

Number 5, Jul-Sep 2011

## Just Peace Diplomacy Journal

International Peace Studies Centre (IPSC)

[www.peace-ipsc.org](http://www.peace-ipsc.org)

ISSN 2043-9016 (Print)

ISSN 2043-9024 (Online)

|                                |
|--------------------------------|
| <b>English Articles 1-78</b>   |
| <b>Persian Articles 79-206</b> |
|                                |



**IPSC**

International Peace Studies Centre

**Editor in Chief**

Dr Seyed G Safavi, IPSC, UK

**Editorial Board**

Dr Talal Atrissi, Lebanese University,  
Lebanon

Prof Judith Blau, University of North  
Carolina, Chapel Hill, USA

Prof Peter Fosl, Transylvania University,  
USA

Dr Shireen Hunter, CSIS, USA

Prof Israr Ahmad Khan, International  
Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM),  
Malaysia

Dr Oleg V. Kuznetsov, Chita State  
University, Russia

Prof S. Kazem Sajjadpour, School of  
International Relations, Iran

Prof Yoginder Singh Sikand, National  
Law School, Bangalore, India.

Prof Peter Slinn, SOAS, UK

**Executive Manager and Assistant  
Editor of English section**

Seyed Sadreddin Safavi

**Assistant Editor of Persian section and  
Representative in I.R.Iran**

Seyed Hamzeh Safavi

**Layout and Design**

Mohammad A. Alavi,  
www.mediatics.net

*Just Peace Diplomacy Journal* is a quarterly peer reviewed journal published by the International Peace Studies Centre (IPSC). The journal aims to create constructive dialogue and offer in-depth analysis on the political and security situation in the Middle East and Central Asia, with the objective of furthering 'just peace' in the region. The journal contains articles in English and Persian. Contributions to *Just Peace Diplomacy Journal* do not necessarily reflect the views of the editorial board or the International Peace Studies Centre.

*Just Peace Diplomacy Journal's* primary areas of interest are peace, security and stability, militarism, energy and international presence in the Middle East and Central Asia.

Contributors are invited to submit papers to the Journal by emailing a digital version of their paper to the Executive Manager (sadreddin@peace-ipsc.org).

**The Mailing Address of the journal:**

121 Royal Langford,  
2 Greville Rd,  
London, NW6 5HT,  
UK

Email: sadreddin@peace-ipsc.org

**Subscription:**

Individual subscription is £20 per issue  
Organisational Subscription is £60 per  
issue.

**© International Peace Studies Centre**

ISSN 2043-9016 (Print)  
ISSN 2043-9024 (Online)

## **Our Vision:**

*In the beginning all people were one nation* (Holy Qur'an, 2:213)  
Throughout human history, peace has always been the 'primary state' and war the 'accidental state'. Peace is beautiful, compassionate and constructive, while war is fearsome, merciless and destructive. Unfortunately, despite this, war has been one of 20<sup>th</sup> century's most major problems, and has proved to be the symbol of the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. As portrayed by the contemporary history of international relations, particularly in the Middle East and Central Asia, war is not the solution, nor is it constructive or helpful in solving problems; rather, it causes problems and is the root of the continuation of violence, instability and insecurity.

War is not the solution to the differences between governments and nations. Only with peace which is based on justice, i.e. '*Just Peace*', can we reach a stable and permanent solution to our differences. Diplomacy and constructive dialogue which take into consideration the rights of both parties, is the only path to establishing '*Just Peace*', stability and world security. Our aim is to change international relations with the active participation of nations on the basis of '*Just Peace*'.

*Let there be a group among you who will invite others to good.*  
(Holy Qur'an, 3:104)

We, as part of the international network of intellectuals, are able to play an important and constructive role in the establishment of mutual understanding, of dialogue and in the reduction and amelioration of global problems. Our intention is to provide solutions and means for the positive and just cooperation of nations with each other, and to reach this end independent of governments, through a realistic understanding of nations and governments from each other, and through clear, truthful and constructive dialogue.

