

Arab National Security (Dimensions, Perceptions, Challenges, Risks and Future Strategy)

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Abstract

Security is a cornerstone of development and progress in a free society. A basic and widespread understanding of the importance of security as a guarantee of citizens' well-being and the stability of the State itself is therefore essential. Moreover, the Middle East is home to many diverse peoples, with ancient and proud cultures, in varying stages of political and socio-economic development, often times in conflict. Now in a state of historic flux, the Arab Spring has transformed the Middle Eastern landscape, with great consequence for the Arab national security strategies of the neighboring countries and their foreign relations. The Arab National security environment in the Arab World has become increasingly complicated after the independence. This paper identifies several important trends that are shaping the Arab national security and identifies their implications with the rest of the world. However, ongoing domestic changes throughout the region will become increasingly important as well. Issues such as political reform, Arab spring revolution, economic reform, civil-military relations, leadership change, and the information revolution are all affecting the regional security dynamics. This research paper examines each of these issue areas and identifies some of the challenges that they pose for the Arab world international relations. The paper covered, Dimensions, perceptions, risks and future strategy security; challenges of natural geography; political contestation following the Arab Spring and state responses; the military tool; armed non-state actors; US Middle East policy; regional security architecture; and the historical role of the army in Middle East state-building. The National security is a concept that a government, along with its parliaments, should protect the state and its citizens against all kind of "national" crises through a variety of power projections, such as political power, diplomacy, economic power, military might, and so on.

Keywords: Arab National security, regional security, Arab Spring.

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INTRODUCTION

The Arab region is distinguished with a very important strategic location for the whole world because of its control over the international transport routes, especially the commercial and the sources of energy and the nerve of life, as well as it is the largest market for the marketing of industrial and agricultural products.

Although the Arab region has one language, one history, and one religious majority (Sunni Muslims), which means a single culture that it is full of cultural conflicts, such as sectarian, tribal, and other cultural conflicts due to the collapse of the Arab identity in which all sects and tribes are melting. Arab identity is liquefied in the direction of Middle Eastern identity, and is being marginalized by non-Arab regional powers such as Iran and Turkey [1].

The Arab world faces many internal and external challenges that have had a clear impact on internal stability in the Arab world and on its various institutions. The challenges facing the Arab world are divided into internal challenges represented by political, security, economic and social challenges, which have had the most prominent effect in terms of the concept of Arab national security. The issues of political reform, the completion of the process of democratization, the human rights situation, and the confrontation of extremism and internal violence in the Arab countries are of the most prominent political challenges in each Arab country. Internal challenges include: extremism and internal violence, where there is a clear inverse relationship between the impact of extremism, violence and internal terrorism on the paths of democratic transformation and the preservation of human rights and

the neglect of these will of course lead to the spread of violence [2, 3].

The Middle East region, especially the Arab countries, is exposed to many threats which affect its "national security", in the face of constant threats, both from the Israeli presence in the heart of the Arab world, "In addition to the civil wars and the various crises in many Arab countries, which broke out since the years of independence in general, and after the so-called" revolutions of the Arab Spring, "as well as attempts to intervene directly or indirectly in the affairs of the countries of the region from the core countries and even Iran, Turkey Israel and infiltration into these Arab countries.

Moreover, the Arab region is witnessing a multiplicity of terrorist groups that have been directly targeting the Arab countries, which have become a real threat to their security and stability, especially after they have gained control of some areas and built their strongholds, as in Iraq and Syria. These groups have become increasingly dangerous, trans-border and capable of launching terrorist operations outside their strongholds, making "terrorism" a direct threat to Arab national security [4-6].

Here we would like to point out a historical overview of the 1990s. There have been several developments in the world and in the Middle East in particular, which have led to regional and international changes that have clearly and significantly affected the global system and the existing alliances within it as well as the rise of the United States as a single force to govern the world and establish the new international order. The most important of these changes is the fall of the Arab regional system and the emergence of the Western-Israeli strategy as a substitute for it. The concept of the Middle East and the European-Mediterranean Partnership. A series of security alliances were held between a numbers of countries locally, regionally and internationally. The American-Israeli partnership was manifested in its strongest stage. Israel's strong alliance with both Ethiopia and South Sudan emerged. At the beginning of the 21st century, Such as the US invasion of Iraq in 2003 through the repeated Israeli aggression on Gaza and Lebanon, leading to popular protests and mass movement in a number of Arab countries at the beginning of 2011, as well as the continuing repercussions of the Syrian, Yemeni and Iraqi crises until these days [7, 5, 8].

Moreover, we must point out that the Arab peoples, their political systems and their strategic thinkers have not yet agreed on the concept of Arab national security. This concept is still ambiguous in many Arab countries, and there is no one definition for it among the Arabs and interests of alliances and vision of the map of conflict in the region. Also the relationship of Arab national security to the security of

each country remains vague relationship which is not clear to all Arab regimes, since the Arab national security begins with the regimes and ends with it, and where the national security begins and where it ends, and how, when and where the bias of one of them at the expense of the other and why. All these issues confuse the mind and Arab political thought to make it away from the formulation of any clear approach specific to Arab national security, at a time when all countries of the world have clear concepts and perceptions of national security [6].

Moreover, the spread of terrorism and the expansion of the criminal activities of extremist groups in the Middle East region are among the most serious challenges facing the entire region. This criminal insect is the product of many economic and social causes, while at the same time having frequent repercussions in the same area. The increase in poverty, the decline in standards of living and the collapse of development indicators in some Arab regions, especially in countries that are still undergoing major transformations, are likely to create an atmosphere suitable for the economies of extremism and war. The danger increases if this is accompanied by intellectual closure, extremism picture of Islamic religion [2].

The concept of Arab national security

In accordance with the Charter of the League of Arab States, the concept of Arab national security is based on the idea of the ability of the Arab states to protect the Arab nation from external and internal threats, whether existing or potential, and to achieve the idea of Arab nationalism [9].

