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Political Islam Movements and the Reproduction of Conflict in the Mashriq from the Perspective of Creative Chaos Theory

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Abstract:

This study attempts to link the political repercussions resulting from the development of the so-called Islamic extremist movements to the Creative Chaos and the Butterfly Effect Theories. The study aims to address two major questions: the first question is designed to highlight the political consequences of the revival of the radical Islamic movements in the Mashriq, based on the theories of Creative Chaos and Butterfly Effect; and the second question is designed to reveal the existence of a new political vision, or projects to reproduce the conflict in the Arab region through the recruitment of the radical Islamic movements. To achieve its goals, the study relies on the historical and the descriptive-analytical methods as well as the Creative Chaos and Butterfly Effect Theories. The study concludes that there is a strong correlation between the revival of the radical Islamic movements and the reproduction of the conflict in the Mashreq in favor of the USA, and that this conflict is enhanced by scientific studies. As a result, the Arab states and regimes have become hacked and more fragile, and the conflict has become internal, i.e., intra-Arab and Islamic conflicts. Moreover, the idea of animosity towards Israel and the USA has been dismissed. The study

also demonstrates that there is close cooperation between US- based research centers and the USA administration in shaping American foreign policy through the political use of modern scientific theories, which has produced huge political gains for the USA.

Keywords: seeking professional help, social work, social worker.

Introduction

Believing in the necessity of creating a new scientific approach to deal with some political phenomena other than the traditional scientific model, this research aims to highlight the political consequences of the revival of the radical and militant Islamic movements in the Mashriq, based on the theories of Creative Chaos and the Butterfly Effect. According to the Creative Chaos Theory, the consequences of small changes in any phenomenon can lead to tremendous results in the final calculation. It has been observed over the past two decades, particularly after the attacks of September 11, 2001 and the US occupation of Iraq in 2003, that the numbers of the radical Islamic militants, in the Arab region has steadily increased. Once a militant movement disappears, more other radical movements emerge in the horizon, generating much more conflict, especially in the countries targeted by the USA.

Regardless of any ideological or doctrinal considerations, this research attempts to shed light on the political repercussions that have resulted from the existence of such groups based on the theory of Creative Chaos. These repercussions are important as they identify the bodies that support those groups, and the institutions that make best use of them.

The Goal and Significance of the Study:

This study attempts to link the political repercussions resulting from the development of the so-called Islamic extremist movements to the Creative Chaos Theory from which the Butterfly Effect Theory emerged. The significance of this study lies in the fact that it is one of the modern scientific attempts in the Arab world that aims to understand the development of political events in the light of a scientific theory derived from the natural sciences, specifically physics, as Gabriel Almond (1911–2002) broadened the field of political sciences in the 1950s by integrating approaches from other social science disciplines, such as sociology, psychology, and anthropology, into his work. Almond's research eventually covered many subjects, including the religious fundamentalism (Almond, 2003). It is also an attempt to draw attention to the fact that the course of political events in the Arab region is linked to a strategic thinking based on scientific and systematic grounds.

The study addresses the following questions:

- 1- What are the political consequences of the reproduction of radical Islamic movements according to the "Creative Chaos Theory" and the "Butterfly Effect Theory"?
- 2- Is there a new political vision to reproduce conflict in the Arab region on a religious basis in accordance with the "Creative Chaos Theory" and the Butterfly Effect Theory"?

Study Methodology:

This study draws on the historical and descriptive- analytical methods to achieve its objectives. It is also based on both the Chaos Theory and the Butterfly Effect Theory, both of which come from physics. Unlike what is commonly believed, these two theories have proved that the random events occurring in the world are interrelated. It has been noticed over the past two decades that there is phenomenal and steady growth in the numbers of radical Islamic movements. Once a movement is established, it splits into other radical sub-movements, or even more radical movements appear which creates new conflicts fueled by major media and propaganda campaigns, an everyday life threat and danger. As the aforementioned theories suggest, any phenomenon, even if simple, will absolutely have terrifying and significant results in the future.

Moreover, this research will employ the historical methodology to monitor the evolution of political Islam movements as well as the descriptive and analytical approach in order to highlight the characteristics of Islamic movements and to analyze the international, regional, and local context of their emergence and development.

Limitations of the Study:

The issue of radical Islamic movements and the reproduction of conflict in the Mashreq, particularly in Syria

and Iraq, will be addressed from the perspective of the creative chaos theory from 2001, right after September 11th, to the present 2020.

Literature Review:

The “Creative Chaos” and “Butterfly Effect” theories have received little scholarly attention from researchers in humanities, particularly in the field of political science. Several newspaper articles and writings about this theory were published, but they were mostly of a media and journalistic nature and far from any scientific and objective considerations. There were only few academic studies in the field of political science that aimed to link the Creative Chaos Theory with political phenomena. The following are some of the most important studies that discussed the relationship between the Creative Chaos Theory and political events:

First, Osama Al-Kurd’s study (2016) entitled “Creative Chaos Theory and Its Impact on Arab Security” addressed the evolution of American strategic ideology towards the Arab region from 1945 to 2001. During this period, specifically after the Second World War, the US administration realized that American interests could be achieved in the Middle East only by ensuring Israeli superiority over the rest of the countries in the region. The researcher also discussed the theoretical foundations of the concept of Creative Chaos and its historical and intellectual development. In the fourth chapter, he discussed the impact of creative chaos inside

Egypt and its impact on the events in both Libya and Syria. In the fifth chapter, on the other hand, the researcher deals with the American tools to create creative chaos and classified them into media, military, cultural, economic, and intellectual tools. The study concludes that the United States of America has the most prominent role in managing the Arab Spring revolutions and directing them to serve its interests in the region. Moreover, the chaos produced by the United States will contribute to the creation of new political entities in the region.

Second, Dina Fayed's study (2015) entitled "Creative Chaos and Its Implications for Regional Security" addresses the concept of Creative Chaos and several related concepts. The study focuses on a crucial question about the impact of creative chaos on the regional security in the Middle East. The study deals with three main topics: terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, and democracy. The study mainly concludes that the United States has employed the creative chaos to serve its interests in the Middle East. It has done so in order to impose an intellectual climate that creates a secure environment for a stable, permanent presence through the penetration of Arab and Islamic societies even without the intervention of the ruling elites of those societies to create a collective culture programmed and monitored according to the American style. The study also concludes that the advocates of chaos predict that chaos will be creative if it is directed and framed.

Third, Walid Abdel-Hay's study (2015) entitled "The Future of Political Islam in the Arab Region: Between the Sub-Trend and the Greater Trend" attempts to answer some fundamental questions about the future of the religious phenomenon and whether it forms an Islamic awakening or a global religious awakening. The study also discusses the impact of the deep backwardness of the political, economic and social structure on the ability of religious political parties to self-develop. Furthermore, it addresses the attitude of the core countries towards Islamic political movements. The study concludes that the core countries are concerned about the Islamic movements, especially the armed ones, due to many factors. For example, the success of the Islamic political movements will have an impact on the conservative and allied Arab regimes with the United States of America. Moreover, there are some concerns that the anti-Israel jihadist movement will grow and expand. Russia is also concerned that the success of Islamist movements in the Arab world and in Russia's surrounding areas could possibly lead to the formation of a base of support for Islamist movements within Russia itself, particularly in Chechnya and Dagestan, which could provoke regional separatism in the two regions and other Muslim-minority regions of Russia. As for China, its concerns are represented by the fear of the success of Islamic movements that may foster separatism in China's western provinces in Xinjiang, where the Muslim minority lives. The study predicts that the Islamic political movement will be at its weakest moment in the period 2020-2022.

Fourth, Shaher Alshafer's study (2015) entitled "The American Vision of Political Islam" reviews the concept of political Islam and the threats it poses to the United States and its interests in the Arab region. According to the researcher's estimates, the threat to American interests is represented in three main aspects: the threat posed by certain regimes such as Iran; the threat posed by extremist Islamic movements; and the threat posed by moderate Islamic movements that use peaceful means to seize power based on gradual and developmental approach. The researcher also discusses the repercussions of 9/11 and its effects on the relationship with the United States, which waged a brutal war on terrorism and began to target the armed Islamic organizations. The researcher also reviews the role played by Israel and the American research centers supporting Israel in distorting the image of Islam and attempting to link it to terrorism.

