The Role of Islamic Fundamentalism in Intensifying the Security Crisis of Middle East

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INTRODUCTION

In the current era, in order to investigate the Islamic fundamentalism role in intensifying the Middle East security crisis, one must study the psychological roots of moral, political and economic environment in which fundamentalist beliefs and practices are being conducted. The fall of Islamic and ottoman empires lead to the rise of rival nationalist ideologies that had ethnic and language identities.

The important point is that the rise of Islamic ideologies is partly due to the failure of finding effective ideologies that could make social, political, and economic transitions possible in order to achieve national reclamation. The result of which is the intensifying of the security crisis of this strategic region. Thus the critical environment (the crisis of identity-legitimacy) affects the political and psychological aspects of the Middle Eastern societies and would result in making class conflicts in Middle Eastern countries. In other words, the wide gap between the rich and poor is one of the most important political aspects of the critical environment in this region. It should not be forgotten that the superficial westernization of economic and political intellectuals – consumerism and libertinism- also caused a separation between people and their leaders and the resultant dangerous cultural gap is extending due to the absence of a substitute ideological framework.

The aim of this study is investigate the formation of Islamic fundamentalism in the Middle East and the impact of Islamic fundamentalism in the Middle East security crisis.

The Formation of Islamic Fundamentalism:

First it must be outlined that Islamic fundamentalism formed as a result of unanimity of interests and consensus among a set of conflicting players in the Middle East. Therefore western governments and both traditional and totalitarian regimes and their intelligence systems connived at the anti-communism and anti-Soviet actions of Islamic opposition movements in the region. Some of them even started to encourage and equip these Islamic groups for their war against heresey in the occupied Afghanistan. This caused the advancement of Islamic fundamentalism in the region.

The invasion of Muslim youths and particularly Arabs, to the Pakistan-Afghanistan border that was more or less beyond the control of Pakistan at the time, once again unified the divided and diverse people of Muslim societies in a holy jihad against the blasphemy, heresey, and occupation. An opportunity was created for the
revival of the Islamic unity idea and the nostalgia of forming a unified Islamic nation by removing political and national boundaries that were formed during the collapse and declining the colonial domination of Western civilization and non-Muslims in order to form an Islamic caliphate in the New World which would bring together the various tribes under the "There is no God but Allah" sign [1].

The return or Salafism idea, that currently Wahhabism is its main advocate, is based on the idea of reviving the regimen of caliphat and returning to the golden ages of Islam with the centrality of Arabic peninsula and Medina as the capital for purifying the Islam and Muslim community in terms of its deviations from the traditions.

Later, different versions of Salafism formed in the Islam and Arab world which generally were influenced by the geographical environment. The Disputes were over various periods and various Islamic caliphat as the Umayyad, Abbasid and Ottoman for which the Muslim Brotherhood (Ikhwan Al-Muslimin) and Turkey’s Muslims have mourned and have wished to renew it. However, given the material and spiritual influence of the Arabian Peninsula's Arabs, the Wahabi-Salafi had been the dominant jihad ideology in the Pakistan and Afghanistan. Although according to the consensus of immigrants and Ansar in early days of Islam, the ruling Muslim Caliph must be a Qurashi descent Arab [1].

In the context of these changes, the multinational movement called Afghan - Arabs formed. The departure of Soviet occupation resulted in ending the encouragement and support for the Mujahideen against the Soviet invasion but the Balkan crisis and the decision to collapse the former Yugoslavia and also the Bosnia crisis once again caused a movement to support the holy jihad for the freedom of Islamic lands which brought the matter to the attention of the mentioned players of the region.

This time Muslims with several of nationalities, from Iranians to Afghan-Arabs went to Balkan to support the people of Bosnia and to fight against another version of the blasphemy and heresy. The crisis ended faster than Afghanistan and the west ended the presence of the non-Bosnian forces there, thus Afghan-Arabs went back to their homes injected with doctrines and ideas. Their thoughts and believes did not match with the common politics, culture and life style of their countries. Thus they faced challenges with their societies and quickly got rejected by their governments which put them under pressure. At this time, the occupation of Kuwait and the reaction of United States against Saddam-Hussein as well as the cooperation of Islamic governments with the non-Muslim powers and pagans against an Islamic government and the deployment of unbeliever armies in Muslim lands, in proximity of Islamic Holy places annihilated the former consensus against the blasphemy and communism, and as a result the Islamists stood alongside Saddam as the Muslim ruler and blamed the Arabian regimes for not supporting the Muslim government against the non-Muslims. As a result, the triple coordination of Afghanistan and Bosnia broke apart [1]. At the same time, the Afghan crisis entered a new phase by the collapse of the Mojahedin and the civil war. The generation that grew up in the camps during the occupation and were trained in the schools of the so-called Muslim countries by mostly Sunni Arab clergymen of Arabic peninsula formed the Taliban movement and aimed to form the Islamic Emirates which was a version of the Islamic Empire of Caliphatates. The rejected Jihadist leaders such as Osama Bin Laden played a fundamental role in forming this movement. At the same time considering the Pakistani military strategies for harnassing Afghanistan, as a vital support and access to energy resources in Central Asia, India's threat and launching a proxy war against India in Kashmir once again unified the Afghan-Arab jihadists with Pakistanis [1].