The Arab national security, and the challenges and threats it faces, which are increasing year after year, have reached their peak, as never before. Before we address the threats of Arab national security in 2015, we should mention the concept of Arab national security in the comprehensive sense of experts and specialists in implementation of the resolution of the summit meeting of the Arab League No. 336 on Arab national security held in Cairo from 18 to 19 July 2007 to propose the following definition of the concept of Arab national security in its comprehensive sense [10, 11].

The concept of Arab national security has turned to the Arab countries' ability to fully defend their rights, preserve their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and to strengthen and support these capabilities by developing the Arab potentials in various political, economic, security, social, cultural and technical fields based on their geopolitical, political and cultural characteristics. The national security needs of each country, the available possibilities and the internal, regional and international variables that affect the Arab national security, which is the cornerstone of regional security. The concept of Arab national security

is a way to maintain national affiliation and the promotion of Arab identity and is an essential element of the linkage between the Arab countries and the maintenance of national interests and to achieve development [12, 13].

Arab "political thought" began to focus on a specific formulation and a common concept of "Arab national security" in the mid-seventies, where many Arab intellectuals' jurisprudence in that period, through research, studies and literature in the centers of political studies who try to define this "security".

It is important to note that the Charter of the League of Arab States, was established in 1944 and founded on the basis of the League in March 1945, did not mention the term "security", although in article 6 it referred to the concept of "collective security" against any aggression of any Member State of the University, whether from an external State or another Member State.

The Treaty on "Joint Defense" and "Economic Cooperation" between member states of the League of Arab States, signed in 1950, referred to cooperation in the field of defense, but did not refer to "security", but also stipulated in Article II " Collective ", which urged Member States to unite common plans and endeavors in the event of imminent danger, such as war, and formed a joint Arab Defense Council, which consists of the ministers of defense and foreign affairs [14, 15, 7].

The Permanent Military Commission which was composed of the Chiefs of Staff of the Arab armies was also established. The Arab League began discussing the subject of "Arab national security" only in September 1992, and the decision was taken to entrust the Secretariat with preparing a comprehensive study on this concept within a period not exceeding six months. The paper defined the "concept" as "the ability of the Arab nation to defend its security and rights, to formulate its independence and sovereignty over its territory, and to develop the Arab capabilities in various political, economic, cultural and social, based on military and diplomatic capabilities, taking into account the national security needs of each country, the available resources and the internal, regional and international changes that affect Arab national security" [7, 16, 17].

The comprehensive study on "Arab national security" was not presented to the Council of the University, and many intellectuals expressed the lack of "concept" reached by the Committee, where the "concept" was ambiguities and confusion between definition and action. For this reason, the paper subsequently evolved in defining "national action" strategies in all areas, and the terms of reference for implementation and follow-up were not defined.

Finally, it is possible to say that "Arab political thought" has not yet reached a specific formulation of the concept of "Arab national security" that can cope with the changes in regional and international climate, its balances and its implications for the perception and dimensions of this "security". The subject is still open to analysis and open to discussion despite everything that was written about it. Therefore, it is necessary to reach a comprehensive concept of "Arab national security", and to put "terrorist organizations" as a major threat to this "security", especially in light of its spread and penetration in the region. The existence of a cohesive Arab force under unified leadership has become an urgent necessity to confront this terrorist threat and to eliminate it completely in the region, especially as it has become a threat to the security and stability of the Arab countries [1, 15, 7].

The Reality of Arab National Security

Arab national security suffers from a set of problems that stand in the way of any attempt to stabilize stability and achieve development. Among the problems identified by the Arab national security is the lack of political stability due to the limited interference of foreign countries in addition to the absence of the national spirit in the hearts of the people of the Arab world in addition to the economic problems of the migration of Arab money to Western markets , the failure of development plans and the absence of technological development.

The national power defines the crisis of the Arab national security as a group of elements inspired by its components from the same region, and the region here is the whole Arab nation. Based on the geographical definition of the elements of state power or national power, we find the following elements [18, 19]:

- Area of the Arab World.
- The nature of the boundaries of the Arab world - the size of the population of the Arab world.
- The presence of primary resources in the Arab world - economic and technological development
- Human homogeneity and social integration.
- Political stability - the national spirit and the extent of its roots in the hearts of the people of the homeland [10, 20, 11].

Having referred to the elements of Arab nationalism, we make the following observations.

The Arab land is occupied by force. Palestine is occupied by Israel, Sabta and Melilla occupied by Spain and Iraq by America. America also threatens the rest of the Arab countries, and there are nationalities that lie in it, such as Iranian nationalism in the east and Turkey in the north, east, whether those in the Arabian Peninsula or in the Atlantic bases in Turkey and the rest of the islands that surrounds the Arab nation [21].

As for the Arab resources, the Arab world has much wealth but the West's hand placed its hand entirely on Gulf oil and controls the rest after the second Gulf War, which emerged victorious, adding that Arab resources are not exploited because of the lack of technology.

As for the economic, technological development and the financial forces, these elements are absent from the Arab world because most of the Arab countries are under the burden of debt and the benefits of debt. This in turn is due to the migration of Arab money to Western financial markets, and the failed development plans due to reasons that may result from instability [3].

As for human homogeneity and social integration, the Arab world possesses this element, but colonialism spoils the property by spreading terror in the hearts of the ethnicities until they require the protection of the Arabs, and the Arab regimes are afraid of their political unity [8].

As for the political stability, the Arab nation is unstable because the foreign countries intervene through many ways and there isn't any Arab state that can stop the manipulation of foreign affairs in their countries. The national spirit has been raised in the wave of the national spirit. The talk about nationalism is nothing more than separation since there is a conflict between nationalism and patriotism.

Therefore, the Arab countries have a lot of national power but are unable to activate these forces in the battle of life, which makes us say that the elements of Arab national power are absent from the scene of Arab life despite the possession of the elements of power, and this makes national security susceptible to interference by foreign countries [22, 2].

