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the field of Afro-Asian  
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economic Studies

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**Democratic Arab Center – Germany – Berlin**

**Berlin 10315 – Gensinger Str: 112**

**Tel: 0049-Code Germany**

**030- 54884375**

**030- 91499898**

**030- 86450098**

**mobiltelefon : 00491742783717**

**E-mail : afro-asian@democraticac.de**

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## **The Turkish Foreign Policy Dimensions in Africa in AKP Era**

Dr. Lotfi Sour, Moustafa Istambouli-University-Mascara<sup>1</sup>

Translated by Dris KHELLAF<sup>1</sup>

### **Abstract**

As part of on-going multidimensional foreign policy changes in recent years there has been since 1998 a revival in Turkey's relations with Africa. Turkey has tried to increase the volume of its diplomatic, political, economic and cultural interactions with African countries. This paper examines the reasons behind the return of Turkish interest to the African circle and its importance to Turkey's position and future status. On the other hand, Turkey's openness to Africa is clearly evident, driven by two twin objectives: first, Turkey's urgent need to diversify its economic relations in a new global political economy. The second is to achieve a distinct regional status that inevitably passes through the attainment of influence in neighboring regional circles. Furthermore, relations between Turkey and Africa are still new and the future of relations depends to a large extent on Turkish domestic political developments as well as attention from the African side in the face of intense international competition for influence on the African continent.

Key words: Africa, development, economic diplomacy, soft power, Turkey, Turkey's Africa foreign policy.

### **Introduction**

Regional policies of countries are based on several well-known pillars, such as international alliances, geographical location, and human and economic potential. Furthermore, historical ties play a role in shaping state policies in addition to the issue of identity -that represents the state's perception of itself in the face of its geographical environment- which is one of the most important factors in the countries' regional policymaking. Although Africa has not been the center of the strategic circle targeted by

Turkish regional policies, it attracts frequently Turkish attention under many circumstances, notably the new orientations of Turkey's foreign policy with the AKP's arrival in power in early 2002, within the framework of the so-called trans-territorial policies adopted by Turkish Government<sup>1</sup>.

Some observers of the Turkish affair hold the view that the Turkish decision-maker's interest in Africa has come late and urgent, as a result of the last few years when AKP came to power in Ankara in 2002, however, it is not new. What is new is that the intense interest in African issue<sup>2</sup>, and Arab issue before, has come with the AKP's arrival to power and deepened when Davutoglu took on the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (later prime minister). Davutoglu, in this context, says about the Turkish growing influence in Africa and the French apprehension towards it: "I have given my orders to the Turkish Foreign Ministry that whenever Sarkozy raises his head in Africa, he sees a Turkish embassy with a Turkish flag, and I have stressed for our embassies to be in the best positions within African countries<sup>3</sup>". This will be illustrated gradually through the study. Turkey's interest in Africa is neither new nor urgent, but the intensive attention is new, what was reflected in the first conference of the Turkish-African Summit held in Istanbul in August 2008<sup>4</sup>. As for the roots of Turkey's diplomatic relations with Africa, it should be noted that the first initiative was the opening of the first Turkish embassy in sub-Saharan Africa in 1926, only two years after the Turkish Republic was established in 1924 on the ruins of the Ottoman Caliphate, which was abolished in the same year by Kemal Ataturk, who transformed Turkey into a secular European-style republic, and thereby severing the country's cultural ties with its Islamic and Arab-African-rooted past. However, there had been little discernible Turkish activity in Africa, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, during the years following the opening of the Turkish Embassy until the early 1960s. Thus, according to Arsene Calaycioglu-professor of international relations at the Turkish University of Bogaz Bosporus- Turkey, from the mid-1960s onward, decided to

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<sup>1</sup> Ali Bilgic and Daniela Nascimento, "Turkey's new focus on Africa: causes and challenges," Policy Brief, Loughborough University Institutional Repository, September 2014, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Alain Vicky, "La Turquie a l'assaut de l'Afrique," *Le Monde Diplomatique*, May 2011. Available at: <https://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2011/05/VICKY/20450>

<sup>3</sup> Bülent Aras and Aylin Görener, "National Role Conceptions and Foreign Policy Orientation: The Ideational Bases of the Justice and Development Party's Foreign Policy -Activism in the Middle East", *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 1, 2010, pp. 79-81.

<sup>4</sup> Mehmet Özkan, "Turkey's rising role in Africa." *Turkish Policy Quarterly*, Vol. 9, n. 4, 2010, pp. 93-105.

reconsider its role in the world and to develop diverse relations with as many countries as possible in the Middle East, Eastern Europe, Africa, Asia, Oceania and the Americas, having found that close relations with the NATO members led isolating the country exposing to its Atlantic allies pressure. During the 1980s, Turkey (reminiscing its Ottoman historical, religious and cultural past, when the Ottoman Empire had close relations with many parts of Africa) proclaimed the adoption of a more active and positive policy towards Africa based on aid, economic investment, cultural exchange, peacekeeping, and nonintervention in African conflicts given their complexity. In 1998, Turkey issued a document on its future orientation in Africa, called the "African Action plan ", with which it sought to strengthen its diplomatic, economic and cultural ties with Africa<sup>1</sup>.

This African policy had expressed itself in a number of events and activities, including the announcement of Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan that his government had decided to make 2005 the Year of Africa, to push forward collaboration between Turkey and Africa and to promote Ankara's opening up to the continent. One manifestation of this openness was Erdogan's visit to the Republic of South Africa and Ethiopia in March 2005 and Tunisia later that month, announcing at the time he would visit Morocco a week after his visit to Tunisia. Turkey had already stated, in February of the same year (in order to promote the Turkish opening plan for Africa), that Erdogan would visit Africa for the first time starting from Nigeria, including Egypt and a number of African countries, an intention which coincides with the new orientation of Turkish Government to give importance to Africa politically and economically<sup>2</sup>.

## **Firstly . The reasons for the return of Turkish interest in Africa**

### **1. Political and strategic reasons**

Turkey is uniquely placed as a large country in the Afro-Eurasia territory, what makes it a central state with multiple regional identities that are irreducible and unrestricted in one single identity or region, just like Russia, Germany, Iran and Egypt. This varied regional structure offers Turkey the ability to maneuver and move concurrently in more than one

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<sup>1</sup> Birol Aügun, and Mehmet Özkan. "Turkey's Opening to Africa." *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol.48, no. 4, 2010, pp. 542–543.

<sup>2</sup> Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs website, at: [http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey\\_africa\\_-\\_solidarity-and-partnership.en.mfa](http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey_africa_-_solidarity-and-partnership.en.mfa)

territory, and increases its scale of impact and influence<sup>1</sup>. Turkey has a broader and global vision by virtue of its ideal location, which makes it an Asian and a European country at the same time with its proximity to Africa across the eastern Mediterranean. This ideal geographical location confirms Turkey's status as a central country; so we need to review some inaccuracies of Turkey status; It is not just a bridge state connecting two parties, and is not a front state in confrontation with all parties, and not of course a normal state, or just a peripheral state located on the borders of the Islamic world and the West<sup>2</sup>. The geopolitical and historical characteristics make Turkey a state of strategic depth, and the activation of its status as a global actor and the use this depth need to adopt an active non-isolationist foreign policy (diverse and multidimensional) that is not confined to the Western dimension and its concerns exceed the direct borders of Turkey to shape the external environment in a manner that realizes Turkish interests.

The above shows that Turkey's awareness of its geopolitical position advantages allows it to play different roles at the level of several geopolitical circles, including the African Chamber where the Turkish government sought to crystallize a vision related to the emergence of an influential and multidimensional international role. Turkey works to benefit from its multiple geographical, cultural, and political affiliations in order to support its influential international role in each circle and to realize its interests<sup>3</sup>.

The traditional motivation of any State to move towards other States is mainly political, and it is related to developing binary relationship, intensifying official and civil visits, and opening embassies and consulates to serve the supreme interests of state and its objectives. For Turkey, the process of rehabilitating Africa in the Turkish foreign policy in the late 1990s, came after it keeping in mind to develop the relationship with Africa. The first thing to think about--especially after the 2008 Turkish-African summit--was to expand the framework of diplomatic relations and the frequent visits of senior Turkish officials to the African continent.<sup>4</sup>

In fact, the two years after the 2009-2010 summit witnessed the opening of 15 new Turkish embassies in Africa, what Turkey planned at the summit to increase the number of its

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<sup>1</sup> أحمد داود أوغلو ، العمق الإستراتيجي : موقع تركيا و دورها في الساحة الدولية ، تر : محمد جابر ثلجي و طارق عبد الجليل ، بيروت : الدار العربية للعلوم ناشرون ، ط2 ، 2011 ، ص 142  
<sup>2</sup> المرجع نفسه ، ص 144

<sup>3</sup> - Mehmet Ozkan and Birol Akgun, "Turkey's Opening to Africa," *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 48, No. 4, 2010, pp. 526-528.

<sup>4</sup> - Ibid, p. 534.

embassies to 27 embassies after being 12 embassies before the summit, which has already achieved within the framework of the policy of Turkish diplomatic, political and economic expansion in the world<sup>1</sup>.

According to researchers, the realization of the political ties that Ankara has established with Africa in general is part of an attempt to create new interactions with entities other than the European Union. The impact of this political ties appeared in the great role played by African voices during the Security Council voting for the non-permanent member seat in October 2008, where 51 countries out of 53 African countries voted for Turkey, which means that Turkey has sought and will seek in the future to capitalize on the African voting weight in the UN General Assembly to serve its issues<sup>2</sup>. On the other hand, the African countries voting did not come in favor of Turkey gaining membership in the UN Security Council spontaneously or through a normal effort. The Turkish Government, in the words of its former foreign minister Ali Baba Jan, has asked the African countries for their support in this matter by voting for Turkey in the face of its European rivals Austria and Iceland, and in return, Turkey has promised African countries to be a strong support for the African continent issues before the UN Security Council if it receives a non-permanent seat on the Council.<sup>3</sup>

**Table (01) Turkey's Embassies in Sub – Saharan**

State	Capital	Opening date
Tanzania	Dar AI Salaam	May, 18. 2009
Cote d'Ivoire	Abidjan	November, 15, 2009
Cameron	Yaoundé	January, 15. 2010
Ghana	Accra	February,1, 2010
Mali	Bamako	February, 1, 2010
Uganda	Kampala	February, 28. 2010
Angola	Luanda	April, 2. 2010
Madagascar	Antananarivo	April, 21. 2010

<sup>1</sup> - Mehmet Ozkan and Birol Akgun, Op cit, p. 526.

<sup>2</sup> New Vision, "What is Turkey's interest in Africa?", in : <http://www.newvision.co.ug/news/131-blog-what-is-turkey-s-interest-in-africa.aspx>

<sup>3</sup> -Ali Babacan's speech to the group of African countries, New York, 24 July 2008,at <http://africa.mfa.gov.tr/speech-by-h e -babacato-the-group-of-african-countries-at-the-un -24-july-2008.en.mfa>

Zambia	Lusaka	February, 15.2011
Mozambique	Maputo	March, 15. 2011
Mauritania	Nouakchott	April, 15. 2011

The African Union agreed to join Turkey as an observer-2003 and then agreed to raise Turkey's membership to a strategic partner in 2008, the same year Turkish-African summit, with a participation of nearly 50 African countries, had strong indications that Turkey was implementing a new policy towards the black continent , aiming to strengthen relationships in various fields<sup>1</sup>.

## 1. Economic and investment reasons

The economic determinant is at the forefront of the core determinants, and perhaps even more important among them, with regard to Turkish move towards the African continent with its large and diversified resources, promising markets, and endless investment opportunities. To clarify the matter, it is necessary to distribute this vocabulary to more than one paragraph to illustrate Turkey's interest in expanding its economic/investment/trade opportunities, especially as the continent is experiencing fierce competition from rising Asian powers such as China, India, Japan, South Korea, Iran, as well as European and American forces.<sup>2</sup> There is no doubt that Turkey, as it moves towards Africa, is certainly aware of the importance of its position and its strategic value and is aware of its economic importance and its weight in the trade balances within its regional and even global environment. Today, Turkey is one of the 20 most economically best countries in the world, it comes the 18th after Holland<sup>3</sup>. Africa represents a promising and new market for Turkish exports. Thus, since the end of the 1990s, Turkey has sought to build an international bridge between itself and Africa, aiming to find a new outlet for

<sup>1</sup> - Tom Wheeler. "Ankara to Africa: Turkey's Outreach since 2005." South African Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 18, no. 1 ,2011, pp. 43–51.

<sup>2</sup> - Ibid., p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> - International Monetary Fund World Economic Outlook (April - 2018), at:<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2018/01/weo201801.pdf>

Turkish products. After a total trade of about 4.5 billion dollars between Turkey and Africa in 2003, Turkish exports jumped to 17.5 billion dollars in 2015<sup>1</sup>.

**Table (02) shows the volume of trade exchange between Turkey and the African countries during 1999-2009**

Exports											
the years	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
North Africa	1344	1087	1150	1267	1577	2203	2544	3097	4030	5850	7447
Sub-Saharan Africa	311	285	371	430	554	765	1087	1469	1947	3212	2732
Total	1655	1379	1521	1697	2131	2968	3631	4566	5976	9062	10179
Imports											
North Africa	1404	2257	2115	2138	2519	3231	4212	4878	3616	5267	3542
Sub-Saharan Africa	283	457	704	558	820	1589	1835	2526	3168	2503	2158
Total	1687	2714	2819	2696	3338		6047	7405	6784	7770	5700

Source : Turkish PM, Undersecretary of Foreign Trade website, <http://www.dtm.gov.tr>

- Unit million USD.

Turkey has become one of the development partners of Africa using several motives including:

- Relying on the Turkish Agency for Development and International cooperation (TIKA), the Turkish government developmental Cooperation Agency, which has coordination

<sup>1</sup> - Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs website, at: <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey-africa-relations.en.mfa>

offices in 20 countries, and works in many countries in Africa, Asia and Europe, and provides development assistance to partner States through its projects and activities<sup>1</sup>.

b. Benefiting from the activities of businessmen and industrialists confederation ( shortly in Turkish TUSKON) which organizes annual meetings of businessmen and heads of commerce chambers in Turkey and African countries, including the third meeting hosted in Istanbul under the auspices and support of Turkey's Trade Minister and Foreign Affairs, between 3 -17 of May 2008<sup>2</sup>.

c. Relying on its membership in the African Development Bank (Africa's largest financial institution), which has accepted Turkey's membership, enabling it to contribute to the bank's capital and thus supporting Turkey's economic operations in the continent.<sup>3</sup>

b. Establishing the Turkish-African Forum, a forum held periodically at the highest level between both parties, to promote and follow up the relations of the two parties in different fields<sup>4</sup>

**Table (03) shows the volume of trade with some African countries between 2006-2012**

The stat at e	2006			2012		
	Exports	Imports	Total	Exports	Imports	Total
South Africa	598	1793	2391	382	1290	1672
Nigeria	83	380	463	439	113	552
Ghana	33	57	90	224	303	527
Ethiopia	92	24	116	395	47	442
Sudan	217	8	225	280	11	291

<sup>1</sup> -Hakan Fidan and Rahman Nurdun, "Turkey's Role in the Global Development Assistance Community: The Case of TIKA (Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency)," *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans* 10, no. 1, 2008, pp. 93-96.

<sup>2</sup> -Volkan Ipek and Conca Biltekin, "Turkey's foreign policy implementation in sub- Saharan Africa: A post-international approach," *New Perspectives on Turkey*, Vol.49, September 2013, p. 140.

<sup>3</sup> -Mehmet Ozkan and Birol Akgun, *Op cit*, pp. 533-535.

<sup>4</sup> - Volkan Ipek and Conca Biltekin, *Op cit*, p. 134.

Turkey is currently concerned with its need for fossil energy resources (oil and natural gas), which are virtually absent in Turkey. Here, Africa can give support for Turkey to meet these needs at preferential prices, with oil accounting for 44 percent of Turkey's energy consumption. Turkey produces about 5.2 million tons of crude oil annually which is equivalent to 7% of its current oil consumption. since it consumes about 30 million tonnes, it faces an oil deficit of 93% of its actual annual needs<sup>1</sup>.

The Turkish trend towards Africa to look for natural resources, primarily oil and natural gas, does not seem to be necessary but rather urgent to obtain this valuable energy especially as Africa produces more than 10 million barrels of oil per day equivalent to 11% of world oil production according to the figures of 2010-2015. It has 80 billion barrels of reserves, according to the United Nations estimates, equivalent to 8 percent of the world's crude reserves<sup>2</sup>. All these figures and data on oil and gas encourage Turkey to open more economic outlets to Africa, especially as Turkey's need for energy continues to increase in light of the current economic growth rate, which is at least 5% per annum and is one of the highest growth rates in global economy.

## 1. Cultural reasons

The Turkish-African cultural dimension of relations is still on the path of more concerns not only for Turkey but also for Africa. Through the establishment of a Turkish-African dialogue, aimed at reducing the cultural gap and creating a common stand on the so-called clash of civilizations, through the establishment of cultural centers on both sides and the expansion of the Turkish language teaching programmes in African countries<sup>3</sup>.

In parallel with those bilateral tracks, Turkey has launched a new collective path through which it is trying to frame its relations with various African countries; the African civil society, which Turkey considered as key partner in the strengthening of bilateral relations and for the development of Africa in all areas. It was agreed during This forum to create working groups that include the topics of humanitarian and development assistance, combating poverty, infrastructure, education, culture and youth, women and family activities, health, food and water safety, environment, science and technology, human

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<sup>1</sup> -David Shinn, "Turkey's Engagement in Sub-Saharan Africa Shifting Alliances and Strategic Diversification," research paper, Chatham House: The Royal Institute of International Affairs, September 2015, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> -The race for oil and gas in Africa, at: <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/interactive/2016/10/race-oil-gas-africa-161020104953200.html>

<sup>3</sup> -Volkan Ipek and Conca Biltekin, Op cit, p. 145.

rights and good governance, and Peace and security. These groups will meet once every two years to monitor the events under the programme of Action, as well as to chart out what needs to be done and to ensure joint cooperation of both Turkish and African civil society institutions<sup>1</sup>. Turkey therefore seeks to expand its cooperation and influence with Africa through several instruments, including the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), of which a Turkish figure its General Secretariat, represented by Prof. Kamal Eddine Ihsanoglu 2004-2014. It is the organization that comes at the forefront of its objectives: "to promote Islamic solidarity among Member States and to strengthen cooperation between them in the economic, social, cultural and scientific fields. In the light of these objectives, the general agreement on economic cooperation and the framework agreement on preferential systems were signed between the SCO member states and the investment promotion and guarantee agreement<sup>2</sup>.

## **Secondly: Turkish penetrating tools in Africa**

### **1. The attractiveness of the political and economic model**

Much of the popularity and elitism that Turkey enjoys is due to its model of openness to the West, the peaceful alternation of power between its political parties and the economic progress it has achieved under the leadership of the "Justice and Development" party, so it has become the 18th world economy in terms of gross domestic product (GDP) with broader prospects for growth in the coming decades, considerations and factors that Turkey could not have enjoyed without deep association with the West<sup>3</sup>. Turkey's strategic position as a corridor between Europe and Asia, its political system and its ancient cultural heritage, its escalating economic and political achievement and its association with European countries through its membership of the G20, the Organization for Cooperation and Development (OECD) and NATO, which made it one of the forces Emerging, enables it to play a strategic role, but this depends on its ability to define its role in Africa in a strategic perspective that provides a comprehensive vision that can deal with the overall African situation, including political, security and environmental conditions, as well as to meet the international strategic balance, and the need for resources, and expresses responsibility for

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<sup>1</sup> -Mahamat K. Dodo, Understanding new Turkey-Africa Relations: Rationale and Challenges, *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences*, Vol. 7, No 4, 2016, pp. 612-615.

<sup>2</sup> -See : [https://www.oic-oci.org/page/?p\\_id=53&p\\_ref=27&lan=en](https://www.oic-oci.org/page/?p_id=53&p_ref=27&lan=en)

<sup>3</sup> -Mehmet Özkan, "A New Actor or Passer-By? The Political Economy of Turkey's Engagement with Africa," *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 14, Issue 1, pp. 113-114.

the future of generations to come and meeting the aspirations of the black continent within the framework of strategic interests and philosophy that underlie African human security and the realization of Africa's just strategic interests with respect for African identity, cultural attribution and an awareness Common to both parties, which contributes in realizing African interests and giving a central role to Turkey as an intermediary accepted for the north and the south.<sup>1</sup>

The following points reflect the dimensions and policies that govern the strategic relationship between Turkey and Africa, which have been lost in the relations of others in Africa:

1. Balance between Turkey's strategic interests and African interests.
2. Working on the principle of strategically linking interests to an important entry to achieve and secure these interests.
3. The enormity of interests and the strategies designed by western powers to target them would make it worthwhile to consider instituting strategic arrangements with other countries within the framework of cooperation with Africa.
4. Enhancing mutual trust as well as political and cultural communication.
5. Adopting of a mutual benefit approach.
6. Supporting the efforts towards developing sound governance and promoting the concept, culture and conduct of the State.
7. Supporting the achievement of political development and approving the kind of transactions that respect State sovereignty and interests in a spirit of transparency that governs the Turkish activity in the continent.
8. Providing (political) condition-free assistance for Africa, particularly as regards infrastructure.
9. Developing a strategic, phased vision in Africa that involves Africans.

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<sup>1</sup> - Mehmet Ozkan, "Turkey's Religious and Socio-Political Depth in Africa: Emerging Powers in Africa," *LSE IDEAS Special Report*, UK: London School of Economics, no. 16, 2013, pp. 45- 50.

10. Adherence to values, principles and pillars that guide the Turkish strategy in Africa based on respecting the African culture, such a strategy involves the following<sup>1</sup>:

A- Paying due respect to the African people and working towards their full realization.

B- Adhering to the principle of non-interference in the affairs of others.

C- Preserving the environment in the continent.

11. Working towards elaborating a government-led shared strategic vision, and focusing on key projects.

12. Adopting a policy that ensures adding value for Africa, including the transfer of advanced technologies.

13. Consolidation of peace and stability in Africa and refraining from pursuing any policies or practices which are inconsistent with this goal.

14. Operating through the establishment of centralized systems for the initiation of cooperation between Africa and Turkey.

15. Increasing Turkish presence in the African markets via forging partnership and promoting mutual interests<sup>2</sup>.

16. Creating final product-industries bringing added value to Africa considering that Turkey differs from China with regard to the problem of overpopulation, which implies that Turkey is under no pressure to send its workers to Africa as it is the case with China.

17. Establishing Africa-based Turkish industries where there is an abundance of resources through adoption of adequate economic policies and the provision of modern technologies and knowledge and under the suggested approach, this should generate high-quality production at competitive costs, thus paving the way for Africa to access world markets more easily and securing an internal base of satisfaction in Africa which lays at the basis of sustainable success.

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<sup>1</sup> Mahamat K. Dodo, Op cit, pp. 632-634

<sup>2</sup> The Guardian, "How Turkey is emerging as a development partner in Africa." April 10<sup>th</sup>, in: <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2013/apr/10/turkey-development-partner-africa>

18. Turkey's interest in agriculture, food industry, agro-industry in addition to areas of energy, minerals and services.

19. Putting in place strategic arrangements built on linking its interests with arable lands and water resources in coordination with Sudan so as to target a food strategy.

20. Establishing a shared economic philosophy that is built around creating a connection between Turkey and the grassroots which will later be the strategic arrangement that best ensures the protection of Turkish interests for decades<sup>1</sup> to come as follows :

A- Establishing a philosophy of economy founded on providing work opportunities for Africans, and which establishes production relations between small-scale producers and national and international companies drawing on the East Asian experience.

B- Establishing a philosophy based on social development, including human resources development and increasing their potentials.

C- Contributing to sustainable development, improving purchasing power and bettering live conditions.

D- Establishing an economic philosophy that directly links investment to social responsibility.

E- Promoting small and medium-scale industries.

21- Endeavoring to create an investment climate promoting policies enabling international competitiveness, including taxes and double taxation.

22- Supporting African efforts to work out development methods in line with their national particularities.

23- Attaching importance to the construction of an African information system provided that this includes the production of mineral maps.

24- Encouraging the Turkish private sector on terms that guarantee its ability to manufacture globally competitive products in terms of specifications and costs, the said terms include :

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<sup>1</sup> Numan Hazar, "The future of Turkish-African relations," *Dis Politika-Foreign Policy*, vol. 25, no. 3-4 , 2000, pp. 107-108.

A- Having the requisite management capacity, and the ability to apply advanced models of business processes.

B- Having advanced production techniques.

C- Having enough funds (capital needs and the Working Capital).

25- Promoting transparent Turkish voluntary charity work in Africa and establishing a partnership between the Turkish government and non-profit Turkish organizations to help African countries in the areas of economic and social development<sup>1</sup>.

26- Promoting scientific research, particularly in relation to Africa's development, and the ideal way of making use of and developing the existing resources.

27- Attaching importance to African market-related studies to correctly identify its needs<sup>2</sup>.

## 2. Engagement in regional and international organizations

In its pursuit to regain influence in its regional and international sphere, Turkey uses a set of tools to achieve this purpose, including the Organisation of the Islamic Conference. Turkey endeavours to increase the role of the latter and make it an umbrella for joint action between the 57 Islamic countries, some of which are African countries namely, Uganda, Benin, Burkina Faso, Togo, Tchad, Djibouti, Senegal, Somalia, Gabon, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Comoros, Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Mali, Mauritania, Mozambique, Niger, Nigeria. Turkey made sure that the said organization be presided by a Turkish Chairman « Akmal Eddine Ihsan Oglo » since 2004<sup>3</sup>.

Turkey also attempts to extend its influence over regional organisations. Actually, It managed to acquire the status of « strategic partner » within the Organisation of African Unity, in addition to other institutions referred to earlier. Thus, Turkey is attempting to set up important ties linking it to the African continent in the hope of building up its soft power and commercial exchange with the continent, which would help rediscover the Islamic state in Africa since Muslims turned a blind eye to it ever since the collapse of the Ottoman State and the shifts that have occurred in the international scene since WWI. This

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<sup>1</sup> Numan Hazar, op cit, pp. 109-111.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>3</sup> The OIC And Turkey, at : [http://www.tasam.org/en/Icerik/3209/the\\_oic\\_and\\_turkey](http://www.tasam.org/en/Icerik/3209/the_oic_and_turkey)

would also help restore some of the power of Muslims and their ability to respond to missionary works and the monopoly of wealth in a continent where 47% of the population are followers of Islam with a total of 462 million Muslim<sup>1</sup>.

These renewed relationships between Turkey and Africa brings back the connection of the continent to the Islamic world, and place it, anew, at the centre of attention through economic and commercial partnerships since the Organsaton of Islamic Conference, alone, is not sufficient as long as Islamic countries are not connected through a web of humanitarian, commercial, and development projects. The Turkish presence may therefore constitute an important factor for counterweighting the western projects intending to plunder the continent's resources<sup>2</sup>.

On the 12th of April, 2005, Turkey was awarded the status of Observer with the African Union, and on the 5th of May, 2005, It assigned its embassy in Addis Ababa as its accredited embassy to the AU. On the 10th of December, 2008, the AU declared Turkey as its strategic partner. As of May, 2005, Turkey accredited its embassy in Abuja to the Economic Community of Western African States (ECOWAS). It also became part of the Intergovernmental Authority of Development Partners Forum (IGAD) on June, 2008, It accredited its embassy in Dar es Salam to the East African Community (EAC), and during the Doner's Meeting held on 14-15 May, 2008. On February, 2008 The Turkish bid for the membership of the African Development Bank and the African Development Fund was approved, thus becoming the 25th non-African member state<sup>3</sup>.

In 2008, the African Union announced Turkey as its strategic partner, in the same year, Istanbul hosted the Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit, with the participation of 49 African states and the representatives of 11 regional and international organizations including the African Union. The Summit unanimously agreed to adopt the following documents: Istanbul Declaration o Turkey-Africa Partnership: Cooperation and Solidarity for a Common Future, and « Cooperation Framework for Turkey-Africa Partnership »<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Zeynep Atalay, "Civil Society as Soft Power: Islamic NGOs and Turkish Foreign Policy," in Turkey Between Nationalism and Globalization, ed. Riva Kastoryano, New York: Routledge, 2013, p. 533-536.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 538

<sup>3</sup> Mahamat K. Dodo, op cit, p 617.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p 618

Back in 2009, there were only 12 Turkish embassies in Africa, by 2017 the number increased to 41 in 2017. In the same year, the number of African embassies to Ankara reached 32 as opposed to only 12 embassies five years earlier<sup>1</sup>. The representations of Turkey are due to start operating in Guinea, Burkina Faso, Niger, Chad, Gambia, Namibia and Gabon in which embassies are set to be opened. On the 25th of May of every year, Turkey organizes the event of « African Day ». It also attaches a great importance to bringing peace and stability to Africa given its status as a non-permanent member of the Security Council.

During the International Donors Conference on development and reconstruction of Darfur co-chaired by Turkey and Egypt, and held in Cairo on the 21st of March, 2010, Turkey announced that It would donate approximately 70 million Dollars to Darfur between 2010-2015, the bulk of which would be allocated to health, agriculture and education sectors, while the other participants pledged to provide 800 million Dollars in assistance<sup>2</sup>.

### 3. Health Diplomacy

Health sector was an important aspect of the Turkish humanitarian aid provided to African countries. It signed health cooperation agreements with 17 countries. During the period between 2007- 2010, about 500 Turkish doctors and more than 100 health workers provided their services in Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, Niger, Benin, Guinea-Bissau, Kenya, Mali, Uganda, Mauritania, Senegal, Tanzania and Cameroon. In that connection, these doctors treated more than 280 thousand African patients and operated on more than 53 thousand African citizens, for instance, last year alone, within the framework of the African Cataract Project that was implemented in 4 countries, namely: Niger, Somalia, Ethiopia and Sudan in cooperation with non-governmental Turkish organizations, a total of 21600 patients underwent surgeries<sup>3</sup>.

### 4. Cultural Centres and scholarships

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<sup>1</sup> Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs website, at: <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey-africa-relations.en.mfa>

<sup>2</sup> IHH Humanitarian Relief Foundation, at: <https://www.ihh.org.tr/en/news/new-homes-for-refugees-in-darfur-3010>

<sup>3</sup> IHH Humanitarian Relief Foundation, at: <https://www.ihh.org.tr/en/news/we-reached-the-goal-100-thousand-cataract-surgeries>

Between 1991-2014, Turkey granted over 4380 scholarships to African students. In academic year 2015/2016, 1239 scholarships were awarded to students pursuing undergraduate and post-graduate studies as well as those interested in academic research and languages. Turkish universities currently have about 5437 higher education students and 116 professors and academics from Africa, and to date, nearly 200 African diplomats have taken part in the International Junior Diplomats Program organized by the Diplomacy Academy of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey since 1992<sup>1</sup>.

## **Thirdly : The Future of Turkey-Africa Relations**

Turkey's adoption of a strategy geared towards enhancing Africa's chances for even interests would provide it with the opportunity of becoming an active player in economy, as strategically-founded ties with the continent places the country in a unique position to take benefit of the geo-strategic elements of the continent and take hold of the keys to strategic conflict resolution namely, the production of strategic minerals. Yet, It must be noted that the international view for Africa makes it imperative for Turkey to build its partnership with Africa through strategic arrangements involving other countries based on the principle of common interests. Turkey's geo-political position in Europe may enable it to finalize arrangements with some European countries especially with the expressed desire of the EU countries to make an end to the Chinese monopoly of the rare materials used in the production of advanced technologies and its endeavor to provide new alternatives and the likelihood of its potential control over the production of certain strategic minerals.

Turkey's opening up to Africa is an integral part of the redefinition of its foreign policy. On a broader perspective, the global economic crisis of 2009 was a factor stressing the importance of diversifying its markets, and it proved that establishing ties with Africa, through the mediations of Arabs, was a good move, and that it has been highly beneficial to it since African markets are far from being affected by the tremors triggered by the major global financial markets. This made it safer to invest in Africa than in other parts of the world, therefore, Turkey-Africa partnership is expected to grow in the years ahead for

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<sup>1</sup> Student Selection and Replacement Center (OSYM), Book of Statistics of Higher Education in Turkey, at: <http://osym.gov.tr/belge/1-128/sureli-yayinlar.html>

the sake of Turkish political and economic interests and the objectives set in its new foreign policy. Notwithstanding the successes achieved by Turkey in developing its relations with Africa, its presence is still weak compared to the rest of western countries, China and Iran; posing a range of challenges to these relations including, in particular the global competition for African, especially among France, China, the US, Iran, Japan, Russia, Italy and Israel as these countries have been very successful in controlling Africa's natural and economic resources, and in strategically increasing their presence according to the rule that: whoever controls the economy is the one who can control the geo-political landscape, or in other words, the spheres of influence<sup>1</sup>.

The significant presence of competing international forces is a big challenge for Turkey. The latter needs to adopt an efficient foreign policy to forge diplomatic relations with all African countries, especially considering the historical and cultural legacy common to Turkey and to the majority of African countries, as Africans still view the Ottoman empire favourably and not as an imperialistic power like the rest of western countries vying for Africa such as France and the United States...etc. This positive view is an advantage that Turkey should efficiently and positively make use of<sup>2</sup>.

The second challenge, which is even more important, is the internal wars inside the continent, especially the Libyan issue that poses a threat to the security and stability of Africa, thus making it an imperative upon Turkey to seriously work to act and come up with a real initiative to make an end to the conflict and civil war in Libya, a country with vast oil wealth, and other resources such as copper, gold and uranium, in addition to its Mediterranean coastline of 2000km in the direction of Turkey<sup>3</sup>.

Decision makers in Turkey are well aware of the seriousness of the challenge to successfully get access into the African landscape and compete with the super-powers having control over this rich continent. Turkey prefers to deal with the African peoples with a humanitarian approach of pragmatic proportions that is totally distinct from the imperialistic approach, the former approach tilted the civilizational value in favor of

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<sup>1</sup> Katerina Rudincová, "New player on the scene: Turkish engagement in Africa, *World Policy Journal*," *Bulletin of Geography. Socio-economic Series*, Vol. 29, Issue 4, World Policy Institute, pp.204-206.

<sup>2</sup> Julia Harte, "Turkey Shocks Africa, *World Policy Journal*," Vol. 29, Issue 4, World Policy Institute, 2012, pp. 27-30.

<sup>3</sup> Mahamat K. Dodo, *Op cit*, p. 631.

Turkey within the continent. A prime example of that is the fact that the scale of relief activities currently provided by Turkey to several African nations, chiefly the Turkish Foundation for Human Rights and Freedom and Humanitarian Relief (IHH) far outweighs the scale of relief activities provided by all of these competing western countries, this creates a good image in the minds of African leaders and peoples alike, and make it easier for Turkey to have access, with full strength, to the African arena at all levels and domains<sup>1</sup>.

