

The Arab Integration Experiments in the Light of Joseph Nye Theory : A thesis submitted to the faculty in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the master degree in political science	العنوان:
المجلة العلمية للدراسات التجارية والبيئية	المصدر:
جامعة قناة السويس - كلية التجارة بالاسماعيلية	الناشر:
Abd Elaal, Rana Mohamed	المؤلف الرئيسي:
ع 1	المجلد/العدد:
نعم	محكمة:
2010	التاريخ الميلادي:
13 - 27	الصفحات:
79899	رقم MD:
بحوث ومقالات	نوع المحتوى:
EcoLink	قواعد المعلومات:
الوحدة اليمنية، العالم العربي، الاحوال السياسية، الوحدة المصرية- السورية، مصر، سوريا، مجلس التعاون الخليجي، الرأي العام، البيروقراطية، الديمقراطية، الهوية	مواضيع:
http://search.mandumah.com/Record/79899	رابط:

**Cairo University
Faculty of Economics and Political Science
Political Science Department**

The Arab Integration Experiments in the Light of Joseph Nye Theory

**A thesis submitted to the faculty in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the Master degree in political science**

By:

Rana Mohamed Abd El Aal

**"Lecturer in Political Science Department, English section, Faculty
of Commerce, Suez Canal University"**

Under the Supervision of:

**Prof. Dr. Ahmed Youssef Ahmed
Professor of political science**

Cairo University

**Dr. Soaad Mohamed Mahmoud
Assistant professor of political
science**

Cairo University

2010

Introduction:

Arab integration is considered the ambition for a lot of individuals, organizations, nationalist trends and some Arab countries either for ideological considerations that relate to the nationalist thought or to the desirable consequences of achieving Arab integration on all political, economic and social dimensions, especially in an international regime where no place is due except for the giant huge entities.

No Idea has been faced by that much falsification like Arab integration. This led to spill back in presenting it, to the extent of not implementing it and counteracting against it in some times.

Though some consider that Arab bases for unity are presented only in the one land, one language, one culture - which really make Arab countries a unique region, yet, this is not all the way accurate because the integration process needs other bases like will, perception, conditions and mechanisms, in which some are related to the beginning of the process while other are related to the continuity of it.

Based on this, the study tries to discuss and analyze the Arab integration experiments in the framework of Joseph Nye's theory of integration. Nye puts some conditions (perceptual and objective) and some mechanisms that are necessary for the beginning of any integration process and continuing it. This theoretical framework should enable us to know the reasons behind the retreat of the Arab integration project till now. Despite this retreat, we could identify some previous attempts to achieve the Arab integration dream. One of these experiments was the Egyptian - Syrian unity (1958 -1961). It was considered the starting point for implementing the Arab unity goals, as an attractive model for the other Arab countries which would end up with achieving the comprehensive Arab integration.

However, the Syrian separation in 1961 has put an end for this experiment. Another one is Yemen's unity which reflected some sort of a specificity and particularity for place and time, but at the same time it presented an asset that can give us general lessons and relevant consequences. The Yemeni experiment is said to be the second one in modern Arab history after the Egyptian - Syrian experiment.

From other unity experiments, regional groupings or regional arrangements, Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) is considered one example representing this track in the Arab world. Despite the fact that GCC is performing its duties in the different political, economic, social and security fields, some opinions say it is not a very successful union in reality, which led it to face a lot of obstacles till this day.

1st: The reasons behind choosing the topic:

1. The conviction of the researcher of the validity of Arab integration for all Arab countries, to make them capable of achieving their strategic goals in security and development.
2. The rarity of studies which tackled the issue of Arab integration in light of a framework like Joseph Nye theory.
3. The Nonexistence of Arab studies that tackled the three case studies approached here. There were some studies that compared only two cases but not all of them, bearing into consideration how rare this issue was studied from Nye's view point as previously mentioned.

2nd: The research problem:

Despite having all the necessary bases to achieve Arab integration, till now we can not speak even about an Arab common market. Also, there is the fact of having great shortage in the studies which discuss the issue of Arab integration in general or the case studies in particular.

These two important facts led the researcher to analyze the different Arab experiments with an application to Joseph Nye theory. This can lead us to general conclusions regarding the discontinuity of such project in spite of its importance.

