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**Establishing A Joint Arab Force To Fighting Terrorism
Between The Internal Constraints And External Challenges**

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Abstract:

In this paper the author tries to discuss and propose solutions to the idea currently raised in the Middle East (the establishment of a joint Arab force in order to counter the rising threat of terrorism) by a simplified review to the historical background of joint Arab military cooperation, then display of the most serious threats on the regional scene and how serious are they, and that led to the emergence of the need to establish a joint Arab force, with the presentation of some other reasons that led to the emergence of the need to establish a joint Arab force, then clarify the possible scenarios for the formation of such a force be followed by the view of the author on the context of the composition of the force and method of work as a general idea without going into the details, then the author gives a summary of the biggest internal obstacles that hinder the establishment of the joint Arab force and the most important external challenges that face its foundation, with presenting some positive indications and proposals to overcome those obstacles and challenges in a bid to theoretically support the idea.

Key words: Terrorist, Joint Arab military force, Arab league, Middle East, National security, Threats, establishment, Constraints, Challenges.

1.Introduction

A research issued for the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies in Egypt prepared by researcher Ahmed Kamel Beheiri, explained that the security threats facing the Arab region in the post-revolutionary movement pushed to the search for a new formula for cooperation in order to counter the risk of the spread of terrorist organizations, as well as the possibility of turning some Arab countries to "failed states" because of the internal armed conflicts and the risks involved threaten Arab national security, came the call for the establishment of a joint Arab military force, in an attempt to create new tools Arab joint military action to overcome the challenges facing the security of the Arab countries. And from here stems the importance of this paper, where they dealt with proposals for the establishment of such a force and review the obstacles facing the establishment and external challenges facing them.

2.The Situations Reality in the Arabic Region

2.1. Historical Background

After that the Arab countries gained independence in the last century, in the midst of risks and ambitions that were plaguing the region, signed a 7 countries in 1950, the joint Arab defense treaty and the most important clauses, set up military plans and confront any armed attack is located on one of the signatory states, and the formation of permanent or temporarily sub-committees from among its members to discuss any of the topics within the scope of its terms of reference.

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However, since the signing of the Treaty till now it has not been formation of a joint operations room or a starting base and in spite of wars and crises that fought Arab armies, the Arab power remained a dead letter.

Pending the crystallization form of force and its mission, objectives and census soldiers, rising pace of the challenges facing the region dramatically, ranging from the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the situation in Sudan divided, leading to expansion of the "Islamic state" in Iraq, Syria and Libya, as these countries live bloody wars threaten unity and predict the future of the Dark, and the same situation in Yemen, Saudi Arabia, which led the "Hazzm storm" on Houthis militants.

It is worth mentioning that there is a joint defense agreements signed by Arab countries with non-Arab countries along the lines of those that signed the Gulf countries with the United States, France, Britain, or concluded by Syria with Iran in 2006, and still those agreements form the cornerstone of national security for these countries, but those agreements has been outside the framework of the Arab League, as it is the individual agreements do not include all Arab States.

And the recent Arab summit has coincided in of March 2015 with seventy years after the founding of the Arab League, and in this context provides foreign ministers' meeting at the request amendment of the Charter of the university to the summit in preparation for the adoption of the proposed amendments, especially those relating to the draft statute of the Council of the Arab Peace and Security, which It stresses that the establishment of Peace and Security Council of the Arab as one of the university devices comes to achieving the goals of strengthening peace, security and stability in the Member States as well as the fight against international terrorism in all its forms and aspects to coordinate the efforts, which would pave the legal, political and institutional environment for the establishment and activation of joint Arab force.

[1] Ahmed Aatef, How do the Arab states exceed the common force creation barriers? Regional Centre for Strategic Studies in Cairo, March 2015, article in Region Situation journal.

