The Architecture of Peace in the Middle East

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Abstract

The Middle East and North Africa regions have been the focus of security crises since the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Although insecurity has not been restricted in this region, its effects are evident in other regions of the international system, especially in the European countries. With this in mind, the main question of the present article is how can a comprehensive model be presented to fundamentally resolve the security issue in the region. The result of this study is that "regional awareness" is a concept on the basis of which one can find a way out of the existing security impasse. In fact, the results are based on the fact that native solutions to the security of the country, instead of rental security, bring peace and security to the region. In this regard, governments, intellectuals, and people must engage in regional negotiations to fulfill their national interests.

Keywords: Middle East, Peace, Regional Security.

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1.Interduction

The concept of security in the Third World is somewhat different from the concept of security in the Western world due to its special features. In the West, security is further defined in the external dimension; That is, it relates to the environment and external actors, while security in the Third World often has an internal dimension, and the few that are defined in the external dimension are more influenced by internal security issues. In the Western world, security is closely related to the international order and structure of international security, while in developing countries, security is negatively related to international order and security structure, or at least a positive and constructive link between the two. Does not exist. Security in the Western world has been provided mostly through constructive alliances between different countries, while the possibility of positive and constructive alliances between the Third World or these countries with Western countries has always been bleak and third world countries have not been able to secure themselves in Define links to the security of other units. Third world governments define security mainly on the basis of central government and draw their approach on this basis. Hence, security in the Third World is based on political issues. It goes without saying that emphasizing the priority of the political sphere in defining security does not mean that this sphere can or should be separate from other spheres and social activities related to the issue of security; Rather, if issues in other areas, such as economic, environmental, or cultural and social, pose a national threat, then these will be security issues. Therefore, the concept of security in the third world is defined based on the internal and external vulnerabilities of the government in question, and the perception of these governments of threats underlies their actions, interactions and foreign policy in the world of politics. The Middle East and North Africa regions are two of the most insecure and unstable parts of the international system. Although some regional analysts have argued, conflicts and wars have become an integral part of the Middle East, but since we are in a situation today where security or insecurity of a region affects the rest of the world, not only regional actors but also trans-regional powers intervene in various ways in the Middle East's rapid transformations to provide their own interests and security. Generally, when talking about the turbulent Middle East, crises such as the civil war in Syria, Yemen, Iraq, Libya, and intra-regional

rivalries between Saudi Arabia and Iran, or the UAE and Turkey come to our minds, but leaving the current impasse requires us to go further back and examine the roots of various crises in this region. Thus, by identifying the roots of these crises, it is possible to come up with solutions that ultimately lead to a pattern so that the regional issus are fundamentally improved. The current article seeks to investigate the causes of crises by assessing the concept of "regional awareness" as the key to leaving the impasse. This concept is presented in the form of a six-element framework, through which these elements provide a regional pattern for resolving the crises in the region. In such circumstances, the awareness of the countries of the region about their situation and the surrounding environment, as well as the security nature of the Middle East, is of particular importance. In fact, regional awareness can inform countries about the security realities of the region and what needs to be done to achieve that security.

2.Metodology

The methodology used to develop the measuring tool was based on techniques borrowed from the field of social psychology that propose that learned predispositions to respond in a favorable or unfavorable manner to a particular country have three components: affect, behavior and cognition. The affect component encompasses one's positive and negative emotions about something, the behavior component consists of an intention to act in a particular manner while the cognition component refers to the beliefs and thoughts one holds about an object (Feldman,1999; Michener and Delamater,1994). These three components were used as a basis and the model was developed on three equivalent dimensions namely what does a person know (knowledge); how do they feel about the topic (attitude); and what do they do (behavior). This approach is not completely new and other researchers have already performed work where the social sciences were related to the field of information security awareness. Thomson and von Solms have shown how social psychological principles could be utilized to improve the effectiveness of an information security awareness program (Thompson and Solms,1998:185) while Schlienger and Teufel made use of social-cultural measures to define a model for analyzing information security culture in organizations (Schlienger and Teufel,2003:48). With the introduction of the concept of insecurity and security in the Middle East, the six questions below seem to provide an operational framework for moving

from insecurity to security in the region. Basically, this paper proposes an analytical framework to understand the roots of the Middle East crisis and to have a primary framework for dealing with these crises. The questions are:
- What is the main concept?
- Where?
- When
A- did it occur?
B- will it happen?
- What factors should be for it? The nation? Government? Elites and...
- What structure should it have for it?
- What technologies are used?