Fifth, Sherif AbdelRahman's study (2013) entitled "Creative American Chaos or Reform through Chaos" poses some questions, most notably: What is the definition adopted by the US administration of chaos? Could chaos be a gateway to reform? And how can chaos be managed? Does manufacturing concept have a role in promoting such a concept? Is the whole subject a purely psychological warfare? Is it conceivable that the United States has actually adopted a plan for chaos or that chaos was generated by the absence of the plan at all? What are the premises of the American creative chaos? The researcher discusses a number of different trends towards

creative chaos. The first trend is that the use of the term creative chaos is nothing but playing with words and concepts and beating around the bush through making up new and strange concepts at the same time. Negative situations such as “instability” or chaos are associated with other positive descriptions. For example, chaos becomes “creative” and constructive, thus turning the negative image into positive. On the other hand, the other trend implies that the use of creative chaos is not merely a play with breathtaking terms, but it is actually a response to the strategic mistake the US administration committed by declaring a war on Iraq and occupying it after 9/11. In other words, it is a confession of the failure to use direct military intervention. Therefore, the United States sought to blow up the internal fronts. The chaos, according to the advocate of this view, is not a plan, but rather a negative result of the absence of the plan. The third trend serves to suggest that chaos is an option and a strategy, not just a cover for failure or a desire to break up. It implies a huge adventure and an uncertain leap, which will lead to desirable results without guaranteed success. Chaos may be desirable only if its results can be beneficial. The study concludes that the United States of America persistently reshapes the network interactions of countries, events, and individuals in the Middle East to ensure more steady stability in the region. This restructuring process will take place in a different way not through the imposition of stability, but through the creation of a chaotic situation that leads to the self-organization of countries, events and individuals in line with the US interests.

Moreover, the study concludes that the United States does not have a consistent political position on Islamic movements, and that American interests are the main criterion in dealing with Islamic movements. Therefore, those movements are required to adapt themselves to the American agenda.

Sixth, Ryan O’Kane’s study (2006) entitled “Co-opting Chaos: The Role of Complexity Discourse in the War on Terror” attempts to monitor the political transformations related to terrorism, which led to the emergence of extremist social organizations stemming from the disorder and the prevalence of international chaos. The study reviews aspects of normative and legal problems with regard to the conduct of the war on terror during the Bush administration, and the legitimacy of the war on Iraq and occupying it. The study concluded that US national security considerations must be tightly linked to US foreign policy at the international level. The propositions of Michael Ledeen and other strategists during the Bush presidency dominated US attitudes that believed in the necessity of getting rid of unwanted traditional systems through democracy. The researcher believes that in order to understand US foreign policy in the 21st century, we must be aware of the strategic use of chaos and the political role played by the American culture in this context. He also believes that the justifications the US used to invade Iraq and Afghanistan are outdated and the argument for defending US interests which are compatible with the security and stability of the rest of the world has been called into question.

Seventh, Waqar Hasan Khan's study (N.D.) entitled "Creative Chaos and Fault line wars in Afro-Asian region, the Non-Kinetic Warfare Dimension" focuses on the necessity to understand the unconventional wars, which were free from any direct military conflicts or clashes between armies. The study also discusses how those kinds of war are related to the creative chaos theory that has emerged in the last decade. The focus on this kind of modern warfare has begun to exploit the weaknesses of the countries and societies of the Middle East and North Africa, which already suffer from the weakness and fragility of state institutions as well as societal division. And finally, this paper attempts to provide an intellectual approach to better understand the nature of the unconventional wars launched against Third World countries that make advantage of their weaknesses in a global system characterized by the absence of justice and equality. These results are in connection with the idea that the new wars "are undergoing fundamental changes, the wars between states and the structural separation of state war and civil war are now a historically outdated model...the new war is a retreat to the world before Westphalian order in 1648". (Hollifield, J., Takeuchi, H. 2020: 64-38).

Eighth, Hiba Zgair, and Fian Mohammad's study (2019), entitled "Geopolitics of Creative Chaos and its implications on the Arab World" attempts to clarify that Creative chaos is based on the idea of demolition, then reconstruction by spreading chaos in the targeted country to overcome its

political regime, then construction of a new political regime according to the American interests .According to this study, the motive that urged the United States of America to apply this strategy is the September 11 attacks under the pretext of reserving the American national security which urged USA to control the Middle East, especially the Arab areas. Accordingly, the USA has implemented chaos strategy on the Arab countries, which pushed them through chaos whirlpool and urged their different components to be in dispute with one another. This strategy has been achieved by occupying Iraq in 2003. The implementation of creative chaos did not stop in Iraq, but rather expanded to other Arab countries as the result of the exploitation of the Arab Spring in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen.

This study attempts to clarify the mechanisms of political use of scholarly theories and their implications on the targeted countries by research centers in the United States of America. “The Effect of Butterfly Theory” was studied as a paradigm shift that revolutionized physics with far-reaching effects on the rest of sciences including political science. The study contributes to explaining the rise of radical, militant, Islamic movements in the Mashriq according to those theories and the political consequences of the emergence of such radical movements. Finally, this study also attempts to be objective and to stay away from any ideological bias.

Most of the aforementioned studies focus on “Creative Chaos” in the media context rather than in the scientific

context, that this study attempts to avoid. For instance, Osama Al-Kurd's study (2016) concluded that the chaos produced by USA was contributed to the creation of new political entities in the region, and Dina Fayed's study (2015) concludes that the USA has employed the creative chaos to serve its interests to impose an intellectual climate that creates a secure environment for a stable, permanent presence through the penetration of the Arab and Islamic societies. Also, Hiba Zgair's study (2019) attempts to clarify that Creative Chaos attempts to spread chaos in the targeted country to overcome its political regime, then construct a new political regime according to the American interests.

The First : The Chaos Theory

This theory is fundamentally related to religious roots. Rev. Dave Fleming of the Christian Church in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, was quoted as saying “The Bible assures us that the universe was created from chaos and that God chose chaos to create the universe. Although we do not know how, we are certain that chaos was an important step in the creation process” (Joma’a, 2005).

On the psychological level, this theory is linked to Martin Cruzers, one of the founders of a new doctrine in the science of psychotherapy, who confirms that chaos is one of the important factors in training and psychotherapy. Thus, human beings lose all of their disciplines and rules when they reach the edge of chaos and then miracles might happen. They will be able to create a new identity with innovative values and modern concepts that will help in the targeted country to develop the environment around them (Thamer, 2016).

The term “Creative Chaos” refers to administrative methods that aim at enhancing productivity by provoking a certain amount of stress. This view comes in the context of turning the perception of instability from a negative view to a positive one as it is behind the creation and creativity. In other words, disorder has become a healthy phenomenon. Ari Berger’s study finds out that prolonged regular heartbeat is a precursor to a heart attack. (Abdel Hay, 1994: 48-49). Ibn Idrīs Al-shafi’i (An Arab Muslim theologian and scholar:

767–820 CE) also suggests that water becomes putrid if it doesn't move for a long time; once water runs it is pure and good and once it stays still it is not good. (Al-shafi'i, N.D).

Before the Chaos revolution, Laplace was enthusiastic about Newtonian physics and was repeatedly saying, "The superior intelligence that makes it possible to apply the same equations of motion to the largest objects of the universe as well as the smallest atoms so it can accurately predict all the following things. Thus, the future becomes naked to his eyes like the past." However, the Chaos Theory abandons Newton's physics and proves it wrong. One scientist describes this: "Einstein's relativity struck Newton's illusion about an absolute place and time. Quantum physics overthrew Newton's dream of arriving at critical, precise measurements. Moreover, the Chaos Theory dispelled Newton's and his student Laplace's imagination about the possibility of precise and inevitable prediction". This theory challenged the traditional notion which claims that scientific progress occurs through the accumulation of knowledge, so that every discovery adds to its predecessor. The accumulation of empirical knowledge calls for the emergence of theories. It has been proven that the most inevitable systems can produce more than just a regular cyclical behavior (Glick, 2008: 19-75), and this is how the physical, mechanical, and static thinking of the universe has faded as it deprives existence of every meaning and purpose, and makes nature blind in the course of its events (Al-Azm, 1969: 127-145). Thomas Kuhn is considered the first scholar who coined the 'Paradigm Shift'

theory in his book “The Structure of Scientific Revolutions”. (Khun, 1962: 66-174).

The Chaos Theory aims to formulate simple mathematical equations and to explain the major manifestations. It is observed that small changes in the initial data dealt with by these equations lead to tremendous results in the final calculation. The Chaos Theory calls it “sensitive reliance on primary data” which is best known as the “Butterfly Effect”. Basically, this theory builds its primary assumption on the ground that the flap of the Beijing butterfly wings can change the storm system over New York (Glick, 2008: 22).

A similar idea can be found in American folklore: “because of a nail, a horseshoe fell ... because of a horseshoe, a horse stumbled ... because of a horse, a knight fell ... because of a knight, I lost the battle ... because of the battle, I lost the kingdom.” It represents a stepping stone towards a new scientific revolution in the way of thinking that is reflected on all sciences including humanities.

In the early nineties of the twentieth century, the concepts of chaos and complexity began to take a prominent place in the National Defense Institution in the United States. The Newtonian static thinking no longer perceives the world as a predictable mechanical clock while stability and balance are the foundations of this system which dominates the American strategic mind (O’Kane, 2006: 1-3). According to Almond and Genco “in the 1920’s, the development of quantum theory

challenged this clocklike model of nature and supported the view that indeterminacy and chance were fundamental to all natural processes” (Almond and Genco, 1977:490). The concept of Chaos has attracted the attention of US scientific institutions. Chaos forums have multiplied. Officials in the US military, the CIA, and the Department of Energy have allocated huge funds to Chaos research as well.

