

The Changing Foundation of Geopolitics Genome in the Arab Middle East

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Abstract

Some scholars in politics and International affairs believe that geographic specifications, which are hiding genetically behavior codes of a country, build countries' politics. Therefore, politicians are forced unintentionally to implement them. Genome geopolitics is the geographic map of politics in a country, which has a great effect on shaping political behavior in the international system. Therefore, just as much as a man acts according to his genome map, countries are also steered by genetic codes. The rise of new political movements in Arab countries is a sign of the development in the hidden geopolitics code of their political behaviors' history. In this paper, the author attempts to show that new movements in Arab countries are the results of a transition in the nature of changing geopolitical factors.

Keywords: Arab Middle East, Arab spring, Human Awakening, Genome Geopolitics

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- *There are two methods; it seems to me, of approaching this strange business of the Paul Horse. In spite of the dictum of the while king, it is difficult to achieve simplicity. Once can not, that is to say, "being at a beginning, go to the end and then stop". For where is the beginning? To a historian, that always is the difficult. At what point is history does one particular portion of history being?*

*Agatha Christie*¹

Introduction

Whatever is the phenomenon called variously “Islamic or human awakening”, “Arab spring”, and “democratization”, it shows that political geography of the Middle East and the North of Africa are still affected by the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. All these events are indicators of an earthquake that deeply affects the political map of the region. The question arises here as to the future map of the world. What will the future world map look like? Which actors will change the game in the international system? Those who created new capabilities by changing their strategies, so that other countries can adjust their own positions based on their approach, would be able to shape decisions. Those actors, although would dramatically cost themselves, would help reopening diplomatic deadlocks including the conflict between Iran and the US, transition of Hamas’ ideals, adopting nuclear weapons or quitting them, peace between Arabs and Israel, and government of China Sea. A new look at those five geostrategic issues of the world shows that the Middle East is the heart of politics in the contemporary world. The symbolic question is, what natural features best describe the Middle East to make it such an unforgettable issue in the geo-strategic arena. The author answers that the foundation of the Middle East’s nature includes some hidden aspects that come to existence selectively during every era. This article is based on a descriptive research method. However, since this is a new procedure to describe an old phenomenon, it lacks a background in such a way that the author is free to describe what is important for him. The paper argues that the application of a new procedure that is the theoretical

¹ Agatha Christie, *The Hound of Death* (in Persian), translated by Mahmood Habibi, Tehran: Hermes, p. 1

framework of the research's title is selected from the wide domain of geopolitics, namely genome geopolitics. The paper's hypothesis, based on that theoretical foundation, is as follows: it seems that the institutionalized geopolitical characters of the geographical regional body of the Middle East have a renewing feature in which "classical" elements are recreated as "new" ones. The "becoming" process of geopolitical foundations makes the Middle East the most dynamic area in the world in terms of political geography.

Part one: about the Middle East

The amazing political complexity of the region is based on geopolitical coordinates. "The region of The Middle East includes the most persistent and the most critical focus of controversies, between Arabs and the occupying regime. Regional states have their own controversies about border issues and hierarchies of power. None of the regional states are free from feeling danger about its borders from neighbor countries. Foreign interventions and influences coming from the international system are among the persistent and renowned features of the Middle East (Abolhassan Shirazi *et al.*, 2011: 201). The stable features of the region are as follows: ethical- tribal division, religious division, dissatisfaction with borders determined by former exploiter governments according to their own interests, contest among old ambitious rulers and their continuous attempts to find foreign supporters who can manipulate the balance of power and help them outweigh the benefits of their competitors (Barkeshly, 1999: 9).

According to an argument, "Although the region is facing similar issues as many former colonies, it differs from them in terms of three aspects. First, in terms of geographical position, the Middle East is one of the most important air, land and marine transit regions. Second, 75% of the world's oil reserves exist in the Middle East. Third, the Middle East is the battlefield for one of the fiercest controversies of the century, seemingly an eternal one, between Arabs and Israel"(Lenchovski, 1943: 7). The Middle East is very competitive with an old, and not newly emerged, history, because it has magical contents: "the Middle East has such enchanting interests for original and international actors none of them can afford to lose these critical interests" (Solaymani, 2000: 135). The three vital straits are enough to make the Middle East the most strategic region of the world, namely the Strait of Hormoz, Bab-el-

Mandeb, and the Suez Canal, because they collectively include the main source of the world's energy as well as the main channels of energy transition.