3. Generalities

In regional studies, it is argued that, basically, countries that are in a region depend on each other in terms of security components. This means that the members are so dependent in terms of security that the actions of each member, and the important security changes inside each of them, have a major impact on others, and their security cannot be considered separated from each other. (Buzan and et al,1998:201) Of course, today we are in a situation where security or insecurity in a region of the world, in addition to the region itself, affects other parts of the world. Accordingly, we see that the devastating effects of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) were not limited to the Middle East, but affected many parts of the world as well, especially the European ones. Among these, terrorist attacks in France, Belgium, Germany, Britain, and Sweden can be mentioned, which in turn led to both domestic and foreign political and security consequences. (Hershco,2017) In addition to terrorist attacks, what caused European leaders a serious "crisis" was the issue of displaced people in the Middle East who took refuge in Europe because of civil wars, political insecurity, and the region's economic recession. For the first few months of 2015, the type of immigration pressure faced by the EU was relatively traditional. In other words, the majority of immigrants, like the 2000s, included African refugees whose main immigration channel was the Mediterranean Sea. What distinguishes the wave of 2015 spring immigration from previous waves, in addition to the size and number of refugees, are their political motives, largely fled from civil wars in the Middle East and, of course, Afghanistan. It is natural that

Europe, which had not witnessed such a wave of immigration before, would be surprised; in less than eight months, about 800,000 people entered the European lands. (Vimont,2016:5) Therefore, it can be said that the Middle East crises and insecurity in the region have laid the groundwork for the export of terrorism outside the region and the emergence of a refugee crisis in other countries, especially the European ones.

The Middle East region may have been the most crisis prone region in the world in recent decades. International crises in the Middle East and Africa are happening frequently. In some of these countries, conflicts between states are rooted in the internal political, economic and social transformations. In other cases, external factors have fueled the flames of internal conflicts and flared them up. Generally, when speaking about Middle East crises, rivalries between Iran and Saudi Arabia, the UAE and Turkey, Saudi Arabia and Qatar, and so on are mentioned which are manifested in the battlefields of Syria, Libya, Yemen, and Iraq. However, if we are looking for a just peace and sustainable security in the Middle East, we need to know that we need to identify the roots rather than concentrating on these examples. How to look for strategies that can provide a model to help put the regional issues fundamentally in a process of improvement?

4.Theoretical Framework

4-1. The Six-Element Analysis Model of Effective Phenomena

Regional awareness means not relying on the security and military capabilities of other countries in matters that are essential to national life and emphasizes the immaterial aspects of power. According to the promoters of this idea, self-reliance is in the service of national unity and against external threats. Regional awareness, on the other hand, is a measure of the other details that make up national security, including military forces and political capabilities. Regarding regional awareness, it can be argued that national security is endangered when a country is unable to control its own destiny and meet its needs from other countries. On the other hand, in order to protect the country and the people from foreign threats, something more than economic power is needed. It depends on the strength and will of the people to resist the domination of foreign powers (Abdullah Khani, 2008:151). With the introduction of the concept of insecurity and security in the Middle East, the six questions below seem to provide an operational framework for moving from insecurity to security in the region. Basically,

this paper proposes an analytical framework to understand the roots of the Middle East crisis and to have a primary framework for dealing with these crises. The questions are:
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4-2. The Main Concept
The first and second world wars left many different effects and consequences in various aspects. The massive number of casualties and financial losses of World War I, in turn, revealed a fundamental defect in the balance of power. In other words, the defeat of the balance of power led to devastations that caused most of the states and nations to reject the balance of power as the basis for international security in the post-World War One era. On the other hand, the sorrows, the great losses and disasters suffered by displaced people and refugees from the Second World War caused mankind to realize that it is vital to create mechanisms for preventing wars and mechanisms which cause sustainable peace and security, in order to prevent the repetition of these two devastating wars. In the same vein, after the Second World War, victorious states made a lot of effort to show that the significant decline in military battles, especially in Europe, resulted from their considerable success in this field. Unfortunately, the Mddle East region has been the focus of many military and security crises since the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, during the two world wars, the Cold War, and after the collapse of the bipolar system.
Only over the eight years of Saddam Hussein's attack on Iran, more than 450,000 people were killed in total. 1.5 million people were injured. In addition, the total cost of the war on both sides was about $ 1100 billion (Razoux,2015). The current conflict in the region is similar. After years of struggle, the conflict in Syria has caused nothing but poverty, misery, and disaster, and it will never cause anything else. According to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), there are more than 5 million refugees and more than 6.3 million Syrian displaced people (UNHCR,2017). Syria is not the only center of the crisis in the

