past role in the depletion and fragmentation of the Countries. An example of this Israeli Role: some strong support (Christian Phalange) in Lebanon, support Garang's forces in southern Sudan against the Sudanese state, and also the Israeli and communications support for some Kurdish factions in the struggle against the central power in Iraq.

Here we would like to summarize the these factors above and internal motors that we listed above clearly show that there is a need to settle the Arab internal dispute mechanisms, based on the basis of reconciliation between "state" Arab with internal society on the basis of free will and choice and to participate in the decision; and that until a protective environment resistance to the causes of internal and external conflict.

There is also a need or necessity to think about in an atmosphere of "early warning system" that helps to explore any reasons or issues of the conflicts before they interact or development stages to lead them to violent behavior.

Finally, any attempt to eradicate the causes of the Arab and issues of internal conflicts away from the Arab cooperation and solidarity, a sense of the oneness of Arab national security. The conflict issues will remain, at the same time, it will be extended to affect all the Arab family. Apart from the above review of the causes and factors of instability in the Middle East there are also religious militancy and activity practiced in the region, some organizations and jihadist groups, particularly those associated with al-Qaeda or longer branches to it, such as al-Qaeda on the Arabian peninsula referred to above in Yemen and the organization of the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant «Daash» which operates in Iraq and in Syria as well; where they participate in the raging armed conflict in this country, as well as practiced by the organization Ansar al-Bayt al-Maqdis of terrorist activity in Egypt and announcing the responsibility for all the processes that security and army forces targeted in Egypt, Iraq , Tunisia and Libya.

Conclusion: Here we would like to conclude that, the balance of power in the Middle East, was largely designed according to traditional threats that regional states perceived from one another during the Cold War and the specific circumstances dictating the great powers' presence in the region over the last four decades.

Ever since Britain's withdrawal from the region in late 1946 to 1971, U.S. Middle East policy has been based on two strategic aims: securing the free flow of oil to the West and protecting Israel's security. During the 1970s, interstate rivalries and the threat of Soviet proxies coming to power or influencing the pillars of Western power were perceived as the main sources of danger to the West's interests in the region. During the 1980s, the Islamic Revolution in Iran and Iran's increased influence on Islamic movements were pronounced by the West to be the main sources of instability. During the 1990s, the simultaneous containment of Iran and Iraq drove U.S. policy to sustain the balance of power and achieve its two strategic goals. Finally, during the 2000s, waging war in Afghanistan and Iraq and maintaining a regional presence were U.S. means of preserving a balance of power in order to achieve its above-mentioned goals. One can argue that such a balance-based system only exacerbated the existing differences among the regional and Tran's regional actors.

Meanwhile, concentration on the balance of power in the Middle East with special reference to the Gulf region has proven to be an inadequate strategy. It has resulted in an extensive arms race,

prepared the ground for a foreign presence — foremost, American forces — and created an array of new security dilemmas in the region. It has resulted in the dependency of regional Arab states upon a U.S. security umbrella and has escalated tensions and rivalries among the nations and states of the Arabian Gulf region.

One could argue that the 1980 Iran-Iraq War was, to a great extent, triggered and perpetuated by the intense arms race between Iran and Iraq during the 1970s. One could also argue that the military and political support afforded by the major powers to Saddam Hussein during the 1980s and at the end of the Iran-Iraq War resulted in Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. Subsequently, conservative Arab governments demanded U.S. assistance in order to resist the threat that the Baathist regime posed to their stability.

This, in turn, necessitated the invitation to U.S. troops to enter the region, causing considerable damage to these regimes' legitimacy in the eyes of their own people. At the same time, the American political, military and economic presence in the region contributed to the further expansion of extremism and terrorism, as it encouraged the Arab street to question the legitimacy of Arab regimes reckoned to be heavily dependent on the U.S. security umbrella.

Furthermore, a burning question is, of course, how the maintenance of the balance of security can be made compatible with Iran's nuclear program. Balance of security is substantively based on the concepts of conventional threat and deterrence. But the real challenge here relates to the issue of whether to include "intentions" from states' assessment of the probability of hegemony. In other words, the concept of threat and deterrence inhere in conventional power alone, and large concentrations of material capabilities should spark balancing behavior regardless of intentions. Regarding Iran's nuclear program, the main controversy relates to Iran's intentions. According to the Western view that is supported by the United States, conservative Arab regimes in the region and Israel, the main aim of Iran's nuclear activities is "weaponization" and nuclear "deterrence." If Iran were to obtain a nuclear weapon, this would throw out of balance the traditional power equilibrium, not just in the Arabian Gulf, but in the Middle East at large. Iran would be able to enhance regional coalitions and de facto alliances with friendly states and political factions such as Syria, Hezbollah, Hamas and Iraqi Shiites. Such a condition would jeopardize the peace process between Israel and Palestine, and consequently weaken the moderates.

Meanwhile, imagining the region without fossil-fuel resources in the coming decades will draw a dark cloud over the region's growing economic prospects, and this will ultimately lead the Arab states of the Gulf Region, to turn to the use of nuclear energy. On the basis of such a calculation, Arab states of the middle East, such as Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and Qatar have realized that the acquisition of nuclear energy is necessary for their countries' sustainable development, and consequently signed a series of nuclear agreements with France. According to one of these agreements, the UAE's first nuclear reactor will be inaugurated in the city of Abu Dhabi by 2017. Therefore, the kingdom of Saudi Arabia has signed an agreement with China for nuclear energy which will be inaugurated in the year 2016. Since the Arab states of the region seek to attain nuclear energy, they have essentially recognized Iran's legitimate rights for making use of peaceful nuclear energy.

The pursuit and implementation of a balance-of-power system in the M.E region has resulted in regional insecurity, confrontation, instability and tension, as we mentioned above, which have wasted resources, energies and wealth. The balance-of-power system has even had damaging

outcomes for the United States. As long as there are continuous wars, crises and tensions in the region, it will remain a difficult and precarious environment for the United States to address regional crises such as the Israel-Palestinian peace process, democracy promotion and the establishment of sustainable peace and stability in the region, especially in the cases of Iraq and Afghanistan. As a result of new geopolitical developments in post-invasion Iraq, the system has ceased to be practical or workable and thus will have to give way to a solution that better reflects these new developments. Despite the fact that this strategy has come to naught, U.S. policy makers still consider it to be effective and may continue to pursue it. Political developments in Iraq, Syria, Yemen and Lebanon have changed the nature of power and politics in the M.E. Region. This transformation is due to a shift in the balance of power, as well as a shift in the perspectives of allied and hostile actors toward the nature of the threats facing the region. The formation of a new regional political security arrangement premised on the "balance of security" is inevitable. Such a political-security system would be defensive in nature and would result in greater regional cooperation and constructive rivalries. A new balance must first be established between Iran and the United States, the two powers able to engage in serious military operations and posing the most serious regional threats to one another. Divesting U.S. strategy towards Iran of its threatening and aggressive posturing is crucial. Finally, the establishment of a balance of interests among regional and Tran's regional actors will better serve to bring sustainable peace and security to the M.E Region. Instead of focusing on differences, a new security arrangement should primarily be based on a new definition of the nature of the threat, a precise understanding of the aims of all involved players, and an identification of common security concerns and interests. The need for cooperation among regional and trans-regional actors is not only desirable but, in the longer term, inevitable. With such new geopolitical changes, no regional security arrangements will succeed without the mutual cooperation of the main regional and trans-regional actors of the Middle East region.

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