1.2 Current threats

The Arab region has seen many dangers and threats that require the formation of this joint military force for the time being, to maintain the stability of Arab States and protection if it is exposed to external or internal threats. The most notable motives in this regard:

1. Lawlessness and chaos experienced by Yemen after the Houthis coup on the legitimate authority, and may be posed by this situation of risk to the security of the Arab Gulf states, and the prospect of the arrival of the threats to the Bab al-Mandab global maritime hub, not to mention the threat to shipping in the Suez Canal.
2. What is going on in Libya and control of armed militias, particularly the "ISIS" over large areas of them, and represented a threat to the countries of the regional neighbors, particularly Egypt, which may require intervention urgently to implement the quality of operations in Libya against the militants, "ISIS" and other criminal organizations there.
3. The spread of terrorism groups in many Arab areas under various names, which called for the formation of regional and international alliances to confront them, which could expose the region to more foreign intervention.
4. the threat posed by Iran to countries in the region, particularly the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), especially in light of the tools owned by the Iranians like their development of nuclear capabilities, and possession of an arsenal of ballistic missiles that

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could hit the energy infrastructure in the Gulf states, which, as well as the prospects for success of the negotiations ongoing between Washington and Tehran, and the possibility of a deal between the two sides on US allies in the Middle East account.

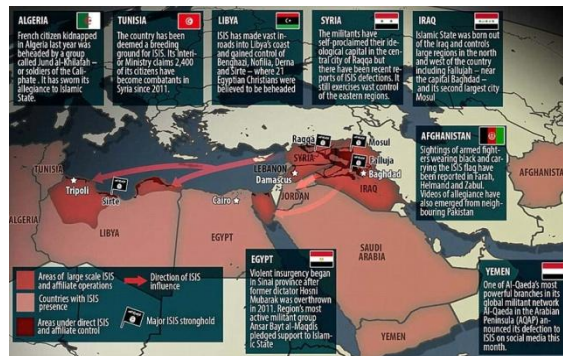


Fig.1 (The ISIS threats spots in Arab region)

[2] Ahmed Kamel Elbehairy, Security threats facing the Arab region after the revolutionary movement. , Regional Centre for Strategic Studies in Cairo, February 2015, article in Region Situation journal.

1.3 The Necessary reasons

A range of changes in the Arab region that are imposed on its formation of an Arab force to protect its national security, notably:

1- Increasing national security and Arab threats: With the proliferation of expiatory groups such as ISIS and Alnasra and the others, the growing unity of internal conflicts after the fall of authoritarian regimes, and the growing Iranian and Turkish influence in the region, threatens the existence of the Arab countries more than ever before - revealed with the region for international intervention, and appeared to Arab League too weak to cope with these security threats.

2- Threats are greater than the capacity of the confrontation individual countries: are security threats in the region today being a cross-border, so that the associated network extended relationships, are difficult to be controlled Arab state alone, and then they need cooperation and solutions to regional, and that countries in the region States have the responsibility collectively to protect their national security.

3- The establishment of an Arab deterrent force: It is possible in the event of the establishment of joint Arab force, which represents a defensive deterrent against foreign interference in the region and frequent confrontations in the areas of aggression, if included the major military powers in the region such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Algeria.

4- The legitimacy of the unified Arab role in the intervention: where will ensure possession of the Arab states a legitimate cover to counter any threats to its security without reliance on the west role to control these threats, or individual by getting involved, though others argue that any military intervention of this force must receive the approval of the Council Security.

5- A solution to the disputes between the intra-Arab States: where the proposed Arab reduce the power of any military interventions to individual state against another in the region, and perhaps raised by the Egyptian air strike against Libya, which represents a legitimate defense of Egyptian self in the face of terrorist threats.

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6- To provide expertise to the small Arab armies: There is interest lies of the joint Arab force on the Arab countries with smaller armies, or which have never armies fight fighting experiences before, and was dependent on foreign forces to protect them, and today faces exposure with draws the attention of the United States towards East Asian countries, so that these countries benefit from the experiences of big armies participation.

7- The establishment of unconventional intervention forces: the region faces unconventional threats did not pass by, nor be able to fully encounter them because the weakness of their capabilities, and needs some unconventional intervention security types such as the fight against terrorism forces, and rapid intervention, peacekeeping, or provide aid to the affected States, etc.

It should not be limited to the role of the proposed force on military interventions, but also must be accompanied by supporting reconstruction efforts in post-conflict to promote peace and prevent the resurgence of conflict, next to coordinate efforts to combat international terrorism in all its forms and aspects, in addition to strengthening Arab capabilities in the field of preventive action through the development of an early warning system to monitor the factors leading to conflicts. Also, it highlights the importance of coordination with the United Nations and the Security Council in the formation of the joint Arab force in order to gain UN cover and according to the rules of international law and the charters of the United Nations, to avoid the objection of international and regional powers at its foundation.