Modern events in the Middle East seem to be already lied in the ego of the region. Nowadays, the same factors that aided the rise and the evolution of Arab nationalism in the turn-of-the-century are doing the same to new movements in the Arab world, known as Arab spring, with both names of "human awakening" and "Islamic awakening". In the former period, "domination of the European imperial powers, the influence of culture and civilization, and political and social ideals of Western liberal thoughts on one hand, and the increasing decline and weakness of the Ottoman Empire along with internal tyranny of Sultan Abdul Hamid's rule on the other, and especially Young Turks, are considered the factors affecting the growth and solidification of Arab nationalism movement" (Ahmadi, 1990: 88-87). Therefore, the Middle East has become a political, historical and cultural phenomenon, which is both classical and modern at the same time.

The chain events in Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, Yemen, Bahrain and Syria once more made of the Arab Middle East the focus of attention in international politics. The international system is changing so Arab counties have found the opportunity to redefine their roles. Thus, the phenomenon deservedly called "human or Islamic awakening" is the natural reaction to what is called the identity and the history of the Middle East. This phenomenon is based on various hierarchical layers constituting identity, cultural, and civilizational structures of a vast region called The Middle East, whose destiny and nature is a mixture of various contradictions and contrasts. The current chaos going on in the Arab Middle East is surprising in one term.

The Middle East is identified by various crises. Middle Eastern people are familiar with crisis and chaos, because ever since World War II, political developments in the Middle East have been affected by two types of controversies, namely the prevalence controversy resulted from the Cold War and the regional Arab/Israel struggle. Numerous factors intensify the consistent conflicts of the Middle East as follows: population trends such as immigration, ethical, religious or civil wars, unsolvable land conflicts and lack of drinkable water (Camp and Harkawi, 2004: 131). But nowadays, affected by the two concurrent ways of democratic awakening and demand for Islam, the classical identifying

characters of the Middle East have created a new social movement the evidence of which are some similarities between genomes of culture, politics and community in the Middle East. These similarities can recreate the map of politics' genome for the Middle Eastern countries, though it is not yet believable that the presumptions of democracy such as participation, believing in multiplicity, committing to development, respecting to people rights, and public self-governance could come to existence in Middle Eastern countries (Grigsby, 2009: 106). However, some have considered the new events in the region as a step forward. On the other hand, some others have proposed various reasons why the project of promoting democracy in the Middle East has failed (Burnell and Young, 2010: 153-70). In this way, they refer to oil revenues that can cover on failures of the government and the priority of security issues toward Israel aggressions as a factor for internal repression. However, active youngs and syber space are limiting rulers that is unique phenomenon in the politics of Arab countries.

Part two: Geopolitical genome

Geopolitical code is a form of agenda, strategic resumption, and an imaginary mental plan which make the identity of politics, particularly policy-making approaches in two arenas of domestic and foreign politics, pre-identified so that countries, willing or not, have no choice but accepting them. Accepting this presumption means accepting that "there would be many geopolitical codes that could map onto the existing governments. Although each code is unique for a specific country, such as issue wouldn't be confined to a single independent space" (Ezzati, 1994: 96). We can say that the Middle East generally, and in the Arab Middle East particularly, are a set of countries under the control of identical geopolitical codes, or geopolitical genome, which determines their domestic and foreign political behaviors. The Middle East and the Arab Middle East are the major, and maybe the most important, parts of the Islamic world. The Islamic world itself is consisted of the Middle Islamic World, the Eastern Islamic World and the Western Islamic World (Ezzati, 1993: 170-171). However, in terms of identifying a society, features considered as the commonality between these three regions are as follows: inconsistency of beliefs, lack of reference to spirituality, lack of linkage with historical classicality, lack of understanding of the geographical situation, and finally, lack of proper utilization of energy

sources. Therefore, the genetic backwardness mapping of the Middle East could be based on these five properties and seek a solution hereupon.

Geopolitics is a science that allows the scientist and the politician to make a good use of geographic position of the territory's strategic marine sensitiveness as well as the land and economic, water and energy sources "in order to realize a government's foreign policies and political override in a region or across the world" (Mojtahedzadeh, 2002: 129). The irony is that the Middle East is the only region in the world possessing all geo-economic, geo-strategic, hydro-political, and geo-cultural characters at the same time.

From this perspective, the Middle East is certainly the only geographical region in the world that possesses hydro-political and geo-cultural properties along with dynamics derived from its geo-strategy and geo-economy. Thus, if one considers the Northern, the Central and the Southern America, along with the European Union, the Balkan, the Sub-Sahara African countries, the central Asia, the Caucasus, the southern Asia, the south-eastern Asia and the Asia Pacific as the most credited geopolitical and geostrategic regions in the world (Minai, 2007: 125), he will see none of them as important as the Middle East, which is based on a geopolitical square.