The establishment of the independent state has declared its failure, issuing a passport that determines the nationality of citizens. Independence does not mean independence that expresses freedom, but independence of each part from the other parts.

Thus, in the past, experience was imposed because of colonialism. In the era of independence, the peoples were required to bless all the steps taken by the independence states that promote fragmentation. This is evidenced by the emergence of national social institutions and villages, Independence, and its growth was later linked to colonialism, despite political independence from the West. The institutions and forces that emerged from its various policies had acquired solid positions that were able to sustain themselves. Under the current situation, the country became a sectarian or religious one. Arab political and social systems have been exhausted for their purposes, and their primary task is to preserve their survival [15].

The Arab country has failed miserably because it has achieved little achievement and ignited Arab conflicts, which have become the most important Arab land preservation and comprehensive Arab security, while failing to achieve national security. The new groups maintain their economic and social gains and did not restore the stolen land or protecting the lost rights in an attempt to get out of the country's narrow independent_nationalism into a wider area, where the Arab countries called for establishing a union between them. The Arab countries were regional gatherings here and there, such as the GCC and the Moroccan Union. However, the Arabs did not succeed in achieving their goals behind these gatherings because they were originally based on national principles to preserve the country of their members. On this basis, the political forces in the Arab world are nationally mobilized and fought in independently even if some raise national slogan [4, 23].

As for political thought, it still deals with international policies in the framework of spontaneity, and this spontaneity includes dealing with friends and enemies alike in international politics and under it includes the practices of Arab regimes and organizations with large borders, which indicates that there is an inherent deficiency in Arab political thought. This is evidenced by the Arab orientation during the bipolar period of the Eastern Camp. It imported socialist or communist ideologies, and from the Western camp imported free capitalist or liberal thought. Arab-based thought did not satisfy Arab aspirations. In spite of this, Arab political thought has been used during these decades to put the responsibility of separations and failure on colonialism, imperialism and Zionism. The antagonism of the mentioned above is a justified historical and realistic hostility, because this is one of the most important means of venting anger to exempt leaders from criticism and the extent of their intersection or divergence with our interests and goals. The hostility and friendship in this perspective is irrational because the common words in the discourse. In the current Arab politician, for example, "the treachery of Zionist colonialism," how can we blame the enemy on the enemy prescription of treachery? Do we expect the friend to achieve all our goals and reach us to all our ambitions by just watching them? [7, 2, 12].

Requirements and Challenges of Arab National Security

There are many different challenges and requirements facing Arab National Security since its establishment. It must first address its various dimensions. In spite of the recent studies on the subject of "national security", the concepts related to it have become specific and clear in the minds of the Political and intellectual leaders in many countries. There have been many writings in this area, and have become

common concepts within the framework, most notably the "American national security," "European security", "Israeli security" and "Soviet national security", before dismantling.

In the context of reaching an agreed "concept" of "Arab national security", we should recognize the "concept of security" within the framework of modern schools of thought. "Security" - from the point of view of the British Department of Knowledge - means "protecting the nation from the threat of oppression by a foreign power". Henry Kissinger, the former US Secretary of State, defined security as "any actions by which society seeks to preserve its right to survival" [2, 12, 5].

Perhaps one of the most prominent is what was written in the book "The Essence of Security," written by Robert McNamara, a former US Secretary of Defense and one of the leading strategic thinkers. "Security means development, whether economic, or social, "The real security of the state stems from its deep knowledge of the sources that threaten its various capabilities and their response to give them the opportunity to develop real development capabilities in all fields, whether at present or in the future," as he said.

It is clear from the previous definition that it involves a mixture of multiple and complex security concepts that cannot give a specific character to Arab national security as necessary. But from the previous definition, we can put our hands on the requirements of Arab national security, which must Arab regimes achieve by controlling their internal and external policies, bilateral and multilateral relations:

- To be integrated based on unity and cooperation.
- Be realistic, logical and applicable.
- Have the ability to deter and extend sovereignty.
- Have the resources and tools to achieve it.
- To carry within it the values of Islamic civilization and humanity [1, 13, 24, 8].

In view of the previous criteria and requirements compared to the definition that preceded it, the extent of the discrepancy between the definition and the requirements on which the concept should be understood is apparent.

The internal challenges in most Arab countries, if not all of them are similar and vary because most political regimes in the Arab countries are characterized by a number of negative features that have become known and specific and accurately identified to the enemies of the Arab nation .

- Absence of the active role of political institutions, where the issue of extreme centralization, the weakness and small size of the ruling elites.
- The absence of political parties and trade unions, professional and active workers who have deep

roots in societies in most Arab countries who are influential in political life in addition to the spread of political lack of transparency.

- Crisis of the activation of the system and the law and the bias of the regimes of the repeated customs and practices that carry the meaning of consent to get rid of the constraints of constitutional and legal texts.
- The stalemate of political structures, weak means of participation and public control, as well as economic and social problems.
- Exposing Arab countries to pressure for political reform.
- The weakness of civil society organizations and human rights organizations and the fear of their contact and their relations abroad, especially after what happened in the revolutions of the Arab Spring.
- The spread of illiteracy, poverty and low levels of education.
- Increasing the external debt of many non-oil Arab countries [1, 19, 3].

The Arab national security has become surrounded by external challenges and threats on all levels, the most important of which are:

- The return of the West to the control of world affairs and their attempt to reproduce the colonial hegemony known for its objectives and purposes but by contemporary means and methods.
- Arms race in the region and the policy of restricting armaments to the countries of the region according to selective criteria.
- American, Western and Zionist military presence in the Arabian Gulf, Horn of Africa and Southern Red Sea.
- The phenomenon of extremism and terrorism, which was limited by the colonial powers in the Arabs and Muslims only [18, 19].

