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**Arab unity. Why do Arabs fail in unity while others succeed?****Salem Toubasi**

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**Abstract**

The Arabs, despite their predecessors, did not succeed in building an effective and influential political force. Trump recognized Jerusalem as the capital of the State of Israel in 2017. He also recognized Israeli sovereignty over the territory of the Syrian Golan in 2019. The dispersion of the Arab position is the biggest proof of the failure of Arab unity. The authors present a brief study on the success of European countries in achieving unity, while the Arabs failed to achieve unity, which has been the goal of gathering Arab countries for many years. The comparative analysis of attempts at Arab unity and the process of European unity was conducted by the authors of the paper. The study is of scientific and practical importance for political scientists and political analysts was performed. The authors ask: Why did the European Union succeed and the Arab Unions failed? Based on the analysis of various theories and concepts of research, the authors of the paper come to meaningful conclusions that may be of interest to a wide circle of readers. Both the European and Arab systems originated in different historical and international contexts, and therefore it was natural for each of them to produce different approaches and mechanisms of complementarity with these contexts. There has been a tendency to praise the European experience and praise it in the Arabic literature, and in return there is criticism of the Arab experience. In this article we will raise many issues concerning Arab unity.

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**Keywords**

Arab Maghreb Union, European Union, Arab Islamic Republic, League of Arab States, Politics, Arab, Gulf Cooperation Council.

**Introduction**

In March, the Europeans revived the 61<sup>st</sup> anniversary of the Rome Treaty, which laid the cornerstone for the European Union. And according to it, the first European Economic Community (CEE) was formed, which stipulated the establishment of a common European market and the free passage of goods, especially coal and iron, among the signatories: Italy, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg. This simple convention, in its content, introduced the generalization of the experiment to include all aspects of economic, financial and even political life over the past 50 years [The 1957 Treaty of Rome, 1957].

The expansion and opening up of other countries had been gradual Britain, Ireland and Denmark joined in the 1970s, followed by Spain, Portugal and Greece in the early 1990s, Before the integration of several Central and Eastern European countries after the fall of the former Soviet Union, bringing the number of countries belonging to the Union to 28 countries before the British vote, the exit from the European Union in 2016 [Convention..., 1985].

The agreement did not stop at the limits of the freedom of movement of goods, but developed by canceling visas among them when it approved the freedom of movement of people through the Schengen Agreement and then the establishment of the European Parliament from the first European parliamentary elections held in 1979 before the unification of the currency between Member States and the adoption of the euro since 1999.

On the other hand, the southern bank of the Mediterranean witnessed the failure of the Arab world in most or all of the unitary experiments that took place in its territory, although it was the first of the pioneers who adopted this idea of building an international bloc. The Arab world had preceded the Europeans for ten full years when the League of Arab States was formed in 1945. However, the Arabs, despite their predecessors, did not succeed in building an effective and influential political force. Trump recognized Jerusalem as the capital of the State of Israel in 2017. He also recognized Israeli sovereignty over the territory of the Syrian Golan in 2019. The dispersion of the Arab position is the biggest proof of the failure of Arab unity Is only evidence of the state of political dispersion in the Arab world.

**Main Part**

Arab unity experiences did not last long. The Arab League is considered the most important experience of encounter between the experiences of Arab countries in view of the number of countries that belong to it, but it is an experience among other experiences some of them bilaterally and some of them go beyond that, some of them announced the end, and others are still stalled.

Unity between Egypt and Syria in the late fifties. This unity between Egypt and Syria was called the United Arab Republic and it was the beginning of the unification of the Arab states. This unit was announced on 22 February 1958 with the signing of the Charter of the United Republic by the Syrian Presidents Shukri al-Quwatli and Gamal Abdel Nasser. Nasser was inaugurated as President of the Republic through the referendum mechanism and the adoption of Cairo as its capital.