The third major challenge is the emigration of Africans towards the north which is a weakening factor for the most important African asset, i.e the human capital, particularly the youth who are an integral part of pursuing stability and development in the continent. This requires that Turkey endeavors, with the rest of African states, to curb emigration and join efforts to create economic and development projects to help bring social stability and security and enable the youth to play an active part in building and defending their continent.

## Conclusion

Although Turkey's orientation towards Africa is motivated by its own interests since it is taken for granted that, in the realm of international relations, state policies are chiefly interest-driven, it is well aware that these interests cannot be achieved or sustainably achieved unless it takes into accounts the interests of the other parties involved. Henceforth, since the Justice and Development Party (AKP) came to power in Turkey, it clarified the nature of its intentions in the region, and Turkey, under the rule of the said party, reassured the African states that its approach differs from that of others whose sole purpose is to chase opportunistic, exploit peoples and take advantage of their wealth and resources without bringing benefits to the locals as was the case during the old colonial era that had its toll on the continent. The Turkish policies in Africa, by contrast, are mainly based on developmental and humanitarian aids like the kind of aid provided to Somalia for instance, in addition to its tremendous interests in revitalizing mutually beneficial business relationships. Turkey's increasing use of soft power strategies increase its willingness to

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<sup>1</sup> Ahmet Davutoğlu, "Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy: objectives, challenges and prospects," *Nationalities Papers* Vol. 41, Issue 6, 2013, pp. 866-869.

strictly connect its economy to that of Africa. Based on the foregoing, the components of soft power include professional and cultural exchange, agriculture and humanitarian assistance. Turkey's opening up to Africa gained a great importance, particularly with regard to accessing new markets as a way of reducing its dependency on the traditional European and Russian commercial partners.

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## **European Policies and Mechanisms to Combat Illegal Immigration in the Light of the Repercussions of the Libyan Revolution**

Written by: Dr. Mohamed Abdelhafid al-Shaikh

Translated by: Nouredin ELKhayaty

### **Introduction:**

The phenomenon of illegal immigration is one of the most important issues that are presently worrying the international community because of its impact on exporting and receiving countries as well as transit countries. After the collapse of the Soviet Union and the subsequent growing desire to expand the European Union, in addition to the escalation of migration as a result of social, economic, and security factors experienced in several African countries, especially those in sub-Saharan Africa, European countries started enacting several laws and taking many measures in order to organize and decrease the flows of migration. This, however, led to the increase of illegal immigration. This phenomenon is caused by wars, conflicts, natural disasters like drought, or by political factors related to the absence of freedom and the dominance of dictatorship, as well as pressures of social and economic factors related to the search for job opportunities and better life-conditions.

The concern of the European Union's governments about illegal immigration started in an attempt to deal with this phenomenon and to find suitable solutions to it in cooperation with the countries of the southern bank of the Mediterranean. This concern, however, focused principally on the necessity to stop the influx of illegal immigrants from Libya to European shores with pure security mechanisms.

This fact drives us to question whether the policies and the mechanisms adopted by European countries to confront illegal immigration from Africa to Europe are the appropriate solutions or not, and what are the repercussions of the Libyan revolution on the phenomenon of illegal immigration to Europe?

This study is based on a basic premise that a comprehensive approach that supports development and stability in the exporting countries is an effective solution to combat illegal immigration and that it is useless to adopt security mechanisms because they could not solve the problem and its real causes.

The importance of this study lies in the fact that illegal immigration has become one of the most important concerns of all countries under the present international situations, since it constitutes a real test and a challenge facing the policies of the European Union countries and their harmony as well as the seriousness of cooperation with partner countries in the southern bank of the Mediterranean, represented through North African countries, to serve the interests of both parties through this test.

The purpose of this study is to highlight the motives and the effects of the phenomenon of illegal immigration and to examine the mechanisms of the European Union countries and their effectiveness to combat illegal immigration, especially between Sub-Saharan African countries and North African countries, precisely Libya, which has become a point of departure and transit at the same time. Consequently, the numbers of illegal immigrants from Libya to Europe have increased enormously in an unprecedented manner in the history of Europe in recent years.

This study relied on an analytical descriptive approach to describe and analyze the phenomenon of illegal immigration through the use of statistical data to describe the problem of immigration and its economic, social and security implications as well as European taken policies and mechanisms to solve them. This study also searches for the appropriate mechanisms to solve this problem either in exporting, transit or receiving countries.

## **First: Defining illegal immigration:**

Generally speaking, illegal immigration is the movement from the country of origin to an another country to reside there permanently in a way which is against the rules organizing migration between countries represented through the provisions of domestic and international laws.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> AbdAllah, Ali Abou, Al-Johoud al-Dawliya, li Mokafahat al-Hijra ghayr al-Machrou'a, Majalat al-Sari'a wa al-Qanun, year 30, Issue 65, April, 2016.

It is defined by the international organization as “the movement of individuals who violate the rules of countries of origin, transit and destination. Concerning the host countries, illegal entrance means residence or employment in a country where the immigrant does not have legal documents required to enter that country. This means that this individual has crossed international borders without owning a valid passport, a travel legal document or the individual does not comply with the administrative requirements to exit that country.”<sup>1</sup>

The Libyan legislator defined illegal immigrant as “anyone who enters the Libyan territories and resides there without permission or license from the authorities for the purpose of residence or transit to another country.”<sup>2</sup>

The European Union uses the term illegal immigration which is defined in the general European policy of illegal immigration as “entry and illegal sojourn in member states.” European commission of illegal immigration defines illegal immigration as a diversified phenomenon involving individuals from different nationalities entering the territory of the Member State illegally by land, sea or air, including transit areas and airports. This normally takes place through forged documents or with the help of organized crime networks of smugglers and traders.<sup>3</sup>

The concept of illegal immigration is primarily used in a legal sense which implies a violation of migration laws and regulations and the movement of individuals and their mobility between countries. Accordingly, it is defined as migration that takes place through illegal ways due to the difficulty of travel and legal migration where travel procedures get complicated and legal migration becomes almost impossible.<sup>4</sup>

## **Second: Motives and Effects of Illegal Immigration:**

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<sup>1</sup> Bakhouch, Sabiha Al-Hijra ghayr al-Shar'ia wa Tada'iyatoha ala Mintakat Shamal Ifriqia 'al-Jazair Namoudajan', Majalat al-Dirasat al-Ifriqia wa Hawd al-Nil, Vol 1, Issue 1, March, 2018.

<sup>2</sup> Check Article 1 of Libyan Law, Number 19, year 2010, concerning combating illegal immigration.

<sup>3</sup> Bouhali, Hafida, Wanch Azouz, Mokafahat al-Hijra ghayr al-Shar'ia min Khilal Wasael al-I'lam Dirasa Tahliliya li Jaridat al-Shorouk al-Yawmi Namoudajan khilala sanat 2017, majalat Jil al-Oloum al-Insaniya wa al-Ijtima'ia, Issue 42, May, 2018.

<sup>4</sup> Khadija Masoud, Ziyani, al-Asib, Ihab, Razak, Al-Hijra ghayr al-Shar'ia fi Libya bayna Intihakak Hokouk al-Muhajirin wa al-Holoul al-Ajiza, Majalat al-Oloum al-Siyasiya wa al-Kanoun, Vol 2, Issue 9, June, 2018.

There is no doubt that there are a number of reasons and motives that led to the growing phenomenon of illegal immigration. This phenomenon has also several risks and effects. We cite the following:

## **1. The Motives and Causes of Illegal Immigration:**

While acknowledging that the economic factor is often considered the major reason behind illegal immigration, it is undeniable that there are other factors that led to increasing the frequency of migration. The most important of which are the following:

### **a. Economic and Social:**

Economic motives are the major cause of illegal emigration. The low economic situation in the countries exporting emigration, those who experience a deficiency in their development processes, along with the high levels of unemployment, the lack of real job opportunities, low salaries, poverty, material destitution and poor economic conditions, low standards of living, weak purchasing ability and the low level of services provided by the country to its citizens are the reasons that drive them to emigrate.

This is in addition to the rampant corruption in those countries, tyranny, unjust distribution of wealth, violations of rights and freedoms, and monopoly of a few people of goods and services. Moreover, they also wish to achieve self-sufficiency, rapid gain and well-being. In Mediterranean countries, the difference between the North and the South appears to be clear in terms of the standards of living and the well-being.

The relations between the two shores of the Mediterranean are characterized by imbalance and inequality, where the development gap that Western countries are keen to maintain with poor countries in order to serve their political and economic interests. This is one of the main reasons that push emigrants to risk their lives, ride death boats, and head towards Europe.

The most important social factors are the weakness of loyalty and belonging to homeland, family disintegration, poor social relations, and the presence of relatives in the host countries, which encourages emigrants.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Abouzid, Dawya al-Mukaraba al-Amniya al-Europea li Mokafahat al-Hijra ghayr al-Shar'ia fi al-Fadaa al-Euro-Magharibi ba'da al-Thawarat al-Arabiya, Majalat Dirasat, Issue 63, February, 2018.

## **b. Political and security motives:**

The instability of the security situation in the countries of origin, the outbreak of wars and internal conflicts, in addition to the dangers that citizens face such as persecution, repression and intimidation or even genocide frightens the emigrants and pushes them to emigrate illegally in search of security in other countries. Because of the oppression of some political regimes in homelands and its resulting arbitrariness, political persecution and the confiscation of rights and freedoms in addition to the attempts of some citizens to work outside their countries as opposition to the regime governing their state, illegal emigrants have received help and support from some European governments by allowing them to enter and reside in their countries. Moreover, the fear of being attacked due to insecurity and political instability is related to political and military conflicts, the weakness of the central state and its inability to extend its control over its territory and to control its borders. One of the forced political causes of illegal emigration is the foreign military intervention of a state or group of states in the affairs of another state. The imposition of international sanctions on a community is also one of the factors that lead to emigration.<sup>1</sup>

The role of the geographical factor in encouraging emigration cannot be overlooked. The harsh environment in terms of high temperature, drought, and natural disasters like floods, volcanoes, earthquakes, famines and the spread of epidemics are factors that encourage or contribute in one way or another, along with the closeness of North African and the Maghreb countries' shores from Europe, to the escalation of the phenomenon of illegal emigration. The admiration and the astonishment of the youth by Western civilization and its achievements and their belief that Europe is the promised paradise to end their misery and the hope to achieve better standards of living in no time. This is seldom achieved. In the worst case, they end up in imprisoned, deported, or dying drowning in the sea. The fact that many people take refuge in illegal emigration in inhuman and degrading conditions is due in large part to the state of frustration experienced by many of them as a result of the deteriorating political, social and economic conditions they face within their own countries.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Abou, Al-Johoud al-Dawliya, li Mokafahat al-Hijra ghayr al-Machrou'a, Majalat al-Sari'a wa al-Qanun, p. 193

<sup>2</sup> Grifif, Al-Atrach, Fathi Akkouch, , Al-Hijra ghayr al-Shar'ia: Dawafi'oha, wa Aliyat Mo'alajatiha Wataniyan wa Dawliyan, Majalat al-Dirasat al-Kanoniya wa al-Siyasiya, Issue 4, January, 2016.

## 1. The effects and risks of illegal emigration:

There are many risks and negative effects of illegal emigration, which are not limited only to the host countries, but to home and transit countries as well. These effects are:

The economic effects of illegal emigration are manifested through the fact that illegal emigrants compete with national labor force in host countries, especially in the private sector. The employers resort to illegal emigrants because of the low wages, which affects national employment negatively and contributes to the spread of unemployment. Illegal emigration also seriously and negatively affects home countries, especially if the emigrant is skilled in some field or one of the intellectual minds. The loss of his country is huge since it will not benefit from the money it spent on him/her. In addition to that, illegal emigration mostly does not put an end to unemployment in home countries because of the lack of any plans to eliminate it and bridge the gap in the labor force. Moreover, emigrants may fall prey to exploitation by employers because of low wages.

Illegal emigration leads to social effects like the change in the social structure of both home and host countries as a result of “migration selection,” which has serious negative effects represented through the migration of the youth, especially males. This appears clearly in the countries exporting oil, where the majority of emigrants are Indians and Pakistanis. Moreover, most of emigrants of temporary periods who have intentions of investments do not receive the same treatment like the locals. They are persecuted and discriminated against regardless of their skills and competence. Emigration also leads to the increase of illiteracy in host countries as a result of the inadequacy of education and health services to cover the needs of the locals and the emigrants. The crime rate among emigrants also increases through robberies, looting, theft, assaults on public and private properties, and assaults on people that may amount to threats and willful killings.<sup>1</sup>

The arrival of illegal emigrants leads to health risks because they are not subject to health control and they do not have health certificates which prove that they do not suffer from contagious or endemic diseases or they were vaccinated against infectious and

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<sup>1</sup> Abou, Al-Johoud al-Dawliya, li Mokafahat al-Hijra ghayr al-Machrou'a, Majalat al-Sari'a wa al-Qanun, p. 196

chronic diseases. Medical examinations in host countries revealed that the majority of illegal emigrants are infected with these diseases and others like malaria, hepatitis, and AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome). This category of emigrants usually works in villages and rural areas in restaurants, bakeries, and farms, which raises the possibility of diseases transmission through goods and services.<sup>1</sup>

In terms of security and political implications, illegal emigrants may cause a real source of security threat to host countries and well as transit countries. They may represent a threat to national security and a means of instability. They could also be easily hunted and employed in hostile security and political purposes through planting spies and sabotage agents among them, which leads to the emergence of terrorist cells that cause security problems to the host countries, in addition to the smuggling of arms and drugs and the spread of extremist ideas that destabilize the security and stability of those countries. Concerning the political effects of emigration, intellectual extremism may lead to political instability as a result of the emptiness suffered by most emigrants. Emigration also contributes to increasing political unrest, strife, and conflicts over power through the exploitation of emigrants by certain parties that motivate them to trigger chaos to release the anger within them about their living conditions in order to practice pressure on the existing political system of the state.<sup>2</sup>

### **Third: The Libyan revolution and its repercussions on the flow of illegal emigration towards Europe:**

With the outbreak of the Libyan revolution and its accompanying security and political complications and economic and social difficulties due to insecurity and the poor control of national borders as well as the collapse of the state institutions, illegal emigration from Libya towards Europe across the Mediterranean accelerated in an alarming way. Whether citizens of Arab countries that witnessed revolutions such as Tunisia, Egypt, Syria or other African countries, Libya became a favorite point of departure towards Europe to a huge number of emigrants taking advantage of the security chaos and the preoccupations associated with Libya's revolutionary movement.

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<sup>1</sup> Azeddin Mokhtar, Fakroun Ali Miftah, Waqi' al-Hijra ghayr al-Shari'a, Majalat Dirasat al-Iktisad wa al-A'mal, Vol 6, Issue 1, June, 2017.

<sup>2</sup> Abou, Al-Johoud al-Dawliya, li Mokafahat al-Hijra ghayr al-Machrou'a, Majalat al-Sari'a wa al-Qanun, p. 197-8.

During the long war that preceded the fall of the Qadhafi's regime, the pace of emigration from Libya to Europe across the Mediterranean accelerated a lot. It included those fleeing the scourge of war, foreign migrants in Libya, and those who were unable to leave the country by other means (during Qadhafi's regime, their number was about one million and a half). However, emigration did not stop with the end of the revolution, but increased considerably due to security instability and chaos. This led to huge negative repercussions in the light of the absence of a clear local or regional strategic vision to contain this phenomenon.

A report by the United Nation's High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) revealed that the Libyan revolution contributed to the increase of the number of emigrants to Europe. The number of emigrants who crossed the Mediterranean from Libya in 2012 reached 20000. This number multiplied more than thrice during the following year 2013, reaching 70000. In 2014, the European Commission for Refugees estimated the number of illegal emigrants who crossed the Mediterranean from Libyan coasts to Europe to be about 207000.<sup>1</sup> According to the Brussels' Meeting in May 8, 2015, out of 50000 emigrants who entered Europe, 30000 entered through the shores of Italy, raising the rate of illegal emigration to a record level of 250 % during 2011. The International Organization for Migration declared in a report that about 3400 people were killed or lost while trying to cross the Mediterranean from North Africa or the Middle East.<sup>2</sup> April 2015 is considered as catastrophic to illegal emigrants as more than 800 emigrants died drowning near the Libyan coasts.<sup>3</sup>

The figures indicate that between 1 and 2.5 million migrants settled in or travelled to Libya in 2013. The International Organization of Migration (IOM) estimated that there were about 351,181 migrants in Libya in March 2017 and 4578 were reported to be dead or lost along the way.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Abdelouahid, Akmir Al-Rabie al-Arabi wa al-Hijra ghayr al-kanoniya fi al-Bahr al-Abyad al-Mutawassit, AL-Mustakbal al-Arabi, Issue 433, March, 2015. pp. 29-30.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 31

<sup>3</sup> Why Libya is considered a transit country for African immigrants towards Europe, alAlam Chanel, June 22, 2015.

<sup>4</sup> Marie- Cecile Darne and Tahar Benattia , Mixed Migration Trends in Libya: Changing Dynamics and Protection Challenges, Altai Consolting in patenership with IMPACT Initiatives (IMPACT) , 2017. pp. 25-52.

Illegal immigration across Libya remained relatively controlled during Gaddafi's reign. Gaddafi used this phenomenon to pressure and negotiate with Europe. During his visit to Italy in August 2010, Gaddafi asked the European Union to pay five billion Euros a year to monitor the Libyan borders and combat illegal immigration to Europe. During the revolution in Libya, Gaddafi sent threats to invade and swarm Europe by illegal immigrants and the influx of immigrants to Europe reached unprecedented numbers to prove his point that Europe will be invaded by immigrants in his absence.<sup>1</sup>

Gaddafi regime's control and his control of illegal immigration maybe due to the following factors:

1. The strong influence of Gaddafi in Africa, especially among the leaders and peoples of the Sahel and the Horn of Africa (the two most important areas for exporting illegal immigrants in the continent).
2. Gaddafi's close relations with the armed militias in the region and the rebel separatist movements that control the smuggling routes across the borders of the countries of the region, in addition to his ability to exploit the contradictions of the region to his favor.
3. The strict security grip in Libya, where the Libyan security services were very powerful that they could arrest any wanted person within a few hours despite Libya's vast surface area, which covers more than one million seven hundred and sixty thousand square kilometers.
4. The use of mobile phones that connect to satellites (Thuraya) is prohibited to citizens without security approval.
5. Libyan citizens are not allowed to purchase or use desert four-wheel vehicles. Those are restricted to members of the security services and the Libyan army.<sup>2</sup>

According to testimonies of immigrants who arrived in Italy, Gaddafi's regime, being upset by its former ally Italy after joining the Atlantic alliance, forced the stranded migrants in the coastal ports to board boats for Italy and Europe in general. The post-

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<sup>1</sup> Al-Hijra ghayr al-Shari'a min Libya li Europa. Maasat Mutawasila, Sahifat al-Wassat al-Bahrayniya- Issue 3442, 9/01/2012. <http://www.alwasatnews.com/3442/news/read/627930/1.html>

<sup>2</sup> al-Hussein al-Shaikh Al-Alaoui, Al-Hijra ghayr al-Shari'a abra Libya. Mu'anat Insaniya bi Rasm al-Tas'ir, Taqarir Markaz al-Jazeera li al-Dirasat, 14 May, 2015. <http://studies.aljazeera.net/ar/reports/2015/05/2015511105445305355.html>

revolution Libyan authorities found documents and information that prove Gaddafi regime's responsibility about the organization of illegal immigration to Europe in order to create difficulties to the countries of the European continent. What attracts attention is that most of those who entered Italy through Libya belong to countries that are geographically distant from Libya, namely Syria, Eritrea and Somalia. The rest of illegal immigrants, who reached the Italian coasts from Libya, belong to the various countries of sub-Saharan Africa, while others belong to Arab countries such as Algeria, Tunisia, Sudan, Palestine and Egypt.<sup>1</sup>

The collapse of the Libyan state institutions by the armed militias, that controlled the state and replaced the security and military institutions, led post-revolutionary years to be characterized by a great deal of corruption, chaos and insecurity. Libya became a favorite destination for illegal immigrants towards Europe because of its proximity to European coasts. Libya also has turned from a transit country into an area of permanent residence to the illegal immigrants, especially as human trafficking is overseen by criminal gangs and networks that deal with migrants in ways which lack the most basic rights and human dignity. Detention centers have spread outside the jurisdiction of the State. Every battalion, security force or armed militia has detention centers for illegal immigrants, which opens the door to the violation of the rights of the migrants. Many of them were detained, tortured, raped, arbitrarily arrested and disappeared by criminal networks and military groups. Smuggling people from Libya to Europe is now a lucrative business, representing 10% of the GDP of militias and armed groups in Libya.<sup>2</sup>

A British study revealed the itineraries of the human smuggling networks and the criminal groups that control smuggling immigrants from Libya to Europe. The study also revealed the huge financial profits of these networks, which amounted to six billion dollars in 2015.

According to the UN estimates, there are between seven hundred thousand and one million migrants in Libya, at a time when International Organization for Migration (IOM) has

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<sup>1</sup> Libya: Yajibo an Tatawaqafa Amaliyato Sayd al-Muhajirin, al-Fidiraliya al-Dawliya li Hoquq al-Insan, October 23, 2012. [https://www.fidh.org/IMG/pdf/libyamigrants\\_web\\_ar.pdf](https://www.fidh.org/IMG/pdf/libyamigrants_web_ar.pdf)

<sup>2</sup> Hassan Al-Bouikri, Libya: min Kotb Lilhijra al-Wafida ila Qaeda li Tahrib al-Muhajirin wa al-Itijar bi al-Bachar, Majalat Sho'oun Libiya, Issue 1, July, 2016. Pp. 64-66.

announced plans to repatriate fifteen thousand immigrants to their countries, under voluntary repatriation programs. More than six hundred thousand immigrants reached Italy from Libya since 2014, while more than twenty thousand died in the Mediterranean; the fact that makes migration from Libya to Italy the most dangerous in the world.<sup>1</sup>

#### **Fourth: European Policies and Mechanisms to Combat Illegal Migration:**

There is no doubt that the southern bank of the Mediterranean has become less stable due to the events of the Arab revolutions in 2011. The civil war in Syria, the conflict and security chaos in Libya, the escalation of the activities of the Islamic State Organization (ISIS) in Iraq and Syria and its terrorist attacks in Europe are all factors that have led to repercussions across the region and contributed to increasing the challenges that the European Union and its neighbors face. This has also exacerbated illegal migration, refugees' influxes and security threats.

Against these events, European neighborhood policies have been revised in 2011 with the aim of developing strategies that respond to the events of the region that led to the popular uprisings and their consequence results that led to further instability and political unrest. The European Union states aim, through these revisions, to establish an area of stability, security, and common prosperity with the partners in the southern bank of the Mediterranean.<sup>2</sup>

It is unquestionable that other facts, dictated by the data of geographical proximity on both sides of the Mediterranean, have impacts on the European countries. The problem of the influx of illegal immigrants and the desire to reduce it is an urgent necessity that pushes the EU countries to find solutions to some of the crises of those countries, especially that chaos caused by the revolutions in the North of Africa, which reduces the possibilities of controlling the influx of illegal immigrants significantly.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Dirasa Britania Takshifo Aliyat Tijarat al-Bashar wa Tadakholiha ma'a Anshitat al-Tahrib, Nesma, January 23, 2018. <https://www.nessma.tv/article/%-2435>

<sup>2</sup> Jouida, Hamzaoui, Siyasat al-Jiwar al-Europi: nahwa al-Taasis li al-Mutawassit ka Jama'a Amniya, al-Mustakbal al-Arabi, Issue 471, May, 2018. Pp., 134-135.

<sup>3</sup> Mbarek Idriss Taher, Al-Daghari Makhatir al-Hijra ghayr Shar'ia min Ifriquia ila Europa wa Siyasat al-Mutakhada limokafahatiha, Al-Majala al-Libiya al-Alamia, Issue 5, July, 2016. P., 6.

## 1. At the level of legislation and political will:

Some European Countries that receive migrants were obliged to amend their legal migration laws in order to cope with this phenomenon. Italy, which receives the largest number of immigrants, was the first to amend its laws. Both the 2002 Act and the 2009 Act incriminate illegal immigration. The first Act punishes illegal immigrants and anyone who helps them, even if they are in a state of danger, by paying a fine. However, the tragedy of the sinking ship near the Italian island of Lampedusa, where more than 300 illegal immigrants died in October, 2013, led the Parliament to replace the two laws by a new one in January, 2014, which abolishes illegal immigration as a crime. The tragic incident of the ship revealed the flaw in the previous laws as the immigrants could have been saved if the nearby Italian fishing vessels had not feared the consequences of the law and had responded to the SOS requests.<sup>1</sup>

In the same context, the former French President, Nicholas Sarkozy, called for amending the Immigration Law. He even threatened to withdraw from the Schengen Agreement if the Law is not amended. The new Act no longer considers illegal immigration as a crime as was the case with the previous Act, which punishes every illegal immigrant by pretrial detention of up to 33 days. The new Act follows the decisions of the European Court of Justice that prohibits arresting illegal immigrants, except if they commit other offenses, which are punished by imprisonment or could lead to expulsion outside the country. The French Immigration Law is one of the most flexible laws dealing with illegal immigrants, as it grants them some privileges that are not found in the other European laws, especially the right to medical treatment.<sup>2</sup>

The Spanish law of 2009, nevertheless, provides for the expulsion of illegal immigrants and imposes a fine between ten thousand Euros and one hundred thousand Euros on anyone involved in smuggling, providing shelter or employing illegal immigrants; in addition to closing the place of employment for a period between six months and five years.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Akmir, *Al-Rabie al-Arabi wa al-Hijra ghayr al-kanoniya fi al-Bahr al-Abyad al-Mutawassit*, p., 22.

<sup>2</sup> Idriss, Lgrini, *Al-Hijra al-Siriya abra al-Mutawassit bayna al-Ishkalat al-Insaniya wa al-Hawajis al-Amniya*, Sho'oun Arabiya, Issue 172, Fall, 2017.

<sup>3</sup> Akmir, *Al-Rabie al-Arabi wa al-Hijra ghayr al-kanoniya fi al-Bahr al-Abyad al-Mutawassit*, p., 23.

Britain is considered as one of the strictest countries in Europe to deal with immigrants, especially after amending its March, 2013 Law, which allows arresting illegal immigrants and reporting on those residing illegally. Doctors are required to report such cases and deny them treatment, including urgent cases and infectious diseases. Banks are prohibited to open bank accounts to immigrants and landlords are not allowed to rent their apartments to them. Anyone who breaks these laws pays a financial penalty of up to twenty thousand Euros.

According to the former British Prime Minister David Cameron, this law, which aims at reducing illegal immigration, has been counterproductive by leading to an increase in the number of immigrants to Britain rather than reducing them.<sup>1</sup>

Most of European Laws of migration refer to the exclusion of illegal immigrants as a basic option and consider that as a way of relieving the weight of illegal immigrants and limiting the arrival of other immigrants. The importance of deportation cannot be overlooked in reducing the negative effects of this phenomenon. However, it is difficult to implement the provisions of deportation or expulsion, unless it is supported by preventive solutions based primarily on comprehensive development approach.<sup>2</sup>

The host countries are therefore trying to come up with a common mechanism to activate the expulsion process according to the agreements signed or conferences held within European Union, notably the Maastricht Agreement signed in 1992 on the foreign policy and common security of Europe and the Sevilla Summit in 2001, which called for including migration policy in the foreign policy of the Union and demanded that all agreements signed by the EU with the countries of the South include a special clause on the compulsory admission of these countries to illegal immigrants, whether they are citizens of those countries or citizens of other countries but proved to have entered Europe through their borders.

The European Charter on Migration and Asylum, signed in 2008, also indicates that the EU does not have the means to adequately receive all migrants who dream of better life in Europe. Therefore, this Charter prevented any collective settlement of migrants as used to

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<sup>1</sup> During the first half of 2014, around 260 thousand immigrants entered Britain, which means a rise of 40 if compared to the same period of 2013. For more details, check "Mo'dilat al-Wafidin Tada'o Mustaqbal Cameron ala al-Mihak, Middle East Online, November 27, 2014.

<sup>2</sup> Massoud, Youssef, Mada Ijrae al-Ib'ad fi al-Had min Dahirat al-Hijra ghayr al-Shar'ia, Majalat al-Hoquq wa al-Oloum al-Siyasiya, Issue, March, 2013. P., 109.

happen in the past in most European countries, since settlement does not solve the problem, but complicates it because it encourages the coming of more illegal immigrants.

## **2. Mechanisms of Deterrence and Incentives:**

In the context of confronting illegal immigration as a new threat to European security and its administration of the borders of neighboring countries, the EU adopted the idea of establishing a “security belt” on the territories of its neighboring countries, where neighboring countries play the role of “isolation areas” where migrants to Europe are being examined and those who are considered by the EU as *persona non grata* are denied entry to Europe (which is contrary to the principle of freedom of movement of people). Addressing this phenomenon in this way, from the point of view of Europeans, cannot be successful unless by resorting to “transferred security processing” to third parties through “outward payment mechanism” of the effects of negative neighboring on the security of the EU.<sup>1</sup>

Considering migration as a security issue in Europe, the European police (Europol) have been created under the Treaty of Maastricht in 1995. Every Member State has to appoint a national liaison unit between its specialized authorities and Europol. This latter prepares intelligence reports and exchanges information, especially with the increasing frequency of illegal immigration to European shores.<sup>2</sup>

The European Member States decided to establish a European agency for cooperation and external borders management of the European Union. The agency became known as Frontex (the European Border Control Agency). The agency was established in October 27, 2004, with the aim of supporting practical cooperation between European countries in relation to the European external borders in light of the increasing influx of illegal immigrants, the expansion of the European Union and the direct link between immigrants and terrorism following the attacks of September 11, 2001. The Agency began its work in October, 2005 and established its headquarters in Warsaw. Its primary task was

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<sup>1</sup> Jouida, Hamzaoui, *Siyasat al-Jiwar al-Europi: nahwa al-Taasis li al-Mutawassit ka Jama'a Amniya*, al-Mustakbal al-Arabi, Issue 471, May, 2018. Pp., 133-134.

<sup>2</sup> Dawya Abouzid, *al-Mukaraba al-Amniya al-Europea li Mokafahat al-Hijra ghayr al-Shar'ia fi al-Fadaa al-Euro-Magharibi ba'da al-Thawarat al-Arabiya*, Majalat Dirasat, Issue 63, February, 2018. P., 159.

to guard the borders, especially the Mediterranean coast, and to develop the external border guard system by coordinating joint operations between its member states.<sup>1</sup>

In the same vein, in parallel with the establishment of “Frontex,” the European countries adopted the Dublin Convention in 2003 to deal with asylum applications and not to allow asylum seekers to apply to more than one country of the European Union. The cornerstone of the Dublin Convention was the establishment of a system of redistribution with the aim of dealing with asylum seekers and illegal immigrants on the basis of “the country that first receives the immigrants.” This principle puts full responsibility on this state. The first state to receive an illegal immigrant or refugee is responsible about the examination of asylum applications and the deportation of illegal immigrants to their countries.<sup>2</sup>

Accordingly, migration to the EU has largely become selective, which means accepting a certain percentage of migrants, especially those with high qualifications and the professionals in certain specialties like engineering, medicine and media... etc. France, Germany, Spain and Italy represent the most important countries to accept these categories because of the advantages that they bring to these countries.

In parallel with the restraining means, the EU started to adopt mechanisms of incentives in the framework of eliminating the phenomenon of illegal immigration. The EU adopted the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (1995) and the Union for the Mediterranean (2008) to achieve a catalytic approach of development subsidies and grants and loans in the form of grants to the developing countries, notably the ones that export immigrants. The Maghreb countries are considered to be a major source of migration as they are exporting countries and transit countries at the same time. Some EU countries have individually granted these development subsidies and loans to exporting countries in order to provide job opportunities for young people in their countries.

Within MEDA (MEsures D’Accompagnement), the EU granted 4.6 billion Euros to the Mediterranean countries as a contribution to the burden and costs of economic openness and related reforms through two periods (1995-1999 and 2000-2006). 200 million Euros capitalized by the European investment Bank, which plays a central role in investing in the countries exporting migration by the encouragement of the EU. This came

<sup>1</sup> Metaoui', al-Itihad al-Europi wa qadaya al-Hijra, al-Ichkaliyat wa al-Istratijiyyat wa al-Mustajadat, al-Mustaqbal al-Arabi, Issue 431, January, 2015. P., 30.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 30-31.

in parallel with launching some national decisions in the countries south of the Mediterranean that support privatization and market economy, exempting investors from paying taxes and facilitating the procedures related to that.<sup>1</sup>

After the eruption of the Arab revolutions and the consequent increase in illegal immigration to Europe, the EU signed the “Joint Political Declaration” on the movement of people with Morocco in June, 2013 and with Tunisia in March, 2014. The EU signed with Libya, where the largest number of illegal immigrants embarks towards Europe, an agreement under the title of the “Mediterranean Horse,” under which the EU undertakes to organize training courses for the Libyan coast guard and to assist Libya in restricting the entry and exit of migrants. In 2015, the EU started implementing the Sophia Operation off the coast of Libya. France, Britain, Germany and Italy participated in this operation to combat illegal immigration from Libya across the Mediterranean to Europe and to contribute to the implementation of the UN arms embargo off the coast of Libya.<sup>2</sup>

In May 18, 2015, the EU decided to develop a security plan to pursue the networks that send thousands of immigrants across the Mediterranean towards Europe. The EU countries also established detention centers for illegal immigrants arrested by the European coast guard, where they are detained until they are deported to their countries of origin. These centers are not equipped with the minimum standards required for detention. The detention centers have been criticized by human rights organizations because of the poor conditions experienced by detainees there. This prompted UK and Germany to submit a proposal to transfer the detention camps to the southern bank of the Mediterranean under an organizational study by the Commission to examine and sort the files of accepted and rejected migrants, but the Commission refused that proposal.<sup>3</sup>

In August, 2017, the Italian Parliament passed a bill to send vessels to the Libyan waters to stop illegal immigration and to prevent human trafficking towards Europe, based on the memorandum of understanding signed in Rome in February of the same year by the President of the National Reconciliation Government Fayez Serraj with the Italian Prime Minister Paolo Gnolloni concerning cooperation in the fields of development, combating

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<sup>1</sup> Maher, Abdo Mawlah AL-Tachrie, al-Europi Izaa al-Hijra al-Siriya al-Magharibiya: Aliyat al-Rad' wa al-Tahfiz, al-Mustakbal al-Arabi, Issue 398, April, 2012. Pp. 49-54.