region. The whole region, however, is a hotbed of crises that are even more significant than the Iraq war on Iran or Syria. The invasion of the Arabian Coalition led by Saudi Arabia to Yemen in March 2015, marked a humanitarian catastrophe that, according to the United Nations, has become "the worst crisis in the world." The Arabian Coalition has failed to control Houthi's control over Sanaa, the Yemeni capital, whereas the United Nations warns that if the humanitarian situation in this war-torn country does not improve, the number of Yemenis on the brink of famine increases from 8.4 million to 18.4 million until December 2018. In other words, with Yemen's population of about 28 million people, this increases in the number of people at risk of famine means that the continuation of the immense sanctions of the country by the Arabian Coalition will put two thirds of the country's population at risk of famine (Webb,2018).

Iraq has been the focus of international, regional and domestic conflicts for more than two decades. Although the country has experienced difficult times since the United Nations hardened sanctions in the 1990s until it got occupied by US-British forces, the name of the country has been tied up with ISIS and the war against this terrorist group over the past five years. Albeit in late 2017, the Iraqi government announced a final victory against ISIS, Baghdad will deal with human and financial losses of the fight against terrorism for many years. Only since 2014, 3 million Iraqis have been displaced throughout the country and about 260,000 have been refugees in other countries. It is estimated that more than 11 million Iraqis are currently in need of humanitarian assistance (The UN Refugees Agency, 2018).

These cases are examples of the failure of the mechanisms for creating peace and stability that has been used in the region so far. Transregional' prescriptions and models have also proven their ineffectiveness in the Middle East region. Accordingly, today, the Middle East continues to witness the emergence of devastating rivalries of regional and trans-national powers, violence, insecurity, misunderstandings, and security knots, which constantly present themselves as a crisis or war at some place in the region. While the strength point of European countries is creating mechanisms to achieve and provide shared interests among themselves, the structure (for the reasons explained below) has not been

developed in the Middle East. That is why the Middle Eastern countries, unlike Europe, resort to war to provide their own interests; war in this article is defined as a failure to achieve legitimate interests.

Of course, the failure to develop a mechanism for the achievement of common interests and peace is not just on shoulders of regional powers, but also the role of the transregional powers must be taken into account. In fact, transregional powers consider security basically as a profitable commodity, and have a speculative look. Obviously, the owners of businesses prefer to sell their goods in their target market and seek to create more needs for them. While regional actors are paying heavily to provide security for themselves, American politicians are talking about the need for more payment by their partners and their allies around the world. Donald Trump, during his speech on foreign policy during his 2016 campaign, stated explicitly that Washington's allies should pay their fair share of the financial, political, and human costs to meet the heavy security burden (www.nytimes.com,2016).

However, on one hand, this trend is considered a threat by some regional powers such as Iran, which exacerbates the security conundrum. On the other hand, transregional' powers also use this rented security as a leverage against their partners in the Middle East. President Trump, while repeatedly emphasizing the ineffectiveness of spending $ 7 billion in the Middle East (www.cnn.com,2018), has repeatedly said that the Saudi government will not survive without military support from Washington (www. independent.co.uk,2018). It should be noted that this blind node can be resolved when it transforms from a commercial and rental product to an intra-regional commodity. Considering what was said above, one can now ask the question: which concept could be a way to get out of this impasse? The general concept that the region needs is "regional awareness." Regional awareness in this article is the knowledge and sense of belonging to one's region. Therefore, regional awareness is referred to as a perceptual-emotional attitude (Shamia and Kellerman,1984:88).

The idea that we all are sitting in the same boat. What features should this regional awareness have? This regional awareness should be based on global considerations, global concerns and global norms. But it should be through original regional solutions in order to lead to regional awareness. Because transregional' interventions with positive intentions will have

negative consequences in long term. For example, the US invasion of Iraq in 2003 resulted in the homelessness of 1.9 million and the emigration of 2 million refugees to Iraq's neighboring countries. On average, a hundred people were killed a day and more than one third of the Iraqi population fell below the poverty line (Iraq's Humanitarian Crisis).