## **The Principles of Establishing 'Just Peace':**

1. Establishing justice between the countries of the South and the North.
2. Mutual respect between different nations and different governments.
3. Respecting and considering the valid interests of all parties which have a vested interest in any given conflict.
4. Thinking globally and acting against extreme nationalism.
5. Realistic understanding of the realities of the world.
6. Upholding and respecting human rights and the principles of democracy.
7. Accepting and moving towards the destruction of weapons of mass destruction throughout the world/on a global scale

Our priorities in the current situation are to analyse the issues and problems of conflict-zones such as those of the Middle East, the Persian Gulf and Central Asia.

Our tools for aiding in the establishment of world peace are:

1. Inviting and facilitating for intellectuals from different parts of the world to engage in dialogue with each other.
2. Dialogue between intellectuals and international organizations.
3. Preparing the groundwork for dialogue between on the basis of mutual respect between opposing governments.
4. Organising international scientific conferences dealing with regional and global issues.
5. Publishing scientific research work on peace studies in the form of books and journals.
6. Providing education internationally on the culture of dialogue, understanding, compromise, justice, freedom and spirituality.

We are a private, non-governmental organisation. Our offices are based in Europe and the Middle East.

## **Notice to Contributors**

Articles submitted to Just Peace Diplomacy Journal should be original contributions and should not be under consideration for any other publication at the same time. In the instance that an article has previously been published or is scheduled for publication, this should be clearly indicated at the time of submission, providing details.

Authors should email the Executive Manager ([sadreddin@peace-ipsc.org](mailto:sadreddin@peace-ipsc.org)) a Word (.doc or .docx) version of their article as an attachment. The articles must have an abstract and endnotes should be used and not footnotes. The authors should specify their affiliation and their postal address in their email. By sending an article to the journal and the article being published, the author has accepted that the copyright of the article belongs to IPSC, and the article can be used for publication as a selected article in books, and can also be published online.

**Just Peace Diploamcy Journal**  
International Peace Studies Centre (IPSC)

**Articles**

**فهرست**

**The New Egypt and the change of the balance of power in the Middle East**  
Seyed G Safavi  
[1-10]

- تروریسم: گونه شناسی جدید مبتنی بر آگاهی توزیع شده  
دکتر سید یحیی صفوی، دکتر علیرضا فرشچی  
{۷۹-۹۸}

**Hizb al-Tahrir al-Islami (Islamic Party of Liberation) and Future of Islamism in Central Asia**  
Farhad Navaei  
[11-30]

- جدال در حاشیه و رویارویی ژئوپلیتیکی با ایران  
ابراهیم منقی {۹۹-۱۱۶}  
- بحران سوریه و بازآفرینی انقلاب‌های رنگی در دوران  
اوباما، دکتر زهره پوستینچی {۱۱۷-۱۲۴}

**Poverty and Its Impact on the Spread of Islamic Fundamentalism in the Sub – Continent (Case Study: Bangladesh)**  
Mehdi Madani and Mehdi Toosi  
[31-48]

- تحولات سوریه و سناریوهای احتمالی: تحلیل بر  
اساس مدل سناریو نویسی ادراکی  
محمد صادق جوکار {۱۲۵-۱۵۴}

**Neo-Islamism in Chechnya and Wahhabism**  
Abazar Barari  
[49-66]

- امریکا و ثبات خلیج فارس در روند رقابت‌های  
ژئوپلیتیکی ایران - عربستان  
دکتر طاهره ترابی {۱۵۵-۱۷۴}

**Revisiting the Chechen Crisis through an Iranian Prism Historical and Strategical Considerations**  
Kafkazli Seyed Javad  
[67-78]

- تحلیل و بررسی آینده لیبی پس از قذافی  
گفتگو با دکتر احمد بخشی {۱۹۳-۲۰۲}  
- سیاست دوگانه ی عربستان سعودی در قبال تحولات  
خاورمیانه گفتگو با دکتر علی اکبر اسدی  
{۲۰۳-۲۰۶}