<sup>2</sup> Akmir, Al-Rabie al-Arabi wa al-Hijra ghayr al-kanoniya fi al-Bahr al-Abyad al-Mutawassit, p., 37.

<sup>3</sup> Dawy, al-Mukaraba al-Amniya al-Europea li Mokafahat al-Hijra ghayr al-Shar'ia fi al-Fadaa al-Euro-Magharibi ba'da al-Thawarat al-Arabiya, Majalat Dirasat, p., 160.

illegal immigration, human trafficking, smuggling and enhancing border security between Libya and Italy.

Despite the support of the international community for Serraj, he does not enjoy the support and recognition of the Libyan Council of Representatives (the Tobruk Parliament), which categorically rejected the memorandum of understanding, considering it as invalid and having no material, legal or moral obligation to the Libyan state at present and in the future. According to the agreement between the two parties, Italy undertakes to double support and training of the Libyan Coast Guard and monitor the southern borders of the country. In return, Libya allows the construction of centers, which will be financed by Italy, to house illegal immigrants on its territory in preparation for their deportation to their countries. On another level, European countries are working secretly to turn the Arab Maghreb countries into areas and camps of detention of illegal immigrants as is the case in Libya. This led to emptying the concept of partnership of its human and security content and its intended meaning.<sup>1</sup>

In August, 2017, a European African Summit was held in Paris to discuss the crisis of illegal immigration. The summit was attended by the French President Emanuel Macron, the German Chancellor Angela Merkel, the Italian Prime Minister Paolo Gentiloni and his Spanish counterpart Mariano Rajoy and the responsible about foreign policy and security of the European Union Federica Mogherini. The meeting was also attended by the Chadian President Idriss Deby and his Nigerian counterpart Mohamed Yousufu and the President of the Libyan National Reconciliation Government Faiz Serraj. The summit comes within the framework of the efforts to combat illegal immigration and the evaluation of the efforts and the measures taken during the recent years in the context of supporting the initiatives supported by European countries through which they sought to provide assistance to some countries in return for controlling borders and preventing infiltration of immigrants to Europe.<sup>2</sup>

In an effort to combat illegal immigration, the European Union adopted a new strategy, "The new European International Union's approach to Migration and

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<sup>1</sup> Mahkama Libya To'aliko ala Tanfid Itifaq al-Hijra ma'a Italia, al-Jazeera, 24/03/2017.  
<http://www.aljazeera.net/news/arabic/2017/3/24>

<sup>2</sup> Dawy, al-Mukaraba al-Amniya al-Europea li Mokafahat al-Hijra ghayr al-Shar'ia fi al-Fadaa al-Euro-Magharibi ba'da al-Thawarat al-Arabiya, Majalat Dirasat, p., 160.

Movement.” The approach is composed of agreements of movement from the countries neighboring the European Union. This approach aims at:

- -Achieving the European strategic ambition 2020 to keep Europe a destination of talented migrants.
- -Dealing more efficiently with illegal immigration flows through making agreements with source countries.

There are, however, several drawbacks to European security policies towards illegal immigration coming from the south of the Mediterranean. European security policies are not uniform and depend highly on the national policies of each European country. The absence of a single European approach to dealing with the issues of migration in the European continent is due to the political and legal conflict between the two camps. The first is the camp of south European countries (Italy, Spain, Malta, Greece and Cyprus), which are the receiving countries that are heavily affected by illegal immigration and bear the burden of dealing with this issue and demand the redistribution of these burdens to the rest of the countries of the Union, being an international problem, not an internal one. The second is the camp of the central and northern European countries. It includes France, Britain, Germany and the rest of the countries that contradicts the Dublin Agreement and considers the issue to be basically internal and that they receive a huge number of illegal immigrants. Nonetheless, there are other countries that encourage migration like Sweden.<sup>1</sup>

The legislations and security approaches were not successful to manage the issue of migration between the countries of the European Union and the countries south of the Mediterranean. Therefore, reality requires coming up with a comprehensive strategy that treats the phenomenon from in its various aspects within a framework of international cooperation and coordination in order to overcome its various ramifications away from the logic of unilateralism and exaggeration in evoking the legal and security approaches in this regard.

Conclusion:

We have concluded that European policies and mechanisms are based on a double focus on security solutions and on transforming the countries south of the Mediterranean

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<sup>1</sup> Ahlam Mahmoud, *Al-Nahawi Al-Hijra ghayr al-Sha'ria wa Aliyat Muwajahatiha*, Majalat al-Oloun wa al-Dirasat al-Insaniya, Issue 37, July, 2017. P. 16.

and European neighbors into monitoring tools and police forces providing security and stability for Europe, as is the case with the issues of illegal immigration, criminal networks and terrorist organizations, instead of focusing on helping the countries south of the Mediterranean (exporting immigration countries) to find suitable solutions to the economic, social and political problems that they face.

European countries continue to favor deterrence and rapid intervention forces to combat immigrants. They continue to adopt more strict policies and procedures to restrict legal migration and they consider establishing centers to house immigrants in transit countries. However, these deterrence devices alone are not efficient and will not be effective to stop the youth looking for better future from illegal immigration.

The European policies and mechanisms adopted to combat illegal immigration may have succeeded in some stages to curb or limit this phenomenon, but they will not be able to eradicate it permanently as long as its main causes continue to exist. The development gap that continues to grow between the two banks of the Mediterranean, the failure in reaching final solutions to the crises and the regional conflicts which blocked development projects in the countries south of the Mediterranean led to the emergence of forced demographic movements from Africa to Europe.

This requires engaging in the formulation of a constructive formula for cooperation through encouraging development and investment in the countries of the southern bank, within the framework of partnership and coordination that takes into consideration the balance between security requirements on the one hand, and the humanitarian aspects on the other and supports peaceful ways of resolving crises and settling disputes as is the case in Libya and Syria that left various problems as well as social, economic, political and security difficulties, which remain partly responsible about the spread of this phenomenon.

## **Recommendations:**

1. Illegal immigration must be resisted within the framework of respecting human rights and dignity, as well as regional and international cooperation and the mutual responsibility among the countries of origin, transit and destination.
2. Facilitating the movement of people by simplifying visa procedures. Better mobility of individuals will decrease illegal immigration, and consequently, will reduce the role of human trafficking networks and smuggling illegal immigrants.

3. Working to improve the investment climate and provide incentives to investors according to the size of employment opportunities, granting advantages to Arab investments and joint Arab projects and guiding it as much as possible towards the real economy that fosters job opportunities and following the approach “where there is capital, there is appropriate employment” and not vice versa.
4. Arranging multilateral agreements concerning the settlement of the status of illegal immigrants, and not limited to bilateral agreements between countries exporting and receiving migration.
5. Imposing maximum punishments on human trafficking as well as smuggling illegal immigrants.
6. There must be a political will to eradicate the causes of illegal immigration and not only to criminalize it, which proved to be ineffective, and to take strict security procedures against it. Since the causes of this phenomenon are humanitarian, its treatment requires measures for humanity.
7. All the responsibility is on the countries exporting immigration. On the one hand, they must improve the conditions of citizens, and on the other hand, they must involve in collective actions to combat this dangerous phenomenon that affects all countries around the world.

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**The Geostrategic shift of Power towards the East and the Future  
Competition in the Asia-Pacific Region****Written by: Khalij Abdelrazaq<sup>1</sup>****Translated by: Ahmed Mohamed Lemine El Mokhtar<sup>1</sup>****Abstract**

The Asia-Pacific region is one of the main realms of the future global conflict between many traditional international actors (the United States of America and Russia) While others are emerging, for example China. Here, Each party seeks to find a wider geographical scope in order to achieve its strategic interests by activating its alliances with regional Asia Pacific countries such as Japan and South Korea in contrast we find China, Russia and North Korea, accounts characterized by its strategic nature combines the regional economic factor and between a strategy to deepen the roles in wider regions across the world, summarized by the recent US .National Security Strategy approved by the Trump Administration, which has guided its agendas towards the Pacific region as one of the top priorities of its economic and military orientation in the 21st century.

**Introduction**

Eastern Asia-Pacific region is the least attractive region worldwide as far as academic and media studies are concerned. However, the continuity of intellectual products limitation and the stagnation of the Pacific water may not remain as such for a long time. This is due to the increasing levels of political, economic and security interaction among the countries of the region and their relations with the outside world, the United States of America in particular.

All indicators show that this region will shape the future of the global conflict. This is due to the nature of its constituents such as China, Russia, Japan, and the Korean peninsula to the point of regional and geopolitical contact with Southeast Asia represented in ASEAN as a semi-unified entity. Therefore, it is vital to give a great importance to regional studies, especially those of the eastern Asia-Pacific region.

This is recently noticeable in the efforts of several researches and studies centers supported by global decision-making centers. They start conducting in-depth studies for the region through the analysis of its components and powerful actors, then providing a comprehensive strategic vision to activate strengths and invest in weaknesses.

We are trying to study the issue by giving a comprehensive overview of this important geographical area. This study provides a definition to this region and then sheds lights on the nature of the interactions occurring between the various regional actors, on the one hand, and with the outside world, on the other hand. It focuses on the causes that led to the growing American role in this region within the framework of military redeployment wave from the Middle East to Eastern Asia, approved by decision-making centers in Washington.

So, we suggest the following hypothesis:

- What is the nature of the elements and actors of the political and economic phenomenon of the Asia-Pacific region?
- What are the reasons behind the geostrategic transition of global forces to the Pacific?

Hypotheses of the proposed study:

- The more a Great Power seeks to exert strategic pressure on competing forces, the more the latter exerts different and opposing pressure on both the tools and the central ranges of influence.
- The more regional cooperation areas and alternatives are diversified, the more they contribute to achieving certain levels of integration that aim at accomplishing interests on a common ground.

To answer the main hypothesis of the study, the following Themes were suggested:

## ❖ Introduction

**\*Theme I:** An Overview of the Asia-Pacific region.

**\*Theme II:** diplomatic wars and common interests marked by economic optimism and security suspicion.

**\*Theme III:** nature and role of traditional international factors in the Pacific region.

## ❖ Conclusion.

In general, the geopolitical location of the Asia-Pacific region is one of the most important critical variables in terms of the importance of the region as well as the repercussions of its impacts on the regional and international levels. So, we are trying to emphasize the importance of the Pacific region, which has a pivotal role that requires a definition that provides a comprehensive overview based on the available data of variables, actors and statistics.

**Theme I: An Overview of the Asia - Pacific region:**

The former US president Theodore Roosevelt said that: "History of humanity was first Mediocre, then became Atlantic, and will move in the future into the Pacific region." In 1858, the year Roosevelt was born, Karl Marx, the German thinker, wrote an article in New Rhenish Newspaper predicting that the Pacific region will have an important role in future and will be a great sea route for global trade like the Atlantic and the strategic importance of the Mediterranean. As a participation of controversial comments published in Le Monde Newspaper on April 28th, 1984, the French writer and historian, André Fontaine, highlighted the importance of waterways and sea routes. He focused on the Pacific Ocean confirming that its remote location of the European continent is not necessarily a reason for neglecting it. Rather, it should be given an utmost importance due to its special characteristics within the context of international future game of competition between the global powers.<sup>1</sup>

The "Pacific World" or the Asia-Pacific region covers the area from South-East Asia and Australia to the west until the Latin American continent to the south, America and Canada to the north along the Pacific Ocean, which covers almost twice the distance of the Atlantic Ocean and six out of ten of the world's coastal population.

Asia Pacific covers three sub - geographic maritime areas. The first one is the northern region of the China Sea, where the most important actors of regional powerful countries that are politically dominant in the Pacific Ocean are located. These countries upon which our research is based are Russia, China, the Korean Peninsula and Japan. To the southern area, we find Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore, which are the main constituents of the Southeast Asian region that founded an economic bloc called ASEAN.<sup>2</sup> There is also the continent of Oceania, which includes 16 countries of more than a thousand islands from Fiji and Tonga, the largest of which are Australia and New Zealand, to the Hawaiian-American islands.<sup>3</sup>

A group of politicians, researchers and historians from the United States of America, Germany, France and other parts of the world, speak different languages, but share the same views regarding the importance of the Pacific region as far as the internal interactions between the North and the South are concerned. This is due to its ethnic and cultural differences, on the one hand, and its political systems that shape the political landscape of the region and its geopolitical dimension

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<sup>1</sup> Jaques Groothaert, *Le nouveau monde du Pacifique*, Bruxelles: civilisations, Num 40,1992,p 26.

<sup>2</sup> Jean Paul Rodrigue, *l'espace économique mondial*, Canada: presses de l'université Québec,2000, p 143

<sup>3</sup> Anne Brown, *Development and security in the island region*, international Peace Academy ,2006,p 414.

that has drawn the attention of the great powers through history, on the other hand. Recently, a huge trade exchange has become an economic fact that reflected the reality of the great economic growth of countries like China, Japan and South Korea. This was shown in the daunting statistics and the security regional border bets, especially in the East and South China Sea region, and international ones when major countries entered the region, on the top of which the United States of America and the increasing nuclear threat.

By the second half of the 19th century, the commander of the US Navy, Matthew Calbraith Perry, was able to lift the blockade imposed on Japan after its long economic isolation. After that, the United States annexed the Hawaiian Islands to the Philippines, which began to see in the expansion of US expansion a protection from the Japanese Imperial risk in the Asian American lake region. From Pearl Harbor to Hiroshima, the Korean Wars and Vietnam, these are dates and events that revealed American desire to impose its presence in the region under the pretext of fighting the threat of communist expansion in this strategic region of the world. Yesterday's enemy becomes today's ally, Japan and South Korea. That was the diplomatic and military doctrine of America and the challenges posed by Asia.<sup>1</sup>

The US role and the strategy set by Washington, which will be discussed later, is meant to maintain its interests in the Pacific region. This situation led to a strategic counter-reaction of major regional powers from China and Russia as the biggest rivals of the United States of America in the Pacific region as a result of the region's great potentials and the continuation of its policy of filling the vacuum, which automatically provides geopolitical and economic advantages to the US.

It is no longer considered a coincidence that the Asia-Pacific region will spearhead international scene and become a global competition center in the future. This is not only due to energy and security factors, but also due to the centralization in terms of economic, financial and demographic growth. The population of the region exceed three billion people and there will be 20 out of 50 global cities by 2025 compared to 2007, when there were 07 cities only.<sup>2</sup>

It is worth mentioning that that ten of the largest emerging economies from the same region are competing with the US and Europe, which both have been world economic leaders for decades. Among those ten countries, one can mention China, South Korea and Japan. Financially speaking, Hong Kong and Singapore exceeded Switzerland and London as one of the world's largest

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<sup>1</sup> Jaques groothaert, Op.Cit.p27.

<sup>2</sup> Tewfik Hamel, la Géopolitique de l'Asie –Pacifique et l'émergence de la Chine ,Liège: Cairn.info , Num 4,2014,p 123

financial capitals. The total financial balance of the 67 national sovereign funds reached 5.402 billion in 2013 of which 3.150 were petroleum and gas revenues by (58% ) and the remaining (42%) from other sources equivalent to 2.252 billion dollars. According to the Institute of the US sovereign wealth fund, the financial sources of Asian sovereign funds represent 40% of the total global amount, compared to 35% for the Middle East, 17% for Europe, 3% for North America, and only 5% for Africa and the rest of the world combined.<sup>1</sup> Asia leads the economic map of the G20, and there are seven Asian countries within the newly established group, namely China, South Korea and Japan, in addition to Indonesia, India, Turkey and Saudi Arabia.

Human factor was one of the most important reasons of that jump. People were the real wealth and engine that contributed to the development of the East Asia region along with the reform policies of its political leaders who succeeded in exploiting and managing the human resources.

The Asia Pacific region became a center of the international strategic transition of the global powers. There are huge and tangled paths between what is political, economic and security with competition in the movement of goods and services. The region becomes also an important center of maritime commercial activity and provides an economic competitive advantage, which is considered a threat to the economic interests of the West. The Strait of Malacca is of the busiest corridor in the entire world from the west of the globe to the north towards China and Japan, like the Suez and Panama Canals. This geographical advantage increases the importance of the region for regional and international powers, with the emergence of American plans to control the risk of China's economic growth in cooperation with US allies, especially Japan and South Korea, and also to benefit from the historical sensitivities between these countries and Russian backed China.<sup>2</sup>

"Zhuang Wu" is an ancient Chinese term that goes back to the literature of Chinese culture, which is synonymous with "middle empire" or the "pivotal empire" that appears to be no longer a part of the past but rather an occasion to revive this legacy and translate it into a reality. However, there are other visions and counter strategies of opposing powers, like the United States of America, which is aware of the reality of this trend that threatens its interests.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Tewfik Hamel, Op.Cit.p124.

<sup>2</sup> Muhammad Shafiq, Emerging Trends in Geo-politics of Asia Pacific Region, Researchgate, 2014, p 82.

<sup>3</sup> Hugues Tertrais, L'Asie Pacifique au 20<sup>ème</sup> siècle, Paris : Armond Colin, 2015, pp 7-8.

These contradictions are summed up by the writer Léon Vandermeersch specializing in Asian literature, especially that of China, Japan, Korea and Vietnam. He states that we should know that Chinese values are totally different from the values of the West, but contradictory to them. For example, Chinese shave their hair from the head while we shave the face, and write from right to left while we write from left to right. Chinese books are read vertically, and our books are read horizontally. Chinese compass is determined by the south while ours is determined by the North. Chinese respect requires that you put the hat when you meet a friend, and we are required to take it off when greeting.<sup>1</sup> In other words, the writer deduces from his specialty in the literary field of Asia, particularly the Pacific, that it is a right for Asians to respect their own culture. In fact, the cultural interest of the peoples and the continuity of the influence of values is stemmed largely from the richness of these civilizations and the strength of their moral and material advantages, which give them a position within the international system, and that was the case for the far eastern Asia countries.

## **Theme II: diplomatic wars and common interests marked by economic optimism and security suspicion.**

Based on the available data on the Asia-Pacific region within the definition theme of the region and its main factors, the strategic importance of the region is obvious. It is not only in terms of the quantity of its natural resources and geographical value, but also in how these characteristics are taken advantage of and translated into plans and strategies that allow the emergence of new factors seeking to have a future and a driving force in the international political scene.

Researcher Elan Karar Donkos states that "The Atlantic front of the United States opposite to Europe was a priority because of its industrial heaviness. Yet, it is time for Washington to shift towards the opposite direction of the Pacific where the world of technology and future media." It should be noted that there is a large number of Asian-Americans in the United States, especially in the western region opposite to the Asia, of more than ten million Asians. They are the main investors in the sectors of industry and universities, in particular. They enjoy a high degree of education stemmed from eastern Asian values, along with dedication and sanctify to their jobs.<sup>2</sup>

In the context of Elan's argument, it is illogical to understand everything from the knowledge of various parts of the phenomenon's components. We are required here to highlight the most important constituent powerful states in the Pacific, which are China, Russia, Japan and

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<sup>1</sup> Hugues Tertrais, Ibid, p 8.

<sup>2</sup> Jaques groothaert, Op.Cit.p28.

the Korean Peninsula, to find out the causes and backgrounds of the growing importance of the region according to startling figures and records in special conditions. The present and the future of the region is linked to a large extent to the nature of perceptions and political leaders' decisions that have an overlap with those coming from Washington. Washington is the only foreign force that seeks to maintain its interests and to maximize them as much as possible backed by its regional allies such as Japan and South Korea. This occurs within regional and international contexts beyond the limits of the Pacific as the US is a center of global polarization. US contributes to depict a picture of interest interactions within political, economic, military and security contexts.

**- On the geopolitical level:**

In this important section, we try to present a comprehensive view of the geopolitical interactions among the countries of the region within the context of the famous statement of Napoleon that "geography makes history." Border disputes mainly impact the relations between the countries of the region along with inherited historical and political conflicts, especially during and after the Cold War.

The geopolitical landscape of the Pacific region is divided into two domains. The first one covers the area from the northern region between the East China Sea and the Sea of Japan to the north. This region of the Pacific is dominated by regional powers, the most prominent of which are China, Russia, Japan as well as North and South Korea. The second domain is located on an overlapping point to the South of the first one and includes mainly Southeast Asian countries in the South China Sea region.

In the annual strategic report of the Center for Defense Policy Research of the Chinese Academy of Military Sciences, published on June 17th, 2014 under the title of "Strategic Assessment of 2013", which focused on emerging areas of strategic competition, expected that the Asian region The Pacific will become the main center of global development. This situation reinforced the political and economic importance of the region. There were also subsequent territorial disputes among the countries of the region on the islands and a controversial arguments of the maritime rights in the geopolitical arena of the Pacific. In this spirit, border issues emerged again to the level of diplomatic crises among countries of the region.

- **North of the East China Sea to the Sea of Japan:** we will start with the conflict between China and Japan over the islands of Diaoyu or Senkaku ruled by Japan and claimed by China, and the conflict between South Korea and Japan over the island of Dokdo ruled by Japan. Japan claims also four of the Kuril Islands under Russian control in northern Japan.<sup>1</sup>

- **Situation in the East China Sea Region:**

In 2012, a diplomatic crisis erupted between China and Japan when the latter bought and nationalized uninhabited archipelago possessed by a Japanese citizen. China reacted to the event claiming its historical sovereignty over the archipelago, called "Diaoyu", which means "fishing islands", when it was a part of Taiwan during the reign of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). Japan calls them "Senkaku Islands" and Beijing has placed the main signs and baselines of territorial waters. This made it necessary for non-Chinese military and civilian ships to request permission before entering that specific area. China declared that it "will not relinquish any inch of its national territory." China added, referring to the period of Japanese occupation of China, that "the era of humiliation of the Chinese people has been left behind" when China was defeated during Japanese-Chinese first war in 1895. Chinese Xing government was forced to sign the "Treaty of Shimonoseki," which means giving up the islands and Taiwan in favor of Japan at the end of World War II and Japan's surrender. In parallel, both parties continued to mobilize their allies despite the official announcement of the formal normalization of diplomatic and political relations between the two countries in 1972.<sup>2</sup>

**A map showing the geographical location of the islands disputed with Japan in the East China Sea area**

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<sup>1</sup> باهر مردان ، تقرير التقييم الاستراتيجي السنوي 2013 ، بكين، تاريخ الاطلاع: 2018/07/05 على الرابط الالكتروني : <http://independent.academia.edu/bahermrdan>

<sup>2</sup> عزت شحور، الصين و نزاعات المحيط الهادئ .. الأسباب و المآلات ، الدوحة : مركز الجزيرة للدراسات ، 2012، ص 2.



Source: <http://graphicnews.com/base/media.php?pic=GN29682T.jpg>

Despite the attempts to calm the conflict between China and Japan, the relations between the two countries usually witnesses a high level of tension, especially after those reports prepared by various research centers, such as the American Energy Information Administration (AEIA). AEIA declared that the East China Sea contains about 200 million barrels of oil out of the total proven reserves and about 2 trillion cubic meters of natural gas. The Chinese reports confirm that the real reserve is more than doubled in regards to natural gas, which makes the expected indicators reach up to 5.9 trillion. In addition, the strategic disputed islands (Japanese Sinaku/ Chinese Diaoyu) are in the vicinity of vital sea lanes in the region.<sup>1</sup>

To define the East China Sea region, it is the sea of about one million and one quarter square kilometers, and an integral part of the Pacific, from the Taiwan Straits to the Sea of Japan across the Korean Strait towards the north where it meets with the Yellow Sea on the borders of China, Taiwan, South Korea and Japan. It was previously known as the Sea of Korea until the nineteenth

<sup>1</sup> ناصر التميمي، صعود الصين : المصالح الجهورية لبكين و التداعيات المحتملة عربياً، القاهرة: مركز دراسات الوحدة العربية، مجلة المستقبل العربي، العدد 461، جويلية 2017، ص 75.

century, and according to Chinese beliefs, the palace of "Dragon King" is located in its depths.<sup>1</sup> Its importance keeps increasing and it becomes the arena of conflict between the great international powers, if we add the United States of America.

## - Situation in the Sea of Japan:

Talking about the northern part of the Pacific Ocean, where the Sea of Japan is located, we get an idea about the historical power of the Japanese Empire and the richness of imperial history of the occupation, which included large areas adjacent to Japan. In 1910, the Japanese Empire dominated the Korea Peninsula. In 1875, and after a bloody war, Japan signed an agreement with Russia called the Convention on the "Saint Petersburg" under which Japan obtained the southern part of Sakhalin and added them to the Kuril Islands to make the total distance of Japan 680.729 square kilometers. However, Japan had to give up all the territories it occupied after its defeat in World War II, which limited its sovereignty to the four main islands: Hokkaido, Honshu, Shikoku and Kyushu.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, Japan stands out in the forefront of the regional tensions with all neighboring countries, without exception, with China, Russia and South Korea. This is due to the historical legacy of the Japanese Empire and its apprehension about the growing nuclear threat of North Korea, despite the concerns related to its small geographical power. Rather, it is North Korean geopolitical and military power that is taken into account as it is far different from what is currently prevailing, in particular the development of military capabilities and changing the nature and scope of modern warfare.

Relations between the two major allies of the United States of America in the Pacific region, Japan and South Korea, have witnessed a new tension that goes back historically to the Japanese occupation of Korea between 1910 and 1945 at the end of the Second World War. The latest polls indicate that South Koreans prefer a rapprochement with China at the expense of Japan. The disruption of the functional relationship between the two countries for historical reasons would threaten US strategic interests in the region instead of mobilizing all allies to face the growing roles of Russia and China.<sup>3</sup>

Islands of Korean Dokdo/ Japanese Takeshima are located between Japan and South Korea, which led to the continuity of the regional border competition between Tokyo and Seoul as each party

<sup>1</sup> عزت شحرور ، مرجع سبق ذكره ، ص 3.  
<sup>2</sup> كودانشا ، اليابان ملامح أمة ، ترجمة سمر حمود الشيشكلي ، دمشق : الهيئة العامة السورية للكتاب ، 2011 ، ص 18.  
<sup>3</sup> دانييل سنيدر ، مآزق العلاقات اليابانية-الكورية الجنوبية ، تاريخ الاطلاع : 2018/07/24 على الرابط الإلكتروني : <https://aawsat.com/home/article/8352>

claims eligibility of the island that is currently under the control of South Korea. The tension returned after the recent visit by the South Korean president to the island. Japan considered it a provocative visit, especially with what the geostrategic importance of the islands and their geographical location between the two countries.<sup>1</sup>

## - South China Sea:

The South China Sea has an area of 3.5 million square kilometers, from Singapore to the Taiwan Strait, with many small islands (Ciratli, Dongsha, Xisha, Zhongsha and Nansha).

Contrary to the situation in the East China Sea area, which shows a Japanese activity and presence in all territorial issues, China gives a great importance to the South China Sea region because of its geo-strategic position. It is at the top of the geopolitical landscape of the Asia-Pacific region due to its intermingling with many disputing countries, as well as its location in Southeast Asia and as a maritime gateway to the entire Western world. It is also linked to the East China Sea after crossing Thailand, the Philippines and Brunei. What exacerbates the conflicts among the countries of the region is the US role aiming at achieving its strategic objectives in the region, despite the desire of the parties to avoid the clash and make it a pure economic zone in accordance with the 1982 United Nations Law of the Sea.<sup>2</sup>

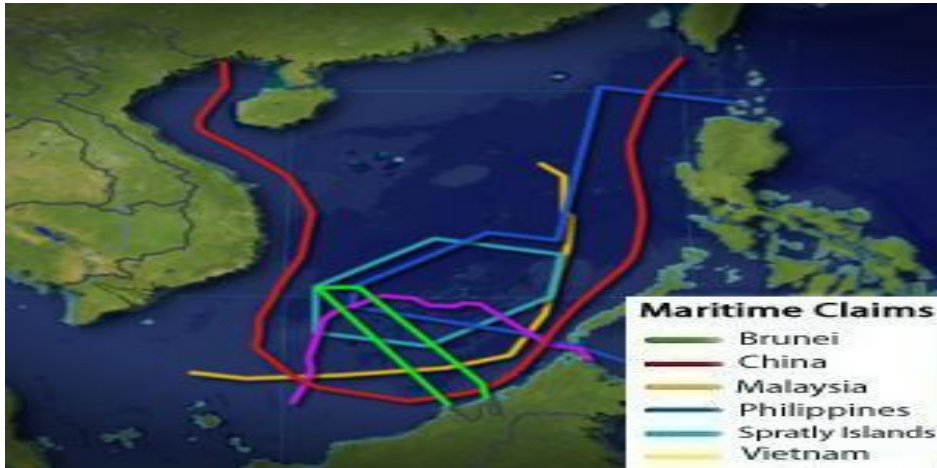
The South China Sea is also a strategic and economic attraction for many regional and international forces for its maritime corridors and lanes, such as the Sunda Corridor, linking Southeast Asia to Australia, and the Lombok Corridor leading to Indonesia. Yet, the most important corridor is the Malacca Corridor, which links the Pacific and Indian Oceans, and through which about 70 % of international merchant ships and oil tankers pass from the Middle East and North Africa to the Pacific. This made it the most important geopolitical marine phenomenon in the Pacific and Southeast Asia.<sup>3</sup>

## A map showing disputed maritime ranges in the South China Sea area:

<sup>1</sup> معمر عطوي، أرخبيل دوكدو ، تاريخ الاطلاع: 2018/07/22 على الرابط الالكتروني : <https://al-akhbar.com/International/74262>

<sup>2</sup> باهر مردان ، الصين و نزاعات بحر الصين الجنوبي الشرقي ، بكين ، تاريخ الاطلاع: 2018/07/24 على الرابط الالكتروني : <http://independent.academia.edu/bahermrdan>

<sup>3</sup> عزت شحرور، مرجع سبق ذكره، ص 5.



Source: <https://www.marefa.org>

### **Spratly and Paracel Islands:**

Spratly and Paracel are the largest islands among the ones causing conflicts between the countries of the South China Sea region. There are six countries claiming partial sovereignty over these islands, namely: China and the Philippines, China and Vietnam, along with Malaysia, Brunei and Taiwan. The area of these islands is less than four square kilometers, spread over 425,000 square kilometers on the sea. They are uninhabited islands of three archipelago with about 45 islands occupied by the military forces of China, Vietnam, Taiwan, Malaysia, and the Philippines. The conflicts over the islands, and the surrounding territorial waters, are due to their significant oil and gas capabilities.<sup>1</sup> Conflict issues in the South China Sea are among the three most important issues in the region after North Korea and Taiwan.

### **Map of Spratly Islands:**

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<sup>1</sup> باهر مردان ، مرجع سبق ذكره .



Source: <https://goo.gl/images/GJDRVa>

#### **Taiwan issue:**

Linguistically, the difference between the "People's Republic of China" and the "Republic of China" is just one word, but it has shortened a long history of disputes between the two parties. One is a country that considers itself a pioneering model of modernity and democracy in the region and another that sees in the phenomenon a form of treason and submission to the West and calls for its return to the embrace of the motherland.

The latest figures indicate that 30% of the Pacific countries recognize the independence of Taiwan. Among them, small republics in Oceania (Nauru, Palau, Solomon Islands, Tuvalu, Kiribati and Marshal Islands). These countries do not have formal diplomatic relations with China as Beijing

severs its ties with the countries that have formal relations with Taipei.<sup>1</sup> It is noticeable that China's strategic importance made it difficult to many countries of the world not to risk their political and economic interests by having diplomatic relations with Taiwan, including the United Nations. That is why recognizing Taiwan's independence is usually from less influential countries worldwide.

Taiwan is the most important issue on China's foreign policy agenda, considering it an integral part of its territory. So, it strives to "return it to the motherland." Beijing is trying to exert diplomatic pressure on Taipei to prevent it from declaring its official independence, and even threatened by military intervention if that happens in an anti-secession law of 2005. The ruling Communist Party of China states in the White Paper in 2015, under the title of China's military strategy, that the Taiwan issue cannot be subject in no way to bargain and that any decision made by Taiwan is considered hostile action to the national sovereignty of China. On the opposite side, China is worried about the new attitude of the US president, Donald Trump, who is trying to provoke it by the revival of what is known as "Taiwan Relations Act," passed by Congress in 1979.<sup>2</sup>

## **Taiwan - China Economic Relations:**

On the contrary, China, for Taiwan, is the largest trading partner, according to the latest figures released by the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (ADFAT). In its 2016 report, ADFAT confirmed that China leads Taiwan's foreign trade, exports and imports. On the export side, the percentage reached 26.3% with a total of 40% if we add Chinese Hong Kong, followed by the USA by 12%. China is also ranked the first with 19.1%, followed by Japan with 17.6% and USA with 12.5%.<sup>3</sup>

### **1- On the Economic Level:**

By the end of the Cold War, many countries worldwide established economic blocs in the context of the phenomenon of globalization and the amazing rise of China along with the continuity of the American leadership of the world. The latter is the first military force in the world, similar to the Pacific. Complex geopolitical calculations pushed the countries to pursue the policy of regional alliances and blocs such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the Economic Cooperation Organization for Asia and the Pacific (APEC), which includes North and South American countries led by the United States of America.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bastien Vandendyck, 'Le Développement de l'influence chinoise dans le Pacifique Océanien', France: IRIS, Num 4, 2018, p 5-6.

<sup>2</sup> ناصر التميمي، مرجع سابق، ص 66 - 67.

<sup>3</sup> Australian Government, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. Taiwan 2017, 2017.

<sup>4</sup> Eric Boullanger, 'Le Régionalisme en Asie: Un chantier trois concepts', Liège: Cairn.info, Num 4, 2008, p 91

In modern era, military power is no longer the only tool to achieve the strategic objectives of countries and managing various international crises. The economic determinant has become a major role in the nature of trends and policies and the formulation of general strategies of the various superpowers. Therefore, the Pacific region is the best model to explain the international phenomenon that combines the divergence and contradictions of political tensions and the reality of mutual economic interests that unite its various countries. The statistics and figures will be presented in terms of rapid economic growth in the region in general as well as the economic relations between the countries of the region, regardless of the hostile diplomatic discourse between these countries.