3rd: The Major Questions in the study:

The main question of the study is: Why most of the previous Arab integration experiments were faced by many obstacles, in spite of the existence and availability of the different bases that Nye mentioned in his theory of integration?

There are some minor questions that result from the previous major question as follows:

(1) What are the required and necessary conditions to begin the integration experiment? ,(2) What are the main obstacles (political, economic, social and security) that hinder achieving the project? ,(3) What are the points of similarities and differences between the different case studies?, (4) What are the bases - that could have - if properly used by them - made the Arab unionist experiments more successful?, (5) Can integration be achieved in un-studied or irrational unplanned way? And what is the theoretical framework that the study would be based on?, (6) Is achieving national unity inside each Arab region an important factor in achieving Arab national Unity among all the Arab countries after that? , (7) Should the process of formulating the integration be only legislative or should it take a revolutionary political means represented in a sole political leadership? , (8) Is the role of the external player in the Arab integration issue always negative? Can we have cases in which this external involvement could be in the sake of helping the greater Arab project?, (9) What is the future of Arab integration?

In answering the previous questions, the study is divided into four main chapters, **the first chapter**; handles the theoretical framework of the study through introducing a comprehensive vision to the different trends in analyzing integration, then a detailed analysis to Joseph Nye theory and it ends with connecting this theory with our Arab privacy. The second chapter; tackles the United Arab Republic (UAR) thus answering the main question of this chapter that is " why this experiment did not continue from Nye's perspective?. Regarding the third chapter, it covers the Yemen Unity where the main question was "Does Yemen unity consider a successful experiment from Nye's point of view?". Least but not last, the fourth chapter, which is studying the regional groupings experiments, with applying on the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC).

After implementing some of Nye's potential criteria, mechanisms, perceptual elements and characterizing conditions on the three previous case studies, there are a lot of comments regarding these experiments

that we should make use of, in order to improve our integration projects in the future. Therefore, the next part will be divided into three main parts: the first will tackle the general conclusions of the study, while the second will analyze the situation in the Arab region in light of the conclusions of the study, and the third part will try to give a future vision of the most possible scenarios in the Arab region to move forward in the integration process.

First: general conclusions of the study:

As we saw in the three case studies we analyzed, beginning the integration process is not that difficult in the Arab region. In fact, it is easy when decision makers make decision like establishing an integration project, but the problem here in our region, which is ensuring the continuity of such a process, and also to what extent this process is successful on the practical level?

Accordingly, if we want to evaluate the Arab integration, we should look at the "actions" not the "decisions". In this section, we will try to give some recommendations and conclusions to overcome the obstacles that the last previous witnessed as follows:

[1] Beginning with the Arab treaties, they should involve the exact meanings of the different concepts, such as cooperation and integration. They should also contain that stating cooperation is a temporary stage that should end up with integration as a final target. [2] Regarding the theory of "core" and "periphery", we should find more attractive factors from inside the Arab region rather than the regional and the international frames. This can easily enhance the Arab bilateral relations to become more than the Arab foreign relations. [3] Regarding the potential Nye mentioned about the symmetry between the different partners of the process, we saw that in the three cases, this potential was not very applicable. On the contrary, the differences between the partners were one of the essential motivations for beginning such process. Also, in spite of the similarity in the Gulf area, this did not lead to make the project a successful one. Therefore, the existence of such similarity is not