Instead of Soviet Union, their major problem this time was the Persian speaking Mujahideen and Shiite forces supported by Islamic Republic of Iran. The Arab Governments of Persian Gulf began to support Taliban according to their policy of engaging Islamic Republic and containment of radical Arab Islamists. This time the goal of jihadists was not limited to Afghanistan rather they sought to free all the Islamic Arabian lands by expelling the infidels Christian Crusades from the Arabian Peninsula and Persian Gulf countries which was a bigger goal for them. Al-Qaida formed for this goal, to fight against the Christian enemy. However the complete domination of Afghanistan and the illusion of an alliance with the Pakistan Atomic army at that time was a priority for them. But they pursued both goals at the same time by attacking the American soldier headquarters in Saudi Arabia [5]. At that time, another major change occurred in the region. The incident of Mazar- Sharif alerted the I.R. Iran government at the time to reduce their presence and direct measures in Afghanistan against Taliban which changed the equations again. Afghan- Arabs, under the Osama Ben-Laden leadership felt the opportunity for destroying what they called Crusades-Zionist enemies [5].Concurrently the neo-conservative administration of Bush, unlike Clinton

Administration began to control the growing power of China and indulged in the use of anti-Chinese propaganda literature. They probably were not paying any attention to Al-Qaida actions at the time. The terrorist attack of 9/11 is the peak of Al-Qaida actions in fighting against America. Maybe neither Al-Qaida nor their Taliban and Pakistani allies ever predicted that the US reaction would be of this extent that in addition to the occupation and the abolition of the Caliphate of Talibain, they would overthrow the Baath government of Iraq. The occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan and the prosecution of Talibain in Pakistan as well as the loss of the so-called Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan as part of the Great Islamic Caliphate ruined Freedom of action Al-Qaeda
and jihadist [5].

Supported by the Iraq’s neighbor governments including Syria, some of them moved to East Syria and placed their operational area in Iraq. But the situation of Iraq was different than in Afghanistan, on the other hand, unlike the Afghans, the Arab jihadists were mostly Sunni and were not easily influenced and governed by the Al-Qaida and Ben-Laden. Several groups of Sunni Iraqi Arabs were formed based on doctrines similar to Al-Qaida’s who performed terrorist and suicide attacks against US and coalition forces and Iraqi Shiites. It seemed at first that all these forces were under the command of al-Qaeda and acted in its context but in fact they only shared the same ideas and used the same language as Al-Qaida. They were different groups that were actually formed within the structure of different Sunni Arab tribes [5].

The unity of Iraqis and jihadist, including Al-Qaida was against the American occupation and international coalition who were in the Islamic and Arabic lands of Iraq. But there were not any consensus on issues such as leadership and centralization while in fact there have been important differences among them in terms of religious jurisprudence. The Afghan-Arabs were under the influence of Wahhabi clergymen doctrines as the followers of Hanbali and Hanafi religious clergy in Pakistan and Saudi Arabia while the situation is different in Iraq and Syria. The Sunnis of Iraq and Syria are Arabs and claim to be descendants of Maki tribes, Quraishi and Hashemi families, and the household of The Islam’s prophet. Like Saddam-Hussein and Hafez Assad that claimed to be the leaders of the Islam world, they also consider themselves to be legitimate for being the leaders of the Islam world (Camp 2014).

On the other hand, unlike Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria are important countries in Arab world as the center of the Caliphates had been in Sham and Bagdad for thousands of years. Therefore they are assumed to be the goal lands while Afghanistan and Pakistan were considered as temporary bases for the liberation of metropolitan mother lands of the Islam world. Thus Sunni Iraqi Islamists, who are of Quraishi tribes, are not fighting in periphery territories but in the lands that are the central goal of an Islamic caliphate (Cap 2014).