Chaos planning is considered an iterative and interactive process that involves modeling desired scenarios against any actions and reactions that can be assessed and directed, through a series of short-term expectations towards the most likely scenario. After the occupation of Iraq, the experience has shown that chaos can be creative with satisfactory results for the US foreign policy. As Stephen Mann clearly puts it:” there was a fear at the beginning that our interests would not be realized if Iraq were brought into chaos by the destruction of Iraqi power and the dissolution of the army, but as long as it serves us, why not? Not all the chaos is bad and not all stability is good” (O’Kane, 2006: 8-9). The question posed by Chaos theorists such as Saperstein and Stephen Mann is whether the stability and integrity of the nation-state have become a permanent and achievable goal, or even desirable? All of that is in the global environment in which the permanence and stability of nation-states cannot be taken for granted as some sub-social forces challenge the state control.

The Second : Creative Chaos Theory in Politics

Before we get to the essence of this topic, it should be noted that we should be aware of the implications of the use of terminology without a closer scientific outlook. Chaos throughout history has not been classified as creative. Actually, chaos is basically destructive, not creative. And there is no better way to prove it than to look at its consequences. But it seems that the political use of this concept has created the need to be described as “creative”.

Michael Ledeen, a senior member of the American Enterprise Institute (It is considered a public policy think tank dedicated to defending human dignity) was the first to coin the term “Creative Chaos” as outlined in the 2003 “Total Change in the Middle East project”. The project was based on a system of comprehensive political, economic, and social reforms for all countries in the region according to a new strategy based on deconstruction and reconstruction. Although this revolutionary method, in his view, is often destructive, violent, and chaotic, but it represents an inevitable and historic task for the United States to spread freedom. (Urban, 2007:39)

Thomas Barnett, a lecturer at the US Department of Defense, developed the theory of “Creative Chaos” by dividing the countries of the world into two categories: the first category consists of the center countries such as the United

States and its allies and the second category is the “gap” or “hole” countries. The countries in the second category share a set of common characteristics, including the prevalence of authoritarian regimes, diseases, poverty, mass murder, and chronic conflicts, so these countries become a fertile ground for extremism and terrorism. Therefore, the core states must work to fill the hole from within. After the fall of Iraq, the Arab regimes no longer threaten the security of the United States, yet the real threats lie and widen within the countries themselves due to the unhealthy relationship between people and their governments. Barnett concludes that this constructive chaos will reach the point where it is necessary for an outside force to intervene to control and rebuild the situation from within in a way that not only contains the holes from the outside but also accelerates their shrinkage. And the United States is the only country that can do so. (Urban, 2007:39)

According to the American vision, peace in the Middle East is linked to the spread of democracy. In order to achieve this, the American departments have worked to verify their policies in the region in line with the requirements of each stage. The United States has also employed the policy of “Creative Chaos” in its quest for total control of the region where this policy overlaps with the American projects that have been launched including the Greater Middle East Project (Ammar, 2012: 79). Many researchers considered the theory of creative chaos one of the most prominent and

most dangerous theories created by the American research centers with the aim of redrawing the geopolitical map of the Arab region on the basis of sociological roots.

Robert Satloff, the executive director of “The Washington Institute for Near East Policy,” is one of the main advocates of the Creative Chaos Theory. He was the first to use the term in an analytical article dated March 2005. Satloff proposed to exclude the term “the Arab and Muslim world” from the American diplomatic dictionary and called for dealing with the Arab world through a country-specific approach (Ammar, 2012: 79).

This is consistent with the proposals of Francis Fukuyama and Samuel Huntington. Fukuyama considers that the world is divided into two types of countries. The first type consists of Third World countries which are characterized by underdevelopment and the absence of democracy. This underdevelopment was emphasized by national factors and social structures. He confirms this by saying in the context of talking about Islam that “The time for further expansion of Islamic civilization is over... It seems that the Muslim world is more vulnerable to liberal ideas”. On the other hand, there is the second type which consists of developed countries with liberal systems. He adds that the conflict between those two types has been resolved in the interest of the second party (Fukuyama, 1993: 56). As for Huntington, he assumed that the upcoming conflicts in the world would be

based on civilization and cultural foundations, and the gap of stability based on the level of social and economic freedom will amplify in the underdeveloped Third World countries and will lead to political instability and chaos. Besides, the conflict between Islam and the West will increase as a result of many factors such as Islamic population growth, friction and mixing between Muslims and Westerners, Islamic awakening...etc. (Huntington, 1999). The Creative Chaos Theory is one of the theories that the neoconservatives believe as the most appropriate way to deal with the outside world to destroy all forms of resistance". (Kurd, 2016: 36) This view goes along with what the former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice put forward in 2005 and 2006 (Leber, 2017). In her 2005 interview with The Washington Post, Condoleezza Rice showed a strong impulse to democratic transformation (without directly uttering the term 'Creative Chaos') in the Middle East, even if it could lead to a change in the US-allied regimes. In addition, she strongly criticized the policy of accepting the *fait accompli* or status quo to justify maintaining stability; instead she stressed that "the current situation is not stable". (Nafaa, 2005): "Stability without democracy will be proved to be a false one and fear of change is not a positive recipe for politics." (Rice, 2005)

By looking at the literature on the Creative Chaos Theory, it can be concluded that this theory is based on a set of pillars as follows:

- 1- Democracy is one of the most important and dangerous tools for the Creative Chaos Theory; the slogan of spreading democracy has been the most prominent headline of the American foreign policy since the occupation of Iraq in 2003. (Khalasi, 2016: 22)
- 2- provocation of racial, sectarian, and national conflicts where the sectarian, religious, and ethnic diversity of the region is in contradiction. So, diversity becomes a disaster and democracy becomes an outcome of creative destruction. This destructive trend is confirmed by Michael Ledeen, a neoconservative scholar, who says, "Destruction is our central recipe, and that the time has come for the social revolution to be exported to shape a new Middle East through changing not only the regimes but also the geopolitics in the area" (Khalasi, 2016: 22).
- 3- The destabilization of security through bombings and the destruction of the military structures of forces that can pose or may threaten US interests in the region.
- 4- The destabilization of the economic situation and the chaining of the economies of the region through several agreements, where many economic aid programs were provided to perpetuate the policy of dependency.
- 5- Mediamobilization that includes the broadcast of concepts comparing Islam with terrorism supported in one way

or another by coordinated and concurrent statements made by the leaders of extremist organizations. Arab-speaking radio stations have been established; many satellite channels have been penetrated; and electronic communication services have been provided free of charge or at low prices to serve that cause.

- 6- The social penetration and the influence on the value system in the community in order to create a distorted intellectual structure through several means like extensive communication with activists, jurists, academics, some government officials or those in power, and opposition parties in the targeted countries as well as the use of electronic means such as video games and other patterns of intellectual influence and the employment of human rights issues, specifically women's issues and the suggested "Islam oppression towards women."

The United States of America wants to create a favorable political, economic and intellectual climate that would, in turn, create a secure environment to enable it to have a stable presence and influence in the Arab and Muslim societies in order to create a collective mind programmed according to the Western style which would be able to get into those societies in a state of imbalance and make them permeable. According to Brzezinski "The American emphasis on political democracy and economic development thus combines to

convey a simple ideological message that appeals to many. The imitation of the American ways gradually pervades the world; it creates a more congenial setting for the exercise of the indirect and seemingly consensual American hegemony. Moreover, as in the case of the domestic American system, that hegemony involves a complex structure of interlocking institutions and procedures, designed to generate consensus and obscure asymmetries in power and influence. The American global supremacy is thus buttressed by an elaborate system of alliances and coalitions that literally span the globe". (Brzezinski, 1999: 28).

The Third: Factors that led to the emergence of political Islam and radical Islamist movements

The term “political Islam” was used extensively after 9/11 in the context of the propaganda campaign in the war on terror. It has been used as a political and media term to describe Islamist movements that see Islam as a way of life. From the Western perspective, political Islam is defined as a set of political ideas and goals derived from the Islamic law, which is adopted by a group of the so-called “radical Islamists” who believe that Islam is not only a religion, but also a political, social, legal and economic system that works to build state institutions. Therefore, political Islam, where religion is employed for political ends, is different from religious Islam according to the Western perspective (Al-Shaher, 2015: 3).