*Persian Articles [79-206]*

مقالات انگلیسی {۱-۷۸}

## **The New Egypt and the change of the balance of power in the Middle East**

Seyed G Safavi  
International Peace Studies Centre- London

### **Abstract**

Without a doubt in light of the popular movements and the downfall of Bin Ali and Mubarak and the instability of the throne of the majority of the Arab governments of the Middle East, the balance and structure of power in the Middle East is fast changing. The greatest loser of recent developments in the Middle East is the Tel Aviv regime who has lost its greatest regional ally Mubarak.

The Rafah border crossing of Egypt and Gaza has opened and Hamas and Fatah have finally reached an agreement. With the collapse of Bin Ali and Mubarak, the lack of trust of the Arab regimes towards the United States, and the hatred of the Middle Eastern nations of the Imperialistic hegemony of the United States, the era of American hegemony in the Middle East has ended, though it is possible that for a while America will retain its influence in the region. The resistance front and the movement of independence will play the greatest role in the future equations of the Middle East.



**Keywords:** Egypt, United States, Iran, Saudi, Middle East, balance of power in the Middle East.

## **Introduction**

Today there are many different opinions and perspectives in regards to the roots and causes of the recent developments in Egypt. Some consider it as Islamic, some as human, and others as economic. However, social and political phenomena cannot be attributed or limited to only one factor or cause. In this article I will aim to explain the causes of the uprising of the great Egyptian people and the change in the balance of power in the Middle East in which it resulted.

## **The roots and causes of the Egyptian uprising**

The concurrent occurrences of four important developments are central to the Egyptian uprising. First the qualitative and quantitative advancement of digital media and social networking, second economic crisis, third Islamic awakening and fourth political corruption and the crisis of legitimacy and acceptability of the government. These four factors are the primary factors that resulted in the collapse of the despotic Mubarak regime in Egypt and the creation of the possibility of new political conditions in the Middle East.

Class differences, poverty and unemployment, the squandering of the nation's wealth by those in power and the elite, the dominance of the military on the economic jugulars of the country, and a two figure inflation are some of the economic factors which resulted in the uprising of the Egyptian nation.

The constant systematic humiliation and intimidation of people by the police and security and intelligence services, censorship of the press and the arts, the limitation and suppression of the intellectual activities of intellectuals, the banning of influential political parties, the placement of severe restrictions on civil liberties, the imprisonment, torture and harassment of those who thought different, turning a blind eye to civil rights, the lack of distribution of political power, the lack of

freedom of press, the orchestration of parliamentary and presidential elections, which were in reality appointments rather than free, healthy and competitive elections, the submission to the Tel Aviv regime, and the fall of Bin Ali in Tunisia are amongst the human factors of the uprising.

The fast growth rate of Digital media that is difficult to control by governments, such as mobile phones, mobile phone camera, internet and mobile messaging services, facebook, twitter, and youtube which in reality have turned each citizen in to a journalist, and have allowed for channels of mass communications that are difficult to control by government but are freely accessible to everyone, in addition to the role played by external traditional media outlets such as Al-jazirah are amongst the other important factors. It is also Important to note, that a large Youth population which desired to change their future and removing poverty and dictatorship, was a significant factor, as it allowed social mobilization.

Islamic awakening was one of the other factors which led to the uprising. The victory of the regions Islamic movements over their powerful enemies, such as the victory of Hezbollah over the extensive air, naval and ground offensives of the Tel Aviv regime, and the the failure of the Tel Aviv regime to defeat Hamas despite an extensive military and economic offensive in Gaza, in addition to the lack of a conclusive victory for American strategies in Iraq and Afghanistan are amongst the other important factors that led to the uprisings. Further the 80 year social, political, Islamic and intellectual activities of Ikhwan al-Muslimin is part of the Islamic factor.