There are many and unprecedented challenges that we must mention, including existential challenges, and challenges aimed at the strategic interests of many Arab countries. If the Arab national security is meant to protect the state of stability that means most national, or national independence , or regional Arab groups, such as the Maghreb, the Arab Mashriq, the GCC, and the Nile Valley and the Horn of Africa countries. All of these groups are living in an unprecedented state of instability, where the security and strategic challenge varies from region to region. Arab countries on the African continent are at risk from some security disturbances caused by extremist terrorist groups, as well as internal conflicts, such as in Libya, Somalia and Sudan, and some of them face significant economic difficulties. The Arab Mashreq, which includes Lebanon, Syria, Palestine and Iraq, face political and security earthquakes that are not normal, and may lead to fundamental changes in the map and may lead to

wide imbalances in regional power balances [25, 22, 26].

The Arabian Peninsula, which is mainly Arabism, is facing extraordinary dangers and has never been targeted from the outside in the past as it is today.

There is no doubt that one of the most important reasons for the imbalance in Arab national security today is the absence of cohesion among the Arab countries, and the success of those who prey on the interests of the Arab nation in penetrating some Arab squares and creating an unprecedented chaos in a number of countries, especially in Iraq and Syria. In Lebanon, Yemen and Libya. These problems have been added to the basic challenge of "permanent" Israeli aggression against the Palestinian people and neighboring countries in Lebanon, Syria, Egypt and Jordan [3].

The dialectics of history impose a constant conflict between nations and peoples, or competing for interests at the very least, but this does not prevent the existence of stability within the equation of this conflict [1, 27, 28].

What we are seeing today, images vary by any standard of the competition between ordinary countries, or between the major international and regional axes, and the quality of interventions and ambitions and targets, which is a bit of moral decomposition in some countries, as well as some disregard for the Arab character that has preserved historically recognized traditions with good neighborliness and respect for the other, regardless of some of the stations where concepts were mixed up by colonial interventions.

There is no doubt that Israel is the main source of danger to Arab national security and its influence on some of the ruling circles in the capitals of the major powers - especially in Washington and Moscow - the fluctuation of the equations in the policy of these countries and always not in the direction of Arab interests. The situation of fragmentation in the Arab world increases the chances of external interference in the affairs of the Arab countries. What happened in Iraq and Syria is an example of these repercussions, because the policy of the big powers with the understanding with «« Israel »» led to prolong the unrest, and the continuation of killings and destruction, and opened the door to the intervention of regional powers more and more [3, 11].

The targeting of Arab national security in the Arabian Peninsula is no less important than the targeting of the Levant. Not only did foreign parties encourage terrorist groups and extremists in the face of local governments, but also created a very dangerous situation on the land of Yemen, which led to the usurpation of power in some areas of Yemen and the

overthrow of the state departments by the Houthi rebel groups, supported by Ali Abdullah Saleh groups.

The attack on the Emirati cargo ship near the Bab al-Mandab strait by Yemeni-backed rebel militias is the most serious threat to Arab national security as a result of the dangers posed to maritime safety in the most important Arab and international straits. This attack is a clear indication that the rebel groups are evading all moral and legal restrictions, and it is necessary to take into account future plans designed to undermine the entire Arab national security. This attack was accompanied by daily breaches by Iranian vessels of Yemeni territorial waters, which confirms the disregard exercised by the neighboring regional states with Arab sovereignty in more than one place and thus demands attention to counter attempts to change balances in more than one direction in sensitive areas of Arab Area [29, 18].

It is worth mentioning here that the external challenges faced by the Arab world, the security threats are the most prominent issues that are currently on the Arab arena, and they affect the Arab world as a whole; and this type of challenges cannot be faced by one state or solutions, but we need combined efforts and potentials of a group of Arab countries, or all of them have to create a common policy that is away from the national factors or the uniqueness of the first challenges. Arab governments have also taken a positive stand on the international campaign against terrorism and have participated in one form or another with the United States in the war on terror. At the same time, they have launched many statements that distinguish between terrorism and legitimate resistance to occupation [8, 30, 31].

With the end of the Cold War and the entry of the United States as a key party to the peace process in the Middle East after the Madrid Conference in 1991, it began to loom over the democratic card in the region as the new guarantee to face the dangers of instability. To confront the new danger of the rise of fundamentalist Islamic movements in the Arab region, to ensure that the peace process is not obstructed, to move towards a Middle East formula in which Israel is a direct regional party, and to accept normalization and peaceful relations with the Arab world [32].

Among these external challenges is the Arab national security, which concerns the influence of the United States and Israel on Arab national security. Israel refuses to recognize its possession of weapons of mass destruction, and is based on this refusal to evade the obligations of this property.

The external economic and social challenges are the external debts. The Arab economy has been facing very strong external pressures and challenges since the early 1990s, and has direct dimensions and

effects on the process of Arab economic integration. These pressures came after the United States launched the concept of globalization with its different political and economic dimensions, Social and cultural dimensions, which generally seek to dominate the United States of America over the capabilities of the developed and developing world alike. The new international environment has imposed challenges on the Arab world to embark on institutional and economic reforms to avoid the negative aspects of that environment; to reap the benefits expected from the changes that have been made, and to contribute to their integration into this environment, which is leading to the globalization and liberalization of trade in a manner that leads to shortcomings in the performance of the Arab economy as with foreign labor through migration to Arab countries [4, 7].

The main threats facing Arab national security

The Arab world is experiencing a stifling crisis that threatens its security and stability, ranging from internal and external dangers.

First: Internal Risks

Absence of Democracy

Democracy is often linked to legitimate and peaceful power-sharing, respect for human rights and democratic approaches, and the ability to manage differences. By adopting this definition and comparing the political, economic and social conditions in the Arab countries, we have seen from the beginning that countries are experiencing a real democratic crisis, internal and external consequences.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, democratic change came to control with the various regimes promoted within Moscow before moving to different parts of the world [1, 33].

The Arab countries were among the countries that entered these changes. The issue of democracy and human rights became the issue of universality. The despotic regimes can no longer ignore the international pressures in this regard, which has deterred them. The regimes were conquering their peoples and blocking the doors of participation before them to manage their various affairs. Thus, most of the Arab regimes were forced to initiate a political reform approach towards democracy and the promotion of the status of Arab human rights [30].