[3] Haby Tarek, Proposed formation of a joint Arab force. Justifications and obstacles, Regional Centre for Strategic Studies in Cairo, March 2015, article in Region Situation journal.

3. The form of the proposed force and mechanisms of action

3.1 Raised scenarios

There are a number of scenarios that are likely to be the director of understanding between the Arab countries, on the formation of the joint Arab force, which are as follows: First scenario: the formation of the nucleus of Arab military forces jointly converged parties in the region's crises analysis, which focuses on three parties, "UAE, Egypt and Jordan", which are collected by a specific consensus on the face of the threat of terrorism, compared to the vision of Saudi Arabia, which focuses on the face of Iranian expansion, and does not want to face the Islamic movements, that are described by terrorist organizations may, because they establish ways of communications with each other, especially the Reform Party in Yemen.

The second scenario: the formation of multiple alliances, each alliance regards to a specific crisis ends with the goal achievement, as it happens in the Yemeni's the end of the formation of (alliance 9 +1), without the restriction of Arab parties, on the assumption of Pakistan's participation in it, and this is released by the part of Egypt to form a coalition, "Emirati Egyptian Italian French "(2 +2), particularly to confront the Libyan crisis. This scenario leads to the formation of an enormous iceberg of seasonal alliances during the next phase.

The third scenario: success in overcoming the disparities among Arab parties in political and military dimensions of the functions of the joint Arab military force so that is activated for the decision of the Arab summit in Sharm El-Sheikh, March 2015, and the coalition is

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roomy to include "Egypt, Saudi Arabia, UAE, Jordan," and may be include other Arab countries such as Morocco and Kuwait.

The fourth scenario: the failure to bridging the gap between country disparities of Arab countries with regard to determining the security challenges that the Arab countries are facing, especially in regard to Egyptian situation which stuck to (three noes) no for enter any regional forces in joint Arab military force to be formed, no for any intervention from the international military in the Syrian file and the rest of the zone files, no for dialogue with armed militias and terrorist groups in the region.

[4] Mustafa Basuiny, Joint Arab force is moving with rapid steps, <http://assafir.com/>, May 2015.

3.2 The author's vision

The author believes that although there are there are many scenarios looming on the horizon when it comes to joint Arab military force type targeted to be formed in the coming period, but it can clarify that the most likely of these force paths - both in terms of the legal framework to be established or forms of composition - and that as follows:

1- The framework of the establishment of the joint military force: There are two main frameworks governs the work of the joint Arab military force with respect to legal support for its formation, one at the regional level and the other is on the international level, which are:

(A) Framework of the League of Arab States: It means that the joint Arab defense agreement is the origin of the establishment of the joint Arab military force, which states that any aggression against any signatory to the Arab defense agreement is an act of aggression against other countries, and obligates to form a permanent military committee consists of representatives of the army staff of war of the contracting for the organization of joint defense plans.

(B) Framework of the Charter of the United Nations: As based on the joint Arab defense agreement to Article 51 in Chapter 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, it is possible to form a joint Arab force among several countries only away from any regional umbrella by using the same article and the same chapter as a reference, as referred to Article that nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of nations- individually or collectively - in self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a United Nations member, and to the fact that the Security Council has taken necessary measures to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by Members in the exercise, which the right of self-defense shall be communicated to the Council immediately, and therefore these countries need to coordinate with the international community.

2. The composition of the proposed force: The draft resolution adopted by the Arab foreign ministers meeting in March 27, 2015 confirms that the joint Arab force would be permanent and will be agreement on all elements during the following three months of the Arab summit, and to join them will be a voluntarily decision by the States, and will have a headquarters for leadership and centers for the spread and a permanent mechanism of action and will assume the functions of the rapid intervention and other functions to meet the challenges that threaten the safety and security of Member States, national sovereignty, including terrorist organizations, threats. The most anticipated features of this force can be determined after its formation, as follows:

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(A) The basic tasks: The proposed joint force aims to rapid intervention in the face of crises, without functions include sending a long-term military campaigns, and then will have formations rely primarily on special forces and rapid reaction forces, it is likely that the Egyptian rapid intervention forces be level "Airborne" one of the main pillars of the joint forces of Arab, because of the readiness and the strength of its formation, and the possibility of carrying flown to different places to help in securing Arab borders, and the same concept would be applied to similar formations in the Arab countries, especially the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC).