The two countries continued to be smelted in subsequent years. The two parliaments of the two countries were unified as one parliament, called the National Assembly, established in 1960, in addition

to the abolition of the diagonal ministries for the benefit of unified ministries overseeing the new republic. The experiment ended three years after a military coup in Damascus on September 28, 1961, targeting the experiment that "was not fair to the Syrians" according to the military officers who planned and carried out the coup that declared the Syrian Republic. Perhaps we can summarize the reasons for the failure of this unit in the following points:

Nasser's nationalization of private banks, factories and major industrial companies, which were flourishing such as yarn, textiles and cement, which the Syrians, especially the influential class, did not like.

The emergence of a migration movement of Egyptian labor towards the Northern Territory (Syria), which caused imbalance of the labor forces.

The dictatorship of the south (Egypt) and its efforts to destroy the traditional Syrian policy through the dissolution of the political parties and the removal of Syrian Baath cadres from positions of influence and weaken the Syrian officers by sending them to distant places inside Egypt or to refer them to retire and the appointment of Egyptians place.

Arab Hashemite Union. Jordan and Iraq have tried to respond to the idea of the integration of Egypt and Syria into another bilateral merger between the two countries, especially after the United Arab Republic carried anti-royal ideas and political and diplomatic calculations different for them.

On 14 February 1958, the establishment of the Arab Hashemite Union was announced with a non-integrated confederation view, taking advantage of the affiliation of the rulers of the two countries, King Faisal II and King Hussein Bin Talal, to the same family, the Hashemite family.

The Constitution of the Union states that the Union consists of «the Kingdom of Iraq and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and its membership is open to any Arab country wishing to join it in agreement with the Government of the Union», and the retention of each "member of the Union with its independent international personality and governing system".

It also states that «the King of Iraq is the President of the Union and that the headquarters of the Government of the Union shall be periodically six months in Baghdad and six months in Amman». The agreement was approved by the Senate and House of Representatives Iraqi three days after the announcement, before the formation of the first government of the Union on 19 May 1958.

The experiment lasted only three months, as Iraq witnessed a military coup on July 14, 1958 overthrew the monarchy and overthrew the Arab Hashemite Union. Abdul Karim Qassem announced a new prime minister, who announced the dissolution of the Union only two days after the coup. Considering that the experience was not aimed at the interest of the people of the two countries but was founded «to strengthen the corrupt monarchy and to disrupt the unity of the free Arab class, and to achieve the interests of a group of governors who did not come to power through the people», as he put it.

Union of the three republics" who did not see the light. The Union of Arab Republics, also known as the Union of the Three Republics, is a union between Syria, Egypt and Libya, between January 1st, 1972 and March 1977, and after the signing of the September's 1971 agreement by Muammar Kaddafi and Anwar Sadat. And Hafez Assad.

The establishment was initiated by strengthening the relations between these countries bilaterally, through confederation union between Egypt and Libya at the beginning, then between Egypt and Syria. There were also proposals for annexation of the Republic of Sudan as well, but none of the aforementioned ties succeeded. The reason for the dissolution of the Union is the Libya's withdrawal in 1977 after Egypt signed the Camp David agreement with the Israeli occupation, which was considered by Libyans and Syrians normalization of relations with the Israeli occupation.

Arab Islamic Republic or the state of 24 hours. On January 12, 1974, during a surprising visit by the late Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Kaddafi to Tunisia, specifically on the island of Djerba, the idea of establishing a unity between the two countries was decided to be called the Arab Islamic Republic, headed by Habib Bourguiba, and on his behalf the colonel Gaddafi, who has a Muammar Kaddafi, who has pledged responsibility for the defense and army leadership.

This idea did not continue and was reversed as quickly as it was born. According to the official version, the reason for the cancellation is due to the result of the agreement to hold a referendum in both countries to legitimize this unity, at a time when the Tunisian Constitution did not propose the hypothesis of the referendum nor how to organize it, so it was before it was finally reversed. However, according to some historical testimonies, the subject of the referendum was only a means of evasion and retreat by Bourguiba, who changed the idea after the opposition of a number of Tunisian politicians to this step and after they warned him of reassurance to Muammar Kaddafi, who may benefit from his leadership to the army to oust him later.