Where the State of Kuwait returned to life legislative institutions after a long freeze, and Saudi Arabia formed an advisory board and Algeria witnessed a kind of multi-party while the opposition arrived the ruling in Morocco.

However, all these changes appeared slow and were not comprehensive, and did not reflect in depth

the aspirations of the peoples as they appeared to be aimed at improving the image and reputation of these countries abroad, which generated a range of social and economic constraints since they are not free from the depth of international repercussions such as in creasing migration and the spread of extremism.

As mentioned above, after September 11, 2001, the United States bore the main responsibility for the absence of democracy in the countries of the alleged perpetrators, all of which are Arab states.

It is also necessary to mention the force of oppression in all the Arab countries, which is the cancerous growth of the security forces. Also, the army and the police, whose function has turned to the protection of those in power, which has terrified the society where their regulations are based on fear rather than legality.

The political and social systems in the Arab reality take the modern appearance, although they involve everything that goes against the freedom of the citizen. In this context, the system of authoritarianism continues to be distributed among the ruling regimes and the terrible and distorted use of religion [27, 34].

This led to the existence of a space and the interference of Western powers in the Arab world in the name of democracy and human rights to eliminate al-Qaeda and increase its influence, as well as terrorism. Regardless of invoking the defense of democracy and human rights, as is the case for the United States of America [2, 25].

Inter-Conflicts

Yemeni-Yemeni Conflict

This Yemeni conflict is represented by the Yemeni government and the Huthi rebels with external parties manifested in Iran, which is providing support and assistance to the Houthi rebels for strategic objectives. The Houthis are an armed group of Zaydi Shiites in Yemen, concentrated in the province of Saada in the northwest of the country and take its name from the Houthi leader where the conflict intensified between the military security forces on the one hand and the Huthi group on the other, especially the war that broke out between the parties in February 2008, It began in 2004, and then Saudi Arabia, which works to support the Yemeni government. The latter accuses the Houthis of belonging to the Zaydi Shiite sect by extremism and terrorism, and not recognizing the legitimacy of the regime and their disrespect for the law and thus seeking to overthrow the regime in Yemen in order to restore the system of Zaydi imams [3, 21].

There is also the problem of the south, which demands separation within Yemeni territory.

The Syrian Situation

The Syrian government, controlled by the Alawies in 1981-1982 through the army and military forces, eliminated the Muslim Brotherhood in Aleppo and other cities and protectors. The conflict ended at this point, but this conflict could emerge in the future if there is no political pluralism to accommodate this political situation [13].

The Sudanese Case

The situation of the internal conflict in Sudan is one of the most complex conflicts that have witnessed a great deal of conflict over the past decades. The problem of South Sudan and its stand against the government has passed through a number of stages since the 1950s. The conflict ended in 1972 after the self – ruling agreement, The Sudanese government has retreated from the local government agreement, resulting in the depletion of Sudan's resources due to the ongoing war and political instability due to the interplay of several internal and external factors in the internal conflict in Sudan [35].

The Lebanese situation

The internal conflict in Lebanon is the legacy of colonialism, the existence of the Palestinians in Lebanon, and the fall of the Christian government, which was ruled in the civil war of the Druze, Shiites, Marionettes and Sunnis. The situation began to calm after the Taif Agreement and the modernization of the constitution, which calls for political participation [36].

The Iraqi Situation

The Kurdish problem has historical roots dating back to the early 19th century, when a kind of revolution and armed conflict began between the Kurdish Democratic Party and the Iraqi government in 1961 and 1970. The conflict emerged again in 1974 as a result of the Kurds' rejection of the government's plan for self independence and the rise of the Shiite expansion which increases instability of the country [11].

The Egyptian Case

It is linked to the internal conflict between some Islamic groups and the Egyptian government on the background of natural of ruling the country and the relationship with Israel. These groups has carried out several armed operations targeting Egyptian political figures and foreign tourists, the Egyptian government was able to control them by force.

It is also noted that some Islamic groups such as Jihad and all Islamic groups (Jamaa Islamiyah) are targeted by the United States of America on because of combating terrorism [35].

This is another issue which has a major role in deepening Coptic internal conflicts.

The Algerian Situation

The internal conflict began in Algeria since May 1991 due to protests that were developed as a result of the cancellation of the elections and the intervention of the army to prevent the influence of the Islamists when the Islamic Salvation Front won the first round of elections and the conflict between the Islamists and the government erupted [36].

These conflicts show that the national peace, both internal and external, is necessary to achieve the goals of comprehensive development, as it is the basis for building the renaissance of nations and their progress as in the words of Ansari, who said: " we can perceive the (homeland) as conflict term with others" The importance of the study comes in the reality and future of internal conflicts in the Arab world, which is witnessing a developmental reality that does not satisfy the aspirations of the Ummah and is not consistent with the past of the nation and its Arab heritage, which allowed the West to interfere in the internal affairs of countries directly or indirectly [37].

Second: External Risks

The Israeli Threat to Arab National Security

The first objective of Israeli foreign policy in the coming years is making the Middle East and the Arab region area as Balkans and to work to divide all Arab countries into fragile entities. The Zionist force and the imperialist forces that support it, primarily the United States of America, are the largest and main source and the first to threaten Arab national security. In addition to occupying all of Palestine and other Arab territories, its arm was danger and its threat spread, with its arm striking the Iraqi atomic reactor (June 1981) and the headquarters of the PLO in Tunis (October 1985). , To become the first military and political force in the Arab region, Africa and western Asia to the borders of China, and continued to draw the so-called "red lines" that if the Arab situation exceeds one of its limits, Israel will use its armed force striking [14, 7].

One of the most important features of this Arab deterioration was the entry into the Arab-Zionist conflict of the full balance of the era of national advancement and the historical constants that the Arab nation has been made for more than half a century.