Some people point to features such as common hemisphere and the importance of Arabic language to describe the similarities of the Middle Eastern countries, while mentioning nationalism and the vast spectrum of political governments as their dissimilarities (Biomont *et al.*, 1990: 7). However, land-based similarity of the Middle East, i.e. the existence of four major corridors, have made the supervision over them more important geopolitically, while making the region "a vast region for transiting and major intersection of the world" (Biomont *et al.*, 1990: 9).

The term "Middle East" refers to a broad land ended in Indian subcontinent from the north, and in the red sea and beyond it from the Caucasus, which, due to the consistency of environmental phenomenon and the influence of common issues such as Arab/Israel conflict/peace, have consisted a geopolitical region with a political environment. According to a definition, "the term 'Middle East' identifies a cultural region. As a result, there is no specific border for it" (Abulhasan Shirazi *et al.*, 2011: 7). Therefore, not only Jordan, UAE, Syria, Bahrain, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Lebanon, Egypt, Yemen and Palestine, but also Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Morocco, Mauritania, Somalia, Turkey, Cyprus,

and even Iran and Afghanistan have been considered as the Middle Eastern countries.

The constituting elements of politics in the western Arab countries including Mauritania, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, the middle Arabic countries including Sudan, Egypt, Somalia, Djibouti, Eritrea, Jordan, Palestine, Lebanon and the eastern Arabic countries including Yemen, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Kuwait, Bahrain, Oman and UAE are as follows: classical colonization, energy, water crisis, religious fundamentalism, relationships with superpowers, political Islam, Israel/Arab controversies, Palestine ideal, unelected authoritarian governments, weak and failed states, and globalization. Thus, as though some kind of emerging geopolitical transition has made the new situation an anti hegemonic trick. However, the anti hegemonic nature of the situation in the region has become an anti self phenomenon, because the lack of democratic peace have deluged the region and prevented integration against the existing hegemonism. The major political regional dilemma of the Middle East, the lack of democratic political institutions, has made the link between state and war to be historically of a coexisting nature, i.e. "The Middle Eastern governments have launched the war, though they have been shaped by war" (Kamrava, 2009: 335).

The triumph of security orientation over politics in the Middle East has made various gaps in countries to which the share of a common element such as Islam and religious-based culture could seem a unifying one. However, the lack of democratic institutions and procedures, political regimes' repressions, relying on security forces, relying on ethnicity and minority, monopoly of parties, the contents of political regimes, costliness, inefficiency and inconsistency of leading systems along with creating various obstacles in the way of completing the procedure of state making and building nation states altogether have let the dysfunction gene of development deficit embrangle the crisis-making linkage between state and civil society and lead these countries to economic and political crises. In fact, states of the Arab Middle East are failed so that they should be changed gently.

New political movements in the Arab Middle East are coming from the geopolitical genome in the region while influencing genetic movements in geopolitical arena at the same time. What distinguishes the Middle East from other regions in the world is the mixture of classical and modern elements that influence each other and provide modern

situations. All classical geostrategic, geopolitical, geo-economical, hydro-political and geo-cultural features are bound together in the so called Arab Spring movements, providing some kind of mutation in the political geographical genome map of The Arab Middle East region.

Part three: ingredients of the Middle East's geopolitical map

Which geographical region could be mentioned, except the Middle East, as an example of a region in which divine religions have grown and contacted each other? And which one, except the Middle East, is an example of a place in which major civilizations have emerged and declined? The answer is "none". In one sense, the Middle East is the most classical historical phenomenon placed on an intersection of classical conflicts in various eras.

The history of colonization and entry superpowers relations

Bernard Lewis has deservedly pointed to what is now called "the history of colonization and get involved in superpowers' rivalries". As he puts it, the beginning of the modern age in the Middle East, just like other parts of the world, is usually determined since the beginning of the West's penetration, to be exact, since European imperialism entered and nourished in the region, founding a change process. Although the date is a discrepancy, three important events have been mentioned as starting points of this influence, namely arrival of the French army to Egypt in 1798, the treaty of Kuchuk Kaynarja 1774 for the triumphed Russians against the Ottoman Empire, and the defeat of Turks in Vienna in 1683. However, the important thing was the neighbors of dar ul-Islam (the house/abode of Islam) which were called dar ul-harb (the house/abode of war). Among the members of such a house in the West and the East, only one was called "the great disloyal enemy". In Lewis's words: "Near the eastern borders of Islam, particularly the north-western borders, in the land of European Greek or Latin Christians, the situation was different, where Muslims truly saw a competitor a global religion believing in inspiration of a prophet, the follower of which considered their prophet's verses the ultimate inspirations of God, and regarded a duty for themselves as to send the message of their religion to all humans. In Christianity, just as in Islam, religious belief found a political and military supporter where shaping powerful sovereign governments, the rise of great empires, war and other technologies were applied for the