Abu Bakr Al-Bagdadi, the self-defined caliphate of ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria; Daesh) in his announcement speech identifies himself as the descendant of the Prophet and his household and claims to be his rightful successor. The defined geography and its central situation is an advantage for ISIS as well as its financial independency while Al-Qaida jihadists rely completely on Saudi aids.

It seems that Jebhat Al-Nusra in Syria is close to Al-Qaidabut but as it was mentioned they are only allies of Al-Qaida and not its followers. The ISIS has occupied an extensive territory in east of Iraq, East of the Euphrates and West of Tigris with the help of the remnants of the Iraqi Baath party, the Sunni branch of Syrian Baathists, Iraqi Baath militia under the leadership of Izzat Ibrahim al-Duri and Iraqi Sunni tribal sheikhs. Therefore they have no problems in managing the occupied territories. On the other hand, considering the ethnic, tribal and territorial relationships, ISIS has direct relationships with Jordan and peninsula without the need of Al-Qaida intermediaries.

Another point is that unlike the Al-Qaida that operated universally, ISIS has prioritized regional targets of which Iraq and Sham are primary targets. Even in Iraq, it is unlikely that they attack sensitive Shiites’ areas. However underground groups and religion extremists are generally unpredictable as they suddenly attacked Kurdistan which expedited the direct intervention of US to the conflicts of Northern Iraq, while before that, similar to Syria, the Obama administration preferred not to involve in the conflicts of Sunnis-Shiites of Iraq directly. It is obvious that intelligence services, no matter of friend or enemy, try to penetrate underground groups for which the ISIS cannot be an exception (Camp 2014).

In assessing the stability and the power of ISIS it can be said that similar to Taliban, ISIS will not get the chance to form a stable government with international recognition. But, as the Taliban have not disappeared and remains a serious threat to the central government in Afghanistan, ISIS also may remain a threat for Damascus, Bagdad, and the stability of the region in terms of intellectual and organizational, and also operational activities. A military strike could undermine the ISIS and force them to leave the occupied territories, but as long as there are areas of political conflicts between tribes and clans; religious differences have not disappeared; an efficient and inclusive political structure has not formed within all the minority and majority communities; there is no economic and political developments; there are poverty, unemployment, discrimination and differences in living standards between urban and rural areas and between the ruling classes and the condemned, the religious extremism in various forms remains attracting and they would recruit soldiers from damaged classes and affected areas. As much as ISIS and religious extremists are destructive but they can never be a solution for the problems Muslim nations and the region.

According to what mentioned above, it can be said that contemporary Islamic fundamentalist movement both in terms of militant and non-violent forms have three characteristics as follows:
1. Pervasiveness
2. Multi-Center
3. Perseverance

Pervasiveness means that there are Islamic groups and movements in all Middle Eastern societies. Multi-
Center means that there is no revolutionary leadership or central organization. Perseverance means each movement of Islamic fundamentalism has been in the evolution of a persistent political and social process [2].

Among other characteristics of Islamic fundamentalists is their recurring character meaning that they have successive periods of downturn and resurrection. In fact contemporary fundamentalists identify themselves as the direct followers and successors of previous leaders and former resurrection and revitalization seeking movements. Pattern of successive waves of Islamic resurrection in response to the crisis creates a complex mechanism by which Islam can revive and strengthen itself against internal and external threats and decadences. Development of power and cultural influence of Europe in Islamic areas has caused modern Islamic movements. Continued adaptation of Western ideas in transformation of Islamic societies caused extensive social-economic problems in Islamic countries that lead to the formation of a new type of revitalization seeking populist movement such as Ikhwan Al-Muslimumin (Muslim Brotherhood) who followed a radical Islamic fundamentalist and fought with the westernization of Salafist Movement. After a period of weakness and decline, once again Islamic fundamentalists emerged as a powerful social force with revolutionary tendencies in peak period of the pan-Arabism time. By describing such situations, currently Islamic fundamentalism has led to social upheaval and caused the fall of dictators with years of tyranny [2].

Security Crisis in Idle East:
In the beginning of this discussion it must be mentioned that the presence of ISIS is currently the main reason of security crisis in the region. Therefore the most important issue is their irrational violent activities in the Middle East as the beating heart of the globe which causes disruption its cohesion and security. In order to study the current security crisis of the Middle East it is necessary to investigate the following matters.