Israel's danger to our national security increases when we realize, seriously, the danger of Israel's nuclear armament. In a study prepared by the Center for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University, Israel is at the head of countries with nuclear power, and its size ranges from 16 to 22 nuclear weapons, and perhaps much more than that. In addition, The stages of the development of science and technology, in the military sphere, as a result of its contribution to the American Strategic Defense Initiative - Star Wars or Space War [27, 12].

Why does Israel want to blow up the Arab states? There are strategic goals linked to Israeli security that hide behind this policy. But let us not forget that the logic of fragmentation may be heard by big powers, not just the United States of America and the European Union, but also the big powers that are looking forward the leading of the world as China. In the long run, if the situation remains the same, the United States will end up finding its interests on the Arab side and therefore, aims at not leaving any state in the Arab region safe. This is what Israel seeks through the spread and sovereignty of the concept of a sectarian state and to distract the leaders for 50 years. In local disputes over the borders and ambitions of waterways, oil wealth, etc. It can thus secure the development that will allow it to achieve its long-term goals of full control and control of the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic Ocean [4, 3].

These extracts are given to show the fact that Israel was from originally and the beginning, the largest and most important source and the first to threaten national security. The significance of these extracts is that the first expression that determines the source of danger is Arab weakness, even before the establishment of Israel. This threat has been continuous, comprehensive to this day. For example, the First Summit, in Cairo, 13 January 1964, in its first resolution, said: "The establishment of Israel is the main danger that the entire Arab States have met, the existence of Israel is considered a threat to the Arab nation. The summit meetings and the Council of the Arab League continued to emphasize that it is the biggest and main source that threatens the national security of the Arab countries [23, 12, 8].

- This is about the first source - an external one - and the second source - internal - is what we called the inability of the Arab defense system to confront the first source, i.e. the external one.

Iranian Threat to Arab National Security

The Arab-Iranian relations are generally characterized by turmoil and are among the most important sources of threat to Arab national security. The Arab and Iranian conflict is an open and renewed conflict of historical, political and national components, as well as sensitive problems such as the chronic problems of borders between Iraq and Iran, Arab waters and strategic regional roles, making them very dangerous [14].

In 1971, during the Shah's reign, Iran occupied the three Arab islands of Greater Tunb, Lesser Tunb and Abu Musa of the United Arab Emirates. The struggle for sovereignty over the Shatt al-Arab between Iraq and Iran was also one of the main axes of the eight- In the Shah's era; Iran has maintained close strategic relations with the United States of America and is the main pillar in the region to ensure control over the Persian Gulf. The Iranian coast opposite the three

islands that control the Strait of Hormuz, which controls the Gulf navigation cycle. Despite the passage of decades of the annexation of the region to Iran, the Strait of Hormuz is the narrow gateway to the Gulf. It is the main outlet of the Arab Gulf oil to the industrial world if it passes through an oil tanker every 10 minutes. Is equivalent to 62% of the world's oil resources, 90% of Japan's oil needs, 70% of the consumption of the European common Market countries and 22% of the consumption of the United States of America? [24, 6].

The responsibility of inflating the military power of Iran has continued to drain Iraq and adapt it through continuous bombing of the Kurdish problem, subjugating the other Gulf countries, continuing its threat and changing its demographic composition. The percentage of Shiites In the Gulf countries to 25% in the general average, but their proportion among the economic activities Holding the market up to about 50% and is a significant proportion, and force any Iraqi citizen to embrace the Shiite doctrine as did Ismail Safavi when he occupied Iraq and forced his compatriots to embrace the Shiite By force and murder and destruction Hundreds of Iraqis have been killed, Iraq has become engulfed in blood, and an Iranian Shiite government has been created with Iranian roots, starting with Sistani, Prime Minister Jaafari, Interior Minister Irani Sulagh, Khoei Afghani, Abdul Aziz al-Hakim, Iran's Muwaffaq al-Rubaie, who said that "The right to speak on behalf of Iraq - Iraq Arab roots", which gave the opportunity for Iran to influence in the internal affairs of the Arab Gulf countries and the threat of security and stability in this sense Iran has remained Bahrain an integral part of it does not hide its ambitions in this regard, both in The era of the Shah or after the establishment of the Islamic Republic [18, 8].

The fall of the Pahlavi regime in 1979 and the Islamic Republic of Iran did not change its view of dealing with the Arabs, despite the declaration of the Iranian revolution against the United States and Israel, and the new regime in Iran did not hide its ambitions in the region, declared his adherence to regional gains achieved by The Shah's regime at the expense of the Arab countries, whether within its borders with the UAE or in its occupation of the three Arab islands belonging to the United Arab Emirates, took a new course known as the principle of exporting the revolution. In a small but profound fact that has a profound impact on Iran's hostility towards the Arabs. After the Islamic Revolution in Iran, One of the leaders of the revolution took the post of ambassador of his country in Libya, and his protest against naming the Arabian Gulf in the Persian Gulf so as not to provoke the Arabs and provoke them. He said that we did an Islamic revolution, not a Persian revolution. Libya, which confirms the Persian nationalism that lies behind the Iranian call for the export of its revolutionary model and the hostility of the Arabs and despite the apparent

hostility between Iran and America, but the latter did not leave Iran from the circle of interest is still working to adapt Iran despite the absence of diplomatic relations between Israel and Iran, their military cooperation did not cease during the Iran-Iraq war. In 1986, the value of Israeli arms deals to Iran reached about \$ 3 billion in the framework of the arms smuggling scandal America known to Iran and known as Iran Jet [1, 14, 18].

Perhaps the motive for this cooperation is the convergence of interests and goals with Iran and Israel in weakening Iraq and destroying it as a regional Arab power that influences the determination of the overall regional balance of power in the region, which enables Iran to achieve hegemony over the Gulf region. The destruction of an influential Arab force in the interactions of the Arab-Israeli conflict, as well as the broader American strategic objective of destroying both forces, increasing its hegemony over the Gulf region of strategic importance to the United States and its Western allies.