progress of beliefs. By the passing of time, Christians grew to be the first-class unbelievers, and the Christian Europe become the ultimate example of dar ul-harb” (Lewis, 2002: 278).

Lewis also pointed to another important issue, that is, “during the 20th century, it became clear for Middle Eastern people, and certainly for all Muslim, that something unpleasant has happened to them. Islamic world, compared to its classical counterpart, Christianity, is poor, weak and undeveloped. During 19th and 20th centuries, Western advantage became obvious, and hence its prominence. Muslims began to see how the West dictates to all public, even private, aspects of their lives” (Lewis, 2005: 319). However, Middle Eastern people, instead of blaming others, should refuge to self-criticism. They should convert the question of “who did this to us?” which would lead them to anxious abstractionism and conspiracy theories, to the question of “what mistakes did we made and how to fix this distortion” (Lewis, 2005: 319). However, the Middle East involuntary has entered into a different arena of struggles of some other type.

The majority of new-emerging nations are not much interested in ideological struggles between the Soviet and the United States. They would rather merely want to enjoy political independence and get rid of the irritant poverty. Thus, they wanted to take advantage of both systems, preferably when the Soviet and the US competing each other in dedicating resources to these countries in order to express their loyalty. During the middle of 1950s, each of the two superpowers believed that the ideological systems’ liveliness in the future would be dependant to triumph over the world. Even if an additional superpower had existed, it would have the same belief. The United States and the Soviet were two expanding forces developed for many regions, including Asia, at least since 19th century. Cold war reinforced these motivations and allowed both sides to intensify and justify their historical willingness for development with anti-communism and anti-imperialism defensive terms (Laghebar, 1997, 194-5). The cold war between the two superpowers revived the discrepancies of Middle Eastern people’s historical, political, and cultural ego.

During the years after the World War I, two dissenting trends were in place between Arab people. One of these trends was the development of territorial nationalism between the states of the newly constituted nation states that have been entered into a struggle to take their full

independence back from British and French colonial rule. The other trend was the ideal of Arab unity, to which all Arabs were more or less adhesive. They believed that Arabs are artificially separated to be weakened so they could be easily kept under Western dominance. Hence, all Arabs were supposed to be unified in order to defend Arab dignity and liveliness (Mensfield, 2006, 264). Therefore, nationalism, Islam and pan-Arabism were three separate political forces that synthesized during World Wars, particularly during World War II, and made great quakes in the whole Middle East region. A closely look at cold war driven events (Young, 2005: 1-127) shows that the geo-political/ideological aspects of the global struggle between the Soviet Union and the United States objectively emerged as crises that captured the whole history of political developments after World War II. The Middle East was the most important and probably the most turbulent of these regions, because it had embedded geopolitical, economical, military, ideological, religious fundamentalism aspects altogether.

In the initial days of Cold War, the US and its Western allies heavily attempted to reach thoroughly the north of Africa and the Middle East as well as the regional countries' inside and their coasts along with the Mediterranean Sea by founding a system of air and marine bases and thereby maintaining the Red Sea and the north-eastern Indian Ocean. These activities were apparently the reflection of "containment of the margin land" strategy directed to counter Soviets' inclinations towards expansion (Camp and Harkaway, 2004:1). Therefore, from a geopolitical perspective, the Middle East became a persistent battlefield for various battles between the two superpowers, because unending struggles between Arabs and Israel had inherently provided a wide area of interest to which none of the sides could be neglectful.