The Ontological Status of ISIS:
Understanding the realities of the current Middle East security is not possible without considering the identity characteristics of ISIS. The realities of America's strategies in the Middle East indicate that organizations such as ISIS cannot be considered as political backing and regional coalitions of United States of America. The reason is the uncontrollable increase of conflicts in the region that are nullifying all the human and financial costs of America. The concept of ISIS was first introduced under the circumstances that signs of transferring the conflicts from Syria to Iraq came to the attention of Journalists and strategic analysts [6].

Although, in the present situation, ISIS prefers to use historical concepts such as caliphates and phrases such as "Islamic State Caliphate", but understanding ISIS without genealogy study is not possible. In this process, the dynamics of the political groups' attitudes toward security subjects is processed. The groups who use the name ISIS or Islamic State of Iraq are among the individuals and groups whose central conflicts are with Iran and Shiites despite the fact that they criticize the America's policies in the invasion of Iraq in 2003. ISIS considers the Shiites who are acting as the social and ideological bases of Iran as enemies of Allah and his Prophet.

A significant part of ISIS is the remnants of Iraqi Baath party which had an intelligence structure. Intelligence services used to control the army in Iraq, while the Baath party of Syria is organized by militants who controlled the Syria Intelligence services. Differences of this type resulted in the conflicts between Syria and Iraq Baath parties. Strategic differences between Saddam Hussein and Hafez al-Assad's regime forces can now be observed in the conflicts between ISIS and Assad's Forces. It is only by detailed processing of the ISIS political and strategic contexts and its advantages that the political realities of the Middle East can be understood. The truth is that ISIS is a combination of religious organized forces and the remnants of Iraqi Baath party. In other words, ISIS is a combination of Tekfiri and Tekriti Iraqi forces. Each of above mentioned concepts has its own meaning in the political literature of the Middle East and Iraq and represents certain procedures of political action. The American government had spent about 450 billion dollars on military action against Iraqi Tekriti groups in 2003-2009. The return of Tekriti groups and the coalition with a range of other social groups in Iraq that are influenced by Saudi religious doctrines, known as Tekfiris indicates that a significant part of military costs have caused political, religious and security crises rather than stabilizing the situation in Iraq (Kadivar 2014).

America's Approach in Dealing with the Middle East Tekfiri Groups:
The confrontation of America with Tekfiri groups such as Talibani and A-Quida in Afghanistan and the Tekriti and Baathist in Iraq happened simultaneously in 2003. The groups that were the security subject of America in Iraq and Afghanistan gradually rebuilt themselves with the military help of Saudi Arabia along with its Ideological and security support [4].

The process by which the Tekfiri groups grew is linked with the structural realities of the international system. These forces were used by America in 1980's during the cold war against the former Soviet Union. The signs of America's low-intensity conflicts can be observed in Nicaragua, Afghanistan and Angola. Identities and norms are the contexts of the low-intensity conflicts and it has inevitable Structural consequences [4].
Such process has happened after the collapse of former Soviet Union in colored revolutions. Color revolutions should be considered as processes that are based on normative controversy in global politics. In the current circumstances, this idea arises that ISIS can be used as a strategic tool for America in dealing with the regional policies of Iran in Syria and Iraq and as a symbol of low-intensity proxy war. Whenever there is suspicion about the Political actors' relationships and the dynamics of their political actions the possible intervention strategies for taking intervention measures is more than justified. America's political actions and strategic history in different geographical areas shows that suspicions forms the main underlying conceptual and strategic threat to the United States. In order for suspicions to lead to strategic actions it is required that certain conflict patterns become symbolic. Generally, the symbols must be considered as infrastructure software interventionism. US support for the countries that have attempted to organize Tekfiri groups should be considered as a part of the global policy of the United States in the region. The military attack to Iraq was part of a strategic necessity for America. At the time, the security policy trends in America were organized in such a way that no immediate action against Iraq would have caused social and strategic initiatives by Iraq. Conservative parties in America's foreign policy took strategic and military action against Iraq based on the need to avoid strategic surprise [4].

The military of America has unpleasant experiences with Tekfiri groups in Iraq. Taliban is still the main challenge for the occupying countries in Afghanistan. The review of the historical trends reveals that many security measures against American military were conducted by groups that have an identity approach and tried to get through to the risky attempts against America in the years 2008-2003 [4].