## **1- Economic Growth of the Pacific Region:**

The Pacific Ocean is 160 million kilometers long and twice the size of the Atlantic Ocean, while the northern region is the most important in the world with the presence of other emerging global and regional powers like China, Russia, Japan, South Korea and North Korea. Within this vast space, there is a geostrategic and economic axis of the world because of its geographical features, huge natural resources, and great important corridors and watercourses. This situation increased the strategic economic and trade importance after the end of World War II and the economic rise of Japan in 1955. In parallel with the emergence of the so-called Asian Tigers (Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan), there were economic reforms in Thailand, Indonesia and Malaysia, which constitute the most important economic blocs in the ASEAN region. The most prominent economic phenomenon in this century is the miraculous rise of China on the economic and military levels, or the so-called modern Chinese phenomenon. All these economic phenomena make it necessary for the Pacific region to be distinctively the future of the global economic phenomenon.<sup>1</sup>

### **- Amazing Facts about the Economic Growth Levels of the Countries of the Region:**

According to the latest official figures published by the official website of the World Bank, we realize, in regards to the geographical and economic division of the world, that there is a special file for the region in the name of East Asia and the Pacific because of its importance in contrast to what we had previously noticed in the Asian continent as a whole. The World Bank confirms that this region has an economic 'resilient growth' according to 2017-2019 expectations. This is due to high domestic demand on raw manufacturing materials that are supposed to reach an economic growth rate of 6.1% during the year 2018 for all countries in the region. We may take the example

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<sup>1</sup> Jean François Foirina ,Nouvellegéopolitique du Pacifique, France : CCI Grenoble , Num 198,2016,pp1-2.

of China as the second world economy and the first economy in the region in which economic growth is expected to reach 6.3% during 2018- 2019 and 5.1% for South East Asian ASEAN countries during the same period.<sup>1</sup>

## **\*China:**

China has an unprecedented economic record and high development rates, with per capita GDP rising to 16 times during the period from 1978 to 2010 and from 150 to 2423 US\$ in 2010. Growth rates have reached 10% over the last three decades compared to a growth rate of 2% in the USA and Europe. Even under the worst Global Economic Crisis in 2008, China remained resilient to its development, reaching 8.7% in 2009 and 10.3% in 2010. During the same period, 1978 to 2010, GDP jumped from 3645 to 394983 million yuan.<sup>2</sup>

The development of rapid economic growth in China is due to the reforms approved by Deng Xiaoping in 1978, the architect of the economic reform in China. He is one of the most important examples of methods and successful economic planning through economic openness and exploitation of all Chinese material capacities and human resources. During that period, the Chinese economy ranked seventh in the world and second in attracting foreign investment, along with Japan and South Korea. China officially joined the World Trade Organization in 2001. This aims at making Chinese economy open and competitive as the rest of the countries in the region within the requirements of the modern market economy, and providing China with a positive opportunity to export its huge products to the world as to enter global great competitiveness.<sup>3</sup>

## **\*Japan :**

The reforms of the Meiji revolution (1868-1912) were the most important historical changes that changed the present and future of Japan. The most important objective was to build a modern strong state well respected by the great powers and capable of dealing with them equally. The pioneers of Japan Renaissance benefited from Western technology with Asian-Japanese touch. One of the most important factors in the success of the Japanese experience in the field of technology and industry is the creation of a set of Western partial or macro changes to suit the local Japanese environment.<sup>4</sup>

Japan ranks first in terms of GDP (Ranked third in the world). In 2017, it reached up to 4,872.135. However, economic growth rate in Japan is less than it is in China. For example, in

<sup>1</sup> <http://www.banquemondiale.org/fr/region/eap/overview>

<sup>2</sup> أمين حواس، فهم معجزة النمو الاقتصادي في الصين ، الجزائر: مجلة دراسات و أبحاث ، العدد 27، جوان 2017، ص 3 - 8.

<sup>3</sup> Jon Blondal ,La Chine dans l'économie mondiale, France : OCDE , 2002,p8.

<sup>4</sup> سلمان بونعمان، التجربة اليابانية دراسة في أسس النموذج النهضوي ،الجزائر: مركز نماء للبحوث و الدراسات، 2012، ص 124.

the first trimester of 2018, Japan recorded a decline in gross domestic product (GDP) of 0.2 compared to its records during the first trimester of 2016.<sup>1</sup>

## **\*South Korea:**

Upon the foundation of South Korea in 1948, it was topping the list of the poorest countries in the world, where the per capita income did not exceed 80 dollars a year, especially after the division of the two Koreas, which directly affected the social and economic situations because of the circumstances of the war 1950-1953. The cost of that war was estimated by 69 billion dollars, five times the GDP of South Korea. With the arrival of General Park Chung Hee to power after a military coup, he ruled South Korea from 1961 to 1979. Korea entered an economic renaissance era as a result of the reform and the policies carried out by the General He established government banks and nationalized private banks to control loans. Internationally, the United States of America, the permanent ally of South Korea, contributed to the security umbrella and the provision of financial assistance and signed a defense agreement in 1953, under which the US military legalized its presence in South Korea as a part of the political alliances in the region.<sup>2</sup>

Contrary to Japan, South Korea is following in the footsteps of its neighbor China in terms of economic growth. During the same period of the first phase of 2018, it recorded an increase of 2%, with a growth rate of 0.7 %, compared to the same period last year 2017, and was ranked in the 11th position worldwide.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Japan GDP-Gross DomesticProduct , date:15/07/2018 , the link :<https://countryeconomy.com/gdp/japan>

<sup>2</sup> عبدالرحمن المنصوري ، تجربة كوريا الجنوبية : عوامل النجاح و تحديات المستقبل ، الدوحة : مركز الجزيرة للدراسات ، 2013 ، ص 3 - 5.

<sup>3</sup> South Korea GDP-Gross DomesticProduct ,date :15/07/2018 ,the link :<https://countryeconomy.com/gdp/south-korea>

## List of countries ranking by gross domestic product GDP during the year 2017.

Country/Economy		2017				
Country	Last	Previous	Highest	Lowest		
United States	19390.60	Dec/17	18624	19391	543	USD Billion
China	12237.70	Dec/17	11191	12238	47.21	USD Billion
Japan	4872.14	Dec/17	4949	6203	44.31	USD Billion
Germany	3677.44	Dec/17	3478	3891	215	USD Billion
United Kingdom	2622.43	Dec/17	2651	3074	72.33	USD Billion
India	2597.49	Dec/17	2274	2597	36.54	USD Billion
France	2582.50	Dec/17	2465	2918	62.65	USD Billion
Brazil	2055.51	Dec/17	1794	2616	15.17	USD Billion
Italy	1934.80	Dec/17	1859	2391	40.39	USD Billion
Canada	1653.04	Dec/17	1536	1843	40.77	USD Billion
Russia	1577.52	Dec/17	1285	2297	196	USD Billion
South Korea	1530.75	Dec/17	1415	1531	2.42	USD Billion

Source: International Monetary Fund World Economic Outlook (April - 2018)

Date: may 2018

\*It is noted that among the 12 largest economies listed above, there are five Asian countries, and of these five countries, four are from the Pacific.

\*The growth rate increases remarkably, except for Japan, which is experiencing an imbalance in economic growth rates.

### - **Inter-regional Economic Relations:**

Contrary to the facts of border tensions among all the countries of the region, the pages of newspapers and newsletters, which always speak of the continuity of the approach of conflict and hostility by focusing on the diplomacy crises in the region, there are other facts that reflect the pragmatic approach usually adopted. This approach ensures the continuity of economic interests of each party regardless of political disputes.

To illustrate the scale and scope of the economic change of the Pacific, we take the figures in world trade. For example, in 1990, the volume of trade in the region reached up to 26.6% of the total world trade compared to 42.9% in the Atlantic, growing in a period of only 5 years, until 1995, to 33.2% and down to 37.6% in the Atlantic to the eastern part of the United States corresponding to Europe and Africa.<sup>1</sup> The economic figures recorded in terms of trade and volume of investments among the countries of the region prove the validity of this perception, due to the size and high degree of interdependence between the countries of the region. These statistics and ratios of international trade were in accordance with the rule of UN COMTRADE on international trade as follows:

**\*China's most important trading partners (2016 statistics ):**

- **In terms of Chinese exports, we find that:** the United States of America is up to 385.6 billion (33%) dollars and Japan with 287.25 Billion dollars (6.3 %) followed by South Korea with 93.7 billion (4.6%).

- **In terms of Chinese imports, we find that:** South Korea is first with 158.9 billion (11%) dollars and Japan with 145.6 billion (9.9%) followed by United States of America with 135.1 billion (9.2%).

It is noted that Chinese exports far exceed the imports from their trading partners and sometimes exceed half of those exchanges. For example, for the United States, it exports 385.6 billion and imports less than half of the amount, or 135.1 billion dollars. This resulted in a trade deficit between America and China.

**\*The most important trading partners of Japan (statistics 2017):**

- **In terms of Japanese exports, we find that:** the United States of America is up to 135.6 billion (21%) dollars followed by China with 132.9 billion (20%) and South Korea with 53.3 billion (8.1%).

- **In terms of Japanese imports, we find that:** China is first with 164.4 billion (25%) and United States of America with 73.83 billion (11%), Australia is the third (6%), followed by South Korea with 28.9 billion (4.4%).

**\*South Korea's most important trading partners (2017 statistics):**

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<sup>1</sup> Jean Paul Rodrigue, Op.Cit.p147.

- **In terms of Korean exports, we find that:** China is first with 142.1 billion (32%) and the United States with 68.8 billion (12%), Vietnam with 47 billion (8.5%), followed by Japan with 26.8 billion (4.8%).

- **In terms of Korean imports, we find that:** China is first with 97.8 billion dollars (21%), Japan with 55.1 billion dollars (12%), followed by the United States with 50.9 billion dollars (11%).<sup>1</sup>

**\*The most important trading partners of Russia (statistics 2017):**

- **In terms of Russian exports, we find that:** China is first with 38.9 billion (11%), the Netherlands with 35.6 billion (10%), Germany with 25.7 billion (7.3%), South Korea with 12.3, Japan with 10.5 billion.

- **In terms of imports of Russian, we find that:** China is the first with 48.3 billion (22%), second is Germany with 22.7 billion (10%), United States of America with 12.6 billion (5.8%), seventh is Japan with 7.7 billion dollars (3.5%) followed by South Korea with 6.9 billion dollars (3.2%) ranked eighth.<sup>2</sup>

- Regionally, trade relations and economic advantages are of the priorities of the countries of the region at the expense of political sensitivities. China and the United States of America have a strong presence in the region for both export and import.

### **Theme III: Nature and Role of Traditional International Factors in the Pacific Region.**

In this section, we try to address the most influential countries that have a power on the international system and here we focus on the United States of America and Russia.

#### **- Vladivostok named Russia on the Pacific:**

Russia is one of the most important international actors based on its geopolitical and military orientation from Europe to the West and from the Middle East to North Africa. In the history of international relations, Russia has always had a presence from Czarist Russia to the Soviet Union during the Cold War. However, this did not prevent Russia from having another geopolitical version to the East with the presence of regional powers like China, Japan and the two Koreas. These latter, which were a battlefield for a major dispute with the United States that ended with their division into Communist North Korea and Liberal South Korea.

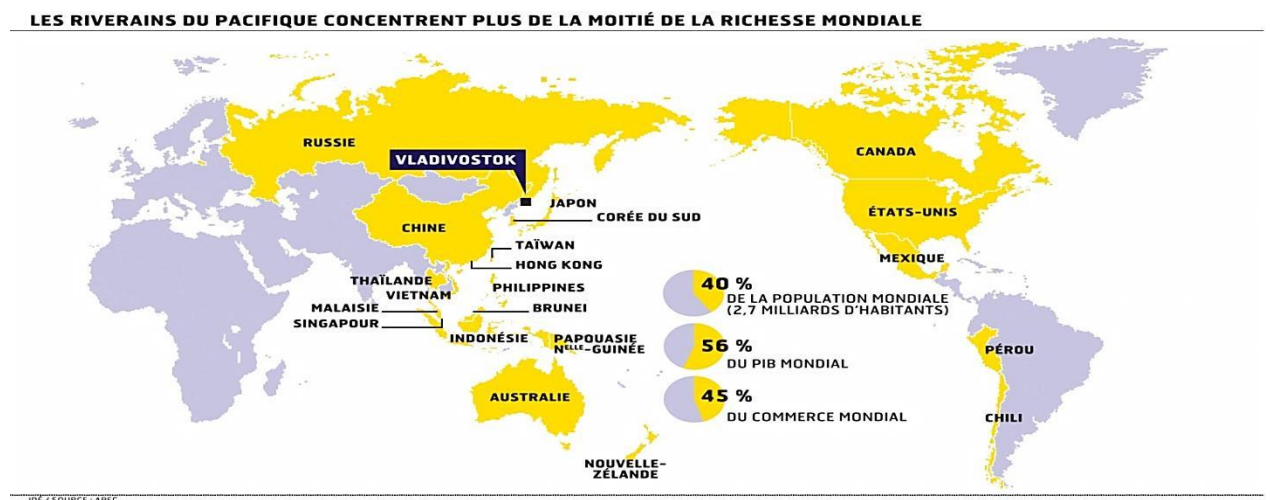
Russia and China share 4,300 square kilometers of common borders and also share their presence within the Shanghai Organization OCS and in the APEC and BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa). Chinese community is the largest in Russia with about a million of

<sup>1</sup> Exports and imports of international trade, date:20/07/2018 , the link :<https://tradingeconomics.com>

<sup>2</sup> Ibid

the total 6.7 million residents living in eastern Russia in two of the most important Pacific strategic cities, Vladivostok and Khabarovsk. Historian Mikhael Vasiljevic states that "Russian power will grow and so will be its future towards Siberia and the eastern region in general." It is predicted that the period of 2030-2050 will be a Russian economic growth period by establishing a special relations with China and the Vladivostok region, which is the strategic complement to Hong Kong's economic phenomenon.<sup>1</sup>

**A map of the Pacific region that monopolizes more than half of the world's resources:**



**Source:** <https://www.lesechos.fr/05/09/2012/LesEchos/21263->

According to the World Bank, the figures show a significant decline in the poverty rate over the past ten years in most East Asian countries. Between 1990 and 2013, the number of people who improved above the poverty line reached more than 920. This shows the positive impact of the economic growth levels in the region on the social situation in general.<sup>2</sup>

From the map above, the major importance that characterizes the Asia Pacific region is obvious. This region has an increasing influence worldwide as it includes the most important political, diplomatic, technological and economic countries. The figures show that the region in yellow accounts for 40% of the world population and 56% GDP, more than half of the GDP of the total domestic products, which accounts for 45% of the total international trade. Of the world's top 20

<sup>1</sup> Philippe Pelé Clamour, *Russie –Asie: Vladivostok ,Capitale de la Russie en 2050?*, ResearchGate ,2014, pp 4-6.

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.banquemondiale.org/fr/region/eap/overview>

countries, G20, there are nine countries of this important geo-economic range (China, Russia, Japan, South Korea, Indonesia, Australia, USA, Canada and Mexico).

- **United States and Coalition Policy in the Pacific:**

The United States is the most important international actor outside the regional system of the Asia-Pacific region for two reasons:

- **Strategic Reason:**

The first reason concerns the necessity to ensure strategic presence in area of the Pacific, and here lies the importance of the military tool as a means to guarantee the continuity of this presence and prevent any other military force of dominating the region, China and Russia in particular. The United States needs a number of regional allies to provide them with all the facilities for the presence of their military forces, like Japan and South Korea. This eases the required regional access that the US needs as a part of its objectives to get marine facilities. The control of East Asia from Japan in Northeast Asia to Malaysia in Southeast Asia is one of the main purposes of the US presence in the region because of its continuous series of island countries that have strategic sites and maritime facilities. In this context comes the American arrangements in Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore and Brunei.<sup>1</sup>

The total five military budgets of China, Japan, South Korea and India reached up to 224 billion dollars in 2011. This means the transmission of global military power from Europe to East Asia, according to the International Center for Strategic Studies. So, we can see the new wave of redeployment of the US military to the Asia-Pacific region, and this is what Donald Trump's administration is trying to convey in order to move as many US naval forces into the region as possible by 2020.<sup>2</sup>

- **Economic Reason:**

During his presidential campaign in 2016, Donald Trump took a tough stance with China, saying that the economic and trade relations between the United States and the second largest economy of the world is not in favor of his country. He accused Beijing of seeking to influence the rates of banking transactions and to continue its control over the trade balance. Trade deficit hits new

<sup>1</sup> مايكل إي براون و آخرون، صعود الصين ، ط 1 ، ترجمة مصطفى قاسم ، القاهرة : المركز القومي للترجمة، 2010 ص ص 335 - 336.

<sup>2</sup> Jean François Foirina ,Op.Cit.P 3.

records in the United States of America for China. Observers believe that there will be high levels of tension between Washington and Beijing.<sup>1</sup>

In the famous book “The Grand Chessboard - American Primacy and its Geostrategic Imperatives,” Zbigniew Brzezinski highlights the roles of a political competitor (Russia) and an economic competitor (China). In chapter II, he considers the Eurasia region as a geopolitical reward of America. The United States of America must give a great importance to this vital region, especially that it contains two of the world's most economically productive regions. In Chapter VI (The Far Eastern Anchor), the writer focuses on the idea that this area is witnessing more than a normal economic dynamic, which means that luxury can ease the effects of political weaknesses in the region while strengthening the national and social components. Development is clear in the economic growth of China, Japan and South Korea.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Anthony h.f.li ,la chine face à la présidence Trump ? , PerspectivesChinoises ,2017,p 2.

<sup>2</sup> Zbigniew Brzezinski,The Grand Chessboard, American primacy and its-Geostrategic imperatives, Basic Books,USA ,1997,pp 30-153.

**Table showing expected changes in the ranking of the countries in terms of GDP by 2050.**

The World in 2050

**Table 1: GDP at PPP rankings**

PPP rank	2014		2030		2050	
	Country	GDP at PPP (2014 US\$bn)	Country	Projected GDP at PPP (2014 US\$bn)	Country	Projected GDP at PPP (2014 US\$bn)
1	China	17,632	China	36,112	China	61,079
2	United States	17,416	United States	25,451	India	42,205
3	India	7,277	India	17,138	United States	41,384
4	Japan	4,788	Japan	6,006	Indonesia	12,210
5	Germany	3,621	Indonesia	5,486	Brazil	9,164
6	Russia	3,559	Brazil	4,996	Mexico	8,014
7	Brazil	3,073	Russia	4,854	Japan	7,914
8	France	2,587	Germany	4,590	Russia	7,575
9	Indonesia	2,554	Mexico	3,985	Nigeria	7,345
10	United Kingdom	2,435	United Kingdom	3,586	Germany	6,338
11	Mexico	2,143	France	3,418	United Kingdom	5,744
12	Italy	2,066	Saudi Arabia	3,212	Saudi Arabia	5,488
13	South Korea	1,790	South Korea	2,818	France	5,207
14	Saudi Arabia	1,652	Turkey	2,714	Turkey	5,102
15	Canada	1,579	Italy	2,591	Pakistan	4,253

**Source: PWC, the world in 2050 will move in global economic power continue?, P 3.**

In a study of 46 pages by a group of economic analysts of the PWC center have submitted a spectacular results of the expected changes in the ranking of the countries in terms of GDP, by 2030 to 2050. The above table shows that China will top the list with a doubling of GDP from 17.632 billion dollars in 2014 to 36,112 billion dollars in 2030, to be up to 61.079 billion US dollars by 2050. India will be the second worldwide, Indonesia fourth, the United States falling to third position with 41.384 billion and Japan to become seventh with 7.914 billion dollars. Despite the fact that all of these economies will be growing, in general,

the difference will be made by dynamic economic growth that varies from one country to another. This means that we will witness the presence of four countries from the Asia Pacific region among the ten largest global economies by 2050.<sup>1</sup>

Here we can understand the severity of the American political discourse and its concern about the global political and economic situation, which is no longer in Washington's favor. The content of the recent national security document announced by US President Donald Trump confirms this in four points: (- Protecting the United States and the people of USA - Enhancing American prosperity for the benefit of American workers and companies - Maintaining peace through force - Strengthening American influence). The document aims at facing the main competitors of the United States of America, namely China and Russia with the support of Washington's allies across the world. It insists on the intolerance with continuous trade violations and seeks reciprocal economic relations in return for building a US military force. It aims also at maintaining US pioneering position as the world diplomatic, technological, military and economic leader that is able to protect US interests wherever they are, in addition to maintaining a balance of power in favor of the United States of America in the major regions of the world (India, the Pacific, Europe and the Middle East).<sup>2</sup>

At a meeting held by the International Monetary Fund (April 2017), the US Secretary of Commerce, Wilbur Ross, confirmed that "the United States has a trade deficit with most of its trading partners from Europe, Japan and China." He added that "Trump Administration cannot manage to continue in this imbalanced trade approach." The specialist in economic affairs, Martin Feldstein, stressed that the trade deficit of the United States reached 450 billion dollars, equivalent to 2.5% of the GDP, which means that the country is importing an additional 450 billion more than what it exports. Here, we have to reconsider the relations with countries such as China, Japan and Germany.<sup>3</sup>

## Conclusion:

The beginnings of changes in the Asia Pacific region are a real indicator of the geopolitical significance of this important region of the world. At first glance, it was considered politically and economically as less important region, but that was just a planned media mis-coverage issue as

<sup>1</sup> PWC , the world in 2050 will the shift in global economic power continue ?,february 2015, p 3.

<sup>2</sup> The White House ,National Security Strategy of the United states of América, December 2017.

<sup>3</sup> Luc Pelletier ,versune reconfiguration du systeme commercial en Asie-Pacidique, centreCEIM,Canada ,num 10 ,2017,p 2.

there are many articles and historical researches that highlight the need to give priority to this region academically, especially by the political leaders of various major countries across the world.

## **\*Regionally**

Briefly, regional side focuses on the most prominent regional actors in the region of the Pacific and their positive and negative interactions, on top of which are border problems between China, Russia, Japan, North and South Korea. These countries have special economic, military and political advantages that vary from one country to another. What brings these countries together is the geo-economic and security interests intended to implement a strategic balance in the region.

The region is divided, in its interactions and competition in the East China Sea area, between these countries and then towards a wider scope of conflicts with southern countries in the South China Sea. They have a geographical contact with the countries of Southeast Asia where we have the Philippines, Brunei, Malaysia, Indonesia and Vietnam.

The countries of the region sought to achieve a set of economic goals and focus their attention in two paths:

- 1- Internally:** There has been a wave of political reforms in the region after the Second World War, which led to the required and planned achievement of economic and social renaissance.
- 2- Regionally:** Attempts to overcome political and border disputes by activating the common points and remedying their concerns through the investment in human resources to achieve economic interests.

Therefore, the successful experience in Asia Pacific can be a model to be followed in the Arab world in the Middle East and North Africa by making strong social ties within the framework of the relationship between the state and society. If this happens, it will have a positive echo in order to achieve common interests among the Arab countries, even if we do not achieve the Arab unity that has always remained unfulfilled.

## **\*Internationally:**

We note that there is an urgent need for the greater effective international cross-border, the United States of America, which is seeking to compete other ambitious countries, like Russia and China, and implement the concept of multiple international centers. Russia is the biggest political and military rival of the Cold War period. We should remember that both countries are permanent

members of the Security Council through its interactions, which enable the world to find some sort of geopolitical balance.

On the economic side, it is obvious that China is seeking to remove the United States of America and threaten the continuity of its economic leadership, which lasted for decades. The most important aspect of this attempt, is the project of the belt and road initiative for the twenty-first century. There is a geopolitical strategy to lift the political and security pressure that the United States is trying to impose on the Pacific region by heading to the East towards the Europe and Africa. This could force the United States of America to get back to the first point towards the Atlantic, which may lighten the burden of the weight of Pacific waters.

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## **Chinese Performance towards Regional Changes in the Middle East (Efficiency and Impact)**

Jamal Khalid al-Fadi

Assistant Professor in International Relations  
Mutahr

Trans. Hussein A. al-

Part-time Lecturer in Palestinian Universities  
Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdellah

PhD Candidate in

University, Fes, Morocco

### **Abstract**

In its quest to shift from an Asian regional power to a global one, China depended on ascending economic growth. This assured it opportunities and options and enabled it to maneuver and expand its diplomatic capabilities so as to take the initiative, and move from neutrality, negative response and suspense in the Middle East to more effective and positive response. Though the historical ties between China and Middle East countries, the latter has never gained the focus of China's strategy as it does today. The role has been limited to trade and cultural exchanges. China has not strived for a real presence in the region. In this context, this study deals with the orientations of Chinese performance in the face of the sweeping changes in the Middle East and its consequences which pushed China to look for more increasing role and influence, especially as it seeks a global reach by which it would become a superpower. This is to be fulfilled through a vision that achieves Chinese interests. China has crystallized parameters of foreign policy that serve its motif and vision towards the region in order to employ what is happening to its advantages in an area seen as a bridge to reach its goal. So, we attempt to understand the stimulating factors of the China's influence in a region forming a strategic depth for the great power aspiring for competition over the world leadership. We also address the challenges China could face in its quest for influence and position in an area which is fluid and full of changes.

Key words: China, Strategic Performance, Foreign Policy, Middle East, and Efficiency and Impact

## Introduction

The People's Republic of China has so long regarded the Middle East as a secondary and relatively less significant area. However, this part of the world takes up today a larger space than ever before in China's national security accounts. Beijing's unprecedented interest and involvement in the Middle East raises its potential to have ambitious plans in the region.

The regional changes taking place in the Middle East have constituted a turning point for international politics and great powers. The Middle East represents one of the most vital areas that affects international policy-making since it has been witnessing structural shifts in shaping the region. More than that, it is witnessing shifts in power balance in the region and at the level of internal and external relations, especially after the occurrence of the so-called Arab Spring revolutions. Such context imposes an urgent need to crystallize and formulate a Chinese vision consistent with the size of variables in the region considered to form a part of Chinese vital area.

Nowadays, there are variables that are no longer limited to the Middle East, but rather extend to the structure of the international system and the nature of its active parties as well as the future of international relations, especially in light of the great interest that began to dominate the views of the majority with respect to the future role China could play in a region full of variables. Such variables can be reflected in the aspirations of the major powers to play a pivotal role in international politics. China is a major state whose role is not limited to political and economic influence, but also includes geopolitical and strategic and cultural dimensions as well.

The importance of the study:

In light of the dramatic changes in the Middle East which affect the structure of the region and its relations with the international community, the talk about the effective and influential performance of China becomes a must considering the sweeping changes in the region and its impact on the influence of China and on the future structure of the international system that China seeks to be one of its pole.

Research Problem:

This study sets out from the problem that the changes the Middle East is witnessing have given China influence and power in the face of serious examination of how to deal with these developments to serve the Chinese ambition with regard to enhancing its role in the region. This region represents the most important areas of competition among the states in the international system. Here, the main questions to be posed are: What is the vision of China towards the sweeping changes in the region? How does this affect the Chinese ambition as an economic and political giant, and how can China invest these changes to serve its international ambitions?

## Research Methodology

I have adopted a descriptive analytical approach in addition to the inductive method to understand China's performance and its relation to regional variables in an area represents vital space for China.

## Research Contents

To fulfill its goal, this paper is divided into three chapters. The first chapter deals with the vision and philosophy that Chinese role is based on and its impact on the foreign policy. The second one tackles the importance of the Middle East in the Chinese strategy and the parameters of China's foreign policy by which it deals with this vital region. The third one discusses China's position of the changes in the Middle East and the supporting factors for any Chinese effective role in the region, as well as the challenges that can face China's performance in a region full of conflicts

## Section I: China's vision and philosophy of the nature of its role and status

The international situations, for China, have undergone continuous and profound changes since the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Globalization is becoming more sophisticated and perhaps more predominant on human relations. The pace of modernization and technology is increasing and human progress is accelerating. From time to time, new situations and unprecedented contradictions emerge. Nevertheless, the maintenance of international peace and the promotion of common development is a common task for all nations. China believes that cooperation between peoples and governments is the most important and effective tool to face security threats, create a condition of developmental balance, and exploit the opportunities created by globalization

to achieve common prosperity, whereas the continuation to adopt the mentality of cold war, individualist, and militant arrogance will inevitably lead to a dead end.<sup>1</sup>

## 1- The vision and philosophy of Chinese politics:

China affirms that the coexistence and harmony among different peoples with their various cultures and ethnicities cannot be achieved without cooperation and communication opportunities based on mutual respect and tolerance. China is keen to adhere to the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations, and the five principles of peaceful coexistence, and rejects aggressive war, hegemony, and politics of force. It believes that love, peace, fulfilling covenant, the belief in good-neighbourliness and pride in friendship with all countries over the world represent a fundamental pillar of traditional Chinese culture.<sup>2</sup>

Within these humanistic concepts, the Chinese Government is firmly committed to an independent and peaceful foreign policy and calls for equality and peaceful coexistence among the nations of the world, whether large or small, poor or rich, strong or weak. It also calls for the need to strengthen multilateralism, democracy of international relations, consolidation of the principles of international law, and building just and rational international community. It calls for the need to preserve cultural pluralism of the world as a common heritage of human society and a precious source of humankind strength to advance towards prosperity. It declares its firm commitment to the policy of friendship and good-neighboring relations with all neighboring countries in order to create a harmonious, secure and prosperous environment. And it will continue to promote the South-South cooperation and the South-North dialogue. It will be always keen to establish stable relations with major powers, maintain and consolidate global strategic stability, safeguard the credibility and role of the United Nations and the Security Council and provide all means for international cooperation on a large scale in the fight against terrorism, arms control, peacekeeping and development, and human rights.

## II-The impact of Chinese philosophy on China's foreign policy

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<sup>1</sup> The speech of the president "Hu Hu-Jintao" at the summit meeting of heads of Industry and Trade in the APEC, 19/11/2004. <http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/ara/wjdt/zyjh/t171838.shtml>

<sup>2</sup> Yitzhak Shichor, **Fundamentally Unacceptable yet Occasionally**, Unavoidable: China's Options on External Interference in the Middle East, China Report journal, part 49, no1, 2013.

The combination of the philosophy and ideas mentioned above has influenced China's strategic cultural outlook and the state's goals of its relations with the outside world. These principles have been reflected in the generation of general patterns in China's international relations. For example, Chinese governments have not sent explorers to find and colonize new lands, particularly outside the Asian Ocean. It has not sent diplomatic missions to establish relations with other countries. China's foreign alliances and diplomatic and representative exchanges abroad were limited in comparison with the European States. This is a distinctive phenomenon if we take into account China's bureaucratic, administrative and physical capacities which allow it to establish and maintain a wide circle of representation and alliances.<sup>1</sup>

Hence, the Chinese civilization has not created a civilized message; it has not strived to establish a system to disseminate its ideas; it has dealt with the surroundings as a group of barbarians whose government ought to contain them so as not to expose their interior to violence and invasion. One of the goals of building the Great Wall had unfolded not only in preventing invaders from entering, but also in reflecting the idea of introversion and the unimportance of the exterior. Although China's relationship with the world was not born in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries has left a great impact, and marked a turning point in Chinese history and collective memory, from which the retreat would not be easy.<sup>2</sup>

The reality today is that China looks suspiciously at the world order dominated by Western countries. In particular, China does not forget that Western countries have tried very much to interfere in its domestic politics in the last century. China's first reaction with respect to its view of the outside world had come at the beginning of the republic era, when it refused any world system dominated by inequality that was either formed or is under formation. The open-door policy perhaps advocated by Deng Xiaoping, which was

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<sup>1</sup> Emad Mansour, "Assiyasat Alkharijiyat Alsiniya min Minzar Althaqafat Alaistiratijiati (Chinese Foreign Policy from the Perspective of Strategic Culture)," *Journal of Arab Politics*, No. 21, July 2016, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Kaufman Alison Adcock, "The 'Century of Humiliation' Then and Now: Chinese Perceptions of the International Order," *Pacific Focus*, Vol. 25, no. 1 (April 2010), p. 5.

concerned with establishing socialism with Chinese characteristics, has perhaps reflected his hesitation, and this suspicion of the West.<sup>1</sup>

Some well-informed people with Chinese affairs say that if China accepted the reality of the United States as the top of the pyramid in the international system, and then should integrate in the current situation for economic interests, this would not mean China's abandonment of its perception of the importance of the international relationship with similar countries or pursuing foreign policies that could push it to positions in the space of international politics in which it is not seen as a part, as China does not see many of today's active nations in Asia as a real part that has the right to intervene. With a quick reading of modern Chinese history, we find that there are two lessons to help understand contemporary China. They are related to the implications of the late nineteenth century and extended to the mid-twentieth century.

The first lesson is that China has bitterly suffered from the scourge of Western colonialism and its resulting defeats. Its current position towards the territories in the South and East China Sea stems from its sense of being exposed to historical injustice and from the importance to show off its power and recover today, in a legal manner, what was taken from it yesterday. China has stressed, on all occasions, that this position does not reflect colonial expansionist mentality that wants to overthrow the existing system.

This emphasizes that China's approach towards the international relations in general and the United States in particular (besides that an essential part of its approach is concerned with internal priorities such as maintaining healthy economy) is based on historical sensitivity fraught with vulnerability.<sup>2</sup>

The second lesson is that the failure of the political system under the rule of Qing Dynasty (1911-1944) to develop economy and military capabilities has been followed by serious consequences for China, represented in its inability to repel any foreign intervention. However, knowing that Chinese strategic culture calls for accounting the impacts of foreign policy, like war, on State resources, the lesson left by this history is to

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<sup>11</sup> Emad Mansour, "Assiyasat Alkharijiyat Alsiniya min Minzar Althaqafat Alaistiratijiyati," op. cit., P. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Avery Goldstein, "An Emerging China's Emerging Grand Strategy: A Neo-Bismarckian Turn?" in G. J. Ikenberry & Michael Mastanduno (eds.), *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003).

insist that the governments have to preserve State sovereignty and not involve in any ill-considered adventure.

## Section II: Significance of the Middle East in Chinese strategy

The Middle East region has great strategic importance. It is the first region in the world in terms of wealth and resources, and in terms of its location at the center of the ancient world, its monopoly of international shipping lines, especially the Suez Canal. It also contains enormous oil wealth, estimating two thirds of the world's reserves of this material which is vital to of the global economy in general and industrial countries in particular.<sup>1</sup> Despite the centuries of long-standing ties between China and the Middle East Region, the region has never been the focus of the strategy of China as it is today, whose presence becomes active and influential in the issues of the region.<sup>2</sup> The States of the region, on their part, have never seen China as a reliable international player. The presence of China has been marginal and limited to commercial and cultural exchange.<sup>3</sup> Beijing has never strived for actual presence or for establishing regional influence in the region, as the other international powers have done.

China has always looked to the Middle East with its wealth and strategic position as “contact zone” in the intense and ongoing conflict between international powers competing for areas of influence. It sees that the conflict resolution, in favor of any international force, will be determined in the sands of this inflamed region.<sup>4</sup>

What enhances this vision is that China has not reportedly intervened, for example, in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. It has also avoided joining the coalition against the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria since the principle of non-intervention constitutes one of the

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<sup>1</sup> Majid Kayali, “al-Nizam al-Iglimi fi al-Sharq al-Awsat w Mafhum al- Taswiat (The Middle East Regional System and the Concept of Settlement),” *Journal of Strategic Thought*, No. 41, July 1992, p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> Madin Ali, op. Cit., P. 169.