### **Change of the Balance of power in the Middle East**

If parties that are independent of the west achieve victory in the parliamentary and presidential elections, there will be a significant shift in the foreign policy of Egypt. Firstly Egypt will once again become an Independent country in terms of its foreign policy, secondly its foreign policy is likely to shift towards regional cooperation and the protection of the interests of the regions nations. Further, the current humiliating

relationship with Tel Aviv will undoubtedly change. However, if the movement of internal dictatorship which was united with the Mubarak regime and had intensive cooperation with him, and the United States do not allow free and fair democratic elections to be held in Egypt, the movement of the Egyptian nation, will not only not stop but rather will turn into a radical revolutionary movement which will ultimately achieve power, and establish the democratic will of the Egyptian people.

The current developments in Egypt and the Middle East are interrelated and affect each other. As such, the current developments in Libya, Syria, Tunisia and Bahrain (To which large segments of the Arab and Muslim world have turned a blind eye to), will affect the conditions of Egypt and the future of the balance of power in the region. On the other hand, the role played by the west, led by the US, as international powers, and the role played by regional powers, such as Turkey, Iran and Saudi Arabia is also significant.

We will now look at the role of some of the main players in the region.

### **America**

Considering the important position of Egypt in the Middle East, changing the political and security structures of Egypt will result in the collapse of the current security and political structure of the Middle East. This if it becomes independent of the United States, will mean the US will have to rebuild its network in the region. It is natural that the US will initially not support any structural change. However, the US in order to prevent the contradiction between its liberal slogan and defending Mubarak and all that is represented by him, has announced support for political change. However, in action it is likely that it will pursue a policy of diverting and distorting the social developments of Egypt and only allowing the change to occur formally and on the surface. In the current condition, by pursuing covert and overt actions, the US is pursuing the scenario of the distortion and control of the political and social revolution of the Egyptian people, and changing its direction towards superficial internal and political reform without any fundamental change in the political structures.<sup>1</sup>

Let us expand on this theme, which is central to the future of Egypt. There are two explanations for the apparent shift in America's foreign policy towards the Arab regimes of the Middle East. The first and the most unlikely in my view, is that United states has had a fundamental shift in its foreign policy, and instead of extending its support to regimes which are a known quantity and are in line with America's policy in the region and American interests, the united states has decided to give its support to the regions nations rather than its despotic government.

The second explanation which in my view is the more likely, is that the American support for the uprisings in the Middle East particularly the Egyptian uprising which is the most significant from a geopolitical and geostrategic point of view, is a containment measure or in other words a counter revolutionary measure.

Faced by the inevitable fall of the Mubarak regime, the US had a choice to make, the US could stand side by side by her greatest ally in the region, i.e. the Mubarak regime, as Saudi did, but face the increased hatred of the regions people, and also lose a great deal of influence in the region. Or the second option, which is the option chosen by the Americans was to give support to the uprisings but to lend its support to the Egyptian military which remained neutral in the conflict and as such kept the ability to govern the country, in this way the US insured that at least in the short term its interests are protected and its influence is continued. Secondly it was to allow for a pseudo-democracy to be formed in Egypt which would insure Egyptian support for American policies in the region and keep Egypt in the western block, which would also solve many of the united stated problems particularly its paradoxical support for despotic regimes at the same time as blowing the horns of liberty and democracy.

Therefore, the American support for the uprising, is not so that the will of the Egyptian people, which was in its initial phase the removal of the Mubarak regime but in its essence was the establishment of a democratic system representative of the will, heritage and aspirations of the of the great Egyptian people and Independence, would to come to

fruition, rather the support was so that the united States could insure a government would come to power which would protect American interests and those of America's allies. Particularly to insure that Egypt would stay in the western sphere of power and secondly that Egypt would uphold the Camp David agreement.