Political Islam as a concept reflects the movements and forces that aspire to apply Sharia Law (i.e. Islamic law) as a way of life using the methodology of modern and political action based on political participation in the authority. Every Islamist political movement considers political participation an approach that falls with this definition. Therefore, the word “political” in “political Islam” is not a description of Islam, but it is a description of movements that accept the idea of participation in political action. There are many Islamist movement thinkers who reject the term “political Islam” such

as Yusuf al-Qaradawi. He points out that the term “Political Islam” is rejected since it is part of a plan drawn up by the opponents of Islam to divide it geographically, historically, or doctrinally, adding that there is only one Islam, the Islam of the Qur’an and Sunnah. (Zahir, 2015: 5)

The concept of “political Islam” is also marred by a variation in definition and defining features. Opinions differ in determining the factors driving the emergence and spread of Political Islam. However, the main reasons for proliferation of Political Islam can be summarized as follows:

- 1- Intellectual roots: they are associated with the existence of a strict theoretical foundations calling to return to applying fundamental Islamic teachings such as Hanbali, Ibn Taymiyyah, and Sayyid Qutb, the spiritual pole of the Muslim Brotherhood (Schirrmacher, 2016: 25), and the Western studies have specifically focused on this aspect.
- 2- Regional and International Transitions: three major events took place simultaneously in 1979 and contributed in one way or another to fueling the Islamic political trend. The first event was the Iranian revolution in 1979 and the Iranian regime’s attempt to export it, that contributed to the creation of Sunni Islamist currents, resisting Shiite ideology.

In the same year, Egypt signed a peace treaty with Israel and the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. Both events

paved the way for promoting and enhancing the ideology of political Islam with a “jihadist” tendency. This led to severe movements of violence in Egypt including the assassination of the former Egyptian President Anwar Sadat in 1981. It also opened the door to the formation of Hezbollah and then Palestinian jihadist movements. Moreover, it allowed Arab volunteers to collect donations and open media channels to support fighters in Afghanistan against the “state of infidelity and atheism,” with the support of conservative Arab countries and the United States (AbdulHay, 2015: 15). The end of Cold War has led the United States of America to become the only superpower of the world after the demise of the USSR. The United States had to create a new enemy to justify the American intervention in the Arab region, which is of strategic importance, by exaggerating the danger of political Islam and Islamic fundamentalism.

- 3- The failure of secularism in its different ideological orientations and directions to present a successful and attractive model in comparison with the military achievements of some Islamic movements in resisting the Zionist enemy. The persistence of Hamas and Islamic Jihad in the Gaza Strip, and the power of Hezbollah to liberate southern Lebanon hugely contributed to deepening their influence on the Arab street. (Abdel Hay, 2015: 23)
- 4- Economic reasons that led to poverty, hunger, failure of development projects, economic dependency, and the

misuse of economic resources in the Arab countries. According to Transparency International's report of 2017, seven Arab countries are among the top 10 corrupt countries in the world. (Transparency.org, 2017)

- 5- 5- Political and military reasons: they are the outcomes of political oppression in the Arab countries due to the absence of democracy and political pluralism, along with military defeats by the Zionist army. The Arab states were not founded as countries of institutions and law. The will of the ruler is above the will of the institutions and law. This has produced a diversity of undemocratic ruling and the problem of legitimacy has emerged as one of the prominent faces of the crisis of the nation state as it stumbled over the economic and political development, social justice, and political democracy. (Thamer, 2000: 115-116)
- 6- 6- Cultural reasons: there are multiple cultural reasons, but the most notable reason is what Mohammed Abed al-Jabri points out to be the dominance of the "predecessor model" as it is primarily responsible for the deviation of Arab thought from facing reality and for pushing the discourse to deal with the mental faculties as if they were realistic data. Consequently, the memory takes over the mind (Jabri, 1990: 15-48).

The Fourth : The Early Attempts; the Arab-Muslim Renaissance in the 20th Century

The Muslim Brotherhood (MB) was created in March 1928 in Egypt by Hasan al-Banna, a twenty-one-year-old Egyptian schoolteacher in the provincial city of Ismailia (Frampton, 2018, p:11). The primary motivation for the new movement was the abolition of the caliphate, which existed when the Islam civilization began, at the hands of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Turkish Republic. Although the caliphate had no power, Al-Banna considered its abolition as a disaster. According to Al-Banna and his followers, Islam had to be restored to center stage socially and politically. Indeed, the Muslim Brotherhood was founded to pursue a broad reform agenda, which over time had taken on personal, religious, social, and political aspects (Hamzawy and Brown, 2010: 3).

At that time, the national movement was on the rise, with the assistance of England. During World War I, the Arab nationalists revolted against the Ottoman Empire and the Arab countries were formed by the colonial powers and according to their interests. There were a number of Islamic leading thinkers in Egypt, notably Muhammad Abdu and Rashid Ridda, who argued that Islam should be an important element in the country's national identity and development. Their attitudes were inclined towards moderate and modern Islam. On the other hand, The Muslim Brotherhood

represented a more conservative reaction against the changes taking place in Egypt and the Islamic world.

In the late 1930s, the MB began to politicize its outlook. As an opponent to Egypt's ruling Wafd party, during World War II, it organized popular protests against the government. An MB armed branch organized in the early of 1940s was subsequently linked to a number of violent acts, including bombings and political assassinations, and apparently the armed element of the group began to be out of Hassan al-Banna's control. The Brotherhood was accused of being responsible for the assassination of Prime Minister Maḥmūd Fahmī al-Nuqrāshī in December 1948, in its response to the government's attempts to dissolve the group. Hassan al-Banna was assassinated shortly thereafter; many believe that his assassination was at the behest of the government. (Britannica, 2020)

As a result of Egyptian revolution in 1952, the MB retreated underground. The attempt to assassinate Gamal Abdel Nasser in Alexandria on October 26, 1954, led to the Muslim Brotherhood's forcible suppression. Many of its leaders were tried and executed for treason and others were imprisoned. It was in jail that Qutb wrote most of his Islamist works, among which was "Ma'alim fi'l-tareeq: Milestones in the Road", which became a model for the modern Sunni militancy. It has also become a manifesto for the ideology of "Qutbism". Qutb openly criticized the materialism of the

West, prophesied its imminent collapse and proposed Islam as the only system capable of guaranteeing a fair society and world peace. He was released from prison in 1964, and then he was arrested once again. On 29 August 1966, he was executed by hanging. (Soage, 2009, 190-192).

When President Abdul Nasser passed away in 1970, he left a crisis in the system and a divided social structure behind him. His deputy, Anwar Sadat, took power in referendum held on October 15, 1970. (Islami, 2016:198). Anwar Sadat wanted to strengthen his base against the left-wing faction in the regime that opposed him. He released the MB leaders from jail and allowed the movement to revive. In return, the MB promised not to engage in violence in Egypt. They officially renounced violence in the 1970s during the Sadat presidency (Aljazeera, 2017). They proclaimed that the current stage of politics was one of base-building and recruiting da'wa peacefully. As a reaction versus the new attitudes for MB, a lot of thinkers and activists in Egypt were impatient with the MB's caution. They regularly left the movement to form smaller, militant and violent groups. Those included the Jihad movement, which assassinated Sadat in 1981 and whose surviving leaders eventually joined Al Qaeda. (Rubin, 2012: 2-3)

In the early fifties of the past century, the United States allied with the MB and held formal meetings with a number of their leaders in the United States of America. The US goal

was to use Muslim Brotherhood as a tool to fight Communism spread in the Arab region. The MB, in turn, found the Christian West a strategic ally against communism, (Masarwa, 2016). Operation Cyclone or the Hurricane represented the most distinct aspects of strategic cooperation between the militant Islamic groups and the United States. According to this operation, the United States provided arms and money to the Afghan mujahideen and various Islamic organizations (Janho, 2016). The CIA set up training camps in Pakistan and recruited nearly 35,000 jihadists from 43 Muslim countries over almost ten years (1982-1992) to fight in the Afghan jihad army. (Khalil, 2017).

The Fifth: Extremist Islamic Movements from the Perspective of Chaos Theory

The theory of “Butterfly Effect” which emerged from chaos theory shows that what seems to be unimportant may have profound effects on other aspects that may seem far away. In other words, small events can produce large and unpredictable disasters in the future; and what seems to be totally disconnected is, in fact, very interrelated and sequential. The search in details shows this invisible interconnection. In this regard, Islamic political movements in the Arab region have been employed to serve the United States and its allies. This employment was very clear after the end of the Cold War.

Historically, many intellectuals point out that the threat of political Islam against the United States actually started with the Islamic revolution in Tehran in 1979 and the talk about exporting the Islamic revolution abroad. A new international atmosphere was created that influenced Islamic movements in terms of policies and interaction with the international environment. Iran was suffocated by getting into a war with Iraq, where the United States achieved two goals represented in weakening the religious influence of Iran and the national threat of Iraq (Al-Shaher, 2015: 3-4).

Interest in political Islam increased after the start of the Palestinian Intifada (uprising) in 1987, where the Zionist propaganda exaggerated Western fears of Islamic

movements by showing resistance as Islamic terrorism targeting the Western values. This trend was reinforced by the collapse of the Soviet Union and the United States of America's transformation into the only superpower of the world. In this regard, the Soviet threat was replaced by the Islamic threat.