<sup>3 3</sup> Evan S. Medeiros, **China’s International: Behavior: Activism, Opportunism, and Diversification**, California , Santa Monica ,rand coperation , MG-850-AF, 2009, p:160-161.

<sup>4</sup> For more details on China's position of the conflict in the region, see:

- Mahmoud Safi Mahmoud, Tawajuh al Siasiat Hathirat: Afaq al-Taeawun al-Sini al-Sharq Awsati w al-Tahadiyat al-Rahina (Cautious Political Orientations: Prospects of China Middle East Cooperation and Contemporary Challenges), Arab Center for Researches and Studies, Link: [www.acrseg.org](http://www.acrseg.org)

- Andrew Scobell, Alireza Nader, **China in the Middle East: The Wary Dragon**, Santa Monica, Calif, rand cooperation, 2016, For more information on this publication, visit [www.rand.org/t/RR1229](http://www.rand.org/t/RR1229)

comprehensive principles of China's foreign policy. But today, and in the light of the economic boom, it attaches great importance to the Middle East. Although Beijing focuses primarily on internal security as well as the stability of its immediate environment, particularly Asian-Pacific Region and Central Asia, it increasingly thinks and acts on a global scale.<sup>1</sup>

According to an international security analyst, who works in the Central School of the Communist Party in Beijing, China's interest in the Middle East is continuously expanding on the geopolitical, economic, energy and security levels.<sup>2</sup> On the one hand, this region is considered as economic and logistic crossroads which ties between European and Asian markets.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, some observers believe that the pursuit and desire of the United States to reduce its concerns in the Middle East has reinforced this vision of China towards the region.<sup>4</sup> In the light of the recent developments, China has seemingly begun to expand its vision of the concept of national security considering the rapid growth of its economy. Accordingly, its concern with the Middle East will be greater than before because it represents one of the most important sources of energy in the world, and one of the most important consumer markets, but without active involvement in its issues to consider the bases that govern its foreign policy.<sup>5</sup>

To casually look away from the details, one can see that the balance of cultural exchange with any country is the only measurement for the development of relations with others from Chinese perspective. So, economic relations have dominated most movements of China and its diplomatic conducts in the Middle East region, emphasizing that this relationship is a top priority for decision-makers in China. According to one Chinese analyst, the Middle East will remain the largest source of oil imports to China, and this is

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<sup>1</sup> Andrew J. Nathan, **China's Search for Security**, New York, Columbia University Press, 2012,

<sup>2</sup> <sup>2</sup> Gao Zugui, **Development of China's Relations with the Middle East in the Context of Profound Changes**, Heping yu fazhan, No 4, 2014, p:45.

<sup>3</sup> "Siasat al-Sin al-Kharijiah (Foreign Policy of China)," King Faisal Center, Saudi Arabia, February 2014, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Geoffrey Kemp, **The East Moves West: India, China, and Asia's Growing Presence in the Middle East**, Washington D.C, Brookings Institution, 2010, p. 18.

<sup>5</sup> See to: Chu Shulong, Jin Wei, **China's Foreign Affairs Strategy and Policy**, Shishi Chubanshe, 2008, pp: 263-264, and see to: Jon B. Alterman, John W. Garver, **The Vital Triangle: China, the United States, and the Middle East**, Washington D.C, Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2008, P 7.

the strategic importance of the Middle East to China.<sup>1</sup> In addition, there is a belief that the countries of the Middle East will probably become one of China's most important political supporters on the global scene.<sup>2</sup> The Middle East is a global crossroad, and it is geographically of great strategic importance. Some researchers at the RAND Center, which is affiliated with the Pentagon, believe that research centers in Beijing began to take an interest in adding further researchers from the Middle East.<sup>3</sup>

The Chinese interest in the Middle East also lies in maintaining the internal security of the State and its surroundings. And the leaders of the Communist Party of China fear internal dissatisfaction. Here, “Li Weijian” from the Shanghai Institute of International Studies, says that the Middle East represents a strategic extension of the Chinese Ocean, and the prevailing situation in the Middle East, the national contradictions and extremist religious ideology directly affect China's security and stability.<sup>4</sup>

Given the great transformations and changes produced by the so-called Arab Spring revolutions in the region, China needs to rephrase its political discourse to be clearer. Beijing may sometimes be obligated to get out from the gray zone, if need be, as appropriate to the current developments. In its new calculations for national interest, China sought to confirm its position in its relations with regional and international powers.<sup>5</sup> In particular, it fears the spread of the Sunni radical Jihadist ideology the Uighur Muslims. Some Chinese analysts acknowledge that what is seen as a plight of the oppressed ethnic group in western China find sympathy in the Middle East.<sup>6</sup>

China's interest in the Arab region has made it one of the most important axes of its strategy. However, the countries of the region have not seen China as an international

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<sup>1</sup> Niu Xinchun, **China's Interests in and Influence over the Middle East**, translate: Haibing Xing, Contemporary International Relations, part 24, No1, Jan/Feb 2014, P. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Li Weijian, **Bilateral Relations Between China and the Middle East** and the Importance of the Middle East in China's Strategy, XiYa Feizhou, no,6, 2014, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Andrew Scobell, Alireza Nader, **China in the Middle East: The Wary Dragon**, 2016, page: 11.

<sup>4</sup> Li, 2014, p 18-19.

<sup>5</sup> Robert Benewick and Paul Wingrove, **China in the 1990s** (London: MacMillan Press, 1995, p. 28.

<sup>6</sup> See Niu Xinchun , 2014, p: 40.

player to rely on. China's role has been marginal and limited to commercial and cultural exchange.<sup>1</sup>

Although China's foreign policy has continued its focus on regional relations, its concern with other regions has begun to increase, particularly with the Middle East, which includes economic, political and military spheres.<sup>2</sup> China has increasingly become interested in supporting its economy, solving its regional problems, and opening up the region of the Arab countries to diplomatic and economic relations to serve its new policy, and support it in the face of the giant economic blocs.

### Section III: Determinants of Chinese foreign policy towards the Middle East

Although China was not a party to the system of "Westfalia" (1648),<sup>3</sup> its view of international relations remained traditional based on the principle of sovereignty of the nation in its rigid sense, which should not be compromised or intervened in its internal affairs even if such States committed crimes against humanity. China also affirms its absolute rejection of using force outside the regional borders of the State.<sup>4</sup>

To understand China's position of the Middle East and its complex issues, it is necessary to understand the determinants of China's foreign policy, which help anticipate its orientations towards specific international issues. The ideological considerations and realization of interests plays a primary role in determining a foreign policy characterized by pragmatism. There is a close link between China's foreign policy and its political thought that is grounded on the vision of its status, its Charter creed, and its historical experience. Moreover, China has been dealing with international issues according to a foreign policy commensurate with its emergent role as an influential pole in the global system.

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<sup>1</sup> Jawad, Ahmed, "al-Alaqa al-Arabiya al-Siniya fi 60 Aman (Arab- Chinese Relations in 60 Years)," Middle East Journal, Issue 1174, October 2009.

<sup>2</sup> For more information on China's relationship with its regional environment, see "al-Sin fi Muhitiha al-Iqlimi: Takamul Iqtisadi w Tanafus Istiratihi (China in its Regional Environment: Economic Integration and Strategic Competition)," *International Policy*, Issue 183, January 2011.

<sup>3</sup> Adel Ahmed al-Tai, "al-Qanun al-Dawli al-A'am: Al-Taerif, al-Masadir, w al-Ashkhas (Public International Law: Definition, Resources, and People)," Amman, Cultural House for Publishing and Distribution, 2009, P. 64.

<sup>4</sup> "Al-Sueud al-Sini w Tathiratu al-Istiratihiya (The Rise of China and its Strategic Effect)," An Article in the Arab Strategic Report, 2010, p. 78.

It is well known that the doctrine of Confucianism makes up a central basis for Chinese thought and a significant parameter for the Chinese national identity. The foreign policy is based on the principles of such doctrine which encourages fraternization, peace and doing good deed. China also adopts, in its foreign policy, the five principles of peaceful coexistence, which has been committed to since 1954, within the framework of Bandung Conference. Such principles are founded on mutual respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-aggression or interference in the affairs of others, equality, mutual interest, and peaceful coexistence.<sup>1</sup>

China considers the Middle East as region of economic, strategic and security importance. It has been endeavoring to get oil resources after its production of oil has not covered its need.<sup>2</sup> The emergence of China's concern with the energy security as a pillar of its national security ensures a continuous rotation of its economy. So, China's interest in the Middle East came from the consideration of being the most significant source of energy in the world and the most important consumer markets for Chinese products.<sup>3</sup>

In addition, China has considered the Middle East as a compulsory passage and a bridge to walk over for reviving the Silk Road, which can contribute to building a new economic development zone in western China. This zone is meant to be like a bridge connecting Asia and the Pacific eastward with the Arab region in the center and the European regions westward. It thereby constitutes the world's major longest economic corridor and a new pattern of Chinese openness to the world.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Madin Ali, "Mustaqbal Dawr al-Sin fi al-Siyasat al-Dawlia (China's Future Role in International Politics)," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, No. 19-20, Sixth Year, Summer Spring 2006, pp. 173-174; See also Ezzat Shahrour, "al-Sin w al-Sharq al-Awsat (China and the Middle East)," *Al Jazeera Center for Studies*, 11 June 2012.

<sup>2</sup> Mohamed EL- sayed Selim, "Tahlil al-Siyasat al-Kharijia (Foreign Policy Analysis)," 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Cairo: Egyptian Renaissance Library, 1998, pp. 100-102.

<sup>3</sup> Ezzat Shahrour, "al-Sin w al-Sharq al-Awsat: Malamih Muqarabat Jadida (China and the Middle East: Features of New Approach)," *Al Jazeera Center for Studies*, 11 June 2012. Accessed: 20/03/2013.  
<http://studies.aljazeera.net/reports/2012/06/2012611142554206350.htm>

<sup>4</sup> Abdel-Samad Saadoun Abdullah, "Dirasat Limuquamat al-Quat fi al-Suluk al-Dawli le al-Sin (The Conflict over Resources: A Study of the Elements of Strength in the International Behavior of China)," *Arab Journal of Political Science*, No. 14, Summer 2007, pp. 95-98. Accessed: 25/03/2018.  
[www.caus.org.lb/Home/down.php?articleID=5533](http://www.caus.org.lb/Home/down.php?articleID=5533)

See also Les principes de la politique étrangère de la chine <http://french.cri.cn/chinaabc/chapter4/chapter40201.htm>

**In this light, China has embarked on a new foreign policy with the countries of the Middle East, shaped by the influential backgrounds of a number of vital factors, which is prominently highlighted in the following:**

- **The impact of the oil factor:** The oil industry plays an important role in the national economy and its growth. This industry ranks fifth in the world in terms of production, and fourth in terms of refining. It is estimated that China, as the second-largest oil consumer in Asia over the next fifteen years, could overtake Japan.<sup>1</sup>
- **The impact of the trade factor:** China is characterized by a great abundance of production and lower costs. Against the background of the growing need of foreign exchange, Arab countries' markets have appeared to be more attractive to China's export sector. Despite the geopolitical shift in China's vision of the Arab world, the economic dependence of China on the Arab region is increasingly going on where the size of the commercial exchange between them reached 4.2 billion dollars in 2015 alone.<sup>2</sup> The Chinese government and the Chinese business community announced the Middle East as one of the most important new markets for Chinese products compared to China's trade with other countries and geographical regions.<sup>3</sup>
- **The impact of geo-strategic factor:** Committed to the principle of non-interference in domestic policy and realized that the region is an exclusive zone for the United States on both political and strategic terms which China does not want to compete with, China has been, until recently, content with the economic role in its activity in the Arab region. The United States is particularly the largest market for Chinese exports at a time when the export item is leading the rapid economic growth in China. China has always

<sup>1</sup> Mansour, Sami, "Tijarat al-Silah wa L'amn al-Qawmi al-Arabi (Arms Trade and Arab National Security)," Madbouli Library, Cairo, 1991, pp. 63-64.

<sup>2</sup> Alaa Abdul-hafiz Mohammed, "al-Siyasat al-Siniyat tijah al-Sirae al-Arabi al-Israeyli (Chinese Politics towards the Arab-Israeli Conflict)," *The Future Arab Magazine*, Issue 418, December 2013. p.11.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Talal, El Hassan, Chairman of the Arab Thought Forum, World Arab Dialogue Series, *Afaq al-Alaqqat al-Arabiyyat al-Siniyat fi al-Qarn al-Wahid wa al-Ishrin (The Prospects of Arab-China Relations in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century)*, Oman, 2003, P. 43; See also "al-Ruwyat wa l'Amal Tabnian Mean Hizam Tariq al-Harir al-Amni wa Tariq al-Harir al-Bahri fi al-Qarn al-Hadi wa al-Eishrin, Byan Sahafy (Vision and Business Build together the Maritime Silk Road in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century)," Press release, National Development and Reform Commission, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Commerce in the People's Republic of China with a mandate from the State Council, 28 March 2015.

avoided upsetting any of the conflicting parties in the region to maintain its interests represented mainly in the oil contracts after it has become the second largest oil importer in the world. It is a major energy consumer, which requires the presence of partners to supply oil and natural gas in a semi-fixed way. It is estimated that China's Imports from Arab countries, especially crude oil, have increased to more than 100 million tons by the end of 2010.<sup>1</sup>

In the context of its balanced policy, China stood by the peoples of the region as it is manifested by its anti-Israel resolutions, and its considerable support to the Arab position. It has repeatedly declared that Israel is an instrument of imperialism after its aggression against Egypt in 1956. It expressed its readiness to send volunteers to defend the revolutionary movement in Egypt. The Chinese position of the Suez War was then considered a turning point and a global breakthrough for China, where it found, in the issues of national liberation, a fertile ground to confront American Imperialism. This would be beneficial to China not only for globally increasing its weight, but also for own issues, such as representation in the United Nations, the restoration of Taiwan and the reduction of American influence in East Asia.<sup>2</sup>

The Arab region is characterized by strategic corridors, which have an impact on the international maritime traffic, in particular the Suez Canal, the Bab al-Mandab and the Strait of Hormuz corridors. As a result, China has realized that securing navigation in these corridors guarantees China's continuous and global market access, particularly the markets of the European Union, North Africa, the Eastern Mediterranean and the Arabian Gulf region. The geo-strategic factor is one of the most important factors that contributed to the development of relations between the two parties. In addition to cultural platforms that radically differ from those of Western culture and civilization, Arab countries occupy a very geographically important location. This is useful

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<sup>1</sup> Ahed Muslim al-Mushabiq, "al-Bued al-Siyasi lil Alaqa al-arabiya al-Siyasiya wa Afaquha al-Mustaqbalia (Political Dimension of China-Arab Relations and its Future Prospects), University of Jordan, *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, vol. 41, Supplement 1, 2014, p. 380.

<sup>2</sup> Mark Heinz Daniel, *A'lam Mahfuf bi al-Makhatir: Istiratijiya al-Jil al-Gadim fi Asr al-Awla (Unsafe World: Strategies for the Next Generation in an Era of Globalization)*, Trans. Adham Shaker, Obeikan Library, p.2.

in prioritizing the idea of the dialogue of civilizations, which is consistent with the concept of coexistence, and the creation of a peaceful international environment necessary for development and modernization.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, the increasing importance of the Middle East, for China, has started since the early 1990 at a time when China's rising energy demand and growing economic stakes are in line with geographically strategic interests. China's goal here seems to secure access to resources and markets in the region. The formal launch of the new Silk Road Initiative affirms that economy is China's top priority.

China seeks to achieve a balance in the face of US influence in the Middle East, but but this does not mean that China wants to effectively counter Washington or significantly expand its military presence. Instead, it seeks to cooperate with the United States because it considers Washington as a necessary force to impose stability in the region, despite the fact that the two capitals disagree on defining conditions that lead to some kinds of stability.<sup>2</sup>

#### **Section IV: China's position of the changes in the Middle East**

The so-called Arab Spring created new centers of instability in the Middle East and North Africa. China felt compelled to change its positions and tactics and to look for new opportunities.<sup>3</sup>

The Middle East has always been the major strategic focus for the United States, Europe, and Russia, whereas the region, for China, has not been as important as its neighbors in the Asia-Pacific region and elsewhere. Consequently, China's approach to changes in the Middle East is shaped by its relations with the United States, Europe and Russia. Beijing realizes that the presence of the United States in the Middle East is a strategic interest in Washington. It is also aware that such presence will continue for decades, and

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<sup>1</sup> Khamis, Karam, *al-Sin wa al-Sirae al-Arabi –al-Israiyyli: al-Judhur wa l'Aba'ad wa al-Tadaeiat (China and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: Roots, Dimensions and Implications)*, Zayed Center for Coordination and Follow-Up, United Arab Emirates. 2003, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Andrew Scobell, Alireza Nader, 2016, page: 20.

<sup>3</sup> Mordechai Khazira, "Kayf Athar al-Rabyea al-Arabi ala a al-Siyasat al-Sinia (How the Arab Spring Affects Chinese Politics)," Thursday, October 30, 2014, Link: <http://raqeb.co/2014/10/> (accessed: 12/4/2018).

that the US policy is critical for the stability of the region.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, it seeks to avoid actions that would place it directly in confrontation with the United States. It simultaneously wants to maintain political relations with both new and old regimes in the Middle East to ensure access to resources and markets. However, the recent developments have proved to be challenging to China's because Beijing's economic interests are the most determinant factor for its foreign policy towards the region whose stability represents the core for ensuring unimpeded access to natural resources.

In the early years of the millennium, China built closer ties with many of the leading countries in the Middle East to basically meet its growing energy needs and fulfill its long-term geopolitical ambitions. China has also begun to slowly engage itself into the politics of the region, either by appointing its own envoy to the Middle East or by contributing to protocols of combating water piracy between Yemen and Somalia.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, Beijing does not yet seem ready to play a larger role in the ongoing political unrest in the countries of the region. Instead, China instinctively moved away from interfering in all political upheavals in the region.

As a result of the Arab movement witnessed by many Arab countries, and like the reactions of the rest of the international and regional powers, and their presence in these scenes of change, Chinese diplomacy has been present, and its positions of such change has known enormous divergences characterized by caution and sometimes hesitation, waiting for the features of the new system, and the orientation of such movement.<sup>3</sup>

Extrapolation of China's diplomatic approach in the Middle East in the light of the potential variables shows that the situation of China is critical. And its

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<sup>1</sup> Evan S. Medeiros, *China's International Behavior: Activism, Opportunism, and Diversification* (Palo Alto, CA: RAND Corporation, 2009), p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> Mordechai Chaziza, "The Arab Spring: Implications for Chinese Policy, Middle East Review of International Affairs," Vol. 17, No. 2 (Summer 2013), p: 74.

<sup>3</sup> Aisha Mounafih, *Muhaddidat al-Siyasat al-Kharijat lil-Sin fi al-Shrq al-Awsat baed al-Hirak al-Arabi* (Parameters of China's Foreign Policy in the Middle East after the Arab Movement), publications of Khaled Hassan Foundation Center for Studies and Research, Morocco, Vol. I, 2014, p. 6.

aspiration behind that is to ensure its share of oil and its smooth access to energy sources through an approach inclined to choose cooperation in International Affairs management, embracing dialogue-based approach in conflict resolution, and rejection of the principle of military intervention.<sup>1</sup>

With regard to the events in Libya, China has taken a wavering position based on the role of a neutral observer. It has distanced itself from the process of interaction and competition in adopting the position of one side against another. It has also abstained in the voting on Security Council resolution that imposes a no-fly zone over Libya.<sup>2</sup> But, the remarkable thing about the Syrian file is that China released from neutrality characterized its position with the Arab movement. This has been clearly evident in the Syrian crisis where it realized the lesson of Libya in which the United States and its Western allies took solely the initiative. China has remained far from participating in the security arrangements, and its use of the veto in the vote on the decision of foreign intervention in Syria came as a reflection of its discontent of US policy in the region, through which the United States is trying to limit and perhaps prevent any Chinese influence in the region or access to energy sources. China uses the veto as a card to prevent any Western intervention in Syria that may repeat scenarios in Afghanistan and Iraq.<sup>3</sup> So, China had to get out of the gray area, and adopt a positive position.

It could be noted that the whole series of political changes in the region was present in the debate within the Chinese academic institutions. It pushed for different Chinese position that preserves China's interests and adopts a flexible diplomacy that achieves influence in the region within a framework of cooperation with the actors and the States concerned with the shifts witnessed in the region. This is a new reality that demands China to adapt to, play a

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<sup>1</sup> Yazid Sayegh, "Mawqif al-Sin hial Suria (China's Position towards Syria)," The Carnegie Middle East Institute, Beirut, Accessed: 19/4/2018.

<http://carnegie-mec.org/2012/02/10/ar-pub-47151>

<sup>2</sup> Massoud Dahir, "Tatawurat al-Mawqif al-Sini min Intifadat al-Rabyea al-Arabi (Developments of the Chinese position on the Arab Spring uprisings)," Accessed: 4/4/2018.

<https://www.albayan.ae/opinions/articles/2011-11-09-1.1533892>

<sup>3</sup> Yazid Sayegh, "Mawqif al-Sin hial Suria (China's Position towards Syria)," op.cit.

positive role, and abandon the wait and neutrality policy characterized its positions on many developments in favor of the major Western Powers.<sup>1</sup>

## **First: Supporting factors for the effectiveness of Chinese role in the region**

There are many factors supporting the effectiveness of the Chinese role in the Middle East, which are linked to the political and economic competition, the defense of China's interests and its relations and repercussions of its foreign policy towards the region, particularly after the changes in the region and the Syrian crisis. These factors can be presented as follow:

### **Thrust of competition with the United States**

China policy towards the Arab Spring in general, and the Syrian revolution in particular, specifically what is related to the consequences of the changes in the region, is controlled by several concerns. The root of these concerns can be traced back to competition with Washington. The era of Arab revolutions coincided with the United States' announcement of focusing its foreign strategy during the 21<sup>st</sup> century on diplomatic and economic investment within the Pacific region. This has been seen as a direct threat to China in the sphere of its influence when Barack Obama called, in 2012, the United States to review its defense system in Asia and the Pacific. China also considered the joint United States-Japanese and South Korean military exercises as a threat intended to encircle its security. Further, China did not hide its concern regarding the US arms sales to Taiwan in a deal worth six billion dollars.<sup>2</sup>

#### **Search for political influence and economic investment**

China has sought to strengthen its status and political influence as well as its economic and commercial relations in the Middle East since a decade ago, where the commercial exchange between China and Middle East States has increased for (600%)

<sup>1</sup> Aisha Mounafih, *Muhaddidat al-Siyasat al-Kharijiat lil-Sin fi al-Shrq al-Awsat baed al-Hirak al-Arabi (Parameters of China's Foreign Policy in the Middle East after the Arab Movement)*, op. cit., P. 4,

<sup>2</sup> Sasha Al-Alou, "al-Dawr al-Sini fi al-Milaf al- Sini: al-Asbab wa al-Dawafea (Chinese Role in the Syrian Question: Causes and Motivation)," *Journal of Views about the Gulf*, No. 106, April 2016, Access: 30/3/2018, <http://goo.gl/ZlYnJc>

during this decade. China's investment in the region reached (160) Billion dollars during 2016.<sup>1</sup>

According to a recent report issued by the Arab Organization for export credit and investment guarantee (*daman*) for 2017, China has surpassed the United States to become the largest source of investment in the Arab countries. Its projects vary between infrastructure, transportation, technology, industry, agriculture, and communications, among others. Its non-financial investments accounted for 31.9 percent and at value of 29.5 billion dollars of the total foreign direct investment in Arab countries.<sup>2</sup>

## **Line of defense of central Asia starts from the Middle East**

The Middle East for Beijing is an extension of the areas adjacent to China's western border in Central Asia, China's largest surrounding. It seeks to adopt a more balanced foreign and security policy in a geopolitical strategic sense. It works to re-enforce the balance of the West to correct what has been looks like excessive and disproportionate focus on the East in terms of economic growth and national security protection. It also works to protect its large interests in the region by taking advantage of its ties with prominent regional powers.<sup>3</sup>

These efforts essentially represent an extension of Beijing's approach to Central Asia which focuses on expanding economic relations, specifically trade and improvement of transport through using direct ways to land trade routes, dating back to earlier centuries. They are totally known as the Silk Roads. Chinese leaders have promoted a vision of common economic development and mutual benefit by land and sea.

As a result of these concerns, Chinese analysts and leaders regard the Middle East as an extension of China's surrounding and its strategic depth in Central and South Asia.<sup>4</sup> The frequent use of the term "broader Middle East" clearly refers to this scheme. Some

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<sup>1</sup> "Al-Nufudh al-Sini fi al-Sharq al-Awsat.. Kamun am Taragqub (China's influence in the Middle East ... Latency or Wait-and-see)," Smith Center for Studies, 8 February 2018. <http://smtcenter.net/archives/>

<sup>2</sup> Muna El Hassan, "Bikin al-Oula fi al-Istithmar fi al-Duwal al-Arabia (Beijing the First in Investment in Arab Countries)," *Al Arabi Al-Jadeed Newspaper*, August 1, 2017. Access: 12/4/2018. Link: <https://www.alaraby.co.uk/economy/2017/8/1/>

<sup>3</sup> Andrew Scobell and Alireza Nader, *China in the Middle East: The Wary Dragon*, 2016, page: 12.

<sup>4</sup> Liu Zhongmin, *Testing the Waters in the Middle East: China's Foreign Relations Under Turbulent Change*. Shijie Zhishi.no 5, 2013, p48.

experts believe that the first line of defense of China's interests in Central Asia lies in the Middle East region. So, China's position is based on geopolitical Middle Eastern equation and its possible projection in the region of Central Asia and Caucasus.

## **China's fear of the impact of the Arab revolutions on its inside**

On the one hand, there are about 25 million Muslims in China. Therefore, China has a fear of what is happening in the region, whether it is related to the reach of the echo of Arab revolutions to its territory, or to the control of religious parties in the Middle East. This may constitute an escalation of the mobility of a number of separatist movements in China, primarily Muslims. Some members of Chinese armed minorities are fighting alongside the Syrian opposition, including militants from the Chinese national Uighur who have been trained by the Islamic State militants in Iraq and the Syria (Daesh) to execute terroristic acts inside China. On the other hand, China believes that the United States' reception of the Buddhist minority leader (Dalai Lama) in 2011 is considered to be like an encouragement to the separatist groups as inseparable from its orientation to reconcile with political Islam, and it is considered as a form of interference in its domestic policy. China considers the US criticism of its increase of military expenditure, its demands of raising the prices and of inside reforms, and its accusation of the violating human and minority rights and public freedom as a form of intervention in its internal affairs.<sup>1</sup>

## **Syrian Crisis and its Implications**

China sees itself as a nation with a historical amount, and growing role in international affairs. It believes that the world and the international community should be used to hearing the voice of China as it talks about bitter facts with regard to the international conflict such as the multiple crises in the Middle East, particularly the Syrian

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<sup>1</sup> Sunnia El-Husseini, "Siasat al-Sin tijah al-Azmat al-Suwriat: Hal Taekis Tahawulat Ilistratijiat jadidat fi al-Mantiqa? (China's policy towards the Syrian crisis: Does it reflect new strategic shifts in the region)," *Journal of the Arab Future*, Beirut, 2017, p. 45.

one. It sees that its use of veto power to block Security Council resolutions on Syria shows that it cannot accept passive neutrality.<sup>1</sup>

The declaration of the Chinese Foreign Affairs with regard to the Syrian crisis, the Russian and Iranian intervention came to emphasize that Syria is an important country in the Middle East, and that stability must be maintained in it. And the dialogue should be the solution to all kinds of disputes and problems without any external intervention, because it would complicate the crisis. This position reinforced the Russian and Iranian role to the extent it forms an anti-American stance.<sup>2</sup>

China views that its consistent and identified position with Russia towards the Syrian crisis is mainly related to the nature of the international balances and the Chinese desire to restrain the United States from imposing its direction on the international system as well as its fear of the growth of the extremist Islamic trend.<sup>3</sup> China feels fear of the new alliance between the West and political Islam, which will inevitably reflect negatively on China's ambitions with regard to its future role in a region forms the bridge to the top of the international system.

## **Second: China's strategic performance challenges against regional changes**

A number of challenges have emerged in the international arena. Such challenges stand against the ambition and centrality of any Chinese role in the region and have consequences on the performance of China whether related to the regional parties or the major countries, primarily the United States, and on

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<sup>1</sup> "Ma alladhy Yuhaddid al-Mawqif al-Rusy wa al-Siny min al-Azmat fi Suria (What Determines the Russian and Chinese position of the Syrian crisis)," Arab Center for Research and Policies Studies, Doha, 8 February 2012, Access: 24/3/2018.

<http://www.dohainstitute.org/release/17eb9c98-db79-4b1e-8d46-60a66332fba2>

See also: Interview with Chinese Envoy to the Middle East, Al-Raya Magazine, Qatar, 8/2/2012, p.37.

<sup>2</sup> Moriel Merak Weissbach and Jamal Wakim, "al-Siyasat al-Kharijiat al-Turkiat tijah al-Qu'a al-Uzma'a wa al-Bilad al-Arabiya mundh a'm 2002 (Turkish Foreign Policy towards the Great Powers and Arab Countries since 2002)," Vol. 1, Beirut, Publishing Company for Distribution and Publication, 2014, p. 191.

<sup>3</sup> "Dawr al-Qu'a al-Iqlimiya wa al-Duawaliya wa Ineikasatuha ala'a al-Awda fi Suriya (The Role of Regional and International Powers and their Repercussions on the Situation in Syria,)," *Al-Khaleej Newspaper*, Issue 21725, Bahrain, 2013. Access: 22/3/2018, link: <http://www.akhbar-alkhaleej.com/12725/article/4411.html>

the consideration of the Middle East as a part of China's vital sphere. Hence, the presence of competitors such as China will create a state of competition the United States does not be existed or consolidated. These challenges include:

- **The dilemma of non-intervention and negative neutrality**

This dilemma stems from being difficult for China to continue its non-interventionist policy, on which an important aspect of its global economic ascendance depends. And if China adopted any tendency to bring about international polar shifts, such shifts would stimulate many processes of revision and conflict, across numerous regions of the World, which are vital to China's economic and strategic interests, as it is the case of the Middle East now. And if the global economic position of China has been strengthened by the policy of non-interference and neutrality, the Chinese intervention itself would have not guarantee the settlement and resolution of conflicts that threaten Chinese interests.<sup>1</sup> In the light of this dilemma, Chinese diplomacy has tried to adopt mediation and good offices approach to reduce tension and conflict in areas that touch its interests, as it happened when it hosted the peace talks between the Afghan government and the Taliban.

But, this peaceful mediation diplomacy cannot work in all conflicts, and it may arouse concern to other international parties, which fear the growing role of China. These parties strive to complicate such conflicts to impede the Chinese role. In this context, China found itself compelled to adopt serious and decisive positions to face the Syrian issue that would be a real abdication of the neutral policy, and, to some extent, non-intervention policy.

- **The dilemma of attrition due to its transformation into a global pole**

The former dilemma is related to the intervention politics and procedures China can adopt. While some might poorly assume that the US leadership's retreat of the international system would be of interest to the rising "Chinese pole", the security and

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<sup>1</sup> Malik Awni, "Al-Syaqat al-Ghalibat: al-Sueud al-Sini ila'a Allaqutbia (The Overcoming Contexts: Chinese Rise to a Non-Polar World)," *International Politics Magazine, Supplement to Strategic Transformation*, Cairo, No. 207, January 16, 2017. Access: 10/4/2018. <http://www.siyassa.org.eg/News/11996.aspx>

political vacuum resulting from the American decline will place additional burdens on China's policy to safeguard its growing vital interests around the world.<sup>1</sup>

It seems that China's initial vision aims, on the one hand, to strengthen the maritime capabilities to secure international trade corridors, enhance its regional presence and demands in the region of the South China Sea. It also aims to build international security partnerships, on the other hand, as stated in the first white paper in history issued by China on its military strategy in May of 2015.

Irrespective of the effectiveness and efficiency of these procedures, the Chinese policy has become involved in potential attrition due to any global polar shift within its foreign policy. Overall, it can be said that the structure of the current global system and the internal and external challenges faced by China will push its foreign policy to engage more in a network of non-polar interactions in the short and middle term than it will seek comprehensive polar reconstruction in the global system. China is pending the clarity of vision with respect to the parameters of the rise of other international powers in the international system, particularly Russia, and waiting for the completion of founding pillars of the Chinese regional presence through a return to the Middle East.

- **The Middle East as being exclusive to US hegemony**

The main pursuit of China is to have safe and free access to foreign markets. However, when political problems explode, the Chinese prefer to remain neutral or abstain from voting, especially in any case to which the United States is a party.<sup>2</sup> The balance, as Kissinger puts it, between China and the United States in terms of power, geographical outreach, and historical and cultural specificity makes it impossible for one to dominate another. Kissinger believes that the two sides would gain nothing but losing if the relationship between them turned to confrontation. So, they must create a global atmosphere, allowing both of them to move and develop without clash.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly, US strategic analysts asks the American administration for new strategic orientation towards China that brings together cooperation and containment, carries out a review process, and

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<sup>1</sup> Malik Awni, "Al-Syaqat al-Ghalibat (The Overcoming Contexts), op. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Nurhan al-Sheikh, "Suria wa Milad al-Nizam al-A'lami al-Jadid (Syria and the Birth of the New International System)," *Al-Ahram Newspaper*, 6/1/2013.

<sup>3</sup> Henry Kissinger, *The Future of US - Chinese Relations*, Foreign Affairs (March-April 2012).

periodically reevaluates the American interests whenever there is a development in China's capacities.<sup>1</sup>

- **China's position on the Arab-Israeli conflict**

China's balanced stance may not make China's role in Arab-Israeli conflict issues welcome inside Israel. According to the political science professor at Bar-Ilan University in Israel, "Gerald Steinberg," the Chinese are trying to be Europeans; they are trying to be global players. The road to becoming global players goes through the claim of having something to offer regarding some of the worldly intractable problems. China has good business relations with Israel, but there is a huge gap in understanding the nature of the region. China has not have connections, mechanisms and legacy of intervention in the issues of the region. There is also no country other than the United States which enjoys the confidence of both sides to act as a peace sponsor, especially Israel which feels misunderstood in a world that does not understand its situation as the United States does. China only recognized Israel when it realized that the major powers were preparing for the Madrid peace conference, and, thus, preferred not to remain alone.<sup>2</sup>

Despite the China's support for a historic settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, it deliberately stays away from the details of this process, which it considered to be under the direct guardianship of the United States. China's position has often supported what is connected to the Arab-Israeli negotiations without direct intervention in its details. At the same time, it has continued to build strong relations with both conflicting sides without prejudice to one side against the other.<sup>3</sup>

China may be well-satisfied with the United States' role in favor of regional stability. However, the political influence of the United States, as a result of its deficient policies,

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<sup>1</sup> Michael D. Swaine, **America's Challenge: Engaging a Rising China in the Twenty- First Cen- tury** (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2011).