Whether this American plan, which is a counter revolutionary plan will succeed or not, is dependent upon the awareness of the great Egyptian people on the one hand. and on the other, the ability of intellectuals, political parties and activists to openly speak about the back door discussion that are currently being held between parts of the current temporary government of Egypt and the United States, and to move the discussions on the future of the great Egyptian people who aspire for freedom, for honor and for democracy from private meetings held between the mighty and the powerful, comprised of external players and internal players some of whom are known accomplices of Mubarak, to the public view, so that the uprising may turn into a revolution, and not a simple movement for the transference of power from one corrupt regime to another. Of course when one speaks in such a manner about the possible scenarios one could be misunderstood, so I must make a clarification. It should not be proposed, and I certainly am not doing this, that Egypt cuts off relations with the United states or other western nations, or that Egypt should seek enmity with any of them, rather Egypt should maintain cordial relations with all nations and all governments except the Tel Aviv regime, but remain an independent country, which makes its choices, and strategic decision making, on the basis of its own interests rather than the interests of the western block, which are detrimental to the Egyptian people.

Libya: the strategy of Nato in Libya is the destruction of the military and economic infrastructures of Libya and preventing it from becoming a country that is independent of the west in the Mediterranean bordering Europe. There are two distinct players in the rebel movement, one is the Islamic movement, which the some western powers are already speaking about marginalizing later on, and the other is the western-dependent movement. It is not possible at this stage to make a comment regarding the future of Ghaddafi, or in case Ghaddafi falls

which segment of the rebels will gain power. However the developments in Libya will play a major role in the future balance of power in the region, and also it is important to note that the success or failure of the current Nato operation will determine whether such a Nato will initiate such a military offensive in the short term in the region or not.

### **Iran and Saudi**

Iran's diplomatic system has acted weakly in relation to the recent regional developments. The Iranian government, like all other governments was surprised by the recent popular uprisings in the region, and until now has failed to play a practical role in establishing constructive connections with the players on the new regional arena. Although, it is important to note that from the beginning of the uprising in Egypt Iran supported the Egyptian nation. Relations between Iran and the Persian Gulf cooperation council particularly Saudi are strained at the moment, and there are many disagreements between the two sides.

There are a number of factors which have led to these disagreements. Firstly these countries, based on an initial understanding based on some of the actions of the Islamic revolution of Iran in the 80s think that Iran aims to overthrow their governments, and as such there is an air of mistrust between Iran and these countries. Secondly, there is an open competition between Iran and Saudi in the region, and the increasing influence of Iran in Palestine, Lebanon and Iraq has resulted in the dissatisfaction of Saudi. Thirdly, these countries form part of the western camp and some of their decision is in the framework of the interests, strategies and scenarios of the west. False information and incorrect analysis is one of the factors which have led to the distrust of these countries towards Iran. They think that Iran aims to expand Shiism in their countries, and its final aim is the establishment of a Shi'a government in the region that is dependent on Iran.

If peace is to be established in the region, it is necessary for the security of the region to be provided by regional countries and for there to be

mutual respect and also constructive cooperation between regional countries. This could form a new block that is independent of the west. Of course by regional cooperation we do not mean unity, rather adopting the same direction. Due to the mentioned disagreements and the air of distrust in the region Iran needs to take concrete and practical steps towards gaining the trust of the regional countries. For creating trust we require active political – security and military channels between Iran and the mentioned countries, so that both sides are able to prevent the propagation of false information which will naturally lead to incorrect analysis and consequently wrong strategic decision making. Iran should formally announce to these countries that if they stop cooperating with the west in its anti-Iranian policies in the region and they stop appeasing Tel Aviv, Iran is prepared to reconsider its relation with them in the framework of the new regional conditions and the interest of the regions nations. Iran and Iraq must join the Persian Gulf Cooperation council so that the regions security is provided by regional countries.