So the main concept that the article emphasizes is regional awareness. This awareness is even financially worth more than millions of barrels of oil or hundreds of tons of gold. Wars and insecurities have led many of the wealthy nations of the world to poverty and destruction, and they have destroyed many of the advanced civilizations in the world. The continuation of the current Middle East trend will unfortunately result in a lot of insecurities in the future. If the countries of the region believe that everyone is sitting in the same boat, their actions will be different from what they are now.

4-3. Where?

The domain and area of this concept is obviously the Middle East. The Middle East is an extremely important geopolitical and geo-strategic area that has always been a venue for conflicts. Security of the members in this region is so entangled that transformations of one member affects the security of other members, thereby examining the security transformations in the area and their effects and consequences are of particular importance. It is noteworthy that the Middle East region includes Nrth Africa, Levant, the Gulf, Pakistan and Afghanistan.

But there are two important peripheral areas that their actions and reactions influence the main area: 1- The West, 2- Islamic World in general.

A) Relations with the West

Since emerging as the major external power in the Middle East, the US has based its policies on two underlying interests. The first is securing the world economy's constant and reasonably priced access to the region's oil and gas resources. With the US satisfying more than three-quarters of its energy needs through domestic production or imports from elsewhere in the Americas, the Middle East is important because its resources help support economic growth among the US's trade partners. The second major US interest in the Middle East is the need to protect the security of Israel, a task

complicated by Israel's relations with its Palestinian and other Arab neighbors (Kaunert and et al,2014).

Traditionally, the oil-rich kingdoms in the Persian Gulf region have maintained close economic and security relationships with the US-supplying that country with essential clergy supplies while being a major market for US military equipment. Over the years, these ties have created an elaborate network of organizational relationships, official and personal contacts, bilateral economic and military commissions, and joint commercial endeavors between the US and key countries throughout the region. Despite this extensive co-operation, serious tensions have often marred US relations with Arabs and Muslims in the Middle East, at both governmental and popular levels. Some governments and sub-national groups in the region are avowedly hostile to the US, oppose its policies on a broad spectrum of issues, and seek to undermine US interests in the region (Elooney,2014:3).

B) Relations with the Islamic World
Given the various definitions of the Islamic world, it is necessary to clarify the definition of the article from this concept. In the present article, the Islamic world refers to the Islamic identity of the Muslims all over the world.

4-4. When?
However, the importance of the historical issues and their impacts on today's political leaders is undeniable, but it is nevertheless necessary to look at the historical issues as much as needed in terms of lessons learned, as well as to identify weaknesses or strengths. However, to keep discussing about events that have sometimes occurred over a thousand years ago, not only has no results, but can also ruin the present and future of relations between the countries of the region. What regional decision-makers deal with is the present and the future as the most important time of action. Therefore, the main task of researchers is to design a desirable future for all regional actors and the most important achievement of politicians is to create such a future. So we can say that we must understand the past and the present situation in order to shape the desirable future on the horizons of 2035 with a win-win feature for all the players in the area.

4-5. Factor

Regional awareness requires the creation and development of a network of people who understand each other in a series of general principles. If the network is wider and its core concepts are more intrinsic, better regional awareness will be created. To this end, a network for communication is suggested at three levels. That is, we will have three main factors: 1. Governments, 2. Intellectual elites, 3. People. These are the main factors. In addition to these factors, international organizations, NGOs and countries that are concerned with sustainable peace must be identified as a contributing factor.

4-6. Structure

In order to create a proper structure for peace and convergence in the Middle East, we need a regional dialogue between the three levels: between governments, elites and nations, with the aim of promoting and expanding the four principles. These four principles are:

4-6-1. Pragmatism

Many of the decisions and actions that are being carried out in the region lack the elements of practicality and objective conclusiveness in the world. ISIS created hell in the world in this region with the promise of the Paradise in the afterlife. The promotion of the idea of evaluation for the objective result of an idea and a practice in the Middle East is weak, which needs to be strengthened. In other words, to counteract this process, the idea of systematic thinking in the Middle East needs to be improved. Thus, the three main elements, the people, the intellectual elite, and the government should evaluate input and output data, instead of focusing on abstract ideas.