In the survey conducted by Chicago Center for Foreign Policy in 1995, Political Islam was ranked sixth as a threat to the United States after the dangers of nuclear weapons, terrorism, immigration, Japanese competition and China while the US State Department ranked political Islam third after the threat of nuclear proliferation and Chinese competition. (Al-Shaher, 2015: 5-6)

The September 11 attacks, which targeted the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, played a crucial role in restructuring the US foreign policy to address this phenomenon (the threat of political Islam). The attacks provided a great opportunity for the US administration to implement its agenda, both in the Arab region and elsewhere, necessitating the development of new theories that justified the intervention. Moreover, addressing the issues of international terrorism has become one of its top priorities. The United States has realized the failure of deterrence and containment tools to combat terrorism and has endorsed a proactive war strategy that would target not only terrorism but also all those who sponsor and support

it from its perspective or those who do not abide by the US anti-terrorism rules (Mannaa, 2002). Having done that, the United States would be able to achieve its greatest strategy to make the twenty-first century an American century through two gates: the first gate is terrorism and the second one is using the idea of threatening international peace and security by rogue states which, as the United States claims, attempt to own mass destruction weapons. This is used as a justification for the USA to intervene in those countries. The USA's goal, thus, is to gain international support it needs to legitimize its policies to be carried out.

Terrorism has been the legitimate and appropriate cover to justify any policy pursued by the United States, for it is perceived as its first victim and the main agent which has the right to finish it anywhere in the world within the framework of preventive and retaliatory policies. In his speech to the Congress on September 20, 2001, US President George W. Bush considered it "the most terrible and cruel of any war that America has entered before. This war begins with al-Qaeda but does not end with it. Any nation continues to embrace or support terrorism would be considered an enemy by the USA" and we will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them" (Address to the Nation, 2011). The war on terror has helped the neoconservatives re-evaluate the methods and priorities in US security policy turning terrorism into a strategic pretext to forge a new agenda. (Tariq, Al-Hafezi, 2016: 8-9).

The United States has pursued a policy of intervening in the internal affairs of many countries using many justifications: combating terrorism, promoting democracy and public freedoms, and human rights. Thus, the United States has been able to shape its own concept of terrorism and to make it a global one. It has also been able to occupy both Iraq and Afghanistan using many justifications especially terrorism (Almeligi, 2008). In addition, the USA has been able to destroy the Iraqi forces and to control the state justifying this by claiming that it combatted terrorism and prevented Iraq from possessing weapons of mass destruction (Shenafa, 2013: 18).

In order to face the French protest in which the United States of America was accused of using the events of September 11, 2001, to strike the Middle East, it resorted to the NATO treaty –article (5) – which considers any attack on any NATO member as an attack on all NATO members. By doing so, the US was able to build an international league that would legitimize its policies under the pretext of fighting the sources of terrorism.

The new US security strategy was announced in 2006, which confirms that the United States is in a state of war on terrorism, targeting to change the world and to play a greater role in the global events. The United States will work as well to spread the values of democracy and support them in all nations even if it means that the attacks would

continue outside the borders of the USA to fight terrorism. The strategy also stresses the need to build an international alliance to counter terrorism.

The United States of America has applied complex security policies and measures to face terrorism including building the “terrorist lists” such as “the list of foreign terrorist organizations” and “the list of sponsors of Terrorism”. As in 2014, the US National Counterterrorism Center published a list of organizations designated by the State Department as terrorist organizations that threaten their interests and national security. The general shared characteristic of these organizations was the predominance of religious extremism or nationalism. In addition to these organizations, some of national liberation movements were listed as terrorists like Hamas and Hezbollah. They were considered as Al Qaeda and ISIS.

According to the US State Department’s official website in 2014, sixty-one organizations were classified as terrorist organizations starting with Abdullah Azzam Brigades and ending with the Pakistani Taliban (TTP). Ironically, the two aforementioned organizations were supported by the US government to fight and resist the Soviet Union. George Tenet, the author of “At the Heart of the Storm on Afghanistan”, said, “We had to isolate Afghanistan by providing immediate assistance to the Northern Alliance and their remaining leaders in Afghanistan and by speeding

our contact with Pashtun leaders including Taliban military leaders who wish to oust Mullah Omar. We also had to close the borders of Afghanistan by directly involving Iranians, Turks, Tajiks, Uzbeks and Pakistanis” (Shenafa, 2013: 18).

According to the 2001 US State Department report on international terrorism, 90% of terrorism suspects are Arabs and Muslims. There are seven countries in the world have been classified on the list of countries accused of terrorism and/or terrorism support, including four Arab countries (Syria, Lebanon, Sudan, and Libya) and one Islamic (Iran). Cuba and North Korea are the only two countries outside the Arab and Muslim world (DOS, 2001).

The Sixth: The Strategic Employment of Radical Islamic Organizations

By tracking the course of US foreign policy toward Islamic movements, the following stages can be detected:

- 1- The stage of alliance with Islamic groups to face the hostile Communist forces.
- 2- The stage of demonization of Islamic movements, specifically al-Qaeda, and accusing it of targeting US interests as happened in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam.
- 3- The stage of stigmatization of anti-American countries with terrorism in preparation for their occupation and destruction, as in the case of Iraq and Afghanistan.

The first stage - The Strategy of Alliance with Islamic Groups:

The pragmatic ideology dominates the foreign political behavior of the United States of America. However, Saudi Arabia's adoption of radical Wahhabi ideology has not prevented the United States from building strategic relations with it. In 1933, an oil export treaty was signed between both countries. As a result, President Roosevelt declared that Saudi Arabia is under USA protection.

During the Cold War, US policy focused on studying the Soviet threat and resorted to the strategy of alliance with radical Islamic movements such as Al Qaeda and Osama

Bin Laden in Afghanistan in their struggle against the Soviet Union. Al Qaeda represented the Islamic mujahideen and their supportive governments against the Soviet Union as a holy jihad duty against Communism. The Jihad camps in Afghanistan attracted a large number of volunteers from various Arab and Muslim countries and got huge financial funds and aid from those countries as well as the USA.

The Mujahideen of different nationalities fought side by side against the Soviets. Thus, they developed strong relations among themselves and began to have a common vision on many issues concerning Muslims and Islam. The Mujahideen gained a great deal of self-confidence after their victory in Afghanistan. Nevertheless, at a later stage, particularly after the end of the jihadist phase in Afghanistan, the countries to which they belong began to consider them a threat to their safety and security. This forced lots of them to stay in Afghanistan or to build new camps in various countries in the world because they still believed that jihad shouldn't end at the Afghan station. These factors have contributed to the development and crystallization of Al Qaeda's ideology and capabilities especially with the presence of the US forces in the Gulf and the outbreak of the Second Gulf War in 1991. The Mujahideen desired to continue their Jihad activities against the United States of America after the victory they achieved. The Taliban government provided the Mujahideen with a haven and facilitated the construction of training camps leading to the arrival of additional volunteers and Mujahideen

to Afghanistan. Osama bin Laden's ideas about al-Qaeda's jihadist theory provided the foundations of Al Qaeda which called for the need to unite Muslims under the flag of the Caliphate. Al Qaeda also called for more to be done to establish a state of Islam to face the corrupt political regimes that might not be able to survive without the US support and helped occupy the Arabian Peninsula. To achieve this goal, Al-Qaeda claimed that it bombed the embassies of the USA in Nairobi (Kenya) and Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) at the same time on August 7, 1998, on the eighth anniversary of the arrival of the US forces in Saudi Arabia. This was followed by the attack on the USS Cole in Yemen on October 12, 2000. In addition, Al Qaeda's bombings in Africa, the Middle East and America strengthened Al Qaeda's religious credentials and popularity and made Osama bin Laden a hero and a loyal Islamist leader (Alazdi, 2004: 80-100).

The second stage - The Strategy of Demonizing Islamic Groups:

The United States began practicing unipolarity after the end of the Cold War and chose political Islam and Islamic movements as an alternative enemy. In accordance with Huntington's propositions, the US began to magnify the dangers of this new enemy. The existence of the enemy that threatens the West is becoming essential to America's existence as the single pole that dominates the world. So, America's new goal is to gain all the power and to dominate

the world in order to protect the West and its citizens and the free world from that enemy. It is an attempt to make the conflict between the West and the Islamic forces instead of the conflict between the capitalist centers. Thus, the leading candidates for this role are the former mujahideen who allied with the USA fighting Communism. The conflict between the two sides began after the Americans were in a position of hostility. After 9/11, there was a new concept of conflict. The USA, during this phase, changed its strategy from containment and deterrence policy to proactive strike policy especially with the neoconservatives taking over the White House.

After the 9/11 attacks, the US administration launched a war against Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan on October 7, 2001. Moreover, it started to promote that Bin Laden was pursuing to own weapons of mass destruction which is an American strategy that has become known and is based on the principle of maximizing the power of enemy and amplifying its military capability.