B) Struggles between Arabs and Israel and the ideal of Palestine

Palestine has nowadays turned out to be a political issue which is both a dilemma and an ideal simultaneously. If there would ever be a third world war, it was more likely routed in Palestine dilemma. During a meeting in 2005, King Abdullah of Jordan said to George W. Bush that "it is impossible to solve the existing problems of Islamic World and end violence there without resolving the dilemma of Palestine" (Davidson, 2009: 9, Translators' foreword). Some have considered the struggle between Arabs and Israel as an unsolvable disobedient one intensifying

militarization in the region dramatically, which, in their opinions, could result in a battle between superpowers (Drisdell and Bleak, 1995: 359). in order to evidence this argument, it is enough to mention a mass of existing words derived from an apparently simple Arabic/Jewish struggle: political Zionism, Arab nationalism, the Balfour Declaration, Jews' immigration, the inhabitancy of lands by Jews, the birth of Israel, Palestine break up, Palestinians' dispersion, Palestine Liberation Organization, Palestinian nationalism, Camp David, Yom Kippur, the Altitude of Jolan, Western Coast, Gaza Strip, and Sina Desert. The struggle is apparently simple, where there are two nations, namely Israeli Jew people and Palestinian people, both claim inhabitancy over a single land, which one side calls Israel, and the other, Palestine. However, the conflict is complicated so that it merges all political phenomena in the geopolitical genome map of the Middle East.

Some believe that Arab/Israel struggle, with all its complexities and history, simply avoids a simple one-time-forever solution for a crisis. Such struggles rarely lead to peace, often eroding the sides mentally as well as physically... The ultimate solution to this struggle certainly would not be realized by signing an agreement. Even if, supposedly, such an agreement is signed, the problem continues to exist in terms of defining the exact meaning of *coexistence*. Any attempt at continuing the existing trend will result in more violence (Kissinger, 2002: 266). It seems that the struggle has crossed the borders of mere nationalism becoming linked to ideology and theology. Therefore, finding a fundamental and ultimate solution to this problem is very difficult.

In fact, the issue of the relationship between Arabs and Israel has always been triggering a considerable amount of sensation and anxiety among the members of both sides. It is an eruptive composite of factors such as ground, religious and nation. Before 1940, annoyed Jews in Central and Eastern Europe were seeking a land on which their ancestors had received inspiration from God while considering the constitution of a conservative government for themselves. On the other side, the foundation of Israel regime resulted in the disperse of Palestinians and the forming foundation of Palestinian minorities in various corners of the region that, in turn, never lost the dream of getting the occupied lands back, the lands they lost in 1948 and 1967. They have always been acclaiming a Palestinian government that lets them get rid of the disperse camps in other Arabic countries (Toushar *et al.*, 2005, 854).

Though having its historical roots, Israel is a new country whose development in the post-war era has been wonderful. The large majority of the people who created this country were those people who had left the Europe, on which the bloods of Jews had been shed. Most of those young combatants and pioneers who arrived to the land known as Palestine before 1975 had seen their families assassinated by Hitler in Poland, even after the war had been ended. The various European Jews who hadn't even a common language were obliged to be a nation having a common goal above all: never to be defenseless anymore (Grenouille, 1999: 843). If, as one has put, many of the Middle Eastern countries “are endeavoring to escape from poverty” (Findley and Rothney, 2000: 700), Israelis is also “seeking security” (Findley and Rothney, 2000: 710). Therefore, there is a permanent struggle between these two frontiers for survival.

c) Governments’ specifications and the emergence of failed states

The Middle East is known as a geographical region full of failed governments. Inefficiency, incompetency, and corruption of governmental bodies are obvious as the public dissatisfactions in all wealthy and poor governments. Physical violence is exerted by regional governments... Nowadays, shortage of dwelling, unemployment, and poor public services are the major signs of failure in a government’s policies, which has found a political meaning. The success of opposition Islamic movements is to a large extent the result of governments’ failure in responding to such dissatisfactions (Martin, 2004: 145).

State-society relationships in the Middle East have been of a ruling nature. Over time, an implicit agreement have been constituted between Governmental elites on one side and social classes and actors on the other based on which governments have taken responsibility for satisfying peoples’ economic, physical, and emotional needs. Peoples, in exchange, have followed governments in political arena and showed their satisfaction (Kamrava, 2009: 354). Ruling regimes in the Middle East are specified by features such as patrimonialism, sovereignty, poor political legitimacy, security nature of the governments, and the emergence of rentier states. Such features block the possibility of democratic transition on one side, and intensify fundamentalism on the other, both considered as a barrier for democracy (Ranjbar, 2011: 189).