Saudi Arabia is not only expressed their opposition to the invasion of America, but have tried all possible means to reduce the effect of the of America's strategic plans in the region. A significant part of economic and military resources of Tekfiri groups is funded by Saudi Arabia. Development of normative conflicts in the Middle East is aimed to reflect interventionism United States as part of the need for freedom, democracy and freedom. There are various manifestations that justify the normative foreign policy and strategic plans of America in different countries. No American strategic action can be achieved without considering normative perspectives. That is why, in international law phrases as "humanitarian intervention" have been used as a symbol of cultural and normative United States against countries such as Iraq, Sudan, Yemen and Libya [4].

Conclusions:

Middle East is one the exceptional regions of the world over which no agreed stable security arrangement has been reached. The region continues to be faced with a large volume of instability and insecurity even with the success of major parts of the international community and regional countries in the establishment of a comprehensive and sustainable security plan. Despite some efforts that have been made, still there is no sign of such establishment in this most important region of the world. On the other hand, the role and powers of stability and security in the Middle East should also be considered.

All of this is manifested in various forms and dimensions. Currently, terrorism and extremism, weak governments and authority as well as intervention of transregional powers are the three main security challenges in the Middle East which are multi-dimensional and closely related to each other. In the meantime, it seems that authority crises as the more basic challenge of weak governments cause dissemination of terrorism and extremism, as well as expanding the influence of the intervention transregional powers. In the southern Persian Gulf Arabic states, the authority crisis and the weakness of the governments has provided the basis for asymmetric corporatization with foreign powers causing the increase of transregional powers intervention. These matters has resulted in complexity of the security situation of the region regarding the structure of ethnic and social issues and the specific experiences of government - nation building. Causes of insecurity and instability in the Middle East include ethnic divisions, the presence of authoritarian states, legitimacy crisis, lack of democracy and civil institutions with weak economies in some countries of Central Asia and the Caucasus.

Given the extent of the security challenges and conflicts in the Middle East and the influence of various factors of sub-national national, regional and transregional levels that led to instability in the region, achieving security in the framework of cooperation and partnership based requires a gradual process over the long term. In this process, the regional cooperation is achieved through mutual confidence-building steps among countries and also by attempting to resolve the challenges that are the product of structural conflicts such as the problems of government - nation building and weak foundations of culture and democratic procedures. The role of Saudi Arabia in the regional security issues has associated the equation of power and crisis of Middle East with more difficulties. It must be noted that the formation of ISIS is due to the continuation of Saudi identity policies and security strategy to deal with the forces which are supported by Iran. ISIS operations in Iraq have historical backgrounds. Saudi Arabia is trying to use these mechanisms to cause the departure of Iraq. Separation of the central regions of Iraq, including the provinces of Anbar, Nineveh, Salahuddin and Bagdad should be a part of this strategy. In such circumstances, the Kurdish region could act more freely in the process of achieving independence. It is natural that such a process affects the oil equation and influences the economy and security in Iraq. Geopolitical crisis in the Middle East, especially in Iran, is a desirable strategy for America.
process can be done in the form of low-intensity conflict or proxy war operation. The low-intensity conflict, there are limited signs of direct participation of powers in regional crises. The mechanism of proxy war requires the players to take direct actions in supporting their regional allies. America's strategic approach in dealing with the ISIS and their plans in relation to the security crisis in Iraq and the Middle East can be explained in terms of the following options:

- America's military efforts against the ISIS and the Islamic Caliphate have begun since August 8th, 2014. Conducting such operations means that similar actions can be expected from the America military forces. US officials have warned ISIS leaders that they are against the growth of Tekfiri groups' powers in Iraq and Syria. According to this approach, America's military action in Iraq and Syria aims to balance the regional power in Iraq and Syria.

- The process of destabilizing Iraq by ISIS forces should be considered as a new form of regional balance of power in the Shiite crescent. In these circumstances, America will not deploy ground forces in the region. The strategic actions of America must be considered as part a plan to reach power balance in the region. On the other hand, taking such measures means that US opposes Islamic fundamentalist groups such as ISIS and Ikhwan al-Muslimin (Muslim Brotherhood).

- The growth of ISIS and the declaring Islamic Caliphate indicate that the crisis of Islamic fundamentalism has transferred to various geographic areas. Such situation could repeat tragic incidents such as the terror of Aerican agents in Tripoli. America's Tactical military action against ISIS in northern Iraq must be considered as part of a strategy to gain regional balance. Although Iran and America have the same relative stances regarding ISIS but that do not mean their tactical cooperation in confronting actors like ISIS.

REFERENCES