The American writer, Paul Williams, refers to this in his book, *'The Al Qaeda Connection: International Terrorism, Organized Crime, And the Coming Apocalypse*. He gives a comprehensive account of Al Qaeda's attempts to produce a nuclear weapon. There are many indications that Al-Qaeda has already acquired nuclear weapons through its links to Chechen rebels who had acquired them during the Cold

War through bribery and theft. Williams also speaks about a suspicious relationship between Al-Qaeda and some active gangs in El Salvador, and that Islam itself provides pretexts for such extremists to carry out their criminal activities (Dunia al-Watan, 2005). The US administration blamed Zarqawi first and then ISIS for the state of chaos, widespread killing and displacement of Iraqis.

The third stage - The Stage of Stigmatization of Anti-American Countries with Terrorism:

This stage includes the following tactics:

- A- Enhancing the state of chaos (creative chaos) in the occupied countries through the destruction of infrastructure and the dissolution of state institutions to prepare the ground for the arrival and emergence of extremist groups.
- B- Giving permission to the radical Islamic groups to move to the occupied state and help them to breed and multiply. Al Qaeda has moved into Iraq, and Zarqawi and other militant groups have emerged as ISIS, allowing them to expand and spread.
- C- The announcement of war against those militant organizations. This tactic, in turn, shows the occupier as a defender of the state against radical Islamic forces, instead of accusing him of being the cause of the destruction.

D- The Proxy warfare tactic. It depends on creating local military organizations that are resistant to radical Islamic forces. The Sunni Awakening Councils were established in late 2006 in Anbar province in Western Iraq to counter the Islamic State (IS). US forces have provided them with money and weapons either directly or through the Iraqi government. The US military has justified this because of the common purpose that brings them together with these councils particularly with regard to fighting Al Qaeda. The Chairman of the Association of Muslim Scholars, Sheikh Harith al-Dari, warned against being a partner of the Iraqi resistance and achieving the goal of such a coalition, i.e., igniting fights among Iraqis themselves (Al-Jazeera Encyclopedia, 2014).

The process of breeding extremist groups necessarily requires creating a suitable environment for this process. Creating chaos is the most appropriate and shortest way to offer these conditions. For example, the American occupation of Iraq in 2003 was based on a set of proofs and arguments (turned out to be false later on) presented by the American administration, which was stated in the speech of the then US president:

- Iraq's possession of weapons of mass destruction.
- Iraq's support of Al Qaeda and extremist organizations. (Bush's speech, 2003).

Later on, events and statements of western officials proved that Iraq did not possess weapons of mass destruction, and there was a deficiency in the intelligence reports like Tony Blair, the former British Prime Minister in 2003, said. After evidence of weapons of mass destruction declined, George W. Bush claimed that the intervention was for the sake of democracy replacing the rule of the Baath Party. And they had to overthrow Saddam Hussein because he was a dictator (Salman, 2015).

As a result of the American occupation of Iraq, the infrastructure of Iraq was destroyed, and the Iraqi army, security services, and various state institutions were disbanded. That led to chaos all over Iraq. Sectarian conflicts and doctrinal rivalries pervaded all over Iraq, and radical Islamic organizations emerged as well (Theo, 2017: 6). Al-Zarqawi organization, later known as “al-Tawhidwal-Jihad” affiliated with Al-Qaeda, was on the top of those emerging radical organizations. Abu Musab al-Zarqawi was the leader of that organization who was also leading training camps for militants in Afghanistan. He was a Jordanian Jihadist. He traveled to Afghanistan to fight in the Soviet–Afghan War.

The American media and propaganda campaign began to talk frantically about Zarqawi and his terrorist organization. He was described as being a danger to all countries without exception. Zarqawi’s organization was also accused of being responsible for the bombings in Iraq. Moreover, the mission

of the US military was to rebuild the Iraqi army to maintain the security and stability of Iraq as announced. On June 8, 2006, Zarqawi was killed by a US strike in Baquba, Iraq.

After this stage, the media began to focus on ISIS (Islamic State in Iraq and Sham). It started as an Al Qaeda splinter group and emerged from Zarqawi's organization in Iraq. On October 15, 2006, al-Masri, Khalifat al-Zarqawi, announced the establishment of the Islamic State in Iraq (ISIS) in cooperation with Abu Omar Al-Baghdadi. It was known as Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant. ISIS aims to create an Islamic state called a caliphate across Iraq, Syria and beyond. This group tried to implement Islamic Sharia Law, rooted in the eighth century.

The arbitrary and sectarian measures taken by the former Iraqi Prime Minister Nuri al-Maliki, which targeted Sunni leaders including the former Iraqi Vice President Tariq al-Hashemi, contributed to exacerbating sectarian tensions and increasing the support for the Islamic State especially in the Sunni tribal-dominated areas.

On December 30, 2013, ISIS took control of Ramadi and Fallujah. In January 2014, Syria's northern city of Raqqa was controlled and declared as ISIS capital. On August 7th of the same year, US President Obama announced the beginning of air strikes against ISIS. (Theo, 2017: 6)

Those organizations were born out of chaos in order to create more chaos as the best possible way to spread and

expand in the region. That eventually converges with America's interests, which kept silent for a long time as it monitored the expansion of chaos in the region. Editor David Kirkpatrick, who is an expert on the Middle East affairs, reports in an article in the New York Times entitled "Suspicious Run Deep in Iraq that CIA and the Islamic State are United". There are deep suspicions that the Islamic State is a clear creation of the United States, and the United States is trying to intervene again using the excuse of the Islamic State. "We know about who made Daesh," said Bahaa al-Araji, a deputy prime minister, using an Arabic shorthand for the Islamic State at a demonstration called by the Shiite cleric Moktada al-Sadr to warn against the possible deployment of American ground troops. In his speech, Moktada al-Sadr also publicly blamed the CIA for creating the Islamic State (Kirkpatrick, 2014).

The Syrian crisis has shown some of the features of those organizations and their secrets as well as ways of investing them. On September 13th, Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov said, "Moscow had information that the United States knew of ISIS positions, but did not give orders to bomb them". He also added: "When we analyze the air force operations of the coalition, it creates a strange impression, as if there was a hidden target unannounced in the tasks of the coalition!"

On August 11th, in an interview with Al Jazeera posted on Business Insider (an American Financial and business news website) Michael Flynn, the former director of the US Defense

Intelligence Agency (2012 – 2014), said that Washington knew of ISIS coming, but during the first year of the Syrian war it didn't want to control it. He added: "I think we lost, and we completely blew it up from the start." (Salman, 2015)

In a television interview, Russian President Vladimir Putin announced that the US administration was aware of ISIS positions, and it knew that ISIS was selling oil to its allies, yet it didn't do anything. In contradiction, the USA provided ISIS with the political and media climate to expand. The Russian president also mentioned that the mercenary fighters were joining the organization which pays more. He claimed that he even knew how much they were paid, and then he wondered who provided them with arms and ammunition referring to the United States of America (TV interview, 2019). Many published articles, studies, and documents pointed out that the US and its allies were illegally trading light weapons produced in Eastern Europe, Balkan, China and more in order to give them to insurgent groups inside Syria including ISIS and Jabhat Al-Nusra. The Israel Defense Forces, in turn, provided weapons, ammunition, and logistical support to Jabhat al-Nusra fighters operating in Southern Syria and in the occupied Golan Heights (Chossudovsky, 2016).

It is a strategy used in case the demonization of Islamic groups begins to lose its glow, so the replacement takes place through the emergence of an entirely new organization or through the replication of organizations rooted to the Grand Organization.

The Seventh - Consequences of these Strategies: It can be concluded that the United States, through these strategies, has been able to achieve the following goals:

- 1- Changing traditional systems and reproducing new systems that adopt the creation of common interests with the Zionists by reshaping and directing the structure of conflict in the region, switching its sides, changing the roles assigned to each party, and restructuring the components of the territory. Minority tendencies and sectarian warfare between Muslims (Shiite Islam, Sunni Islam, Kurdish Islam) have been provoked. This has clearly been manifested in the Iraqi experience, which has affected the whole Mashriq countries. The following points are what the United States has achieved because of instability:
 - A- Ensuring the fragility of the Arab State. According to Corruption Perception Index from 2005 to 2011, seven Arab countries were among the top 10 most corrupt countries in the world: Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Mauritania, Sudan, Yemen and Syria (Transparency Org.) And according to the failed state indicators, there were six Arab countries among the ten most failed states in the world in 2012 including Libya, Syria, Yemen, Tunisia, Egypt and Bahrain (Fundforpeace. Org).