- Iran's attempt to control and dominate and expansionist tendencies practiced, which pose a threat and a severe threat to Arab national security, the most important of which:
- Iran's attempt to name the Arabian Gulf in the Persian Gulf, where it is keen to attribute to it in all international forums and official documents issued by it.
- Iran's attempt to impose itself as a major force and leading role in the region, especially in the area of security and participation in the establishment of a regional security system in the Gulf or in the intensification of the Iranian political, economic and cultural presence in Central Asia and adopt a comprehensive strategy to rebuild military capabilities Nuclear and missile decisions considering the military capabilities possess nuclear and nuclear capabilities as a key tool to gain prestige and influence and achieve regional ambitions.
- The Iranian armed forces violated the Iraqi borders more than once and established the occupation of the three islands in addition to the growing military power of Iran, which clearly left the balance of military forces after the destruction of the Iraqi military force in 1991.
- Iran is imposing the force policy by force through the application of the Iranian Maritime Areas Act of 1993 to navigation in the Arabian Gulf and the Strait of Hormuz, which is growing with the provisions of international law.
- Separation of the Arabian Gulf region from the Arab system as a whole.
- Emphasize its power and dominance over the region, and it must be an integral part of any security arrangements in the region to achieve stability in the region. Hence the desire to normalize relations with its Arab neighbors.

- Establishing a new regional system in which the weakest and most powerful Gulf Arabs will ensure an active role in the international system and in one of the most sensitive episodes of this regime.
- The need to remove foreign forces from the security field in the Gulf, especially Western or Arab powers such as Syria and Egypt.
- Calling for a solution to the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), and proposing a security system in which Iran would participate and have the upper hand as the largest regional power.
- Benefit from the existence of Shiite minorities in the Gulf States
- Dye its regional role in the Islamic character in the Gulf to give legitimacy to this role within the framework of the religious heritage of the peoples and countries of the Arab region [38, 29, 8].

CONCLUSIONS

The overall national security of Arab countries faces unprecedented challenges, including existential challenges, including challenges to the strategic interests of many Arab countries. As mentioned above, the aim of Arab national security is to protect the stability of all the countries of the region, or regional Arab groups such as the Maghreb, the Arab Mashreq, the GCC, the Nile Valley and the Horn of Africa.

No matter how the concept of Arab national security has appeared in the last few decades and is not applicable with the growing differences between the Arab countries on the one hand and the possibility of Arab-Israeli war on the other, we are witnessing a growing desire by Arab decision- In order to safeguard Arab national security regarding the obvious challenges facing it. This is due to the seriousness and gravity of the challenges that have threatened the Arab states. The most important of which is the phenomenon of terrorism, the domination of external parts of the Arab territories, the exacerbation of sectarian and sectarian tension, and the intensification of interference in the internal affairs of the Arab countries. These risks require a collective Arab position because of the difficulty of limiting them by individual Arab countries, as well as the combination of files and the state of exposure that the world has undergone as a result of technological and information development [14, 39, 20].

In addition, we note that the concept of security in the Arab regional system in its traditional meaning is "the system which is resisted based on the geographical proximity of its constituent states or on cultural, economic and social similarities. However, we find that the Middle East region, despite the geographical proximity between all Arab countries, and similar cultures, but have a single historical background, and one language is prevalent, especially within the Arab region, which is the largest proportion of both the proportion of population or geographical

area compared to the countries of the region as a whole . The regional system in the Middle East is ineffective at the level of interactive cultural relations, economic exchanges and, most importantly, security cooperation [18, 25].

Thus, effective regional security is the region that is established in vital relations in various fields, in a manner that achieves comprehensive integration and cooperation that serves the security of the region in general and the security of each country in particular.

As we discussed the concepts of national security and regional security in general, I would like finally to formulate a new formulation of the concept of Arab national security, where Arab national security was linked to the current phase of the wars of national liberation and political independence, the Arab Spring and the economic crises and terrorism, thus leading to the emergence of another definition of Arab national security "as the ability of Arab states to protect their self-existence against external threats in order to ensure their survival, based on true democratic systems unified on a unified security strategy to protect their geographical borders, Comprehensive friendly able to meet the requirements of the peoples of the Arab region, and to ensure his survival and security.

There is no doubt that Arab national security is important to ensure that Arab governments deal with security threats in a comprehensive and effective manner and guide the implementation of security policies with Arab consensus in a manner that increases the level of trust and cooperation between them [13, 24].

In reference to the League of Arab States charter in 1945, the concept of national security is not explicitly stated, but collective security is mentioned in Article 6, and cooperation was mentioned in the defense of the Joint Defense Treaty in 1950. After the Second Gulf War And in 1992 the League of Arab States prepared a working paper on the concept of Arab national security, "the ability of the Arab nation to defend its security and rights and to formulate its independence and sovereignty on its territory.

Arab relations before the Arab Spring revolutions were divided into two axes (axis of moderation and the axis of opposition). The axis of moderation included Egypt, Saudi Arabia and the rest of the Gulf countries except Qatar, Jordan and Yemen. The axis of opposition included Syria, Hezbollah, Qatar and the Palestinian resistance. The challenges facing the Arab national security in general, as it became the issue that occupies the Arab public opinion. During that period, some Arab countries cooperated, especially in the security field in the face of terrorist activities. With Hamas and Hezbollah [6, 9, 17].

On the other hand, there have been changes in Arab relations after and after the so-called Arab Spring. Relations between the Arab Maghreb countries were affected by the situation in Libya and Tunisia, where there was a change in their relations especially with Libya because of the proliferation of terrorist groups and the proliferation of weapons and the smuggling of weapons. The relations with the Gulf countries were concerned about the extension of these revolutions, especially after the rise of the Islamic trend of government in Egypt, and in that period strained Gulf relations with countries affected by the revolutions in the Maghreb [10, 39].

The Arab countries are absent from the political and strategic vision of national security, the analytical vision of security risks, and most importantly the process of making them and their inputs, their dynamism and the consequent change of defense and security systems, and not only the conditions for applying democracy, Technical and strategic task, also miss the specialized expertise of a high degree of depth, integration and monetary discussion.