However, bloodless governments of the Middle East, particularly the Arab Middle East, are dealing with another astonishing contradiction. The most fundamental reality is that the development of communication systems in rigid societies would make it so difficult to provide access for citizens to uncensored information while staying a part of global economy at the same time (Camp and Harkawy, 2004, vol. 2, 341-2). Hereupon, "election in most of the Middle Eastern countries, with a few exceptions, is a meaningless factitious ceremony in order to gain public attention and admiration (Martin, 2004: 155-6). These governments are not modern enough to satisfy middle class citizens' demands and make beneficial deals with progressive countries nor are they traditional enough to make the recessive wishes of religious fundamentalists in their societies. Therefore, some kind of regime change has emerged in the Middle East which we can call according to Barrington "the continuum of change and transition from authoritarian systems to democratic ones" (Barrington, 2010: 445) in order to describe and explain the developments of the Arab World. In fact, the way to achieve sustainable democracy, initially, is the collapse of fake democracies founding democratic institutions. This has seemingly begun already with the collapse of some weak and failed governments, malfunctioning, non-functioning and dysfunction ones, in the Middle East region.

d) Fundamentalism and political Islam

Fundamentalism compares politics, or all personal and social aspects of life, to the two of inspiration in a second level. Seen from this perspective, and political and social life should be organized based on some fundamental initial principles of religion and, generally, with the support of believing in pure truth of holy scripts. Some consider "fundamentalism as a sign of adaptability sickness, from which societies suffer once they get used to a secular modern culture". The second explanation maintains that fundamentalism has a consistent importance believing that this thought is a result of the failure of secular trend in satisfying the everlasting wish of human as to achieve the transcendental truth or the spiritual truth" (Heywood, 2010: 95).

The emergence of fundamentalism and political Islam has historical grounds. Hinnebusch considers governmental forces such as imperialism, nationalism, war, oil, Islam, and globalization along with unique geopolitical and economic positions as the determining factors of the

Middle Eastern countries' foreign policies. However, the mentioned transnational forces have a synergic interaction, because none of them could be considered in isolation: "in the late 1970s, war increased the pace of influence for the two new forces that affected the regional system and its component companies. The 1967 war ruined the status of western secular nationalists and opened the doors for a new renewing ideology in the region: political Islam. The 1973 war intensified the incremental rate of oil price, which brought about a huge wealth for the region. These two forces acted as threats, leading the region to a dichotomy; oil, which mainly had a conservative direction, some kind of Islam, inclined towards a new fundamentalism (Hinnebusch, 2003: 200\$).

In 19th century, the Arab world had a considerable influence on elites across the Islamic world, which gave rise to two intellectual styles among them: some believed in the return of Islamic beliefs' principles and roots, others tried to modernize Islam by adapting it to the West's philosophical and technical ideals and the Principles of human rights declaration of 1789, attempting to mix them with Marxism in order to serve nationalistic wishes in the colonized world (Tushar *et al.*, 2005: 131-2). Fundamentalism, as a political ideology, has the following contents and bases: a linkage between religion and politics, opposing to ontological and ideological relativity, opposing to modernism and the requirements of the modern era, aggression and readiness for outlaw political action (Ranjbar, 2011: 119). However, nowadays we are facing uncontrollable forces that, instead of more rational political programs, believe, or just claim to believe, that Islam is the only solution (Faust, 2007: 105). They maintain that, although the Middle East is so wealthy, there is a fundamental dilemma in the structure of inefficient and dependent Middle Eastern regimes to hold them back. According to many of them, turning to original principles and altering political Islam would be a redeemer solution. However, the same Islamists adhering to the statement of "Islam is the only solution" had been classified into various categories. This direction, Michael Sodaro considers "multiple Islams" all of which entered somehow in politics and government, taking leadership and political power in various Islamic countries. Like fundamentalists, monocratic secularists, conservationists and democratizing secularists have acted all the same (Sodaro, 2008: 336). Thus, it at least can be accepted that the development known as Arab Spring has provided the possibility of widespread controversies among the adherents of the four

schools in the Middle East. The issue may pave the way for democratic mechanisms to participate even more in the current controversies.

e) Energy (oil and gas)

Many aspects of political geography in the Middle East and the North of Africa that are somehow influenced by the huge wealth derived from oil. Oil is as the cause of existence for some of the Middle Eastern countries. Since oil has played a significant role in intensifying geographical asymmetry of wealth, it has been significantly effective in changing the balance of power within the region. Incremental competition for oil resources, which the region is running out of, may lead to confrontation in the future. Nowadays, “according to all of the accepted standards, the Middle East and the North of Africa are the most important regions in the world. Certain resources in other parts of the world have proved very little in comparison... The irony is that 9 out of the 10 biggest oil fields and 28 of super giant fields lie in the Middle East (Drisdell and Bleak, 1374: 428-430)

During the post war era, struggles occurred in the turbulent battlefield of the Middle East, most important of which were oil industry incidents. Political struggles in the region certainly affected oil industry. However, the growth of oil industry has given the Middle East a unique shape and a situation that wouldn't otherwise be gained (Odell, 1972: 187). Therefore, the Arab Middle East would have been of some other genetic map not much triggering geopolitical and geostrategic sensitiveness if it had not such oil vast resources. Therefore, oil geo-economy has changed Arabs/Israel competitions in the region, giving them even more sensitiveness.