Unfortunately Saudi Arabia has played a negative role in recent regional developments particularly in relation to Bahrain and Egypt. Saudi defended Mubarak till the last moment, and even now it aims to prevent a serious trial of Mubarak and his team to take place, and has prevented the temporary Egyptian government from joining the current in the region that is independent of the United States, through economic threats and political pressures. In reality Saudi has chosen to confront the Egyptian revolution. The current foreign policy of Saudi is confrontation with the interests of not only the Egyptian and Saudi nations but all the people of the Middle East.

### **Turkey**

Turkey has an active role in recent regional developments. There is great affinity between Iran, Iraq and Turkey, which has the potential for the creation of a united front. If such a front is formed these countries will play the central role in the region. The foreign policy of the new Egypt and Saudi Arabia in addition to that of this front, will determine the future of the region. Qalib Ghandil the head of the Lebanese media

research centre, in relation to the formation of the axis of Iran, Turkey, Egypt has said: “any action which will lead to closer relations between regional countries, is a barrier in front of the dominance of imperialism. Plans which are based on close relations between Iran, Turkey, Egypt and Syria are in the framework of the mutual interest of the regional nations, and will result in greater independence for them”<sup>2</sup> if Egypt joins this front, Saudi will have only two choices: either, based on the current tensions in the Saudi-US relations, Saudi through a fundamental reconsideration of its foreign policy and joining this front will result in the isolation of the US in the region, or Saudi will form a new second comprised of conservative countries of the region which do not have the ability to confront the new axis of independence, and as such Saudi influence in the region will decline. As a result of this the role of Turkey in future regional developments will significantly increase. Further, the competition between Iran and Turkey will also increase at the same time as their level of cooperation increases. This kind of relation in international relations is not paradoxical, although it must be noted that the current situation in Syria might lead to the creation of a distance between Iran and Turkey, because Turkey is of the opponents of the Syrian government were as Iran is supporting the Syrian government.

### **Conclusion**

Without a doubt in light of the popular movements and the downfall of Bin Ali and Mubarak and the instability of the throne of the majority of the Arab governments of the Middle East, the balance and structure of power in the Middle East is fast changing. The greatest loser of recent developments in the Middle East is the Tel Aviv regime who has lost its greatest regional ally Mubarak.

The Rafah border crossing of Egypt and Gaza has opened and Hamas and Fatah have finally reached an agreement. With the collapse of Bin Ali and Mubarak, the lack of trust of the Arab regimes towards the United States, and the hatred of the Middle Eastern nations of the Imperialistic hegemony of the United States, the era of American hegemony in the Middle East has ended, though it is possible that for a



while America will retain its influence in the region. The resistance front and the movement of independence will play the greatest role in the future equations of the Middle East.

If a front is formed between Iran, Turkey, Syria, Iraq and Egypt, this new block will become the main regional power. If trust is established between Saudi and Iran a front of Islamic cooperation will be formed which will be parallel to the US and Europe, however this scenario is very unlikely at present.

The formation of the Axis of Independence, is solely dependent on the expert management of the political – security and military diplomacy of the independent regional players and requires each nations national political, security, military and intellectual figures to cooperate with each other, and those of the other countries of the region. The presence of the regions nations and their pressuring of their governments in order to achieve what they desire will play an important role in shaping the future of the Middle East and without a doubt the developments in Egypt will play the central role. The dream of the Zionists and the US is a free ride on the current waves of unrest in the region, however, since in the majority of the regions countries the majority of people consider the US and Tel Aviv as the external factor for their misfortunes, even though the Zionists and the US will spend fortunes in creating a new image for themselves and will attempt at placing their own allies in power in the region, the awareness of the regions nations and the foresight of the revolutionaries, Islamic awakening, and the spirit of seeking democracy will establish a New Middle East that is not only free from dictatorship, but one that will be independent and free from the rule of Imperialist powers.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> See: Safavi, Seyed Rahim, *Naghsh Amrica dar inheraf inghelab siasi-ijtemaei Meser*, Jus Peace Diplomacy Journal, number3, March2011, London.

<sup>2</sup> See Ghaleb, Ghandil at: <http://www.asrnews.org/1390/03/>.