<sup>2</sup> World Time (7 May 2013), <<http://world.time.com/2013/05/07>.

<sup>3</sup> Hassan Abu Talib, Al-Sin wa al-Sharq al-Awsat: Bain Ramziat al-Siyasat wa Takamul al-Iqtisad (China and the Middle East: Between Political Symbolism and Economic Integration)," *International Politics*, 44 (173), July 2008, p. 143.

erodes. It will not be long for China and other Asian powers to become active partners in the Middle East diplomacy, and it would be fine.<sup>1</sup>

- **The case of instability in the region**

The revolutions known as “the Arab spring” that took place in some Arab countries attracted the attention of the Chinese decision-making circles and academics. The Chinese researcher “Li Wei Tian” believes that China must move from a negative diplomatic response to a more positive one, use its soft power and seize the opportunity to expand the space of its investment in order to defend its interests in the Middle East.<sup>2</sup>

On the official level, China took, at the beginning of the political developments, a conservative and silent stance. Such stance was initially interpreted as a fear of the contagion effect of these events. However, following those political developments in the region, China has sought to develop new diplomacy to deal with the new actors in the region for securing the common interests and looking for other mechanisms of cooperation with other countries which has passed through transitional stages such as Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen. The Chinese Prime Minister “Wen Jiabao” made a statement, saying that the demands of the Arab revolutions must be respected, and not be faced by violence.

This coincided with his statement that China was at a pivotal stage in which the ignorance of the necessities of political reform threatens to undo what is achieved in the areas of development and economy, thus exposing the society to experiences of catastrophic consequences.<sup>3</sup> In the same context, “Martin Jacques,” author of the book *When China Ruled the World*, argued that the future of China will be determined by the interactions of society, politics and economy, and it will be largely based on its unique historical experience and on its cultural and cultural heritage.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Michael Hudson, “Tahawulat Jeu-siyasiat: Sueud Asyawi wa Tarajae Amariki fi al-Shrq alAwsat, Halaqat Niqash Hawl al-Sueud al-Asiawi wa al-Tarajue al-Amariki fi al-Sharq al-Awsat (Geopolitical Transitions: Asian Rise and American Decline in the Middle East, Panel Discussion about Asian Rise and US Decline in the Middle East),” *Journal of the Arab Future*, No. 414, August 2013, p.104.

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.siyassa.org.eg/NewsContent/2/104/2701>, access: 22/3/2018.+9\*-

<sup>3</sup> Karin Abul-Khair, “Al-Khususiat al-Siniat: Hal Tanjah Qiadat Bikin fi Idarat Tahawulat Masiria (Chinese Specificities: Do Beijing Leaders Succeed in Managing Fateful Transformations),” *International Politics*, 48 (188), April 2012, p. 159.

<sup>4</sup> Martin Jacques, *When China Rules the World: The Rise of the Middle Kingdom and the End of the Western World* (London: Penguin Books, 2009).

- **The balance between regional axes in the region**

China is striving to maintain its relations with various parties within the regional axes with contradictory interests. The close relations between China and Iran, Turkey and Israel affect the prospects of the development of China-Arab relations in amidst diverging interests between these parties and in the light of the threat of some regional powers to security and stability in the Middle East. In this vein, there are many questions about the Chinese position on the Syrian crisis and its permanent vote for supporting the Syrian regime in a way that is incompatible with the Arab position supporting the Syrian people.<sup>1</sup>

- **Building Chinese capacities will be arduous and long-term**

The main challenge facing China in the Middle East is the discrepancy between the expansion of foreign interests in the region and the limit of its political and military presence. In terms of having diplomacy, China will face many challenges in the Middle East among them are: the continuing influence of Western-style democratic rule and Western values on the Arab country in transition, how to strengthen the social formation of such country, the pursuit of the two sides to achieve consensus about the values and views, and how to explain the concept of Chinese diplomacy in the Middle East, enhance the moral influence of China and form international image of a large, responsible State.

The participation of China in the affairs of the region in light of the new variables need diplomatic wisdom so that it can balance between its relationship with Russia and that of the United States, and how to achieve balance between the Arab world and Israel.<sup>2</sup>

- **The nature of China's perception of the international system and changes in the Middle East**

The change of the international system environment resulting from the end of polarity paved, for China, the space of flexibility, opportunity and margin through which it

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<sup>1</sup> "Al-Nufudh al-Sini fi al-Sharq al-Awsat.. Kamun am Taragqub (China's influence in the Middle East ... Latency or Wait-and-see)," *Smith Center for Studies*, Issue 55, February 6, 2018, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Adnan Khalaf Hamid Al-Badrani, "A'thar al-Istimirariat wa al-Taghyir fi al-Siasat al-Kharijiat al-Siniat Tijah A'maliat al-Salam fi al-Sharq al-Aawsat (The Impact of Continuity and Change in China's Foreign Policy on the Middle East Peace Process)," *Mustansiriya Journal for Arab and International Studies*, No. 49, Iraq, 2015, pp. 17-18.

could liberate from the inhibited constraints. The Chinese perception of these changes in the international system environment has been represented by the desire to have a distinct role in the interactions of regional and international environment through the shift from the stage of decline during the bipolar phase to the active openness during the monopole phase. This drives China to look for a new role with components aligning with the realities of change, and proving its international status in a world where the foundations of the international monopoly of two superpowers collapsed.<sup>1</sup>

Since the participation in international legitimacy requires China to explain and justify its behavior in light of legal criteria, the dilemma faced by China was either to confront this legitimacy and contradict with it or to get along with it and accept its standards. And this was what China adopted to serve its national interests.<sup>2</sup> China has realized that the move toward universality and the effective contribution to shape the structure of international system must be preceded by a regional position to form a focal point towards globalization. China has pursued a good-neighborly policy and has adopted balanced relations based on cooperation, rapprochement and coexistence in accordance with its principles.<sup>3</sup> Despite its differences with the United States, China leaves room for consensus and establishing strong economic relationships that constitute leverage for it toward universality.<sup>4</sup>

## Conclusion

The variables in the Middle East offer challenges and opportunities for China's foreign policy. China can benefit from these changes to achieve more economic benefits and strategic advantages. Such variables can also provide a number of opportunities for China to get access to unexploited new consuming markets for its exports and profitable investments, as well as to increase its military reconnaissance capabilities and strategic

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<sup>1</sup> Xie, Fuzhan . **The Improvements, Challenges And Policies Of China's Statistical Reform**, Chinese Statistic, 2007, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Walid Abdul Hai, "Al-Makanat al-Mustaqbaliyat li al-Sin fi al-Nizam al-Duwali 1978-2010 (China's Future Position in the International Regime 1978-2010)," *Emirates Center for Strategic Studies*, Abu Dhabi, 2000, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Xie, Fuzhan, p: 26.

<sup>4</sup> Pace Pierre, "Al-Qarn al-Wahid wa Ishrin len Yakun Amrikiyan (The 21st Century Will not Be American)," Trans. Madani Qasri, *Arab Institute for Studies and Publishing*, Beirut, 2003, p. 15.

influence in the region. In spite of the challenges and risks China's foreign policy might face in the short term, it would have a promising future in the long term.

The Middle East has been of strategic importance to China despite of being exposed to numerous variables. This refers to the presence of economic interests, represented by the energy source, as well as the cultural and political ones. China has chosen a policy of trespassing negative neutrality as an approach to its foreign policy. This policy is based on the rejection of Western foreign intervention, the importance of preserving the State sovereignty, the emphasis on the fact that the changing systems must be from within, and the importance of openness to all parties.

The Chinese interests in the Middle East have hoped to crystallize their contemporary positions on all the different variables and developments: China rejects any variables leading to the destabilization of the region, and believes that adherence to the factors of peaceful coexistence and maintaining channels of communication between all is one of stability guarantees. This study has come up with some conclusions than can be summed as follow:

- There is a deep Chinese awareness of the importance of formulating a Chinese vision and role to adapt to the changes taking place in the region, and be compatible with the capacity, potentialities and ambitions of an active superpower.

- There is a Chinese conviction that seeking an active and influential role in the Middle East requires getting out of the gray zone and taking clear positions through which their strategic interests will be determined.

- It is important to change China's traditional foreign policy approach; to deal with many international and regional issues in the Middle East has become necessary, not an intellectual periphery, and the Syrian crisis is a model.

- There are a range of challenges that China can face in the region, but the Chinese vision based on the principles of peaceful coexistence represents a bridge to play an active and influential role in the region.

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## **The Geopolitical Importance of the Asian Continent**

Belaicha Mohamed<sup>1</sup>

Translated by: Driai Hayet.

### **Introduction**

The Asian continent is the biggest continent in the world besides its historical importance, since it is recorded as the base of the most ancient civilisations as well as the cradle of the monotheistic religions and as a mosaic of different civilisations and ethnicities which provides it with a unique civilizational position. This huge cultural richness is combined with the natural and geographical qualifications of this region. Asia has a strategic geographical location being described by the geographers as the heart of the earth. In addition, this continent contains the most important waterways that control the international navigation, as well as the biggest energy reserves worldwide.

These civilisation and nature potentials owned by Asia are added to the economic growth marking the Asian countries. Asia also hosts advanced world leading military systems and contains a number of plants with the nuclear capacity, which pushed this continent towards the summit to the extent that some people named this, and the oncoming decades “the Asian era”. Therefore, this paper seeks to answer to the following problematic:

**To which extent can we comprehend the Asian value amongst the international politics? What are its prospects?**

To solve this problematic, we list the most essential elements as follows:

- Chapter One: A definition of the Asian continent.
- Chapter Two: The geopolitical importance of the Asian continent.
- Chapter Three: Indicators of the importance of the Asian continent

Conclusion.

## Chapter One: A definition of the continent of Asia

### First: Location:

The continent of Asia is the largest continent in the world with a surface of 44.936.000 Km<sup>2</sup>,<sup>1</sup> constituting a one third of the earth's landmass. According to Dr. Mohamed Khmis Azzoka, this continent is bounded by the latitudes 50° near the southern tip of the Malay Peninsula and 81° north of the equator where the soviet islands of Franz Josef are situated in the Arctic Ocean. Moreover, if we counted in the island-wide spreading to the south of the total surface of the continent up to the latitude 10° south of the equator, Asia would range through about 91 of latitude, while if we excluded the Asian islands in the south, the continent would range in the northern hemisphere. It ranges between the longitude 55° east near the Urals that form a boundary separation from Europe, and 170° West near the Bering Strait separating it from North America, which means that the Asian continent ranges through 135 longitude approximately.<sup>2</sup>

**Map 1: Asia Map**

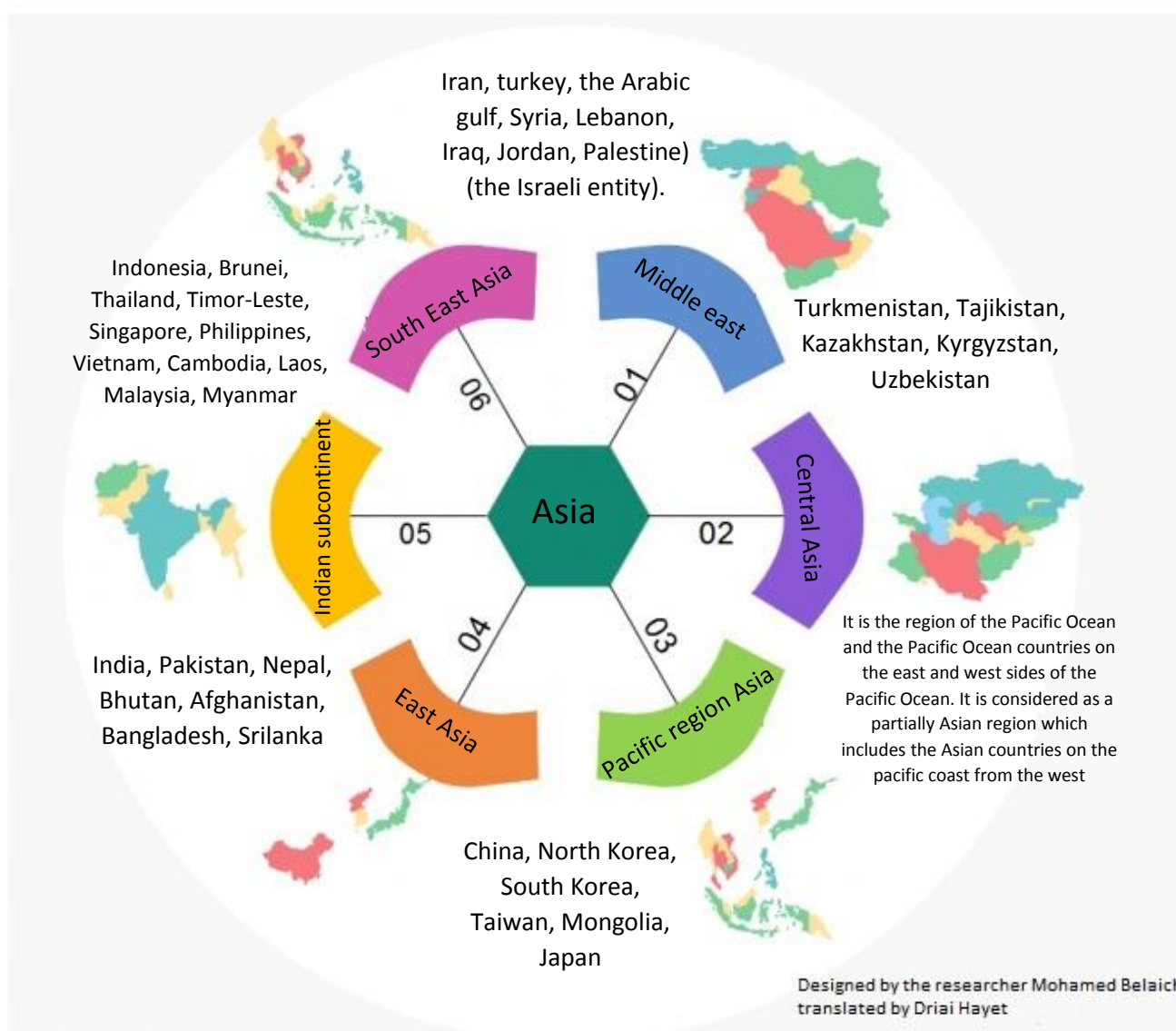


Source: <https://www.almrsal.com/post/472297/asia-interactive-map>

Politically, Asia is made up of 48 states, in addition to the Israeli entity which has been counted to comply with the rules of the academic research in order to avoid subjectivity as much as possible. Therefore, we can list the Asian countries (alphabetically) as follows: (Afghanistan – Armenia – Azerbaijan – Bahrain – Bangladesh – Bhutan – Brunei – Cambodia – China – Cyprus – Georgia – India – Indonesia – Iran – Iraq – Japan – Jordan – Kazakhstan – Kuwait – Kyrgyzstan – Laos – Lebanon – Malaysia – Maldives – Mongolia – Myanmar – Nepal – North Korea – Oman – Pakistan – Palestine – Philippines – Qatar – Russia – Saudi Arabia – Singapore – South Korea – Sri Lanka – Syria – Taiwan – Tajikistan – Thailand – Timor-Leste – Turkey – Turkmenistan – United Arab Emirates – Uzbekistan – Vietnam – Yemen)<sup>3</sup>, (The Israeli entity).

Asia is also considered a continent that is composed of a group of partial regional systems which form in its total Asia as a whole. We can divide it as follows:

### **The composition of Asia (diagram)**



**Source: designed by the researcher.**

1. Southeast Asia: includes “Indonesia, Brunei, Thailand, Timor-Leste, Singapore, Philippines, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar”

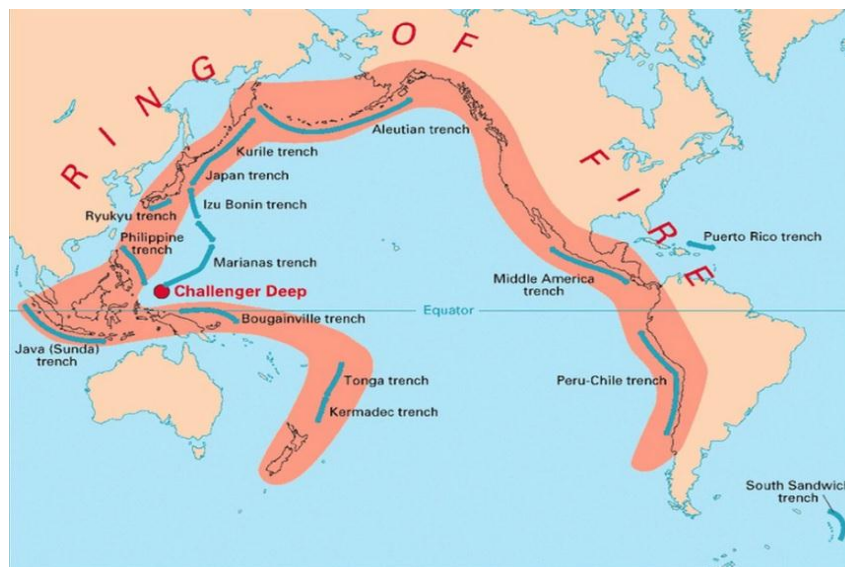
**Map 2: Southeast Asia Map**



Source : <http://blvcccverd.com/southeast-asia-map-clipart.html>

2. Asia-pacific region: It is the region of the Pacific Ocean and the Pacific Ocean countries on the east and west sides of the Pacific Ocean. It is considered as a partially Asian region which includes the Asian countries on the pacific coast from the west.

**Map 3: Pacific coastal Asia**



Source: <https://www.livescience.com/43220-subduction-zone-definition.html>

3. East Asia region: This region includes “China, North Korea, South Korea, Taiwan, Mongolia, Japan”

**Map 4: East Asia Region**



Source : <https://www.imagenesmy.com/imagenes/large-map-of-asia-imperialism-5e.html>

4. The Indian sub-continent: including “India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Srilanka”

Map 5: Indian sub-continent



Source:

<https://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D8%AA%D8%B5%D9%86%D9%8A%D9%81:%D9%86%D8%A8%D8%A7%D8%AA%D8%A7%D8%AA%D8%B4%D8%A8%D9%87%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%82%D8%A7%D8%B1%D8%A9%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%87%D9%86%D8%AF%D9%8A%D8%A9>

A9

5. Central Asia: It is the region that includes “ Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan”

Map 6: Central Asia Region



Source: <http://amisvoyages.com/asie-centrale/>

6. Middle east region: The middle east is considered a medium region connecting the three continents (Asia, Europe and Africa). It is one of the composing regions of the Asian continent due to englobing a number of countries “Iran, turkey, the Arabic gulf, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Jordan, Palestine) (the Israeli entity).

#### The Asian part in the Middle East region



Source: [http://www.shafaaq.com/ar/Ar\\_NewsReader/7fd0906f-24e0-47e1-b426-87d3302affa8](http://www.shafaaq.com/ar/Ar_NewsReader/7fd0906f-24e0-47e1-b426-87d3302affa8)

7. North Asia region: The absolute location of this region is 60° North and 100° East. We can precize its location by the North of Mongolia, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan. North Asia is also considered the Southern bordures of the Arctic Ocean<sup>4</sup>, and between Europe and North pacific ocean. It can be defined by the Asian region of Russia. \*

## Location of North Asia region



Source: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/North\\_Asia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/North_Asia)

## **Chapter Two: The Geopolitical Importance of the Continent of Asia:**

### **First: Explaining the importance of Asia according to Ratzel's geopolitical theory (1844 – 1904)**

In his theory, Friedrich Ratzel confers the vitality characteristic on the state. He conceives it as biological organisms that go through birth, maturity, degeneration and expiration phases. He believes that the land is the basic input for the population's interests, and that history age is predefined by soil and land. He states that the country is composed of the land surface, the area dimension and the people's awareness of both of them. Ratzel believes that the natural country is one which combines

the characteristic of an organic being and the changing quantities of the nation, be it geographical, demographic and ethno cultural\*\*.

Ratzel's organic envisioning underpins the sprawling and expansion of the states through being a natural organic process similar to what a living organism experiences. What stands out in this theory is the space or extent (raum), the recognition of the state's expansion and its borders with the external environment within the living space (lebensraum) which becomes a type of geographic and biological environment which offers the state an excuse for the expansion of its size.<sup>5</sup>

Ratzel's geopolitical theory affirms that the state is an amoebic being that devours the neighbours along with its growth process. Due to its economical envisioning and the increase of its military force, the state is in need of an additional space – referred to as “soil” by Ratzel – causing the state to outflow its boundaries and territories which are considered a living space to guarantee a physical size appropriate for its increasing area. This is what happened with Nazi Germany when it tried to swallow Europe.<sup>6</sup>

We arrive at the phenomena of expansion which Ratzel sets out rules called “the laws of a the spatial growth of a state”

- The size of the state grows with its culture.
- The growth of a state isn't only confined by the size, it includes the ideology, the productivity, the commercial activity, and the strong gravitational radiation.
- The growth of a state proceeds by the annexation of the secondary importance political unities.
- The boundary is the peripheral organ situated in the extremities.
- In its spatial growth, the state strives toward the envelopment of the other valuable plains, rivers and seas.
- The spatial growth stimuli comes from the outside. The state is incited to expand on account of another small state area.
- The tendency toward territorial annexation of the weaker nations and the lowest-rank civilizations.<sup>7</sup>

In the spotlight of Ratzel's description, we stand at his envisaging to find two types of the boundaries and their types: biological boundaries and transparent boundaries.

**Biological boundary:** it is a moving boundary, its size increases with the increasing needs of the state and its demands. It occupies the surrounding territories and areas under many frames such as colonization, mandate or other forms of dominance.

**Transparent boundary:** it expands along with the expansion of the state's interests beyond its geographical borders. It is also called the Living Space. The international politics shows multiple examples of the transparent boundaries.<sup>8</sup>

Ratzel's geopolitical theory on Asia revolves around the Living Space "lebensraum". After the Collapse of the Soviet Union, the "black-hole"<sup>9</sup> – as per Brzezinski – was formed, which prepared the Asian continent to become the next station for the world power for two reasons:

**First)** Preventing a new rival power.

**second)** Taking advantage of the economic and growth awakening marking the region and meeting the energy needs since Asia is at the forefront of the world energy reserves (Caspian sea – the Arab gulf region). As if by the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Asian continent opened the gates for the universal power after the removal of the communist insulation and became a vital area attracting the growth of the big states.

## **Second: Asia in in Mackinder's geopolitical theory "the heartland" (1861-1947)**

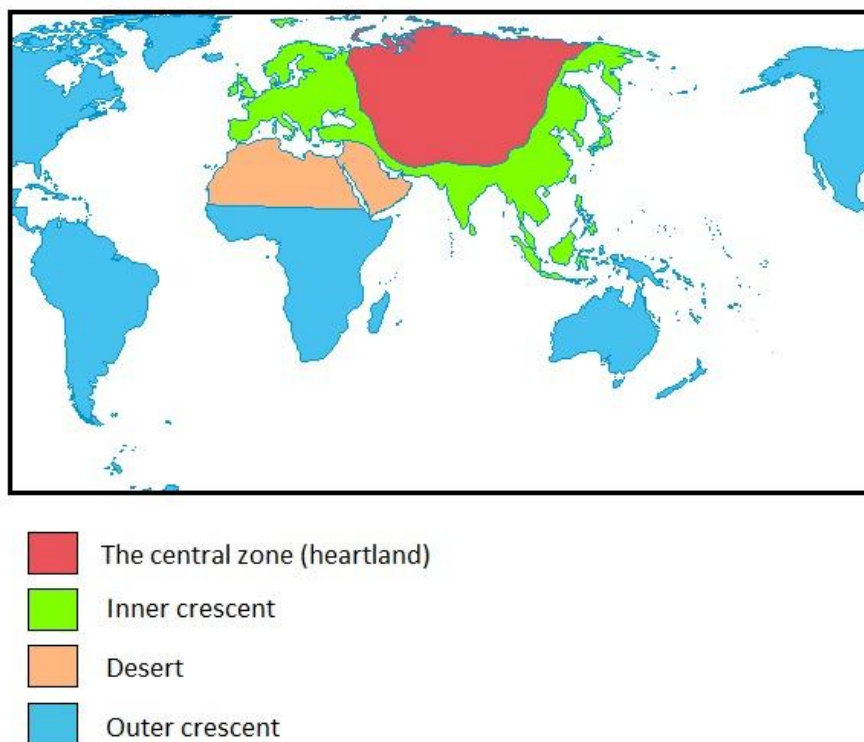
In his theory – previously called "The geographical pivot of history", Halford Mackinder quadripartition the geopolitical construction of the world dividing it to "Heartland, World Island, Inner or Marginal Crescent and Outer or Insular Crescent".

For Mackinder, the heartland was not named as such; it was rather called "the Geographical Pivot of History". It includes east Europe plains, east and central Asia plains, which imposed their domination on the people of Europe and Asia coasts<sup>10</sup>. The movement of history was internal through the center towards the extremities through what he calls "the land pirates" indicating the Mongol invasion and what preceded them (the Slavs, Huns, and the Alans), as well as it was external from the regions of insular crescent through "sea pirates" under colonial invasions. According to Mackinder, these invasions are characterized by trade and the democratic formulas of politics in attempt to parallelize them with the land bursts emanating from the inside (heartland)<sup>11</sup>. Mackinder used the term "heartland" instead of the geographical pivot of history due to the Ideological and

geopolitical fluctuations after the Bolshevik Revolution and the Soviet Union attempts to move towards east Europe and reach the warm water.<sup>12</sup>

According to Mackinder's theory, dominating the center enables dominating the world, thus, if we display the map, we can see clearly that the center is located in Asia or most of it including Russia, China, Middle Asia, Mongolia, Caspian Sea and Iran. Therefore, Asia for Mackinder is the center of the earth which must be controlled by the global power. This is being applied, for, we find American, Chinese and Russian activities in this region as if there are chess movements inside the heartland region, and even in the region of the outer crescent for the purpose of domination and enveloping the center region. The American invasion in Afghanistan, the Korean crisis, the Iranian nuclear power are proofs, which explains the entrenching of the geopolitical ideology and its role in determining the movements of the states toward Asia region.

Mackinder Theory



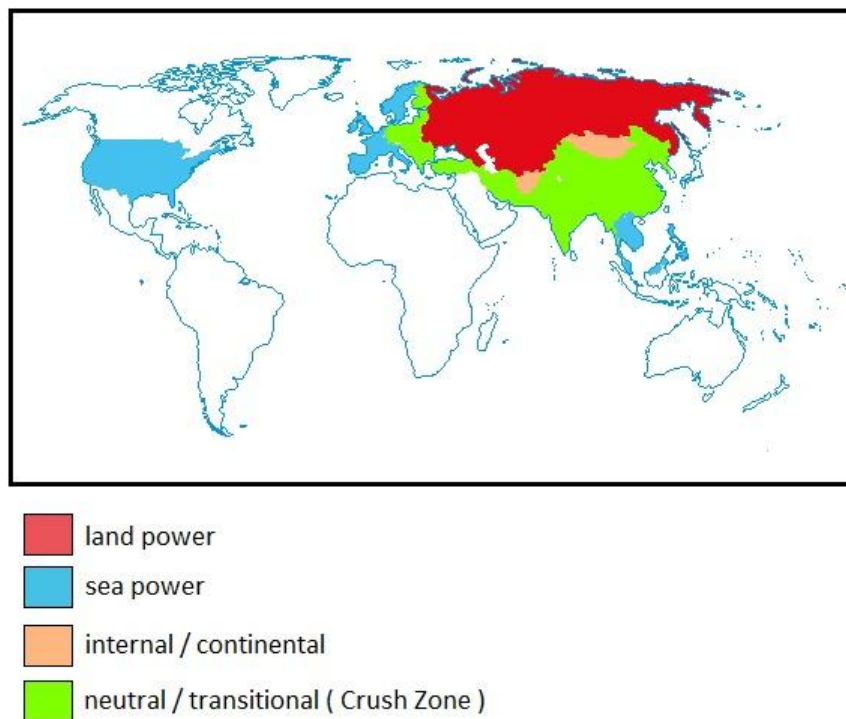
Source :

[http://www.moqatel.com/openshare/Behoth/Askria6/OsosAmnWat/map01.GIF\\_cvt.htm](http://www.moqatel.com/openshare/Behoth/Askria6/OsosAmnWat/map01.GIF_cvt.htm)

## Third: Alfred Mahan's geopolitical theory "Sea Power" (1840-1914)

Alfred Mahan's geopolitical theory is quite the opposite to the geopolitical theories of Ratzel and Mackinder. This latter prioritizes the land power, while Mahan prioritizes the "sea power". He states that the sea power always surpasses the land power having more immunity due to the water englobing from all sides, which allows it to control the movement of trade in the world since the trade transportation and the main commercial ways are original water lanes.<sup>13</sup>

### Alfred Mahan's "Sea power" theory



Source:

[http://www.moqatel.com/openshare/Behoth/Askria6/OsosAmnWat/map02.gif\\_cvt.htm](http://www.moqatel.com/openshare/Behoth/Askria6/OsosAmnWat/map02.gif_cvt.htm)

According to Mahan, trade is the prior tool for politics. The military arm given role is to ensure and provide the protection and insurance needed for trade. Mahan relates trade to power which is "the sea" stating that "sea civilization = commercial civilization". Therefore, the economic cycle sprouts from:

- Productivity (exchange of goods and services through water lanes).
- Water navigation (which realizes this exchange).

- Colonies (ensuring the circulation of goods globally).<sup>14</sup>

Based on this, Mahan introduces six fundamental elements to know the geopolitical situation of the state and whether we can describe it as a power:

- The geographical position.
- Seashores suitable for seaports, significant resources and a favourable climate.
- A vast area of land.
- A size of population enough for defense.
- Character of people (interest in trade)
- A government willing to control the sea.<sup>15</sup>

Some may think that Mahan's theory is far from the importance of the land power and its global dominance; however, this theory concluded that the danger that threatens the USA is the Eurasian continent, precisely Russia and China. The conflict with this continental land mass extending from Western Asia Minor till the eastern longitude in Japan. Therefore, Mahan stated the Anaconda Principle which was proposed by the American General McClellan during the American Civil War between 1861 and 1865. This principles is reflected in blockading the hostile territories from the sea along the coastal lines and progressively drain the enemy. If the state power is a sea power and strong coastlines, it should work on depriving the enemy of these two main points. That is why Mahan focuses on strangling the continental land mass using the Anaconda strategy, as well as crushing this region through taking the coastal regions from its control and closing its open ports on the maritime spaces as much as possible<sup>16</sup>. Here emerges the "crush-zone" which the US must seek – according to the theory – to pillage from Russia and China land power to prevent them from reaching the seaports. The US surrounded the region from the west with European allies, from the south with Central Asia and the Caspian sea. Therefore, the world is divided geopolitically as per Mahan's theory to what follows:

- Sea powers (USA, England, France and Germany).
- Land powers (Russia and China)
- Crush Zone.

The Crush Zone stands out in Mahan's theory. The sea powers work hard to pillage it from the land powers. This zone is also situated in the Asian orbit; which helps to

notice that it forms a crisis belt aiming at encircling the Asian continent by depriving it of coasts and seashores.

## **Fourth: Speakman's geopolitical theory "Edge District" (1893-1943)**

In his theory, Nicholas J. Speakman introduces a vision coordinating between Mackinder's Heartland and Mahan's sea power. He gives primacy to land power (Tellurocracy)<sup>17</sup> like Mackinder, and agrees with Mahan on the importance of the sea power (Thalassocracy). His theory is based on two tracks englobing the movement of the world:

First: Establishing a general system to balance powers such as the United States.

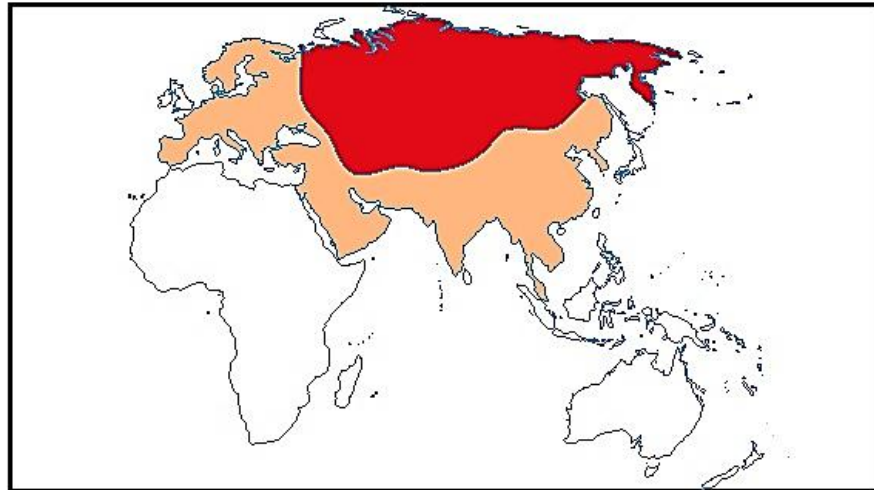
Second: Whoever controls the inner crescent controls the world.<sup>18</sup>

In his book "the geography of peace" published in 1944, Speakman brought a geopolitical approach that focuses on the pivotal region that is a rivalry between the sea and land powers. He precized this zone called the inner crescent and named it "the rim land". The rim land includes Europe, the Arabian Peninsula, Iraq, Central Asia, Iran, Afghanistan, India, South-East Asia, China and Korea. Speakman also diminished the importance of the heartland and considered it a dead heart that imports its significance from the marginal region which is the lifeblood according to him. This latter has a population density for about two thirds of the world's population and produces two thirds of the world gross product. This region also includes the world's largest states (China and India), in addition to having natural resources, exceptional vital corridors, Nuclear and Strategic powers.<sup>19</sup>

"The rim district" theory is based on a geopolitical rule stating that the history conflict occurs on rim land or the inner crescent and sea regions; therefore, whoever controls the rim-land scope controls Europe and Asia, and whoever controls Europe and Asia controls by consequence the world<sup>20</sup>. This theory was brought to reality in the Second World War when the allies won by taking in control the coasts and the land of many regions in the inner crescent. This theory originated of the policy of containment which was suggested by George Kennan after the WWII to encircle the Soviet Union and prevent it from expanding. So this region remains as the Crush Zone between the land powers and sea powers, in peace or war<sup>21</sup>. In its center, central Asia is located which forms a rim zone

according to the heartland and the land powers starting from the heart and reaching up to the sea ports. It is considered a crush zone according to the sea powers starting from the outer crescent in the sea reaching up to this zone.