If we presume that the future power of the world would be owned by those who can supervise and interfere in the world's energy strategy, we will have to admit that the new term “strategic oval of energy” is to determine the future of world competitions: “about 70 percent of the world's proved oil resources and over 40 percent of world's natural gas resources lie in this egg-shaped area from the south of Soviet and Kazakhstan to Saudi Arabia and the UAE” (Akhbari and Ayazi, 2007:37-8). The development of oil is an evidence of various aspects derived from the social and political role of oil industry: seen from the social point of view, this industry is a progressive yet disruptive factor. On economic point of view, the industry is the key to financial balance and constructive programs. Finally, from political point of view, the industry has created

some kind of interdependences between the Middle East and the West (Lenchovsky, 1963: 9). In other words, nowadays the Middle East turned into “the world’s geopolitical bottleneck” (Faust, 2007: 201).

f) Water crisis

Regional distribution of drinkable water is very heterogeneous in the world. It does not suit the distribution of population. Among various regions in the world, namely Northern America, Southern America, the Middle East, Europe, Africa, Oceania, and Asia, the Middle East is the most heterogeneous region in terms of the relative amount of water to population. The Middle East, having 5% of world's population, only owns 1% of the total drinkable water. The whole situation will get even worse if one notices that “the sources of drinkable water in the Middle East are: rivers entering from outside of the region, underground water substrate, and desalting the water of the seas. Over 50% of the population of the Middle East lies in areas that have common and international water basins, having the water desalted or using pumps to utilize them. Two thirds of Arab people’s consuming water is supplied by non-Arab regions, when 25% of Arab people live in areas lacking permanent flowing water. The situation is even worse the Arab Subcontinent and Libyan Desert. With Libya being included, the Arab areas of the Middle East include 1.8 square miles of grounds without permanent resources or surface flows of water. Iraq, Egypt, Syria, and Jordan obtain respectively 66, 91, 34, and 36 percent of their water outside of their borders”(Mokhtarihesi and Ghaderihajat, 2008: 47). The battle of the future will be that of water, because industrialization and development and creating a consuming market requires drinkable water supply. Moreover, the increasing population growth, which has been usually of astonishing rates in the region, emphasizes the need for drinkable water.

g) Globalization

Globalization is an emerging phenomenon. Yet it is not unknown. Nor it is unpredictable since the development of human society represents separation from geography and ground-based altitudes: globalization is considered as a trend according to which many social relations relatively lose their linkages with geography (Bernell and Rendall, 2010, 229). Nowadays, globalization is given the various phenomena of human life some transnational attribute and made them separated from a specific land and included the international arena. In this line, both the international expansion of democratic values and the spread of terrorism

are the results of globalization. Heywood is right to argue that globalization is both a process and a policy along with a marketing strategy. It is also an interesting situation and even an ideology, which is defined, in all its shapes and qualities, as “emergence of complicated networked interrelationships which make events and decisions that are far away from us, increasingly, affect the foundation of our lives. Therefore, the main feature of globalization is that geographical distance and territorial borders such as the borders between nation states will lose their importance by phenomenon (Heywood, 2010, 203).

Globalization has various aspects and landscapes, some of which are political and economical, and some cultural society-specific. On one side, the borders and differentiations between international relations and interior politics are being wiped off, which leads to the expansion of international communication. Local incidents are becoming global, while global processes are becoming local, narrowing down the boarders of time and geography, which makes most of old institutions dysfunction and non-functioning. Multinational companies cross the boarders of countries and dictate the course of global economy. State actors expand and get international and global scopes. Numerous new actors are competing states. This may lead to the inclination of pre-modern traditional states, which were adjusting human’s communal life before (O’Neil, 2006: 348-362). Globalization has even got military aspects, where, as Anthony Birch have put, founded for the first time by the multinational military action taken for settling the Kosovo Crisis (Birch, 2007: 53). A crisis that represents the dysfunction of the United Nations in supporting international peace and security and lead to the constitution of a multinational general military force from countries that were not much concerned about human rights, but seeking interests in the future of the Europe. Globalization, with all its altitudes and aspects, is a paradoxical force for The Middle Eastern countries regarding their characters in terms of history, politics, culture, religion and economy, because it collapses these characteristic on one hand, and, on the other hand, they have to admit and resort to it. Globalization changes their traditional poorly functioning economies and connects them rapidly to the processes of international economy. It shows their economies and their governments decayed and imply that they must change. It also vacates their culture and forces them to enter the international arena whose contents are supplied by “another” cultural set of foundations, and even