Experimental unitary list struggling for survival. In addition to the above-mentioned experiments, which are now only considered as historical stations, other experiments have been known regardless of their performance assessment and impact in the region:

Arab Maghreb Union. The idea preceded the independence of the Maghreb countries and its first appearance coincided with the first Maghreb Conference of Parties, which was hosted by the Moroccan Tangier in April 1958, and included representatives of the Moroccan independence parties, the Tunisian Constitution and the Algerian Liberation Front.

Efforts to shape the idea continued after the independence of these countries and a number of committees were established, such the Consultative Committee for the Arab Maghreb in 1964, with the aim of strengthening the economic ties between the Maghreb countries in addition to a number of bilateral treaties and protocols such the Treaty of between Tunisia and Libya, which produced the idea of the Arab Islamic Republic – the Treaty of Mostaganem between Libya and Algeria and the Treaty of Fraternity and Reconciliation between Algeria, Tunisia and Mauritania in 1983.

This was before the meeting of the leaders of the Arab Maghreb in the Algerian in 1988 to issue a statement known as the statement in which they explained the desire of the leaders to establish the Maghreb Union and the formation of a committee to control the means of achieving the unity of the Arab Maghreb. The Arab Maghreb Union was declared on 17 February 1989 in Marrakech by five countries: Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya and Mauritania. After more than three decades, most of the views go to the failure of this union to achieve the hopes that have been and are still pending on it. With the exception of the name, its structures are known to be completely paralyzed, especially after Morocco suspended its membership in 1994 in a relationship with the Polyserial, which is the main obstacle to its implementation and the Mauritanian president doubts in its usefulness at the end of 2015.

Gulf Cooperation Council. The Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) is a regional Arab political and economic organization composed of six-member states that overlook the Arabian Gulf, namely Saudi Arabia, Oman, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Qatar and Bahrain, and it was established on 25 May 1981 after a meeting in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. In contrast to the Arab Maghreb Union, the Council went through steps of joint work, the most important of which are:

Establishment of the Peninsula, which is a joint military force of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), established in 1982 to protect the security of member states.

The Common Market was launched on January 1st, 2008. The Customs Union was established in 2003 and was fully concentrated in early 2015.

In contrast to what observers regard as relatively successful in building the GCC common system

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of work, meets a range of evidence to prove that it will not be available for more progress on this path. Six years ago, the late Saudi King Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz called on the leaders of the Gulf states at their 32nd summit to move beyond the stage of cooperation to the stage of the Union in a single entity that achieves good and removes evil. This is a declaration of a new project to develop the GCC in a simulation of the EU experience. In spite of the distance between the announcement of the idea of the Union and the moment of writing these lines, the idea remained a metaphor that was not accompanied by actual progress on the ground, and this stumbling to a number of reasons, including:

The differences in the political systems of member states. Despite the theoretical similarity between governance systems as inheritance property, there are differences in the quality of this property make it difficult for the expected birth of this union. Some monarchies are constitutional and the latter are universal and in addition to the sultanate in the case of the Sultanate of Oman.

In addition to the applied differences at the level of government regarding the level of individual and civil liberties, human rights and freedom of expression, it makes it difficult to imagine the establishment of a federal system capable of dealing with all these differences at the level of different systems and cultures of government. The presence of bilateral relations at the expense of collective relations in parallel with the obsession with the emergence of the role of States at the expense of other countries within the Council, especially with the different weights and sizes (demographically, economically and politically).

The influences of the foreign presence and its impact even on the relations between the Member States among themselves, and the lack of coordination at the level of external relations.

Variation of projects and political agendas and the fundamental difference in prioritizing and identifying the list of friends and enemies, the position of Iran is an example. And in light of the recent Gulf crisis, many readings were expected to predict the decline of the Gulf Cooperation Council at a time when progress was expected.

The Qatari crisis with the GCC countries in 2017, which could lead to the dissolution of the Council or the exit of Qatar from the GCC.