## Nicholas J. Speakman theory “Rim Land”



Source:



[http://www.moqatel.com/openshare/Behoth/Askria6/OsosAmnWat/map03.GIF\\_cvt.htm](http://www.moqatel.com/openshare/Behoth/Askria6/OsosAmnWat/map03.GIF_cvt.htm)

Asia is considered a central scope in consonance with the diverse geopolitical theories that focused on it. According to Ratzel's, it is a vital space (lebensraum) which states endeavor to expand in it. As per Mackinder, it is the heartland while to Mahan, it is a crush zone, and conforming to Speakman's, it is the rim land.

### **Chapter Three: The indicators of the importance of the Asian continent:**

We can briefly demonstrate the importance of Asia in the international politics through the following indicators:

#### **1. A demographic force:**

Currently, in 2018, the world population is about 7.638.986.489, and Asia shares with around 4.545.133.094, i.e. 59.5% of the world population. Hence, China, India, Indonesia, Bangladesh, Pakistan – being Asian – are ranked amongst the top countries with the largest populations.<sup>22</sup>

#	Region	Population (2018)	Yearly Change	Net Change	Density (P/Km <sup>2</sup> )	Land Area (Km <sup>2</sup> )	Migrants (net)	Fert. Rate	Med. Age	Urban Pop %	World Share
1	Asia	4,545,133,094	0.9 %	40,704,721	146	31,033,131	-1,096,905	2.2	30	49.6 %	59.5 %
2	Africa	1,287,920,518	2.52 %	31,652,493	43	29,648,481	-655,581	4.7	19	40.6 %	16.9 %
3	Europe	742,648,010	0.08 %	574,157	34	22,134,900	810,747	1.6	42	74.3 %	9.7 %
4	Latin America and the Caribbean	652,012,001	0.99 %	6,418,748	32	20,139,378	-368,531	2.1	29	80.2 %	8.5 %
5	Northern America	363,844,490	0.73 %	2,636,679	20	18,651,660	1,128,272	1.9	38	83.5 %	4.8 %
6	Oceania	41,261,212	1.4 %	570,426	5	8,486,460	181,999	2.4	33	70.3 %	0.5 %

**Asia: the top country with the largest populations.**

Source: <http://www.worldometers.info/world-population/>

## 2. Economic importance:

Out of ten global economics, three Asian states occupy positions in this list. For instance, China occupies the second position with a gross national income equal to 11 trillion US dollar, contributing with approximately 14.8% in the gross global economics, preceded by Japan in the third position with a national income of about 4.38 trillion US dollar contributing with 5.9% in the gross global economics. A report issued by PWS Company specialized in states economies matters entitled “the long view: how will the global economic order change by 2050?” declares that 2050 will be an Asian year in the global economics. It states that China would forefront with an economy sized about 58.499 trillion US dollar, followed by India with an economy size of 44.128 trillion US dollar, leaving the third ranking to the United States of America with an economy size of 34.102 trillion US dollar. The report also states that the fourth ranking would be for Malaysia having an economy size of 10.502 trillion US dollar.<sup>23</sup>

**The strongest 10 economies in the world**



Source:

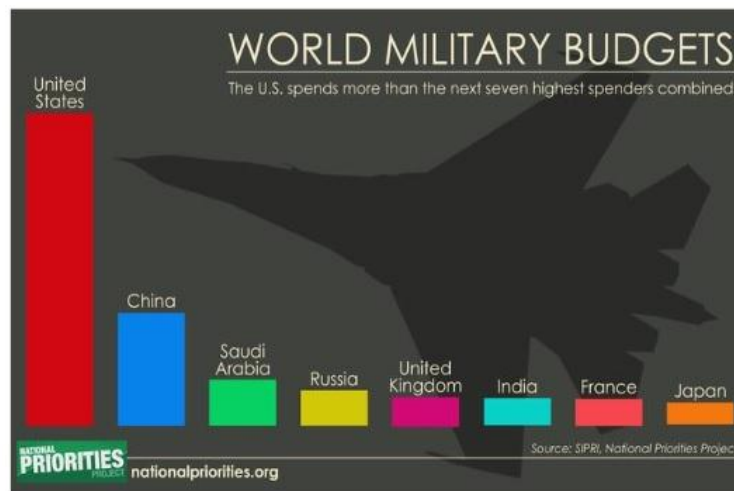
<https://www.alaraby.co.uk/economy/2017/8/30/%D8%AA%D8%B9%D8%B1%D9%81-%D8%A5%D9%84%D9%89-%D8%A3%D9%82%D9%88%D9%89-10-%D8%A7%D9%82%D8%AA%D8%B5%D8%A7%D8%AF%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D9%81%D9%8A-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85>

### 3. Military importance:

In a classification made by business insider website – specialized in ranking the global armies – a ranking of ten most powerful armies cleared the second position for the Asian Armies represented by Russia which has an active and reserve military forces counting up till 3.3 million soldier. Russia owns more than 2900 military aircraft, 6400 tank, a naval fleet composed of 714 battleship including one aircraft carrier. The Indian army occupies the 4<sup>th</sup> position with a 4.2 million soldiers counting reserve forces, it owns 2100 military aircraft, 4400 tank, 295 battleship including 3 aircraft carriers. Whereas the Japanese army occupies the 7<sup>th</sup> position with a total of 311 thousand soldiers, 1590 military aircraft, around 700 tanks, 131 battleship including 4 aircraft carriers. The Turkish army occupies the 8<sup>th</sup> position having a total of 743 thousand soldiers with more than 1000 military aircraft, 2400 tank and 194 battleship<sup>24</sup>. Therefore, we can notice that out of top 10 global armies, there are five Asian armies.

As for the military spending, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) has a publication asserting that the Asian armies also employs high rankings when it comes to the expenditure. China is in the 2<sup>nd</sup> position right after the USA with an expenditure of 228 billion US dollar, followed by the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia with a spending size of 69.4 billion US dollar. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> position, Russia stands with 66.3 billion US dollar, while India occupies the 6<sup>th</sup> position and Japan the 8<sup>th</sup>.<sup>25</sup>

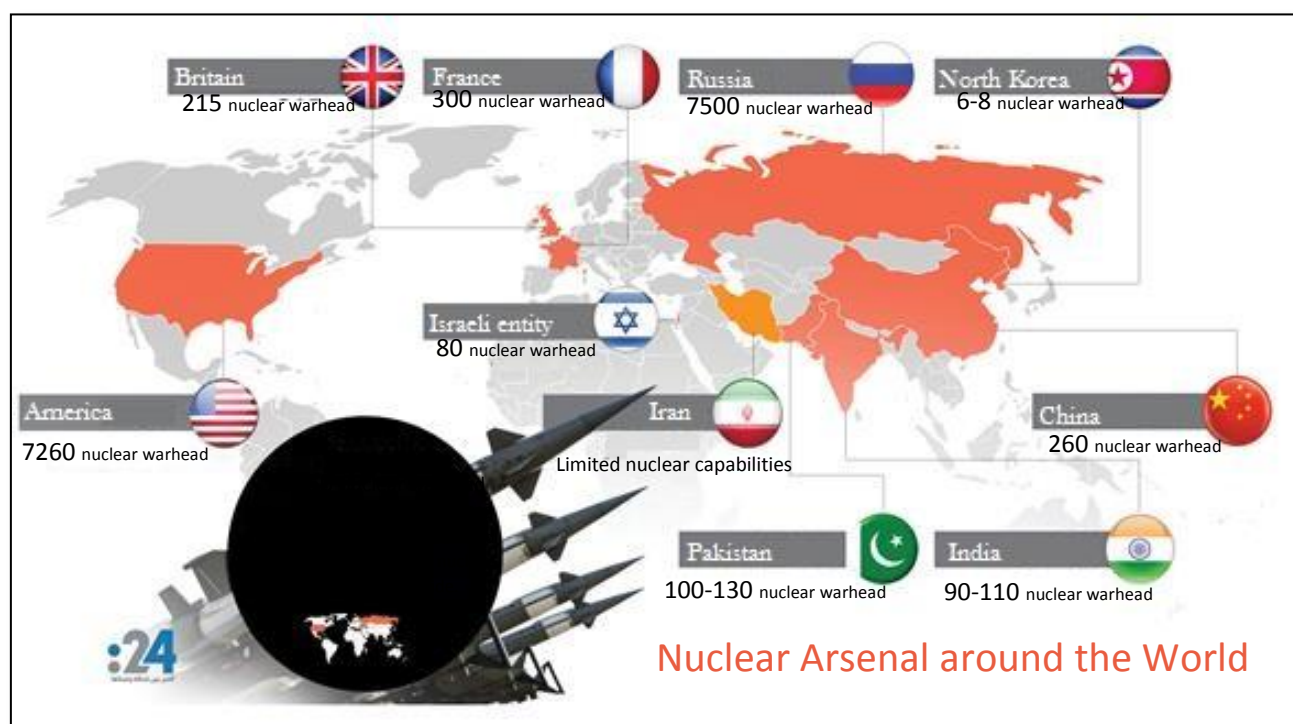
**Figure 3: States with huge military expenditure**



Source: <https://defense-network.com/>

As for the Nuclear power, there are 10 states the world owning nuclear weapons varying in capacity, seven of which are located in Asia continent<sup>26</sup> (China, Russia, North Korea, India, Pakistan, Iran and the Israeli entity) as demonstrated in the figure below:

**Figure 4: Nuclear states worldwide**



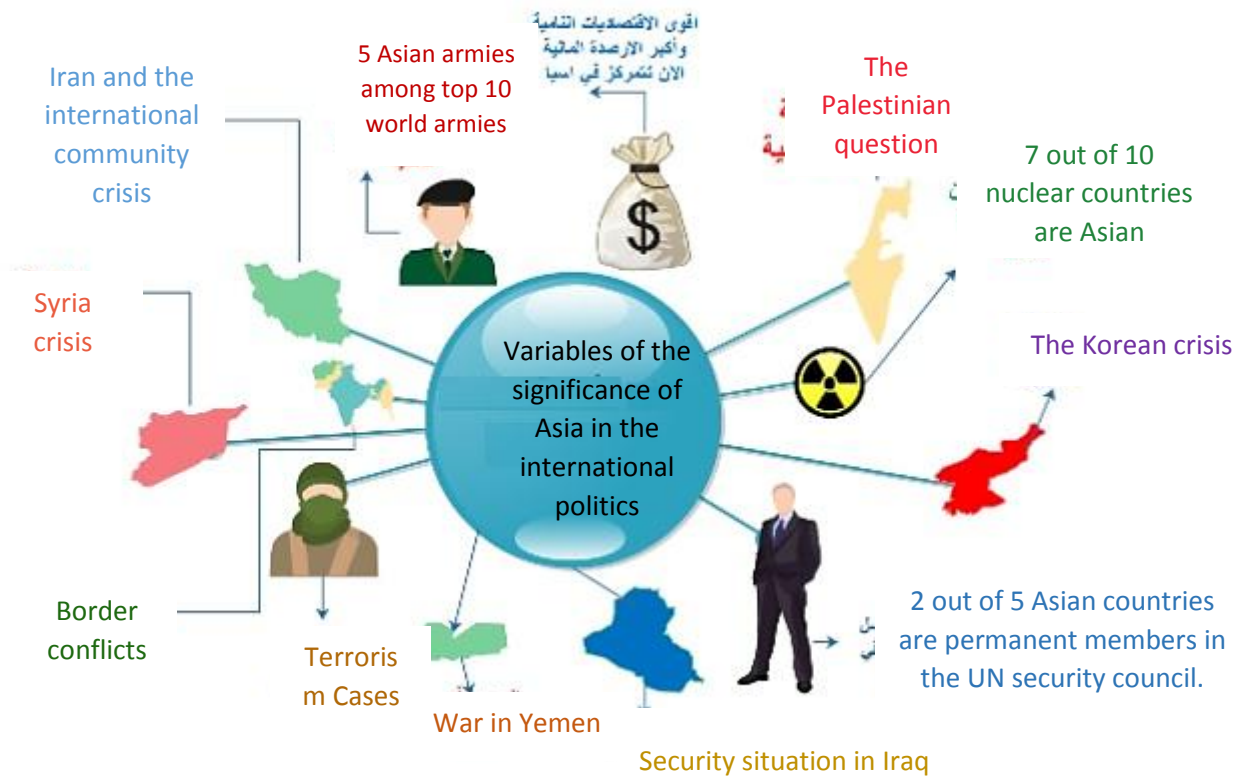
Source: <https://24.ae/article/211805/>

### **Indicators of the significance of Asia:**

We can observe the significance of Asia globally by way of a various indicators. Asia continent derives its significance from the issues and conflicts taking place within its bordures and emanating due to the delicacy of this continent in the world.

### **Figure 5: Indicators of the significance of Asia**

Strongest developing economies and biggest fund balances are currently based in Asia



Source: The researcher's design

## Conclusion:

As a result, and after the above presentation, we can deduce what follows:

- Asia is the strongest continent.
- All geopolitical theories are based on the notion stating that Asia is the heart of the earth and the most important living space.
- The Asian economies are currently the leading in growth size and they are heading towards primacy especially China's.
- The geopolitical importance of Asia appears through the fact that all or most issues affecting the world are happening in Asia starting with border disputes in south-east Asia, North Korea crisis, the Iranian nuclear file, the Palestinian question and the war in Syria and Yemen, and the consequences of these issues which manipulates the world balance of power.
- A number of Asian states are considered well advanced when it comes to the military forces. They are also highly ranked in the world's most powerful nations' classification as well as other states possessing the nuclear power.

- Asia contains the most important straits and sea lanes controlling the international navigation.

- <sup>1</sup> دار المعرفة، قاموس دول العالم، الجزائر، دار المعرفة، 2007، ص63
- <sup>2</sup> محمد خميس الزوكة، آسيا دراسة في الجغرافية الإقليمية، الإسكندرية، دار المعرفة الجامعية، 2000، ص15
- <sup>3</sup> دار المعرفة، مرجع سبق ذكره، ص219، 220
- <sup>4</sup> North Asia, <http://gebnernorthasia.weebly.com.geography.html>
- <sup>5</sup> Marefa Website, North Asia, <https://marefa.org>
- <sup>6</sup> Alexander Dugin, The foundation of Geopolitics: the geopolitical future of Russia, translated by Imad Hatem, Beirut, Dar Alkitab Aljadeed united, 2004, p76
- <sup>6</sup> Alexander Dugin, previously mentioned source, p77.
- <sup>7</sup> جاسم سلطان، الجغرافيا و الحلم العربي القادم، جيوبوليتيك، عندما تتحدث الجغرافيا، بيروت، تمكين للأبحاث و النشر، 2013، ص59، ص60.
- <sup>8</sup> Alexander Dugin, previously mentioned source, p78, p79.
- <sup>9</sup> جاسم سلطان، مرجع سبق ذكره، ص61.
- <sup>10</sup> Zbigniew Brzezinski, the Grance Chessboard, American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives, (translated version by Salim Abraham), Damascus, Dar Alaeddin for publication, distribution and translation, 2008, p99.
- <sup>11</sup> سفيان بوسنان، مرجع سبق ذكره، ص 103
- <sup>12</sup> Alexander Dugin, previously mentioned source, p88.
- <sup>13</sup> سفيان بوسنان، مرجع سبق ذكره، ص 104
- <sup>14</sup> جاسم سلطان، مرجع سبق ذكره، ص 64
- <sup>15</sup> Alexander Dugin, previously mentioned source, p95.
- <sup>16</sup> جاسم سلطان، مرجع سبق ذكره، ص 65
- <sup>17</sup> Alexander Dugin, previously mentioned source, p100-101.
- <sup>18</sup> \*\* Tellurocracy : Land based hegemony.
- <sup>19</sup> \*\* Thalassocracy : Maritime based hegemony.
- <sup>20</sup> جاسم سلطان، مرجع سبق ذكره، ص 66
- <sup>21</sup> سفيان بوسنان، مرجع سبق ذكره، ص 106
- <sup>22</sup> جاسم سلطان، مرجع سبق ذكره، ص 67
- <sup>23</sup> سفيان بوسنان، مرجع سبق ذكره، ص106
- <sup>24</sup> Derived from statistics website: <http://worldometers.info/world-population>.
- <sup>25</sup> العربي الجديد: تعرف الى اقوى 10 اقتصاديات في العالم، تاريخ النشر 2017-08-30، تاريخ التصفح 2018/07/28، توقيت التصفح 14:27، على الموقع
- <https://www.alaraby.co.uk/economy/2017/8/30/%D8%AA%D8%B9%D8%B1%D9%81-%D8%A5%D9%84%D9%89-%D8%A3%D9%82%D9%88%D9%89-10-%D8%A7%D9%82%D8%AA%D8%B5%D8%A7%D8%AF%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D9%81%D9%8A-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85>
- <sup>26</sup> جريدة زمان التركية، تعرف على أقوى الجيوش العربية، تاريخ النشر 2018/02/27، تاريخ التصفح 2018/02/29، توقيت التصفح 10:15، على الموقع:
- <https://www.zamanarabic.com/>
- <sup>27</sup> شبكة الدفاع، ستوكهولم السعودية أكثر إنفاقا على التسليح ب 70 مليار دولار، تاريخ النشر 2018/05/02، تاريخ التصفح 2018/07/28، توقيت التصفح 15:31، على الموقع الالكتروني:
- <https://defense-network.com/>
- <sup>28</sup> كارول شاهين، ناصر بخيت، الترسانة النووية حول العالم، تاريخ النشر 2016/01/06، تاريخ التصفح 2018/07/28، توقيت التصفح 16:56، على الرابط:
- <https://24.ae/article/211805/>

**The Institutional Change: Theoretical Foundation  
and Empirical Verification in Africa**

Mohamed Tlili HAMDI

Professor in the Higher Institute of Business Administration Sfax,  
Tunisia

[mtili2001@yahoo.fr](mailto:mtili2001@yahoo.fr)

Sarra BEN SALAH

Doctor in the University of Economics and Management Sfax,  
Tunisia

[bensalah.2010@gmail.com](mailto:bensalah.2010@gmail.com)

**Abstract**

This paper studies the theoretical and empirical verification of the factors that lead to the institutional change in 16 African countries during the period between 2000 and 2014. By applying the econometric method “Multiple Indicators Multiple Causes” (MIMIC), and treating the institutional change variable as an unobservable indicator which is affected by various observable indicators (include measures of social change, political change, and economic change as well as the legal system and the interaction between all of these elements), the results prove that the majority of the variables coefficients in the three models are influenced by institutional change and they are close and meaningful and the model is well suitable. Thus, in order to promote institutional change in African countries need to be widely open to international trade to liberalize and profit from the international market; in addition,

they must and enhance stability and ensure good management of the sharing of resources and government expenditures.

**Keywords:** institutional change, MIMIC model, observable variable, unobservable variable, Africa.

## Introduction

The literature on institutions has deeply changed over time, from old institutionalism, which marked the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the XX<sup>th</sup> century, by the works of Veblen<sup>1</sup>, Commons<sup>2</sup>, Mitchell<sup>3</sup> who constituted the first current position institutions in economic analysis (Thorstein COREI, 1995) and proceeded to a historical and evolutionary analysis.

The limits of this theory were criticized by several authors; leading to the appearance of the new institutional economics, revealed by the work of Coase (1937)<sup>4</sup>, Williamson (1975)<sup>5</sup> and North (1981-1990)<sup>6</sup>. The majority of the work on the new institutional economics is focused on the role of institutions in economic coordination. They put emphasis on the institutions as fundamental components of the process of creation of wealth, thus causing the notion of transaction costs.

This current was also criticized by several authors, inducing the appearance of new trends and new institutional theories such as the theory of transaction costs, the Agency theory, the theory of property rights, the rational choice and the theory of

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<sup>1</sup> Veblen T, « Théorie de la classe loisir », 8198 : Traduit de l'anglais par Louis Evrard, Paris, Gallimard, 1931, pp.125.

Veblen T, «The Instinct of Workmanship: And the State of the Industrial Arts», [1914] 1918, New York: B. W. Huebsch.

<sup>2</sup> Commons J.R, «Institutional Economics». University of Wisconsin Press, 1934, Madison.

<sup>3</sup> Mitchell W. C, «Human Behavior and Economics: A Survey of Recent Literature», Quarterly Journal of Economics, vol.29. n°1, 1914, pp.1-47.

<sup>4</sup> Coase R.H, The Nature of the firm», Economica N.S.G., novembre19, 1937, pp. 386-405, repris dans G.J. Stigler K et Boulding E, Ed, «Readings in price theory», Homewood, III, Richard R. Irwin, Inc., 1952, pp. 331-351.

<sup>5</sup> Williamson, O. E., « Markets and Hierarchies: Analysis and Antitrust Implications: A Study in the Economics of Internal Organization », 1975. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign's Academy for Entrepreneurial Leadership Historical Research Reference in Entrepreneurship.

<sup>6</sup> North D. C, «Structure and Change in Economic History», 1981, New York: W.W. Norton.

North D. C, «Institutions, institutional change, and economic performance», Harvard University Press, Cambridge. MA 1990.

games. What should be noted that since the middle of the 1980s, economists studied the mechanisms of growth.

However, several researches have studied and have been interested in the institutional framework; only few of them have dealt with the effect of the institutional change. This is due to the difficulty of measuring it. Hence, this paper tries to overcome this difficulty, explain the phenomenon of institutional change, and try to measure this phenomenon which identifies the factors that can cause and facilitate institutional change in African countries. It aims at answering the following question: What are the factors that can facilitate institutional change in African countries?

The researchers focuses on these countries because these are characterized by the weakness of the institutional framework as well as the failure of reforms in the majority of countries according to ElMorchid<sup>1</sup> (2010, 2011)) and the situation is getting worse despite the fact that their growth has improved during the last decade.

In order to better meet this problematic, we need to explain how to measure institutional change in Africa? Also, what are the factors that can foster institutional change to better improve the institutional framework of these countries? Therefore, the hypoyheses of our work are: is there a strong correlation between the variables in our models? are the coefficients of the variables in our models close and significant or not?

Thus, the first part is devoted to the theoretical analysis of institutional change. While the second part deals with the empirical analysis of the factors that cause the institutional change in African countries.

## Theoretical analysis of institutional change

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<sup>1</sup> El Morchid B, « La qualité des institutions constitue-t-elle une barrière à la relance économique ? Application à un échantillon de pays africains », CODESRIA Conférence Guy Mhone, 2010, Thème. Dar es Salaam, Tanzanie 20-21/12/2010.

El Morchid B, « La consolidation des réformes institutionnelles : une condition nécessaire pour relever le défi du développement en Afrique ». 13<sup>ème</sup> assemblée générale, 2011, CODESRIA.

According to Schirmer<sup>1</sup> (2017), North in his early work has adopted a functionalist and individualistic perspective. He argued that human beings have generally designed institutions to create order and reduce uncertainty in the trade. They choose institutions that reduce transaction costs as much as possible.

He proved that Commons<sup>2</sup> (1950) believes that collective action does not only restrict some forms of behavior, but also gives individuals the ability to act.

He argued that the institutions emerged through a collective action which enabled people to ensure security as well as better control of their present and future environments.

He also argued that post-keynesian Economist, Shackle<sup>3</sup> (1990) has highlighted the role of uncertainty in binding limits to the type of behavior of individualistic maximization which is predicted by the work of North. Thus, Shackle argued that rational people would avoid investments that minimize the value of better hopes in the future. By taking risks, individuals must first establish some control over their environment through various forms of action. In this perspective, institutions matter for two reasons:

First, in the way defined by North, they create defined spaces and areas of freedom in which individuals can act with the hope that their actions will be seen as legitimate and the benefits they generate will be protected.

Second, according to Commons (1950) and Schackle (1990), the institutions provide a framework of cooperation and collective action that improves people's control of the future.

Thus, according to Schirmer (2017), the ideas of Commons and Shackle raise important elements on how institutions can interact with the choice of individuals.

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<sup>1</sup> Schirmer S, "Property rights, institutional change and development in South Africa". *Acta Commercii - Independent Research Journal in the Management Sciences*, 2010, ISSN: (Online) 1684-1999, (Print) 2413-1903.

<sup>2</sup> Commons J.R., « The economics of collective action ». Macmillan, 1950, New York.

<sup>3</sup> Shackle G.L.S., « Keynes and the nature of human affairs », in J.C. Wood (ed.), *John Maynard Keynes: Critical assessments*, 1990, vol. 1, Routledge, London.

Two possible cases can illustrate how the conceptual relationship between these two factors determines the possibilities of an approach to a development based on institutional reform. One of the two institutions determine the choice. In this case, institutional change can occur only through basic transformations undertaken by powers that are some how beyond the reach of the determinants of the institutional environment, where individuals choose institutions that work best for them, in which the institutional environment will tend to change in accordance with the needs of the change of the economic system. In this extreme case, institutions are only a reflection of the economic need to reduce transaction costs.

In the 1990s, North began to approach closer to what is advocated by Commons. Now, he thinks that institutions evolve gradually and connect the past with the present and the future.

But, the economic decisions of individuals cannot be understood by a sequential study, and not in terms of maximization of decisions in a particular moment of time cited by David<sup>1</sup> (1994).

Moreover, he cited that according to the evolutionary perspectives on economic changes, the institution's influence are not completely binding for people choice.

Nelson offers a perspective that helps us conceptualize the ways in which individual choices and institutional constraints interact to shape the patterns of change. As quoted by Nelson<sup>2</sup> (2005), the channel of the institutions is the direction of change. Many choices are made arbitrarily, without much thought. In addition, institutional innovation is always risky. For this reason, people are generally prudent towards established standards and rules, seeking incremental changes rather than wholesale. Therefore, self-interested choices are largely shaped by influential circumstances which make and structure these choices.

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<sup>1</sup> David P, « Why are institutions the carriers of history? », *Structural Change and Economic Dynamics*, 1994, 5(2), 205–220.

<sup>2</sup> Nelson R., « Technology, institutions and economic growth », Harvard University Press, 2005, Cambridge, MA.

Despite these constraints, institutional change is still possible, and even probable. When external environment changes, people will have to adapt existent institutions to the arrangements in order to meet the new challenges induced by the changing environment. If they do not, the organizations and institutions become subject to the “pressures and constraints” that can provoke a collapse and a brutal dissolution, as it can be dismembered and ingested by competing organizations (David 1994, p 218). More recently, North, Wallis, and Weingast<sup>1</sup> (2009, p 12) have argued that the change is likely and even often necessary despite the institutional rigidities. They point out that the companies are regularly subject to unpredictable challenges. various Changes in the factors as well as in the neighboring groups, relative prices, and climate; just like the changes in the character of the leaders and the identity, relative prices and internal conflicts which often require from companies to adjust their institutional environments and find innovative solutions.

He concluded that institutions make possible effective individual action. As a result, institutions will invariably affect the individuals’ choices. It will be impossible to simply change the institutional environment in accordance with the advice of experts or because a new institutional arrangement is economically more efficient.

The companies will not automatically turn into a consistent and predictable way in response to new economic signals. Changes do not necessarily occur as a result of initiatives taken by a few individuals. Both of these can be agents of change, but they will not succeed unless other changes take place also in the way in which people are organized and linked to each other. The change will be necessarily social and independent process.

However, according to Schirmer (2017), if the institutional change is difficult to achieve, is dependent, or is unlikely to occur as planned due to the efforts of politicians, a new regime of property rights is requested. Such a process is even

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<sup>1</sup> North D.C, Wallis J and Weingast B, « Violence and social orders, a conceptual framework for interpreting recorded human history ». Cambridge University Press, 2009, Cambridge.

more unlikely if we accept the validity of the political-economic approach underlying some of the most recent approaches to institutional economics.

In a 2008 paper, Acemoglu and Robinson<sup>1</sup> came to pessimistic conclusions about opportunities for institutional reforms. They argued that attempts to reform specific economic institutions could not be effective unless they are accompanied with fundamental changes in the political balance. Those who stay in power will find ways to mitigate the reforms' effects or employ other institutions to facilitate their extractive activities. Even when real change in power occurs, the persistence of the factio power will allow the elites to avoid any real change, like what happened after the emancipation of the South American countries.

Finally, fundamental changes in power may also be insufficient to bring real changes. As a result of a major shift in power, new elites might find it more interesting to maintain the existent extractive institutions, or during the process, existent elite's forces have been unleashed and have created worse elites. Once they took power, they will set up their own forms of extraction..

According to Schirmer (2017), there are several theories that attempt to conceptualize the institutional change. Some consider it as exogenous while others look at it as endogenous to the growth process. Thus, some studies predict that institutional change can be influenced by political processes, reforms, and changes deliberate in laws and rules. While several other studies believe that institutional change is the result of an evolutionary process.

Thus, it has been shown that although these studies estimate the causes mentioned above, there is a consensus that considers the institutional change as a multidimensional dynamic. It encompasses economic, political, social, and legal transition. All these dimensions are interconnected with each other. Therefore, what

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<sup>1</sup> Acemoglu D. and Robinson J., "The Role of Institutions in Growth and Development", Working Paper, (2008), N°10.

makes institutional change difficult to be measured and explained in a proper way? This explains the failure of the work on the measurement of institutional change.

## **Institutional change in Africa: Empirical analysis**

In this part, we analyze empirically the factors that can cause the institutional change in 16 African countries (Burkina Faso, Algeria, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Morocco, Mali, Rwanda, Tunisia, Tanzania, Uganda, South Africa, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Libya) during the period between 2000 and 2014.

### **Specification of the model**

Younis'<sup>1</sup> theory (2015) suggests that institutional change is caused by a set of exogenous variables and; then, it influences economic outcomes. In addition, institutional change is not an observable indicator which is affected by various observable indicators. These indicators include measures of social change, political change, and economic change as well as the legal system and the interaction between all of these elements. The literature shows that social institutions take centuries to change. These are integrated into the culture, religion and the standards and regional values. Political institutions can be changed from one day to the next.

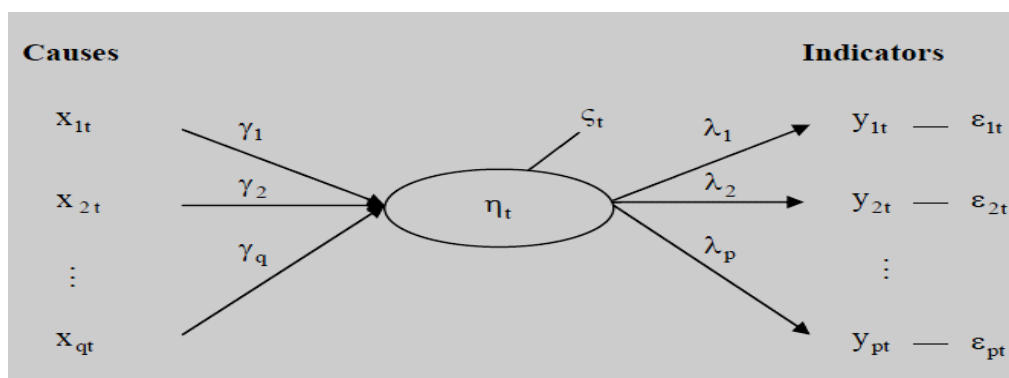
Similarly, legal and economic institutions can also be changed in a relatively short time. Once the institutional change occurs, it influences the economic development of a country. This can lead to innovation, technological change, competition, transparency, and sustained economic growth.

In this study, we use a model that integrates all aspects of institutional, rather than focus on a single Outrigger change. We apply the MIMIC approach.

### **Figure 1: General of the MIMIC model structure**

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<sup>1</sup> Younis F, "Institutional Change and Economic Growth in Pakistan". MPRA Paper, 2015, No. 72938.



Source: Buehn and Shneider (2008).

The MIMIC model is a special case of the simultaneous equation model that explains the unobserved components. Our study follows that of Younis (2015), we will use a structural model of institutional change where the latter is taken as a latent variable not observable which depends on several variables exogenous and endogenous. Our research is conducted in 16 African countries during the period between 2000 and 2014. According to Buehn and Shneider<sup>1</sup> (2008), the general MIMIC model can be summed up in the following equations:

$$\mathbf{H} = \boldsymbol{\gamma}' \boldsymbol{\chi} + \boldsymbol{\varsigma} \quad (1)$$

$$\mathbf{Y} = \boldsymbol{\Lambda} \boldsymbol{\eta} + \boldsymbol{\varepsilon} \quad (2)$$

The first is a structural equation and the second is a measurement equation.

With:  $\mathbf{H}$ : is the unobservable variable,  $\boldsymbol{\gamma}$  is the vector of coefficients in the structural model which describes the relationship between the unobservable variable and its causes, causal  $\boldsymbol{\chi}$  is the vector of variables causal and  $\boldsymbol{\varsigma}$  is the error term.

$\mathbf{Y}$  is the vector of indicator, variables  $\boldsymbol{\Lambda}$  is the vector of coefficients of rextusion, represents the magnitude of the expected change in the respective indicator for a unit change in the latent variable and  $\mathbf{E}$  error term.

### Specifications of indicators and data

<sup>1</sup> Buehn A and Schneider F, "MIMIC Models, Cointegration and Error Correction: An Application to the French Shadow Economy". IZA DP, 2008, No. 3306.

In this part, we discuss the indicators used to estimate the dynamic MIMIC model and also indicate their data sources. The specified model consists of a latent variable not observable institutional change, exogenous and endogenous variables observable also influencing institutional change.

## The initial variables :

The institutions are “path dependence”. So there are the initial factors that can influence the institutional changes in a country. It’s factored:

- ✓ Geographic: expressed by the endowment in natural resources (Nre) and the growth rate of GDP per capita (Gdp).

- ✓ Cultural: religion (Dr) = 1 if the dominated population > 95% and 0 other. And the ethnic heterogeneity (De) = 2 so dominated population > 95%, (De) = 1 if the population dominated between 95% and > 75% and (De) = 0 if dominated population < 75%.

- ✓ The percentage of the population living in urban areas (Urp): is also included in the initial conditions of institutional change.

Data are collected from the World Bank and the WVS.

## Structural variables :

The indicators which can lead to institutional changes are:

- ✓ The extent of privatization which is expressed in credits of the private sector (Dc).
- ✓ The extent of liberalization that is expressed in export value (Exv).
- ✓ Commercial orientation is expressed in exports in % GDP (Ex).
- ✓ The stability which is expressed in inflation (Inf).
- ✓ The capacity of the State is expressed in the Government spending in % GDP (Gov).

Data are collected from the World Bank.