(B) Forces command and training: It is expected to receive this Arab forces joint exercises every three months, where these exercises focus on the plans will be put in order to encounter the threats, and is likely to be the establishment of a joint command of the joint forces along the lines of the "Arab military junta", and will include military and intelligence men, and it will be assigned to develop a plan for training in the face of threats and tasks to be performed by those forces, to be ready to intervene in hot spots throughout the region.

(C) The basic structure and the distribution of roles: it is estimated that it will be the distribution of roles on the Arab countries to participate in those forces, so rely on the military post of countries with armies and equipment, while it will receive logistical support from other countries, and through the available information on the capabilities of the Arab armies , it is clear that the Egyptian army is the largest in number and hardware, as the UAE possesses advanced aircraft and modern arming system, and the same thing applies to Saudi Arabia, which possesses advanced and modern equipment due to the huge arms deals, which was keen to contract over the past years.

Thus, the stakes are the biggest to be the leadership of the joint Arab military force in Egypt because of its military expertise and then bear to provide the bulk of the troops, in addition to the military experts and field trainers, while both Saudi Arabia and the UAE, Kuwait, Bahrain, Jordan and Morocco participates in units of elite special quality to the level of air and naval forces and the Rapid Intervention In addition to logistical support.

When it comes to talk about the establishment costs, we can find easily that it will not be a simple budget to be afforded by a small number of countries, as it may exceed \$10 billion in some estimates; as a result it is better to make a budget proposal that is approved by the Participating Countries, Taking into account what each country offers as capabilities other than money, such as land, equipment and training experience.

4. The internal constraints and external challenges

The joint Arab military force is facing a number of internal constraints and external challenges, that might hinder the implementation of the completion of the project in full, and this is the most important obstacles and challenges are as follows:

4.1 The internal constraints

1-Absence of Arab consensus on a specific definition of the concept of terrorism as one of the objectives of funding the joint force, There is a wide dispute among the Arab countries towards this concept, and with the exception of the "ISIS," If we take the example of the "Muslim Brotherhood Group", is classified as a terrorist organization in Egypt, but not in other countries, and then how could to use a joint Arab military force to hunt down this group where they are? Specially if a number of Arab countries do not classify it.

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2. Variation in the political and military situation of Arab countries about vital crises such as the Syrian and Libyan crises, how can that employs joint Arab force to intervene in this crisis, and how can define the concept of regional security in regard of the difference or variance of list of threats from one country to another? Issues may become increasingly complex in the case of sincerity of claims repeated by some media in recent times about the presence of variation in the perceptions of some files between the major Arab states, particularly with regard to relations with Turkey and to deal with some controversial groups about the possibility of considering them as terrorist groups.

3. The challenge of activating the joint Arab defense agreement, which means the need for consent of all the states of the Arab League, which is difficult in regard of the deep-rooted political differences between some Arab countries, which makes Arab reconciliation initial step for the implementation of the agreement if it will become a legal framework that will be the reference of the joint Arab force. Joint Arab force and can be beyond this problem by relying on a regulatory framework which is limited just to countries that wishing to participate in the joint force only with the possibility of expanding its scope in the future.

4- The collapse of some old regular armies in number of Arab countries or sliding into the midst of the civil war and the conflict for power like Syria, Iraq, Libya and Yemen. On the other hand we find the regular Arab armies which survived from collapse or civil war either they are modest in census and armament like some armies of the Gulf, and Lebanon, or countries are immersed in a fierce wars against terrorism like Egyptian army.

5- Wide and obvious variation between the possibilities of individual Arab countries, when we find that some of the Arab countries that do don't have any financial problems but they lack good armament or required experience, we find others that are well armed and have a deep experience, but they are suffering from a deteriorating economic indicators, which will necessarily be reflected in the form of the emergence of problems in operations budgeting, financial issues, training and equipment efficiently use.

[5] Adel Alkady, Differences hinder the formation of a "joint Arab force", <http://altagreer.com/>, May 2015.