the important thing, but what is more important is how to make use of such difference or similarity for the sake of the process.[4] Another point is concerned with the "interest game", which was raised in each experiment. Here comes a very important thing related to the awareness of the people regarding such process. We should define "union" in the way that makes it related to true belief not to achieving some private interests. This awareness should be both on the formal and the informal levels. It was true when Nye said that integration should come out of interests, but these interests are dialectical ones. Question like: "who should rule?" must not come into account when we speak about real true integration. We saw that this question led Ba'th party to demand separation in (UAR). It also ignited continuous problems between North and South Yemen. It made Saudi Arabia the leader country in the GCC. And thus, we have to define the different interests which all partners need to achieve from such experiment and not only one partner. [5] Another thing we shall think about before beginning any project is whether this integration is coming to solve a specific crisis (such as the Yemeni case, in which unity came to solve the Yemeni crisis). This can cause severe problems as the union can end after solving the crisis. Accordingly, integration should be based on general guidelines that should be applicable for a long time and not limited to a specific problem. Also, there should not be any resorting to external actors to solve our problems (like Yemen). This in itself removes the essence of the integration process.[6] The issue of the idea pointing the necessity of having upper hand in the union project, (such as Egypt in UAR, Northern Yemen in Yemen case and Saudi Arabia in GCC), should be well studied, planned as it is much related to the point of awareness, and it could lead to misperception and some claims such as dictatorship or colonialism of one partner over the other.[7] Stability was a real demand that could motivate any integration process. Yet, as we pointed civil war found in both UAR and Yemen and this was due to a very important fact that is related to achieving national unity inside the one country before being involved in any process. [8] Although the three case studies

present slow movement at the beginning of the union i.e. it was not rapid unity in all of them, these cases did not practically implement what was theoretically agreed upon. This indicates a wide gap between theoretical and practical integration. Accordingly, these treaties should be obligatory, and therefore include a lot of mechanisms of punishment or sanctions in case of not implementing them in order to decrease such gap.[9] Democracy and higher level of participation shall be the concepts added to our dictionary, if we want to apply an integration model. This doesn't mean that this model shall or should be western, but we have to take into consideration our Arab specificity. Also, public opinion is the real hope in any Arab project. We should focus on its role, as it is the real motivator for beginning the project or ending it. [10] The idea of spill over is very important to be applied in our case. This also should not be only theoretically, but it should be turned towards the practical level, especially in the GCC due to the characteristics these countries have and to make them qualified for a very successful spill overall] Change in identity needs also a focus from partners in any coalition. This transformation can not be a forced rapid one, but rather it needs to be gradual and well studied. This can solve the Yemen problem and push the GCC in a more successful integration way. [12] Another overlapping issue is that we are having in the Arab region a high tendency for using coercive military force to continue the integration process. Despite using such force in Yemen till now, we can see that the struggles are continuous and such union is always witnessing problems. Accordingly, as Nye said, we should be more focused on the negotiation power instead of the coercive one to continue any process.[13] We should also build powerful institutions that can help in the process. This will lead us to remove concepts like personalizing authority from our dictionary. It will also motivate the process as it will no more relate it to certain persons in the way that ends the project with their death.

Accordingly, Arab integration is hard though not impossible. We just need to utilize our potential powers to reach such project. We need

also to have the political will to continue any project as all of us know the benefits of such project. Now, we will give a brief hint about the current situation in our Arab region, in order to reach the bases that could enable us to fulfill such project. We will also highlight the obstacles that we have to get rid of to reach the ambition of unity in the short run.

Second: facts regarding the Arab region:

To anticipate the future, it is important to focus on the past in order to learn from and analyze the present, thus reaching answers to the main question of the study which is. Why most of the previous Arab integration experiments faced many obstacles, in spite of the existence of the different bases that Nye mentioned in his theory for integration?

Apprehending the Past and Analyzing the Present Regarding the current situation in the Arab region, here are some facts that present the real deterioration in the Arab world:

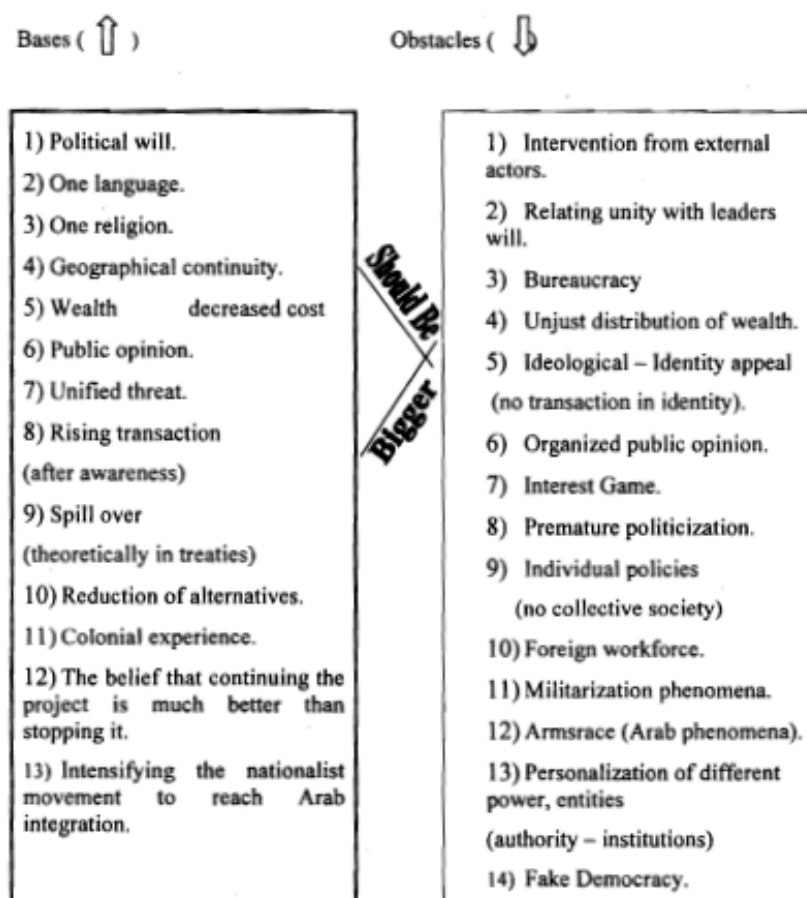
1- The inability of the formal Arab system to call for an emergency summit in 2006 to face the Israeli invasion on Lebanon similar to what happened in Iraq 2003. This represents the absence of Arab at the times they should not be absent. 2- The actual position of the United States of America after invading Iraq as a direct affecting force in the life of the Arab system was basically a consequence of the bad and low level of bilateral Arab relations in favor of an increase in the Arab American relations. 3- The increase of the external intervention in the Arab region either by U.S.A, Israel, Iran, and Ethiopia became enormous, especially when taking into consideration the growing Arab silence when facing these interventions. For example; the increasing role of Iran in the Arab region is quite notable, because in spite of the commonality between Iran and Arabs due to the Islamic connection and the Iranian position towards the Arab Israeli struggle, Iran has its own private political agenda, which is establishing a massive regional power, and this could threaten some specific Arab interests. Accordingly, the formal Arab system should reach a good equation in its relation with Iran. This relation should be built on common interests and calculating the contradicting interests

because of such Iranian project in which the Arab region is an important part of it. This needs a powerful collective Arab action as individual based action will not be worthy and can lead to chaos. 4- There is also the notable stand of the informal resistance forces that came to fill the gap as we have witnessed the Iraqi, Lebanese and Palestinian resistance against these interventions. In spite of the decrease in the formal support for these resistance forces, as most Arab states condemned resistance as they perceive them as "uncalculated actions that could destroy the Arab achievements". 5- The disappearance of integration objective as a principle in the formal Arab system agenda. More importantly is that this Arab system transformed from improving the national integration between its units to become more interested in facing the internal integration challenges inside each country, such as the cases of Somalia, Sudan, Iraq and Lebanon .6- Despite the constitutional amendments which were introduced in many countries such as Egypt, Mauritania and the changes in the ruling system in Saudi Arabia, there is a democracy dilemma in the Arab region. The absence of real political will to achieve active serious reform is widely spread. An evidence for that is the contradiction between some amendments in any of the stated countries and the non-comprehensive vision for these amendments when introduced. An important fact also is that the democratic dilemma is a multidimensional one. It has a legal **constitutional dimension** that reflects the imbalance in the relation between the different authorities usually in favor of the executive one. There is also an **institutional dimension**, which is represented in the weakness of party system and the civil society institutions. Yet, the most important is the **cultural dimension**, as without a democratic culture, we will never solve this dilemma. 7- There is another important fact that we should take into consideration when analyzing the international environment, which is China and Russia are considered a growing global powers. China turned from an economic phase to prepare for arm race stage, which is related to establishing a new phase of Chinese national security. Russia also began

getting back to its position after the collapse of U.S.S.R and it began to regain its international position.

All these previous important facts show the real deterioration in the Arab situation as a whole. This deterioration transmitted from the problems between different races to problems and struggles inside the one race. Therefore, instead of speaking about moving towards integration, the fears are now from turning toward complete chaos.