4-6-2. Tolerance

Voltaire says, "I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it." Tolerance is an enemy of extremism and radical movements. Today in the UAE, we have a Minister of State for tolerance. No matter how efficient it is, the very existence of such concern in the region is good news. But tolerance has not yet been internalized and needs to be worked on.

4-6-3. Cosmopolitan Identity

When we consider the post-2011 Arabic transformations, which are often referred to as "the Arab Spring" by the Western and Arab media and academic literature, we see the fact that sectarianism is intensified in the region in general and in some countries in particular. Major policies that intensifies sectarianism in these countries are: national narratives that highlight differences between citizens on the basis of religion; securitization of the opposition (for example, Shi'a citizens in countries like Saudi Arabia or Bahrain that are seen as Iran's agents); the active foreign policy that strengthens the regional instability and military nationalism in these states. However, focusing on the nationalist identity of Iranian, Turkish, and Arab on one hand and strengthening the dualistic Shiite-Sunni identity ideas, as the current situation, will shape a dark future for the region. The way to depart from this impasse is to place nationalism or religious sectarianism under a more important concept named cosmopolitan identity, in order to see the Middle East as a peaceful, stable and secure region.

4-6-4. Development and Attention to National Resources

Development and paying attention to national resources needs to be in the top priorities and concerns of governments, elites, and people. The crisis in the Middle East is rooted in the principle that the structures of dialogue and its culture are not formulated in the four principles mentioned. Basically, dialogue at the state and elites' level is under the influence of deep distrust. Therefore, in such an atmosphere, informal discussions are needed to improve the process of building trust. In this regard, countries that have a successful history of playing an effective role in creating an atmosphere of mutual understanding through informal talks can take the initiative and create an atmosphere of understanding through informal dialogue among governments.

Another effective step to strengthen the culture of dialogue at the national level in the region is to improve of tourism. The article is based on the belief that the strengthening of relations between nations in the region, apart from economic interests, will result in a culture of mutual understanding, tolerance and security. Regional awareness should be developed as a dialogue and expanded in the region under titles such as the "Alliance for the Just Peace of the Middle East." The paper also suggests that, in order to extend and support the movement of regional awareness, lateral agents, such

as the United Nations, at the head of the United Nations Economic Council, should set a special advisory authority. At the Human Rights Council, there is also an issue called the right to peace, which is a right for all human beings. The suggested proposal of this article can also be discussed and evaluated in this council. In addition, it is necessary to use the capacity of NGOs that support this idea. This is done through promoting the capacity of peace NGOs, making networks and training them.

4-7. What Technologies are used?

The development of mass communication networks, communication apps of cyber networks and the Internet provides a good hotbed for the dissemination of thoughts. In this regard, the expansion of Internet and free Internet support can be a breakthrough. Also, the remarkable role of news and media firms should not be overlooked. We must help news agencies and the media to support and expand the convergent ideas of regional awakening. The Middle East region accounts for 3.3 percent of the world's population, and its share of the global Internet users is 3.9 percent (www.internetworldstats.com,2018).

At the same time, it should be noted that regional awareness also faces challenges that are briefly cited in the end. The nation building and state building process in the Middle East is not fully developed and is artificial in many countries. Oil-based rentier states have caused two defects for countries:

A. The separation and distance between governments and nations and the governments' needlessness to respond to populations' demands. In other words, rentier states are independent from the society; these governments allocate a minimum amount of wealth to the society and consume the rest of the wealth freely and as they wish. Such governments do not care about domestic support or legitimacy. In fact, people in this are allegedly "bought" and the democratic input is sacrificed for the acquisition of a share of the rentier wealth (Gray,2011:6).

B. People do not see themselves as responsible and effective in key issues such as the environment, peace and development which shape their destiny; of course, this trend is improving.

The accumulation of large oil reserves and other factors have made this region a profitable market for large gun companies and, consequently, their associated governments. Their interests are in the injection of

insecurity or feeling of insecurity in order to securitize the region, and they have made effective efforts in this regard. Whereas the process of civil and social development and just peace begins when the economy is prioritized over security. The energy and mineral resources, the effective geopolitical position, and the wealth of the region have encouraged some transregional powers to establish and maintain a new colonial structure through the maintenance of affiliated states and rented security. This situation has caused the political backwardness and insecurity in the region.