putting their conventional identities at stake. The results of globalization in The Middle Eastern countries changes their genome maps so that both colonization and Arab/Israel struggle, and fundamentalism and political Islam will be changed while at the same time changing the nature of the collapsed governments. All of these incidents in turn, automatically, would change the crisis-like nature of the water and energy dilemma. Accumulation of globalization forces in the Middle East would lead to change of the genetic map of the regional countries.

Conclusion

The Middle East is changing and the change is rooted in its consocietal preconditions. The huge earthquake is changing the steering genetic code of The Middle East. The domino of the emerging political/social movements in Middle Eastern countries is based on antiquity fundamentals. However, it has found a new identity in the light of globalization. Accumulation of various social gaps in the Middle East has led to a huge earthquake and caused a genetic mutation in the Middle East.

We are verging on the era of post- colonialization. This means that the classical colonialist rules have been reshaped in a modern way increasingly expanding their feature of global inclusiveness. The Middle East, due to having huge energy resources and having intrinsically controversial political, economical and religious areas, would never be forgotten by post-colonizer powers. The presence of countries such as Turkey, as mediates of peace, would be a sign of the fact that Arabs have accepted that there is no way other than coexisting with Israel. Hence, they would better to step on the road on which the countries known as BRICS, Brazil, Russia, India, China and Southern African, have traversed: development is better than endless tensions. More or less, all Middle Eastern countries are well-known as having inefficient and corrupt governments. To get rid of this situation requires lessening regional challenges and achieving economic welfare, which seem to be possible through non-Authoritative democratizing governments. However, a cultural element highly rooted in religious thoughts is emerging which is making use of aggression to grew up, a copy of the classical religious structure as to embedding religion in politics. This will be the future picture of the Middle East. But what is important is that, on one hand, what relation would fundamentalist Moslems place between governments and religion and, on the other hand, how the *Laicite* wave in

contemporary world will counter the emerging political systems derived from the connection between religion and politics. Needless to say, this huge amount of attention paid to the Middle East is an evidence of a well-known envious redundancy of energy in the region. The important point is that Western wealthy countries, both for further economic growth and for ruining amazing economic growth rate of some countries such as China, cannot be indifferent to oil and gas resources in this geographical area. The situation for them is even beyond indifference, whereas the Group of Seven are willing to bring their intimate, if not obedient, friends to power. The crisis of rising population along with water shortage is created synergic crises in the regional countries, which carries a potential for aggression and even war. The attempts of some regional governments to build numerous dams on huge sources of flowing water, blocking river springheads and paths, and harvesting water substrates, naturally, makes the suffered countries react roughly. Globalization is an opportunity and a threat at the same time, growing in both terms. It is an opportunity for hegemonic powers as they are using it for globalizing their local issues in the international system. Meanwhile, there is a growing threat for the failing Middle Eastern governments as globalization has made fundamentalist forces aware of the fact that if they fail to maintain the local competences they claimed to have against the sweeping forces of globalization, they will be providing the opportunity for their own discomposure and collapse, which is intrinsically result in blind gruesome terrorist violence. Of course, this point is taken into consideration by wakeful minds that how dangerous could the declining fundamental force react in such a situation.

No	Gene type	Nature	History	Arena	Importance	Description
1	History of colonialization and foreign interventions on the region	Geostrategic	Classic	external	Decreased	postmodern colonialization and rules of emerging a flexible multipolar international system
2	Arab/Israel struggle and the ideal of Palestine	Geostrategic	Classic	internal	Increasing	Not changing
3	Government coordinates and emergence of failed states	Geopolitical	Classic	internal	Increasing	Collapsing radically
4	Fundamentalism and political Islam	Geo-cultural	Modern	internal	Increasing	affecting broadly and radically
5	Energy (oil and gas)	Geo-economic	Modern	internal	Increasing	affecting broadly and radically
6	Water crisis	Hydro-political	Modern	internal	Increasing	affecting broadly and radically
7	Globalization	Geostrategic	modern	external	Increasing	affecting broadly and radically

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