Accordingly, we can sum out some of the bases that we can use in our Arab region. These bases can be added to what Nye said, in order that they would fit our Arab specificity. While there are some obstacles and challenges that - as we mentioned - affected the case studies and prevented the integration process from being successfully completed, the next figure shows these bases and obstacles as follows:



Third: Scenarios of Arab Integration;

If we intensify the previous bases and decrease the obstacles, this can lead to a better environment that can help in achieving integration on the short run. Therefore, we might have two possible scenarios regarding the Arab integration project as follow:

I AI The first scenario:

This scenario depends on the idea of regional groupings. As we said, it could be a favorable step on the road towards achieving Arab unity.

There are some points that should be discussed if such a scenario was achieved.

The idea of regional groupings in itself doesn't contradict the idea of comprehensive Arab integration as it depends on Nye's spill over idea, pointing that it could begin with removing barriers and building economic interdependence to reach the comprehensive Arab integration. The obstacle facing this idea is how these countries should build their relations with the different regional and international powers, as it has to be distinguished relations that will not affect the new shape of the region.* The fear of having regional groupings against the idea of unity and nationalism in itself is no longer there. In fact, since Sate'i el-Hosary, the ideological battle was ended for the sake of Arab Loyalty. Therefore, these groupings will have an Arab affiliation.* Regarding Somalia and Djibouti, they have to reconsider their affiliations whether an African one or an Arab. Do they really want to join Nile valley groupings or the Great Somaliland one? *Libya also shall identify its foreign policy frame of interests. It shall determine its loyalties, whether it is an African or an Arab one. It has also to determine its main circle of action (a Libyan or an Arab one). This has to be represented on both formal and informal levels.* Yemen and Iraq are having also two choices, either to join the GCC (due to the considerations we mentioned previously in the fourth chapter) or they could start a new grouping with Jordan and Egypt like the one that was made in 1989 under the name of "Arab Cooperation Council".

All these elements indicate the possibility of having many regional groupings that could join each other, in the way which could lead to the comprehensive Arab integration.

[B] The Second Scenario;

This scenario removes the idea of regional grouping from the Arab dictionary, as it aims at having all the Arab countries (individually) under the Arab League authority. Regarding this scenario, we have the following notes:

- **There must be an amendment in the Arab League charter to contain more points about integration and how can it narrows the gap between the different Arab countries/ Arab League should have an independent army, away from the influence and domination of each country, to intensify the concept of collective security.* An Arab Supreme Court of Justice should be established to be able to settle any dispute which may arise between Arab countries. * All the countries have to leave any grouping they are part of, which will lead to making their only affiliation toward the Arab League.* There should be more popular participation in the decisions related to integration, and this can be through referendum mechanism.* There should be awareness campaigns in all the Arab countries regarding the new situation and the benefits of it.* Building powerful institutions on fair elective base. These institutions should be able to discuss the issue of Arab integration and what could hinder it.* Looking at the previous decisions needed to see what we can take and implement and what needs to be amended to cope with the new current era**

Finally, despite the drawbacks we are witnessing a. in the idea of Arab integration, it is still one of the most important guidelines for our future if we want to improve our countries and move from being under developed countries to one great entity, which could have a great impact on the whole world in the future and join the international race.

Accordingly, the most important conclusion is that even if all the bases were available in the Arab Nation, still the main motivator and real actor is the will (both political formal and the informal one), through which we can overcome all the previous obstacles and get use of all the different bases. It is not about what has been done till now, but it is about what we will do in the future in order not to keep the scenario of the status quo, witnessing the deterioration in the Arab arena. So, it is about learning from the "past" to change the "present" and have a better "future" because we have to make sure that the Arab might and strength would come out from their integration and nothing else.