League of Arab States. The first dream which is stopped. The League of Arab States is a regional organization of countries in Asia and Africa whose members are Arab countries. Its charter provides for coordination among member states in economic affairs, including trade relations, communications, cultural relations, nationalities, travel documents and permits, social relations and health. The basic law of the League provides that each Member State has one vote in the Council of the League, but the resolutions bind only the States that voted for such resolutions. Popularly; although it is the largest and most comprehensive regional framework in the Arab region, the Arab League faces many criticisms from most Arab peoples because it failed to solve many Arab issues, most notably the Arab-Israeli conflict and the occupation of the Palestinian territories in 1948 and 1967, and many issues such as the Syrian crisis and the occupation of Iraq and other files that the Arab League dealt with negatively. The Arab League's positive stance is its rejection of US policy toward Arab issues related to Israel and the Arab-European summit in Cairo in March 2019 between the League of Arab States and the European Union, attended by 40 presidents from both Arab and European sides.

## Conclusion

So, why did the European Union succeed and the Arab Unions failed? If we combine the most important experiences of the Arab unity, ending and still existing ones, and if we examine the causes of stumbling and the failure that accompanied, and if we compare the details with the same details that characterized the experience of the construction of the European Union, we conclude that the Arabs

and despite the unity of tongue and history and race, To what reached the Europeans who are not so homogeneous, for these reasons:

The idea and the absence of gradualism: As Anas Marzouki, a researcher in international law and political science, says, “European unity is first and foremost is an intellectual project crystallized in the minds of thinkers, wise men, philosophers, jurists, men of law and social reformers before it becomes a political project that contributes to build institutions supported by heads of state. A large number of political, economic and social elites in various European countries. This project did not suddenly appear in the form of an integrated text that could be applied on the ground, but crystallized gradually, and over centuries, through the visions of thought at first, varied motives and objectives as varied contents and the means and mechanisms to solve the problems and obstacles expected on the road to unity”.

By contrast, all Arab Unity Experiences were merely Instant decisions taken by leaders at some point on the basis of personal perceptions and convictions. In theory, there was no theoretical work to create the conditions of this unity, both popular and institutional. Therefore, the date of the demise of these Unions has stopped or stopped growing as quickly as they were launched.

The universality of Systems of governance and the absence of democracy. The European countries are characterized as democratic despite their different political systems (presidential / parliamentary / constitutional). From this point of view, governments were an expression of the will of the people and the translation of their aspirations. This gave the experience of unity a popular dimension that contributed to the growth of its growth. Quite the opposite is found in the Arab countries with few exceptions.

Giving priority to personal and regional interests over public and national interests. This is one of the main obstacles of the joint action, whatever the framework. Historically, the spirit of action for the higher interest of the Arab leaders is absent and when the interest of the community is not given, differences emerge as much as differences of accounts.

Non-binding policy. Unlike the European Union, which obligates Member States to respect the laws they adopt and to abide by them, the Arab Unions have adopted and are still adopting the non-binding policy in most of their resolutions, which has made most of the deliberations of the meetings a place for talk that does not need to be implemented.

The great powers or countries seek to dominate the smaller countries. Instead of seeking integration and strengthening all individuals for the benefit of the group, the major powers seek to dominate and control the small states, which turns the unit into a negative situation for them.

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## **Арабское единство. Почему арабы терпят неудачу в единстве, а другие преуспевают?**

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### **Аннотация**

Авторы представляют краткое исследование об успехах европейских стран в достижении единства, в то время как арабам не удалось достичь той же цели. Они провели сравнительный анализ попыток арабского единства и процесса европейского единства. Исследование имеет научное и практическое значение для политологов. Авторы задаются вопросом: «Почему Европейский Союз преуспел, а Арабские Союзы потерпели неудачу?». На основе анализа различных теорий и концепций исследования авторы приходят к содержательным выводам, которые могут быть интересны широкому кругу читателей. Как европейская, так и арабская системы возникли в разных исторических и международных контекстах, и поэтому для каждой из них было естественно выработать разные подходы и механизмы взаимодополняемости с этими контекстами. Наблюдается тенденция хвалить европейский опыт и превозносить его в арабской литературе, но на этом фоне существует критика арабского опыта. В этой статье мы поднимаем много вопросов, касающихся арабского единства.

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**Ключевые слова**

Союз арабского Магриба, Европейский Союз, Арабская Исламская Республика, Лига арабских государств, политика, арабы, Совет сотрудничества стран Персидского залива.

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