The future of the Middle East depends on the relations and interactions between the countries of the region, whether conflict over relations or conflict over cooperation; conflicts continue to lead to increased security risks in the region, especially sectarian conflicts and the proliferation of terrorist groups.

It is clear that the relations between the countries of the region do not refer to cooperation at least for the time being, and in the context of the security risks of all the countries of the region, especially the presence of countries within the region accused of financing terrorism and support, and convinced some that it is fortified to those risks [27, 11].

These security risks have also led to the marginalization of the Palestinian cause, which is the most important issue in the Middle East, and the concept of the Middle East, for more than 60 years, as part of a Western strategy to reshape the Middle East by raising problems and issues that undermine the security of countries? In the Arab region.

The lack of cooperation and regional consensus in entering into the international coalition are the most given evidence of the lack of coordination between the countries of the region, and the desire of some in the continuation of the organization of preaching and jealousy. The regional system has its influence on the systems of the region's internal states and defines the features of the ruling alliances at the regional level and within the political systems of the countries of the region. The regional system determines the type of government and policies adopted on various issues, International and regional responsibility. For

example, after the US invasion, Iran's intervention in Iraq left the Iraqi political arena to Iran alone without an Arab rival, even though it is an Arab state. Iraq is an important station for the supply of arms and Iranian fighters to Syria to support the Assad regime, Hezbollah in Lebanon. Iran supports the security arena in both Iraq and Syria, as well as its support of the Houthis in Yemen. It has an important security effect in Yemen. It encircles the Arabian Peninsula from all directions in the north, south and east, thus Iran is considered the most important regional player in the Middle East. (A good economy, a strong army, a regional and international diplomatic power). One of the reasons for the security instability in the Arab region, especially the Middle East in general, is the network of international and regional alliances. We find Russia, Iran and Turkey in an alliance against the United States, which leads Egyptian - Gulf's alliance, against terrorism in the region [3].

Although Russia and its Iranian-Turkish alliance seek an Iranian-Gulf understanding, the Russian alliance and the corresponding American alliance reflect the international regional conflict. Both forces (Russia and the United States) seek to strengthen their allies in the region, to resolve conflict issues in the region; that means the intensification of the conflict and the continuing security threats.

In view of this conflict between the various powers of the region and even the world's major powers shows that there is only one result which is the instability of the region and the increase in security threats resulting from conflicts of interest. This leads to the weakening of the Arab countries, given that the conflicts are based on their territories, the deterioration of their economies as a result of security issues with further division and change of the map of countries and the entire region.

The League of Arab States, whose members are not given any attention to the decisions taken within them in order to convince them of the lack of seriousness of their implementation in practice. The absence of a binding rule within the organization made it useless in security issues in particular.

In order to regain their regional role once again, the Arab States must be more effective. So, there are specific plans and appropriate means to implement these plans so as to commensurate with the needs of their internal communities and the needs of the region, within an established framework of higher societal principles and values through a link between the regional role and the internal society which enhances the public's view of leadership that is a representative of the general feeling of the community. Internal factors such as culture, economy, etc. are the most important in the process of facing security risks [31, 28].

The complexity of the process of risk analysis and its relative difficulty in the opinions of specialists, and the uncertainty in their conclusions, remains a necessary issue in the formulation of security and defense strategy and planning. The methods and theories allow for a critical vision and collective and reciprocal thinking, but they do not end the ambiguity in this matter. The most important security risk in the world is unpredictable, but over time the response has become faster and more effective. Countries that are at risk of security need to be highly prepared [40, 41].

Threats can also be addressed at the Arab level by building common defensive and security capabilities with a degree of flexibility and structure, so that they can be used to deal with a wide range of risks. This means the distribution of special security units to different areas of interest and influence.

The recent developments in the region, surprising developments in Arab alliances and normalization with Israel, which were the primary threat to Arab security, and the return of Turkish-Iranian relations and the exchange of official visits between the two countries, suggest that the Middle East is ahead of important events in the near future.

The multiplicity of sources of threat to the security of states is usually sufficient motivation to unify the positions of states and form alliances for this purpose, but this is not clearly manifested in the Arab world. Therefore, if there is no Arab consensus on how to deal with all political and security issues, this should not be a hindrance to the crystallization of a strong Arab position supported by the vast majority of Arab countries. The Arab countries, their strategic interests and the future of future generations. There are also risks that should not be compromised, and should be addressed without delay [10, 39].

There are indications that this trend is becoming a reality on the ground with the conclusion of the 26th Arab Summit in Sharm el-Sheikh at the end of March 2018. The final statement stressed the need to maintain Arab national security and adopt the principle of forming a joint Arab force to intervene quickly as well as the adoption of a unified Arab position to support the "crisis of firmness" in order to restore legitimacy to Yemen after it has been kidnapped and undermined by militias that receive unlimited support from futile regional forces, whose aim is to increase their influence in several parts of the Arab world, away from any consideration for good neighborliness and promote regional stability. We hope that this will not be limited to a particular situation, but rather within an institutional framework and in accordance with clear goals, visions and plans [36, 11].

The flaws in the Arab national security are clear and well known, and they do not need further

studies and theorizing as much as they are in urgent need to develop a viable strategy aimed at strengthening the Arab national security system in all its dimensions and beyond the military and strategic concept of security because of the political and security liquidity situation in the Arab region.

It does not stop at issuing a statement or a decision. Every Arab decision must see the light and be implemented on the ground. Many of the resolutions require active military cooperation among Arab states, because the absence of this enabled other countries and extremist organizations to strengthen their presence on Arab soil. Priority in turbulent areas is always a military force. Diplomacy and political solution without military force is often ineffectual and ineffective. This is what we have seen in the face of al-Huthi in Yemen. This suggests that "soft diplomacy" and "hidden influence" are no longer effective in dealing with many issues in the Arab region.

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