4.2 The external challenges

1-The fear of number of Non-Arab countries from the joint Arab military force, although terrorism has become a threat to everybody, but a number of Western forces that *selectively fight* terrorism may find in the joint Arab force a threat to their interests, and therefore, it is expected that Some countries oppose the draft standard Arab power, and resort to pressure on the potential participating countries in order to prevent them from participation, or to encourage other Arab countries to reject the idea of interference in their affairs through a joint Arab force under the pretext of preventing "sensitivities" or taking into account the considerations of "sovereignty". What strengthens this hypothesis is the recent refusal of the United States and some European countries for Egyptian efforts to pass a Security Council resolution authorizing international military action against "ISIS" and other armed militias in Libya, along the lines of the international coalition in Iraq and Syria.

2- There is a perception of some countries to expand the military alliance to include "Turkey" to create a military *Sunni* alliance instead of the Arab one, to be able to make a regional balance with "Iran", which is set for expansion in Lebanon, Iraq, Yemen, Syria, and try to influence the Shiites situation in Bahrain and eastern Saudi Arabia, as well as having the possibility of the imminent signing of the deal of understanding between Iran and Western countries on the nuclear issue. In other words, close ties with some of the

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international and regional powers impedes the establishment of this force, these other countries see in this force a direct threat to its interests and influence (such as Turkey, Iran), which may hinder the establishment of the force negotiations, since the initial approval for some Arab countries on the establishment of a joint force does not necessarily guarantee the completion of the task.

4.3 Overcoming obstacles and challenges

Although there are a lot of problems facing the establishment of joint Arab force, but there are also many positive signs in this regard, and including:

1-Hazm Storm: despite the failures that occurred to Arabs military cooperation reinforcement attempts among them, history did not deprive them from some successful instantaneous experiments that can be guided by them in the future, whether through the wars that took place between them and Israel or during the process of liberation of Kuwait in 1991, and then enter the Island Shield forces in Bahrain in 2011, leading to the experience of the most prominent in the Saudi-led Arab forces directing painful blows against the strongholds of the Houthis in Yemen through the process of " Hazm Storm " in March 2015, when 185 fighter aircraft participated process, including one hundred of Saudi Arabia and thirty from the UAE and 15 from Kuwait and the same of Bahrain, while Qatar participated ten aircraft, and Jordan with six aircraft, as well as Morocco six aircraft, and Sudan in three planes, as Egypt, Jordan, Sudan, Tunisia, Djibouti indicated its willingness to participate in the land process If the circumstances lead to this option.

2- Some indications of flexibility: Egypt has been keen to facilitate the formation of the Arab military forces process across a variety of ways, most notably: confirmation that participation in the proposed force would be optional, and the contribution will be according to the capabilities of each country, it was announced that the roles distribution of the participating Arab countries in those forces is dependent on military participation from countries with armies and equipment, as they will receive logistical support from other countries.

It has also taken into account that if found it is difficult to work under the umbrella of the Arab countries, the participating countries will form the legitimacy, as happened in the international coalition to confront ISIS.

Some Egyptian officials had already announced that if the Egyptian proposal has not been approved by the Arab summit, the force will be formed by those attended and agreed.

3-Support the Arab summit: the 26th Arab summit approval to the Egyptian draft resolution of the establishment of a joint Arab force -which was approved by the Arab foreign ministers during their preparatory meetings - gave impetus to efforts to form a joint Arab force, the summit authorized the presidency of the last session represented in Egypt to begin forming steps of the joint force and present the results of its work within three months on the special meeting of the Board of the Joint Arab Defense for approval.

The Secretary-General pointed out that the high-level team under the supervision of the Chiefs of Staff of the armed forces of the participation wishing countries will be invited to a meeting in a month to study all aspects of the subject and propose operational procedures and mechanisms of action, pointing out that the communication has already begun to call for the meeting.

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4-the world reassurance: Emphasis was placed across many media channels and political meetings for many of the Arab leaders that the joint Arab force proposed to be established is not directed against any party, and the aim of its creation is to contribute to the achievement of the desired stability and preserve the unity of the Arab nation and the preservation of its resources, as well as realize the hopes and aspirations of their people , especially that the region is going through severe turbulence and polarization phase.