## Measurement variables :

The unobservable variables that are identified as drivers of change are:

- ✓ Control of corruption (Cc).
- ✓ Law and order (Rl).
- ✓ Regulatory quality (Qr)
- ✓ Property (Pr)
- ✓ Police of terrorism (Pt)
- ✓ Freedom of business (Bf)

Data are collected from the World Bank as well as the “*Heritage Foundation*” and “*Political terror scale*”.

We used these variables because they represent an institutional quality and must measure a common underlying factor.

## **Results and interpretations**

To identify the cause of institutional change and study the key relationship between the variables, correlation matrices are built and the results are provided in table 3. The results show the correlation between the institutional indicators. We find that the right to property is strongly correlated to the quality of legislation as well as the law and order. In addition, it is highly correlated with regulatory quality and the control of corruption. Also, it is highly correlated with regulatory quality.

Moreover, the interaction between the initial conditions and institutional variables is strong. We find that most of these variables show a significant correlation, which proves that the institutions are “path dependence”.

However, the results show that there is a correlation between the institutional and structural variables. Yet once again, we find that most of these variables are associated with each other. However, this association varies from negative to positive.

We can conclude that the variables are highly correlated with each other; therefore, they share the same underlying factors and can be used for the estimation of MIMIC.

The results will be presented in the following table:

**Table 1: Model MIMIC of institutional change: estimates of the parameters**

The variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
<b>Initials</b>			
Gdp		0.0101664 (0.000)	0.0082701 (0.002)
Urp		0.0091694 (0.000)	0.0032302 (0.193)
Nre		-0.0183046 (0.000)	-0.0140974 (0.000)
Dr		-0.0467967 (0.505)	0.0328607 (0.614)
De		-0.1051723 (0.000)	-0.1144456 (0.000)
<b>Structural</b>			
Inf	-0.0000461 (0.000)		-0.0000386 (0.000)
Exv	0.0003161 (0.000)		0.0002814 (0.000)
Ex	-0.0053982 (0.001)		0.0013321 (0.649)
Gov	0.0029066 (0.574)		-0.0050582 (0.290)
DC	0.0101493 (0.000)		0.0066968 (0.000)
<b>Measure</b>			
Cc	1	1	1
Rq	1.429712 (0.000)	1.413427 (0.000)	1.409001 (0.000)
Rl	1.181658 (0.000)	1.172593 (0.000)	1.17214 (0.000)

Pr	24.12855 (0.000)	24.21254 (0.000)	23.916 (0.000)
Bf	21.66822 (0.000)	21.75154 (0.000)	21.86431 (0.000)
Pt	-0.7511946 (0.000)	-0.7672318 (0.000)	-0.7601271 (0.000)

All variables are important and the model is well suited.

The results of the three models prove that all measure variables are significant. The coefficients of these variables in the three models are very close; they are influenced by institutional change.

Concerning the structural parameters, most of the variables in both models (1 and 3) are significant.

We find that the privatization and liberalization have a positive impact on institutional change. First, we can conclude that the direction of the country toward privatization facilitates institutional changes.

Second, we can conclude that this result supports the theory that proves that commercial orientation makes institutional changes in an economy, the results of the export are mixed (in the first model, the negative and significant in the third they are not significant). So African countries can hardly profit from international markets.

Third, macroeconomic instability has a negative impact. As a result, economic instability does not promote the institutional change of the country.

Finally, concerning the government spending, it is not significant in both models. It does not create value added and does not gear towards productive investment in these countries.

Regarding the input variables, the results of the model 2 and 3 are almost similar. Gdp, the rent of the natural resources and ethnic heterogeneity are statistically significant.

The first two (Gdp and rent) have positive coefficients; they promote institutional African change while the last has a negative effect. It does not stimulate change. This is expected since each group has its own values (are not United), accordingly the change becomes very difficult.

Concerning urbanization effect, it is positive but ambiguous. Because, it is significant in model 2, while it is not important in model 3.

Finally, the heterogeneity of the religion is not significant in both models; it has no effect on the institutional change in Africa that can be explained by the lack of a great heterogeneity in the religion of the studied countries.

## Conclusion and recommendations

This study examines the factors that can cause the institutional change in Africa. It should be noted that there is a consensus which considers this change as dynamic and multidimensional. It encompasses the economic, political, and legal transition, etc. All these dimensions are interrelated with each other. Thus, the extent of the change becomes difficult since there is no single measure that can explain this process in an accurate way.

The results of the three models prove that all measure variables are significant, so they are influenced by institutional change. In addition, the majority of the coefficients of the variables in the three models are close and meaningful. Regarding the commercial orientation and the direction of the country toward privatization, they facilitate institutional change in Africa. While economic instability is promoted there is no institutional change of the country. Concerning the expenditure of the Government, it is not significant in both models, so, GDP promotes institutional African change while the pension does not stimulate change. However, the effect of urbanization is positive but it remains ambiguous while the heterogeneity of religion has no effect on the institutional change in Africa.

African countries need to be widely open to international trade, to liberalize and profit from the international market. They must ensure and enhance economic

stability. They have to ensure good management and control of the sharing of resources and Government expenditures.

## Annexe

\*\*\*Model 1: Effet des variables structurelles sur les variables Institutionnelles \*\*\*

Endogenous variables Measurement: Cc Rq Rl Pr Bf Pt

Latent: SubjSES

Exogenous variables

Observed: Inf Exv Ex Gov Dc

Fitting target model:

Iteration 0: log likelihood = -51386.76 (not concave)

Iteration 1: log likelihood = -51143.335 (not concave)

Iteration 2: log likelihood = -21652.748 (not concave)

Iteration 3: log likelihood = -13713.958 (not concave)

Iteration 4: log likelihood = -11368.379 (not concave)

Iteration 5: log likelihood = -10013.94 (not concave)

Iteration 6: log likelihood = -9356.4002 (not concave)

Iteration 7: log likelihood = -8995.2662 (not concave)

Iteration 8: log likelihood = -8829.9161

Iteration 9: log likelihood = -8726.9636

Iteration 10: log likelihood = -8725.0211 (not concave)

Iteration 11: log likelihood = -8706.1327

Iteration 12: log likelihood = -8699.869

Iteration 13: log likelihood = -8697.8448

Iteration 14: log likelihood = -8697.8293

Iteration 15: log likelihood = -8697.8293

Structural equation model Number of obs = 240

Estimation method = ml

Log likelihood = -8697.8293

( 1) [Cc]SubjSES = 1

---

		OIM			
	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]

---

```

-----+-----
----Structural |
  SubjSES <- |
            Inf |-.0000461 .0000118 -3.90 0.000 -.0000692 -.0000229
            Exv |.0003161 .0000813 3.89 0.000 .0001567 .0004755
            Ex |-.0053982 .0015999 -3.37 0.001 -.0085338 -.0022625
            Gov |.0029066 .0051665 0.56 0.574 -.0072195 .0130328
            Dc |.0101493 .0011806 8.60 0.000 .0078353 .0124633
-----+-----
----Measurement |
  Cc <- |
        SubjSES | 1 (constrained)
        _cons |-.7602971 .0989415 -7.68 0.000 -.9542188 -.5663754
-----+-----
----
  Rq <- |
        SubjSES |1.429712 .0791887 18.05 0.000 1.274505
1.584919
        _cons |-.8672795 .1391074 -6.23 0.000 -1.139925 -
.5946341
-----+-----
----
  Rl <- |
        SubjSES |1.181658 .0618515 19.10 0.000 1.060431
1.302885
        _cons |-.7963686 .1148596 -6.93 0.000 -1.021489 -
.5712479
-----+-----
----
  Pr <- |
        SubjSES | 24.12855 1.738883 13.88 0.000 20.7204
27.5367
        _cons | 29.2849 2.392775 12.24 0.000 24.59515
33.97465
-----+-----
---
  Bf <- |

```

```

      SubjSES | 21.66822      2.040952      10.62      0.000      17.66803
25.66841
      _cons | 53.12868      2.237683      23.74      0.000      48.74291
57.51446

```

```

-----+-----
-----
Pt <- |
      SubjSES | -.7511946  .1105487  -6.80  0.000  -.9678661  -.5345231
      _cons | 3.341092  .0867557  38.51  0.000  3.171054  3.511131
-----+-----
-----
      var(e.Cc) | .0716542  .0074868  .0583853  .0879386
      var(e.Rq) | .059813   .0082175  .0456932  .078296
      var(e.Rl) | .0267664  .0046796  .0190008  .0377057
      var(e.Pr) | 58.18256  5.859472  47.7606   70.87874
      var(e.Bf) | 108.8975  10.39878  90.30993  131.3108
      var(e.pt) | .3782635  .0350932  .3153732  .4536951
var(e.SubjSES) | .0918271  .0120431  .0710127  .1187424

```

LR test of model vs. saturated: chi2(34) = 259.01, Prob > chi2 = 0.0000

\*\*\*\*\*Model 2: Effet des variables Initiales sur les variables  
Institutionnelles \*\*\*\*\*

Endogenous variables

Measurement: Cc Rq Rl Pr Bf Pt

Latent: SubjSES

Exogenous variables

Observed: Gdp Urp Nre Dr De

Fitting target model:

```

Iteration 0: log likelihood = -5452.2803
Iteration 1: log likelihood = -5336.986
Iteration 2: log likelihood = -5289.8834
Iteration 3: log likelihood = -5283.4677
Iteration 4: log likelihood = -5283.126
Iteration 5: log likelihood = -5283.125
Iteration 6: log likelihood = -5283.125

```

Structural equation model  
240

Number of obs =

Estimation method = ml

Log likelihood = -5283.125

( 1) [Cc]SubjSES = 1

-----+-----						
		OIM				
		Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----						
-----Structural						
SubjSES <-						
Gdp		.0101664	.0028815	3.53	0.000	.0045189
.015814						
Urp		.0091694	.0016695	5.49	0.000	.0058972
.0124415						
Nre		-.0183046	.0019346	-9.46	0.000	-.0220963 -
.0145129						
Dr		-.0467967	.0701171	-0.67	0.505	-.1842236
.0906303						
De		-.1051723	.0248549	-4.23	0.000	-.153887 -
.0564577						
-----+-----						
-----Measurement						
Cc <-						
SubjSES		1	(constrained)			
_cons		-.6032509	.0661032	-9.13	0.000	-.7328108 -
.4736909						
-----+-----						
-----Rq <-						
SubjSES		1.413427	.0783128	18.05	0.000	1.259937
1.566917						
_cons		-.6415248	.0916092	-7.00	0.000	-.8210754 -
.4619741						
-----+-----						
-----Rl <-						
SubjSES		1.172593	.0610563	19.21	0.000	1.052925
1.292262						
_cons		-.6101125	.0755988	-8.07	0.000	-.7582834 -
.4619415						

```

-----+-----
-----
Pr <-          |
      SubjSES |24.21254      1.715601      14.11      0.000      20.85003
27.57506
      _cons |33.06789      1.622619      20.38      0.000      29.88761
36.24816
-----+-----
-----

Bf <-          |
      SubjSES |21.75154      2.0209      10.76      0.000      17.79065
25.71243
      _cons |56.52534      1.54545      36.58      0.000      53.49631
59.55436
-----+-----
-----
Pt <-          |
      SubjSES |-.7672318      .1093913      -7.01      0.000      -.9816348      -
.5528287
      _cons | 3.224325      .0633372      50.91      0.000      3.100187
3.348464
-----+-----
-----var(e.Cc)      |.0701246      .0073907      .0570374      .0862147
      var(e.Rq) |.0637829      .0082951      .0494315      .082301
      var(e.Rl) |.0279014      .0046336      .0201495      .0386355
      var(e.Pr) |56.66973      5.74028      46.46542      69.11501
      var(e.Bf) |107.6249      10.31194      89.19815      129.8582
      var(e.Pt) |.3736681      .0346782      .3115233      .44821
var(e.SubjSES) |.0834496      .0109004      .0646008      .1077979
-----
LR test of model vs. saturated: chi2(34) = 209.18, Prob > chi2 = 0.0000
sem (SubjSES -> Cc Rq Rl Pr Bf Pt) (SubjSES <- pib urp nre dr de).

```

\*\*\*\*\*Model 3: Effet des variables Initiales & structurelles sur les variables Institutionnelles \*\*\*\*\*

Endogenous variables

Measurement: Cc Rq Rl Pr Bf Pt

Latent: SubjSES

Exogenous variables



```

      Urp |.0032302      .002484      1.30      0.193      -.0016384
.0080988

      Nre |-.0140974      .0023672      -5.96      0.000      -.0187371      -
.0094577

      Dr  |.0328607      .0650765      0.50      0.614      -.0946869
.1604084

      De |-.1144456      .0269098      -4.25      0.000      -.1671878      -
.0617035

-----+-----
----Measurement |
Cc <-          |
      SubjSES |          1 (constrained)
      _cons  |-.6413464      .0963289      -6.66      0.000      -.8301475      -
.4525453

-----+-----
--
Rq <-          |
      SubjSES |1.409001      .0776242      18.15      0.000      1.25686
1.561141
      _cons  |-.6948688      .1342769      -5.17      0.000      -.9580468      -
.4316908

-----+-----
----
Rl <-          |
      SubjSES |1.17214      .0605028      19.37      0.000      1.053557
1.290723
      _cons  |-.6547317      .111346      -5.88      0.000      -.8729659      -
.4364975

-----+-----
----
Pr <-          |
      SubjSES |23.916      1.712736      13.96      0.000      20.5591
27.2729
      _cons  |32.17908      2.315295      13.90      0.000      27.64118
36.71697

-----+-----
----
Bf <-          |
      SubjSES |21.86431      2.007814      10.89      0.000      17.92906
25.79955
      _cons  |55.68393      2.179596      25.55      0.000      51.412
59.95586

```

```

-----+-----
-----
Pt <- |
      SubjSES | -.7601271   .1090646   -6.97   0.000   -.9738897   -
.5463645
      _cons   | 3.252749   .0830091   39.19   0.000   3.090054
3.415444
-----+-----
-----  var(e.Cc)      | .0694017   .0073141   .05645   .0853251
      var(e.Rq) | .0642626   .0082241   .0500063   .0825832
      var(e.Rl) | .0270713   .0044982   .0195466   .0374926
      var(e.Pr) | 58.44374   5.881675   47.98158   71.18712
      var(e.Bf) | 106.5255   10.2235   88.25953   128.5716
      var(e.Pt) | .3749136   .0347629   .312612   .4496314
var(e.SubjSES) | .0645533   .0085327   .0498202   .0836433
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LR test of model vs. saturated: chi2(59) = 382.34, Prob > chi2 = 0.0000

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**The Concept of Regional Systems****-Theoretical and Conceptual Study-****Boukabous Wafaa****University el Manar Tunisia****Translated by Sarra BOUKERMA****University of Algiers 2****Abstract**

The relationships all over the world are based on interactions between people and populations. The latter influence one another through many types of communications. That is to say, the kind of relationships can be either political, environmental or any other type of international cooperation. This study in fact aims at demonstrating that states cannot live separately and the partnership will obviously create a sort of influence and change at the level of many variables. Thus, study attempts to shed light on the concept of regional systems by presenting a theoretical approach that explains and clarifies the regional system, its components and the structure of relations within it. It also aims at presenting a theoretical background for studying field situations around the world such as regional relations in Asia, the Middle East or in Europe. In order to arrive to results that are close to reality and that reflect the real situation.

**Key words: regional system, theoretical approach, field situations**

**Introduction**

The state cannot live in isolation from an external environment that interacts with and influences it. In fact, the international policy carries with it rapid changes penetrating inside a given state. There has been a situation of widening of the porosity of the borders and their scopes, and this leads the state to become more exposed to the outsiders and then easily affected by the events of the surrounding system. Yet, the collapse of the neighboring security policy or changing regimes in addition to many other variables can be considered as a threat which leads the state to follow specific behaviour and think also about its future directions.

The understanding of the surrounding region helps to maintain survival and determine the appropriate patterns of power to interact with it. Therefore, countries are building regional systems and institutions, which are certain that the region the most cohesive conducts to a successful state and ensures its security more than the fragmented and weak one. So, this paper seeks to answer the following questions:

What is meant by regional systems? To what extent do they contribute to international politics?

To answer these questions, the following plan was developed:

Introduction

- Axis1: the concept of the regional system.
- Axis 2: patterns of regional systems.
- Axis 3: Components of the regional system.
- Axis 4: Characteristics and functions of regional systems.

Conclusion

## **Axis 1: The Concept of the Regional System**

### **1- The Importance of Studying the Concept of the Regional System**

The theoreticians resorted to this concept in view of the dilemma reached by the international system's theoreticians in their intellectual quest for peace. It is noted that the reduction of international policy within the relationship between the two blocs gives a distorted picture of the reality of these relations especially the ones which are concerned with the independence phase, the increasing number of states in the international system, and the multiplicity of international units.

Studies that take the level of regional (sub-regional) system are based on the fact that the establishment of regional organizations is the best way to achieve national peace and security.

It should be noted that there is a strong relationship between this concept and the theories of complementarity and unity between members of groups of countries in some regions. It can be said also that the concept of the regional system allows systematic

assimilation of interactions between members of the system on the one hand, and the main system on the other hand, even if the international system is divided into systems.<sup>1</sup>

## 2- Definition of the Regional System

Attempts to define the regional system raise several difficulties in terms of defining the term since there exist many terms used to refer to this concept. Here, two perspectives can be distinguished for dealing with the regional system

Several difficulties have been raised when defining the regional system because of the existence of many terms which are used to refer to this concept. As a result, two perspectives can be distinguished for dealing with the regional system:<sup>2</sup>

**a. First:** the term sub-system or subordinate system is used as a branch of the international system. This means that the international system is dismantled into several subsystems. Yet, the basic premise that this analytical level is a subordinate or a subsystem of the international one, as there are regions characterized by a distinct degree of discontinuity or differentiation from the international system. According to Aron Yong some regions have their unique characteristics that distinguish them from other regions. Moreover, even if there are international influencing factors in all regions there exist also special influencing factors in each region.

**B. The Second Perspective:** the term regional-system is used on the basis that it is a group of contiguous, different or convergent countries belonging to a particular geographical region and each includes interactive characteristics that distinguish them from one another .i.e. a group of neighboring nation states that are combined through an interactive framework. constitute a middle stage between the nation-state and the international system, in view of the existence of systematic structural and systemic restrictions on the policies and choices of countries within the specific geographical framework. This results in the constitution of middle phase an intermediary between the

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<sup>1</sup> Abdel-kader Mahmoudi, *The Arab-Arab Conflicts and the Development of the Arab Regional System (with Focus on Conflicts on the Palestinian Question) 1945-1985*, Algeria: Publications of the National Communication Foundation, Anep Publications, 2002, pp. 72-73.

<sup>2</sup> Abelnkader Dandan, "The Role of China in the South Asian Regional System between Continuity and Change 1991-2006", *Memorandum of Political Science*, University of Haj Lakhdar-Batna: Law School, Political Science Department, International Relations and Strategic Studies, 2008 , P. 11

nation-state and the international system, in view of the existence of systematic structure and systemic restrictions on the policies and choices of States within the given geographical framework.<sup>1</sup>

In order to conceptualize the term of regional system, we review the definition of Cantori and Spiegel, who define the regional system or subordinate system as follows: "The system consists of one or two or more states that are close and interactive where inter-ethnic, linguistic, cultural, social and historical ties can be detected, and whose sense of identity is sometimes heightened by the actions and attitudes of States outside the system"<sup>2</sup>

In this respect, Professor Hani Elias Al-Hadithi states that the regional system: "A group of countries belonging to one region, which are linked by factors of interest and loyalty, and they build the basis of their regional treatment on the sense of differentiation, cooperation and integration in the fields of security and economy, it is a method of practice if dealing with different countries belonging to one territory."

In two other definitions of the same researcher, he emphasizes the need for the factors of geographical proximity and the creation of various and complex interactions among a group of countries as a condition to consider countries that constitute a regional system as the one which owns specific characteristics if compared with the international system in which it reacts.

On the one hand, researcher contends that, the regional system is "the group of countries that are geographically contiguous and interact with each other, whether that interaction is hostile or cooperative, and in a manner that affects the foreign policies of other States and their foreign political options"<sup>3</sup>. In regional systems, on the other hand, "clusters of States that interact more in harmony with each other than with other States in the international community".

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<sup>1</sup> - Abdel-kader Mahmoudi, (2002) *ibid* page 222

<sup>2</sup> - Rebiai Samia, "Mechanisms of Transformation in the Regional System - East Asia Regional System", Memoir of Introduction to the Master of Political Science, International Relations, Mentouri University, Constantine: Faculty of Law, Department of Political Science, International Relations, 2008, p.

In Ray Maghory's view, the regional system: "is the unique interactive framework between a group of states, which is assumed to be typical with the intensity of interactions, so that change in part affects the rest of the parts and implicitly imposes internal or external recognition of this system as a specific sample"<sup>1</sup>

William Thompson from his part defines it as "a relatively regular and intense sample of interactions, recognized internally and externally as a distinct track, being created and maintained by two or more adjacent sides."<sup>2</sup>

Malin Gunnarsson considers it as "an interaction between institutions within a specific geographical area".

Dina Ahmed Jabr defines it as "a sub-scope within the framework of the external environment where the international system is formed. Therefore, the regional system is intended as a method of practice dealing between the different countries belonging to one territory."<sup>3</sup>

In presenting the concept of defining regional systems, three trends can be distinguished between the criteria for defining the regional system:

- The first trend: (**geographic proximity approach**) focuses on the considerations of geographical proximity approach and makes these considerations the basis of the distinction between regional systems.
- The second trend: (**homogeneity approach**) focuses on the existence of elements of similarity between countries that fall within the territory of certain cultural, economic or social aspects (homogeneity approach).
- The third trend: (**interaction approach**) criticizes both previous trends on the basis that adjacent or similar countries do not necessarily have to be closely related, and that the vital factor in any regional system is the extent of political, economic, cultural and social interactions between countries.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Abelkader Dandan, *ibid* page 12

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid* page 13

<sup>3</sup> - Dina Mohammed Jabr, "Iraq and the Reality of the Arab Regional System: A Vision for the Mechanisms of Activating and Rebalancing" political journal n°12 iraq university p 114

<sup>4</sup> -Ali Al-Din Hilal, Jamil Matar, *The Arab Regional System A Study in Arab Political Relations*, No. 7, Beirut: Center for Arab Unity Studies, 2001, p.24

In order to establish a regional system the following requirements should be taken into account:

- It should concern a particular geographical area.
- It should include at least three States.
- There should be no international pole within it.<sup>1</sup>
- There should be a certain degree of compatibility of the system agenda with the real concerns of the members of the system.<sup>2</sup>
- Relative independence of the countries of the regional system.<sup>3</sup>

### 3. The Main Criteria for Defining the Regional System:

R. Aaron uses three elements to define the regional system:

a. Area Standard/Criterion (**Etendue**) means the area of the system which is determined mainly according to the geographical factor, and the number of countries forming the system is not less than three countries.

b. The Criterion of Perception: it has to do first with the realization of other actors that the subsystem constitutes a different group, region or branch of the universal system, in addition the members of the system should have the notion of that they form a single entity.

c- The Dependency Relationship of the Dominant System: what distinguishes the subsystem is that its members are less powerful than the main system units, and that the effect of changes in the central system on the dependent system is stronger than the opposite effect.<sup>4</sup>

### Axis 2: Patterns of Regional Systems

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<sup>1</sup> -ibid page 25

<sup>2</sup> -ibid page 19

<sup>3</sup> -ibid page 21

<sup>4</sup> - Mohamed Sayed Said, The Future of the Arab System after the Gulf Crisis, Kuwait: National Council for Culture, Arts and Literature, 1992, p.17

The emergence of the regional system stems from the idea that it is one of the components of the international system, which, according to a number of researchers, has historically been the product of the interactions and components of the system, including both interactions: at the level of the forces of the international system or its interactions at the level of States, and therefore we can identify and control the types of regional systems in several respects and can be classified into:<sup>1</sup>

## **a. Regional Systems in Terms of Origin**

Since the end of the Second World War, which confirmed the outbreak of the lack of validity of the global approach to regional security, especially with the outbreak of many regional conflicts that the super powers failed to contain or deal with. Contrary to this regional powers succeeded in the containment and treatment of many conflicts, benefiting from their understanding to the nature of the conflict. In fact, the reasons for their success are the isolation of these conflicts from the international system:<sup>2</sup>

- **Regional Systems with International Motives**

During the cold war the competition between the United States and the Soviet Union expanded to compete for polarizing strategic allies and to integrate them into regional systems formed by them alone or in cooperation with one of the powers of that region that has provided them with material and moral assistance to facilitate its formation.

- **Cognitive-Based Regions**

They are regions that have arisen as a result of the perception of a group of neighboring countries which usually interact intensely with each other. In addition to their distinction from the international system, and the recognition of others, and such perception is usually driven by the obsession with security, or what is called by Barry Poznan the complexities of regional security which refer to the close link between the security concerns of those countries, because national security of any country cannot be

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<sup>1</sup> - Iman Ahmed Ragab, The Arab Regional System in the Post-American Occupation of Iraq, I 1, Beirut: Center for Arab Unity Studies, 2010, pp. 52-53.

<sup>2</sup> - Mohamed Sayed Said, 1992 page 53-54

imagined away from the security of other countries. This does not mean that this obsession with the powers of the international system is usually confused with other considerations of an ideological political nature.<sup>1</sup>

- **The Territories of Recent Independent States**

If these states recognize the importance of a regional system that would facilitate coordination between their political positions at least, so that they could have a voice in international organizations, drawing on their numerical abundance, and therefore establishing regional organizations that were compatible with the boundaries of their regimes.

**b- Regional Systems in Term of Structure:** four types of regional systems can be distinguished in terms of structure:

- **Integrated system**

It includes a higher<sup>2</sup> level of economic, political and social integration e.g. the North American system.

- **System of Solidarity (consolidative)**

In this system the regime does not have the will to prepare for a war, even though it does not witness any unification, such as the heart sector in Latin America.

- **Cohesive System**

In this system there is a high level of one of those previous variables or an average level of at least two of them with the possibility of the outbreak of direct military conflict.

- **Coherent System**

This system includes less cohesion and communication compared to the previous three types, as it continually uses force and frequent conflict, for example in South-East Asia.

**f- Regional Systems in Terms of Force:** four regional power structures can be distinguished in terms of strength:<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> - Abdel-kader Mahmoudi 2002 ibid page 53

<sup>2</sup> - ibid page 54

- **Regional Systems with a Leadership Structure**

It means that the state concentrates on the power and resources or on a limited number of States, using them in a symbiotic manner to achieve common objectives.

**Power Concentration Degree**

	<b>High</b>	<b>Low</b>
<b>Symbiotic</b>	<b>Leading Style</b>	<b>Sharing style</b>
<b>Non-symbiotic</b>	<b>Threat pattern</b>	<b>Competitive style</b>

**Source: Mohamed Sayed Said, 1992 page 68**

- **Regional Systems with a Participatory Structure**

In these systems the power is deployed among a relatively large number of belonging parties. That is, a balance of power is maintained among them. However, these systems are characterized by the development of legal bases, political and customary relations based on cooperation among them to achieve common objectives.<sup>2</sup>

- **Regional Systems with a Balanced Structure of Forces**

It is characterized by the balance and spread of force among its parties, but each of the major powers in the region seeks to identify conflicting goals and this act can be at the expense of each other.

But the relative balance among regional powers ensures, in the immediate term, the development of an understanding of the non-violent use of force among themselves, leading to threat or presence of each other.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid page 55

<sup>2</sup> - Mohamed Sayed Said, 1992 ibid page 67

<sup>3</sup> - ibid page 68

- **Regional Systems Based on the Threat Relationship**

It permits the concentration of power in the territory in one or a limited number of allied states against the smaller countries with motives for this use because of the lack of evolution of norms or rules that make the interdependence among them more attractive than the selfish motives of the largest and strongest.

- **Axis 3: Components of the Regional System**

Actually, any regional system does not live in a vacuum, rather in an international political context with its specific determinants and limitations. Moreover, this field should be distinguished between the core states and its periphery on the one hand and the periphery states on the other.

According to Spiegel and Kantori, the regional system consists of two sectors:

**Core Sector/ Pivotal (core regions)**

The core sector consists of a group of countries that represent the point of concentration of political and regional relations, characterized by a high degree of homogeneity among them and may consist of more than one heart of the same system,<sup>1</sup> and the central sector is divided into:

- **Core Regions/ Pivotal**

It represents the focus of political interactions as it participates in the largest regional interactions, such as France and Germany within the European regional system, or China, India and Japan within the South East Asian system<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> - Iman Ahmed Ragab 2010 ibid page 55-56

<sup>2</sup> -Amina Issaoua, "The Iranian Regional Role in the Middle East Post-Cold War System", Memorandum of Political Science, University of Haj Lakhdar-Batna: Law School, Department of Political Science and International Relations, Diplomatic Interests, 2010, page 28

- **Intrusive System**

This system will be discussed in detail later. It means the influence exercised by the major powers outside the region on the units of the regional system. The later takes the form of economic, military and even cultural one<sup>1</sup>.

- **The Bargainer**

He is the second player/actor in the regional system and the negotiators are countries that have enough power to deal effectively with the dominant countries or aspiring states of domination like the Israeli role in the Middle East.

- **The Balancer**

He is an actor who is considered as one of the active powers in the region and is entrusted with the tasks of mediation in the event of conflicts and highlights the Turkish role in the Middle East conflicts, especially the Arab-Israeli conflict. In his book, "Regional Deterrence and Strategic Deterrence," David Mawerz distinguishes between three central countries within the central sector.

- **Regional Dominant (hegemonic)**

He is known to some countries as the origin or reference that leads the regional system, whether politically or economically or value.

- **Hegemonic**

It refers to a state that possesses some of the elements of power which it exploits with the help of internal or external alliances to become a dominant pole.<sup>2</sup>

- **Intermediate Regions**

They are closer to, and destined to integrate with, the regions of the core when they meet the criteria of economic development and political stability, such as Latin America and Central America which are becoming North American.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> - Ali Al-Din Hilal, Jamil Matar 2001 ibid page 28

<sup>2</sup> - Amina Issaoua, ibid page 29

<sup>3</sup> - Abelkader Dandan, ibid page 26

## The Peripheral Region<sup>1</sup>

The peripheral region is composed of many countries that differ economically, socially, politically and, organizationally. These countries; however, play an important role in regional politics. They also usually seek to ally themselves with forces outside the region. Consequently, relations with the former sectors and this sector are not compatible; they witness some conflicts.

In addition, both Spiegel and Kantori have separated between the center of the system and its periphery. The peripheral sector includes countries that are not involved in the intensive interactions of the regional system. The only factor that links these countries to the system is geography.

### Axis 4: Characteristics and functions of regional systems

1. **Characteristics:** the most common and significant characteristics can be summarized as follows:
  - **Intersection:** it is considered as a subsystem of cross-systems. Each subsystem is, in fact, a mixture of comprehensive and local characteristics of the whole system. This mixture takes a different form from one subsystem to another. As a consequence, the level and type of cross-section changes horizontally across the place and vertically across time.<sup>2</sup>
  - **The extent of cohesion:** at the social, cultural, economic and political levels between the units of the system.
  - **Structure of relationships:** in terms of their causes, tools of management, and the dominant nature.
  - **Structure of the regional system** that affects the hierarchical relationship between the units, and determines the absence or presence of the leader of the system, as well as the nature that can be followed to achieve regional security.

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<sup>1</sup> - Mohammed Al-Said Idris, *ibid* 2000, p.36

<sup>2</sup> - Abdel-kader Mahmoudi 2002 *ibid* page 76

If there is a leader who is able to lead the complementary process and achieve security without the intervention of the superpowers, or seeks to coordinate the foreign policies of other units, taking advantage of the imbalance of forces in his favor, the immunity of the regional system has increased. Thus, Kanturi could distinguish between the major powers and other powers: secondary, medium and small, and the regional states which are the colonies available within the system and the micro-states.<sup>1</sup>

## 2. **Functions:**

The Regional System is based on four functions which can be summarized as follows:

- **Function of Adjustment:**<sup>2</sup>

This function is deeply related with the technical competence of the regional system institutions. The performance of this function depends on the willingness of the parties of the system to relinquish some sovereignty in their mutual relations in order to control the conflicts and discussions among them and to establish a mechanism to resolve these conflicts systematically. This function resulted due to the need to deal positively with the international environment surrounding the system and the credit management with good conditions. It also aims to manage conflicts that may be involved in interactions between this environment and the international system parties.

- **Function of integration:**

It is the process through which the system forms its structure by extending a network, enriching and strengthening the internal links between the parties. These links may be formal or informal. Thus, the resources that move according to general rules

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<sup>1</sup>- Iman Ahmed Ragab 2010 ibid page 54

<sup>2</sup> - Abdul Jalil Zeid Al Marhoon, Gulf Security and the Issue of Nuclear Armament, Kingdom of Bahrain: Bahrain Center for Studies and Research, 2007, p. 58

will stem from the system in general and in its entirety and will become larger and more dynamic than those that move according to specific rules. Here, it is referred to resources in the general sense, whether economic, cultural, or political.<sup>1</sup>

- **Function of security and protection:**

This function assumes that the system has originally been independent. Protection refers to the set of basic and regional values, so that the national and regional security of States or system parties can be united. It is possible and perhaps more likely that a regional system will be formed in the context of the pursuit of a number of States or parties that enjoy a degree of homogeneity and geographical cultural proximity to defend one of them. On the contrary, the reluctance of these States or parties to each other due to an overwhelming external threat leads to further divergence, or to the collapse of the regime. In any case, the principle of regional security lies in the embodiment of the characteristics or existence of the regime at least on the political level. If a system does not contain this function or principle, the system will become no more than a cultural or a civilized group.<sup>2</sup>

- **Function of objectives' achievement:**

It is a function in which the constituent units or States of the system are united or split with the system itself. The States do independently enter into regional arrangements when they expect to achieve their objectives better through regional cooperation. It is possible that considerable tensions may arise from the system parties since each party may need a distinct agenda or priority list. Therefore, the essence of this function is to be able to conciliate and build consensus between all parties, so that each party reaches its own interest in the system. Those parties will not continue to be linked to the system unless at least some of their objectives will be realized or taken into account.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> - Mohamed Sayed Said, 1992 page 45

<sup>2</sup> - ibid page 46

<sup>3</sup> -ibid page 47

## Conclusion:

The current paper can be clearly demonstrated in the following conclusions:

- Arab countries should give great importance to the concept of regional systems, and should understand the Arab regional system and its characteristics.
- The orientations of the foreign policy of the state must be correlated with the regional environment surrounding the state.
- The decision-making centers should include the regional system in their priorities, and their decisions should be in parallel and not incompatible with that of the regional environment.
- The centers of thought, academia, and all universities in the Arab world must allocate intellectual resources in order to understand the regional system and train experts at regional studies.