B- Arab regimes have become penetrated and more exposed. According to a study by Leon Karl Brown, the Middle East and the African countries have been owned or “gobbled.” It is historically one of the most penetrated regions by the Western countries (Brown, 1984: 4). The Arab regional system is a stark example of penetration where there is a suitable environment because of the Arab-Arab threat. Since the Arab countries threaten each other, they push each other to search for an external ally. The mutual security threat among Arab countries during the period 1947-2010 was about 37 times. The security and stability environment in the Middle East has become increasingly complicated during the past decades. Up to the 1991 Gulf War, the regional environment was largely shaped by fears of interstate aggression, either by superpower intervention or by regional states against each other. Fears of interstate aggression certainly remain till today, but they are manifesting themselves in new ways (Bensahel and Byman, 2004: 1-14) After the American occupation of Iraq and right before the Arab Spring, the Middle East witnessed nearly 76 cases of conflicts and 12 regional conflicts, and more than forty internal conflicts (Abdel Hay, 2013: 10). The United States was also engaged in 21 military activities against the Arab countries from World War II to 2012. Other

factors contribute to making the Arab region an arena and a field for external intervention. That includes the fierce competition among the Arab countries to claim the position of the “central state” in the region; the emerging relationships between ex-colonizing forces and various postcolonial local sectors as there are 66 countries hosting global prisons including 9 Arab countries; and the dependence of some Arab countries on foreign aid (Abdel Hay, 2013: 11).

- 2- Changing the roles of players and the rules of the political game in the region. For example, small countries are playing major roles such as Qatar which has transformed from a weak “microscopic” state to a strong small state (Miller, 2018: 233). The main Arab countries, however, have become marginalized, such as Egypt. Many major Arab countries were totally removed from the scene, such as Iraq, Syria and Libya which have become an arena for internal and sectarian conflicts instead. The current Gulf crisis has served as a model for political polarization between the peripheral states and the core ones. This conflict began with the announcement of Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Bahrain, as well as Egypt to cut the diplomatic relations with Qatar on June 5, 2017 (Kinninmont, 2019:3). Saudi Arabia considered Qatar to have confiscated its central role as the central state in the Gulf and in the Arab world.

- 3- Transforming the conflict into an inter- and intra-Arab and Islamic conflict and dismissing the idea of hostility toward America and Israel. Furthermore, the Arab and Islamic countries has started to compete to obtain American support politically, militarily and economically in the inter-confrontations. The conflict between Sunni Arab states and Iran has been fueled. The division in the Arab region has been supported by suppressing any idea of unity between the Arab countries. The map of regional alliances has shifted and changed. Nowadays, the trend is to build an Arab-Israeli alliance in order to counter the Iranian tide in the region. The administration of US President Donald Trump has sought to form a security and political alliance with the Gulf states, Egypt, and Jordan to counter Iranian interference in the region and to stop its attempts to dominate it. The US administration announced its intention to create an Arab version of NATO, temporarily called the Middle East Strategic Alliance (MESA) (Arab NATO, 2018).
- 4- Reshaping the existing data of the dominant religious culture in the Middle East to look positively towards democracy, political participation, and human rights. Changing the curricula to promote moderate currents so that they are of an evolutionary and peaceful nature. Therefore, one of the main roles of the Creative Chaos Theory is to reproduce a new Islamic model with a new vision. This is done by distorting the image of radical

Islamic movements, especially those which embrace jihad as a means of getting rid of the US and Western hegemony. The American Corporation RAND has launched a project to counter what it considers to be Islamic extremism. This project focuses on the need to support moderate Islamic organizations as well as moderately oriented organizations and to create a cultural environment that encourages moderation and tolerance. It also highlights the need to focus on liberals, secularists, young clergy, writers, moderate journalists, social activists and women who embrace the values of modernity and equality.

Through its specialized agencies, the United States has trained and funded some subjects or agents from Arab countries on the values of democracy in their countries through special programs and institutions such as the International Republican Institute, the National Democratic Institute, Freedom House and others. These institutions practice political poisoning by spreading a set of values and ideas in a society to become the highest values there by attracting intellectual and cultural elites that adopt these values and ideas. They are then promoted via the media. Refaat Sayed Ahmed points to sixteen American parties practicing political poisoning in the Egyptian society aiming at poisoning the prevailing culture where certain values such as resistance are lost in favor of peace, or that the values of interreligious dialogue shall prevail at the expense of the

priority of interfaith rights, and the suicidal and terrorist terms shall replace martyrdom and resistance. (Abdulhay, 2013: -16-19).

Those American projects and programs have been accompanied by a systematic campaign to discredit Islam on two levels. The first includes fighting Islamic values, especially those associated with jihad and resistance to the occupier and linking them to terrorism and extremism. While the second one is to make the idea of the Islamic State or any talk about it as if it were an invitation to talk about ISIS which is stigmatized by extremism.

The whole idea behind this project is to empty the national resistance from its Islamic content. The Iraqi resistance, for instance, and the national liberation movements have been demonized in order to remove any legitimacy from them in resisting the occupier, and to ensure that they do not receive any support from the Sunni Arab states as they are under the umbrella of a terrorist organization. The elastic nature of the concept of terrorism makes it a ready-made charge to abort any national liberation movements or any anti-Western political, social, economic or cultural forces. This Zionist-American project also involves the possibility of investing those extremist Islamic groups and moving them to other areas to fuel further conflict, as it happened in Syria and Libya.

Conclusion and Results

It has been recently observed, especially during the past two decades, that the number and the activity of radical Islamic movements have been steadily increasing. Once a militant movement fades away, other more radical movements with new trends and agenda emerge on the surface. The Outcomes have always been disastrous, tremendously affecting the state, society and the value system. Hence, armed conflicts and sectarian rivalries have dominated the landscape as the state and society have collapsed, and the Arab region has become a field of international intervention.

It has also been observed that the radical movements have been very active in the countries targeted by the United States of America. Once in the anti-American camp, the target country becomes a battleground for internal strife among armed groups of all kinds as in Iraq, Syria, and Libya.

Moreover, the study concludes that the reproduction of radical Islamic movements is closely associated with the reproduction of religious, ethnic, and sectarian conflicts in the Arab region through the political employment of the Creative Chaos and Butterfly Effect theories, which suggest that simple changes in the preliminary data of any phenomenon lead to tremendous results in the final stage.

It has also been revealed that there is a fundamental and organic link among cosmic events. The act of linking

Islam to terrorism and exaggerating the threat of the Islamic movements have led to horrific consequences and serious repercussions, making the Arab region and Arab countries suffer from the scourge of internal conflicts. Therefore, countries that were hostile to the Zionist-American interests in one way or another have become a hotbed of internal strife and a battleground for armed groups, including radical Islamic groups.

The course of the conflict has also been transformed into an inter-conflict at the Arab and Islamic level, and the idea of hostility with America and Israel has been weakened and excluded. Furthermore, the Arab and Islamic countries have started to compete to obtain American support politically, militarily and economically in their inter-confrontations. Noteworthy is the fact that the conflict between the Sunni Arab countries and Iran has been fueled; the division in the Arab region has been perpetuated, any Arab unitary attempt has been aborted; and the map of regional alliances has been altered. All of this has led to building an Arab-Israeli alliance in order to confront the Iranian tide in the region.

Finally, the study shows that there is close cooperation between research centers in the USA and the US administration because the political employment of scientific theories may produce great political outcomes in the ultimate stages that will benefit the American interests. As previously mentioned, numerous reports suggest that there is covert US support

for extremist Islamist movements in Iraq, Syria and Libya. This support has resulted in the removal of pivotal states in the Arab world and has turned them into failed states such as Iraq, Syria, and Libya. Egypt has also been marginalized. Therefore, the state of division has been reinforced among Arab countries, and any idea related to Arab unity has been suppressed such as the Gulf Cooperation Council. In addition, Islam has been labeled and stigmatized with terrorism and extremism because of the doctrine of jihad (Fighting in Islam), which contributes to emptying any Arab or Islamic resistance from its ideological and/or religious content.

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عزيزي القارئ:

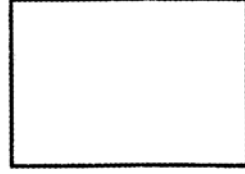
يسر أسرة تحرير حوليات الآداب والعلوم الاجتماعية أن ترحب بكم وتتقدم لكم بأطيب التحيات، شاكرين لكم سلفاً تعاونكم من أجل تطوير الحوليات؛ وذلك من خلال إجاباتكم عن هذه الأسئلة:

- ١ - العمر: سنة
- ٢ - الجنس: ☐ ذكر ☐ أنثى
- ٣ - بلد الإقامة: ☐ الكويت ☐ خارج الكويت (انكر)
- ٤ - التعليم: ☐ ثانوي ☐ جامعي ☐ ماجستير ☐ دكتوراه
- ٥ - طبيعة المهنة: ☐ أكاديمي ☐ إداري ☐ مهني ☐ أخرى (وانكرها) ...
- ٦ - مواضيعك المفضلة: ☐ أدبية ولغوية ☐ سياسية ☐ اجتماعية ونفسية ☐ تاريخية ☐ ثقافية ☐ أخرى (وانكرها) ...
- ٧ - كيف تحصل على الحوليات؟ ☐ شراء ☐ اشتراكاً ☐ استعارة ☐ لا
- ٨ - هل تصلك الحوليات في الوقت المناسب؟ ☐ نعم ☐ لا
- ٩ - رأيك في حجم الحوليات؟ ☐ كبير ☐ متوسط ☐ صغير
- ١٠ - كيف ترى موضوعات الحوليات؟ ☐ متنوعة ☐ غير متنوعة
- ١١ - ما الطابع العام للحوليات من وجهة نظرك؟ ☐ لغوي ☐ اجتماعي ☐ تاريخي ☐ جغرافي ☐ متنوع
- ١٢ - هل تقرأ الحوليات بانتظام؟ ☐ نعم ☐ لا
- ١٣ - هل تقرأ الحوليات فقط إذا كان موضوعها له علاقة بتخصصك؟ ☐ نعم ☐ لا
- ١٤ - هل تقرأ الحوليات فقط إذا كنت ستستعين بمادتها كمرجع لبحث؟ ☐ نعم ☐ لا
- ١٥ - هل تحتفظ بالحوليات بعد قراءتها؟ ☐ نعم ☐ لا
- ١٦ - اقتراحاتك لتطوير الحوليات وتطوير خدماتها للقارئ:

.....