5- Amendment of the Charter of the Arab League: The last Arab summit synchronized with seventy anniversary of the Arab League, and in this regard foreign ministers' meeting provides a request for amendment of the Charter of the Arab League to the summit in preparation for the adoption of the proposed amendments, especially those relating to the Council of the Arab Peace and Security system draft, which confirms that the establishment of the Council of the Arab Peace and Security as one of the league tools works to achieve the goals of peace reinforcement, security and stability in the member states as well as frightening against international terrorism in all its forms and aspects to coordinate the efforts, which would pave the legal, political and institutional environment for the establishment and activation of joint Arab force.

6- USA support: USA Secretary of Defense Ashton Carter has confirmed during the visit, "Fort Drum" military base in New York state to support his country's Arab plans to establish a joint military force to encounter the increasing security threats in the Middle East, and that the Pentagon would cooperate in areas where USA interests are compatible with Arab interests, in particular, that a number of Arab participants already have bilateral security partnerships with the United States.

Perhaps the USA welcoming of that shift in Arab strategy which is not directed against Israel is returning to Washington's desire to abandon the direct involvement policy in regional conflicts in order to support its allies and intend to rely on regional agents to act as a regional policeman on its behalf and under her leadership and directed within the leadership strategy from behind.

[6] Ahmed Aatef, How do the Arab states exceed the common force creation barriers? , Regional Centre for Strategic Studies in Cairo, March 2015, article in Region Situation journal.

4.4 Some recommendations

From the foregoing, it became clear that the joint Arab force has become an urgent necessity in many Arab countries, to enable them to address the risks and threats to the whole region, though the formation of this force is facing challenges and obstacles threaten idea, which requires from some Arab countries the convergence of views among themselves on some of the points of contention about regional issues and topics, and overcoming them in order to support the Arab national security, and also pressure on international allies in order to support a proposed joint force, and there are other recommendations proposed in this regard, namely:

1. Exploit the support of some international parties to form a joint Arab force, such as Russia, which expressed support for the open through the envoy of President "Vladimir Putin" comments for the Middle East, "Mikhail Bjaddanov" who expressed his country's welcome and support for the idea, during a meeting with the Secretary of the Arab League.

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Thus, it is possible that the Arab countries, for example, are seeking to Moscow to get the necessary weapons to the force and military equipment.

2. It is very important to select elements for the joint force from elite units within the Arab armies, and the highest level of combat training and technical efficiency.

3. Launching a special fund so early- regardless the finishing of the agreement- to provide funding for the arming the joint Arab force, and keeping this fund permanent available, not just in case of operations nor even with the support of financially capable countries .

4. Action execution to unify as much as possible arms and training systems to the Arab armies, with the exchange of information on the various sources of military threats.

5. Conclusion

Finally; the formation of a joint Arab force represents an urgent necessity in the light of the threats experienced by the Arab region, including imposes on the Arab countries need to work in order to make it successful, and to overcome the challenges facing its foundation by setting clear criteria for the use of joint Arab force, define their objectives clearly, and agree on fixed resources for funding even perform its functions effectively and not get stuck in the future, taking into account the principle of non-interference by one of the members of the internal affairs of another member states, and to strengthen the foundations of democracy, good governance and the rule of law and protection of human rights, and respect for international humanitarian law in the context of conflicts prevention efforts ,stop them, managing and resolution.

6. References:

[1] Ahmed Aatef, *How do the Arab states exceed the common force creation barriers?* , Regional Centre for Strategic Studies in Cairo, March 2015, article in Region Situation journal.

[2] Ahmed Kamel Elbehairy, *Security threats facing the Arab region after the revolutionary movement.* , Regional Centre for Strategic Studies in Cairo, February 2015, article in Region Situation journal.

[3] Haby Tarek, *Proposed formation of a joint Arab force. Justifications and obstacles,* Regional Centre for Strategic Studies in Cairo, March 2015, article in Region Situation journal.

[4] Mustafa Basuiny, *Joint Arab force is moving with rapid steps,* <http://assafir.com/>, May 2015.

[5] Adel Alkady, *Differences hinder the formation of a "joint Arab force",* <http://altagreer.com/>, May 2015.

[6] Ahmed Aatef, *How do the Arab states exceed the common force creation barriers?* , Regional Centre for Strategic Studies in Cairo, March 2015, article in Region Situation journal.