Summary:

The research tackles the issue of the different Arab Integration experiments and analyzing them in the light of Joseph Nye theory, based on the belief that our Arab Nation should have an active role in the world order and the international equation and to have the position it deserves between all other nations. Accordingly the main question of the study is "Why most of the previous Arab experiments were faced by many obstacles, in spite of the existence and availability of the different bases that Nye mentioned in his theory of integration?". The importance of the study is that achieving the comprehensive Arab unity demands the full analytical studying for the different Arab experiences to build an Arab paradigm derived from the last experiences and not general principles, also achieving integration would lead to many desirable achievements on the Arab National Security and the comprehensive Arab development. Another importance is coming from the theoretical framework of the study, as depending on Nye's theory and applying it on the different case studies. Therefore, the study concluded that there are some bases - addition to what Nye stated - related to our Arab privacy, which should be useful and motivation in our way toward integration. For example; one language,

geographic continuation, the supportive informal public opinion for unity, the one unified threat, and the belief that continuing the integrative project is much better than stopping at any stage. There are also some obstacles that should be decreased as they hinder the integrative project like; the intervention from external actors, bureaucracy, interest game, militarization phenomenon and authority and fake democracy. Finally, we can say that though we have to focus on the previous bases to establish a real Arab integration, this project can never be completed or achieved unless we do have will (both political formal and informal) to give this Nation what it really deserves.

ملخص الرسالة:

يدور موضوع البحث حول تجارب التكامل العربي المختلفة وتحليلها في ضوء نظرية جوزف ناي، وهذا انطلاقاً من الإيمان بأن أمتنا العربية لا بد أن تصبح رقماً فاعلاً في المعادلة الدولية وتكون لها مكانتها التي تستحقها بين الأمم، حيث تأتي الدراسة للإجابة على التساؤل الرئيسي "لماذا تعثرت معظم تجارب التكامل العربي على الرغم من توافر ووجود معظم - إن لم يكن كل - المقومات التي ذكرها جوزف ناي في نظريته عن التكامل؟" للإجابة على التساؤل الرئيسي تم تقسيم الدراسة إلى أربعة فصول رئيسية:

الفصل الأول: يتناول الإطار النظري للدراسة من خلال تقديم رؤية للاتجاهات المختلفة في دراسة التكامل ثم رؤية مفصلة إلى نظرية جوزف ناي وهذا بمحاولة ربط هذه النظرية بخصوصيتنا العربية، أما الفصل الثاني: يتناول الوحدة المصرية السورية ومحاولة تطبيق نظرية ناي للإجابة على التساؤل الرئيسي في هذا الفصل وهو لماذا تعثرت هذه التجربة، الفصل الثالث: يتناول تجربة الوحدة اليمنية حيث كان التساؤل الرئيسي هو هل تعتبر الوحدة اليمنية نموذجاً ناجحاً من وجهة نظر ناي، ثم يأتي الفصل الرابع: الذي يتناول تجربة التجمعات الفرعية وتطبيقاً لها تم أخذ مجلس التعاون لدول الخليج العربية مثلاً. ثم تنتهي الدراسة بخاتمة تحليلية من ثلاثة اجزاء (الجزء الأول): يتناول رؤية سريعة لما توصلت إليه الدراسة من نتائج عامة وأهم التوصيات (الجزء الثاني): يتناول تحليل الوضع العربي الراهن في ضوء النتائج السابقة وإعطاء الدلائل والمؤشرات للتدهور في الأوضاع العربية وانتقال الوطن العربي من مرحلة النظام إلى مرحلة التنظيم، (الجزء الثالث): يتناول تقديم سيناريوهان للمستقبل التكاملي العربي. وقد توصلت الدراسة أن هناك عدد من المقومات - بالإضافة إلى ما ذكره ناي منها على سبيل المثال وليس الحصر: اللغة الواحدة، الامتداد الجغرافي، الرأي العام غير الرسمي المؤازر للتكامل، العدو و الخطر الواحد. أيضاً هناك عدد من المعوقات التي تعرقل المشروع التكاملي مثل التدخل من قبل الفاعلين الخارجيين، البيروقراطية، لعبة المصالح، التمسك بالهوية الواحدة، ظاهرة العسكريين والسلطة والديمقراطية المزيفة. ويمكن القول أن هذا المشروع لا يمكن أن يكتمل إلا مع توافر العنصر الرئيسي ألا وهو الإرادة (سواء السياسية أو الشعبية)، لكي نتمكن من معرفة ماذا استفدنا من الماضي وماذا نستفيد من الحاضر لصنع مستقبل تكاملي عربي وإعطاء الأمة ما تستحقه بالفعل.