Indeed, regional actors have took initiatives in the past decades to form regional organizations that have led to the establishment of institutions such as the Gulf Cooperation Council, the Arab League, and the Islamic Cooperation Organization. However, the performance and efficacy of these institutions have shown that most of their actions relate to the necessities of their time and past political statements and most of them are symbolic. In other words, these organizations have failed to adopt a regional security initiative. Although principles such as pragmatism, tolerance, cosmopolitan identity, and the expansion of the culture of regional dialogues and sustainable development - as mentioned earlier - are the infrastructure needed for the effectiveness of these regional mechanisms, and, if promoted in those sectors, we can effectively use the capacity of these regional organizations, in order to achieve a just peace and sustainable security for development in the region.
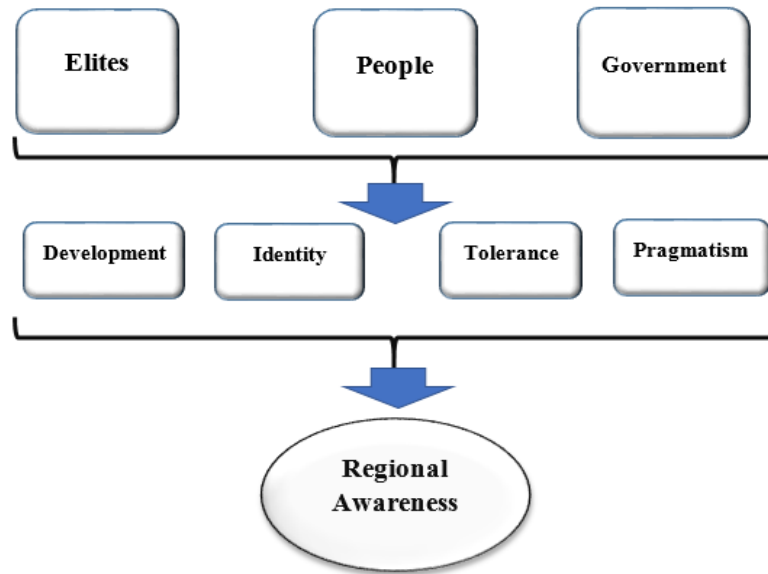
Efforts for regional awareness should be made at the social level, not at the political level. In this regard, it is important to take advantage of elites who are close to governments and have legitimacy in their countries, as well as government-approved NGOs. Of course, if government's view of this social movement is negative, the issue will become a security issue that will force regional governments to curtail and prevent it. The spread of democracy is like an infant who should only be delivered naturally in the region, and C-section results in loss. The trend of the countries of the region is towards democracy, but this move should not be accompanied by interventions from outside, because it will lead to failure. Regional awakening with the presumption of governments' legitimacy in the countries of the region will be successful by taking their considerations into account, as well as getting help from themselves to implement and expand.

5. Conclusion

Safe environment and peace Introduction Fundamental changes and transformations in the structure of the economic, political, and military system It is cultural. peace is one of the concepts that is subject to mental abstractions, experiences and spheres of power and is related to an environment. Peace is one of the main concerns of the Middle East countries. Considering the importance of security in the structure of the international system, the Middle East region should be considered as one of the regions in which security approaches are of considerable importance. The Middle East and North Africa (covering the geographical range extending from Morocco to Afghanistan and Pakistan) have been characterized for decades with two basic characteristics: first, instability and second, the intervention of the transregional' powers. This article tried to provide an effective model with an indigenous approach in the research to provide a comprehensive model for solving the basic problem of regional security. The findings of this study are as follows:

- Instead of discussing the superficial aspects of the various crises in the region, we should discuss the causes of these crises and emphasize the need to value real regional ideas in order to achieve peace and security.
- The article also introduces the idea of "regional awareness" and believes that this awareness requires the creation and development of a network of people who understand each other on a set of general principles.
- The main factors in achieving this goal are governments, intellectual elites and the people.
- Governments, intellectual elites and the people should participate in regional dialogue with the aim of promoting the four basic principles of pragmatism, tolerance, worldview and development, and attention to national resources.
- Research has also found that the development of the use of the Internet, cyberspace and messaging programs plays an important role in achieving regional awareness.

However, this article does not ignore the challenges facing regional consciousness, but emphasizes that the Middle East will not rely on intra-regional solutions unless countries in the region rely on intra-regional solutions instead of dependent on rental security. And North Africa will not have stability and peace.

6.Acknowledgment

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