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حوليات الآداب والعلوم الاجتماعية
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«تصدر مؤقتاً كل ثلاثة أشهر»

نعنى بشؤون الأنظمة والمحاماة



أهداف المجلة :

- * طرح ومعالجة شتى قضايا العصر ذات الطابع الشرعي والقانوني مع التركيز على إبراز الفقه الإسلامي وتبيان تميزه وشموليته في معالجة تلك القضايا .
- * أن تكون ساحة إعلامية لنوعي الإختصاص الشرعي والقانوني يقدمون من خلالها البحوث والدراسات ، فضلاً عن التحقيقات الصحفية المتميزة ذات العلاقة .
- * نشر الوعي بأهمية المحاماة ، وحاجة الناس إليها والتأكيد على أن المحاماة علم ، وفن ، ورسالة .

دعوة للمشاركة :

- * يسر «المحامي» دعوتكم للمساهمة عبر صفحاتها في كل الشؤون الشرعية والقانونية من بحوث ودراسات ومقالات أو تحقيقات .
- * تقدم المجلة مكافأة عن المقالات والمواضيع التي تقبلها للنشر .

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سكرتير التحرير :

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خالد يس

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سعادة الدكتور / عبدالفتاح خضر

سعادة المستشار / أحمد منير فهمي

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الدول الأخرى : ٢٧ دولار أمريكي (للأفراد والمؤسسات)

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توجه جميع المراسلات إلى رئيس التحرير : ص . ب ٦٨٧٤ الرياض (١١٤٥٢)

هاتف : ٤٦٥٢٧٢٥ (٩٦٦١) / فاكس : ٤٦١٣١٥٢ (٩٦٦١)

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صدر العدد الأول منها في يناير عام 1975م

رئيس التحرير

أ. د. عثمان حمود الخضر

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منطقة الخليج والجزيرة العربية في مختلف المجالات العلمية.

ومن أبوابها

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■ البحوث الإنجليزية

■ البحوث الفرنسية

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رئيس التحرير: أ. د. سلطان غالب الديحاني

نُشِرَ:

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الملخص

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى الإجابة عن سؤالين مركزيين: السؤال الأول يتعلق بإبراز النتائج السياسية المترتبة على إعادة إنتاج الحركات الإسلامية المتشددة في منطقة المشرق العربي، وذلك وفقاً لـ «نظرية الفوضى الخلاقة» ونظرية «تأثير جناحي الفراشة». أما السؤال الثاني فيهدف إلى كشف اللثام عن حقيقة وجود رؤية سياسية جديدة أو مشاريع تهدف إلى إعادة إنتاج الصراع في المنطقة العربية وتحديدًا في منطقة المشرق العربي عبر التوظيف السياسي للحركات الإسلامية المتشددة. وقد تم توظيف مجموعة من المناهج العلمية للوصول إلى أهداف الدراسة وغاياتها ومنها: المنهج التاريخي والمنهج الوصفي - التحليلي، بالإضافة إلى نظريتي الفوضى الخلاقة وأثر جناحي الفراشة. وقد توصلت الدراسة إلى مجموعة من النتائج من أبرزها: أن إعادة إنتاج الصراع في المشرق العربي مرتبط بشكل وثيق بإعادة إنتاج وإحياء الحركات الإسلامية المتشددة في المنطقة العربية بهدف إحداث فوضى وصفت بالخلقة وذلك بهدف إعادة تشكيل المنطقة وفق معطيات جديدة تصب في مصلحة الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية استناداً إلى أسس علمية مدروسة. فقد أصبحت النظم العربية مخترقة وأكثر انكشافاً، وتم تحويل مجرى الصراع ليكون صراعاً بينياً على المستويين العربي والإسلامي، وتم استبعاد فكرة العداء مع أمريكا وإسرائيل. وقد أظهرت الدراسة أيضاً أن هناك تعاوناً وثيقاً بين مراكز البحوث في الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية، وبين الإدارة الأمريكية في رسم السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية عن طريق التوظيف السياسي للنظريات العلمية الحديثة، التي أفرزت مكاسب سياسية هائلة تصب في المصلحة الأمريكية.

الكلمات الدالة: حركات الإسلام السياسي، الصراع، نظرية الفوضى الخلاقة، نظرية تأثير جناحي الفراشة.

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الرسالة 602

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حوليات الآداب والعلوم الاجتماعية - الحولية الثالثة والأربعون 1444هـ/2022م

القريب. فنرجو الاستفادة مما أخرجته لنا الجائحة في مجتمعاتنا العربية والمحلية، وألا تكون هذه الجائحة مجرد تجربة لا يُستفاد منها.

في هذا الإصدار سبع رسائل متنوعة بين العلوم الاجتماعية والإنسانية؛ إذ جاءت الرسالة (600) في مجال الإعلام، وعن موضوع: «ضوابط المجلس الأعلى لتنظيم الإعلام المصري واتجاهات الأكاديميين وخبراء الإعلام نحوها»، للباحث هشام فولي عبد المعز من كلية التربية النوعية في جامعة أسوان. وجاءت الرسالة (601) في التاريخ، وعن دراسة شخصية من الشخصيات العسكرية في الدولة الزنكية، والمتمثلة في شخصية: «صلاح الدين محمد الياغسياني (ت552هـ/1154م) ودوره في هذه الدولة»، للباحث عصام مصطفى عقله من جامعة الشارقة والجامعة الأردنية. أما الرسالة (602)، فجاءت باللغة الإنجليزية وحملت عنوان: «حركات الإسلام السياسي وإعادة إنتاج الصراع في المشرق العربي: محاولة للفهم من منظور نظرية الفوضى الخلاقة»، للباحث خالد مفضي الدباس من قسم العلوم السياسية من كلية الآداب في جامعة اليرموك. وجاءت الرسالة (603) بعنوان: «النهوض الأكاديمي وعلاقته بالعزم الأكاديمي والقدرة على التكيف ومنظور زمن المستقبل لطلاب الصف العاشر بالكويت»، للباحثين في قسم علم النفس بكلية التربية الأساسية في الهيئة العامة للتعليم التطبيقي والتدريب: عبد الله العصيمي، وحسن الحميدي. أما الرسالة (604)، فكانت للباحثة نور محمد الحبشي من قسم التاريخ بجامعة الكويت، وعن شخصية تاريخية تمثلت في دراسة شخصية: «حردان عبد الغفار التكريتي من النشأة حتى الاغتيال (1925-1971)». وجاءت الرسالة (605) في الآثار، وبالعنوان: «جوانب من تاريخ مملكة تادمكة في ضوء نتائج الحفائر الأثرية وشواهد القبور من منتصف القرن الثالث حتى نهاية القرن السادس للهجرة (9-12م)»، للباحث بطل شعبان غرياني من كلية الدراسات الإفريقية العليا بجامعة القاهرة في جمهورية مصر العربية. أما الرسالة الأخيرة (606)، فجاءت من الكويت ومن قسم التاريخ أيضاً للباحث بدر الرشدي، وبالعنوان: «تطور الرواية التاريخية: نكبة البرامكة نموذجاً - دراسة نقدية تحليلية».

لقد جاءت أغلب رسائل هذا الإصدار حاملةً للجوانب التاريخية، وقد حرصنا على أن تكون في هذا الاتجاه حتى لا تتأخر هذه الدراسات التي قدّمت منذ وقت طويل، وحتى تظهر للنور. ونتطلع إلى أن يكون الإصدار القادم أكثر تنوعاً في موضوعات اجتماعية وإنسانية أخرى.

افتتاحية الإصدار الأول من الحولية الثالثة والأربعين – سبتمبر 2022م

بقلم رئيس التحرير: أ.د. يعقوب يوسف الكندري

مع البدء بتنفس الصعداء من الآثار التي خلفها فيروس كورونا المستجد وظروف الإغلاق، ومع تصريح مدير الصحة العالمية مؤخراً، والذي أشار فيه إلى أن نهاية الجائحة بدأت تلوح في الأفق؛ بدأ العام الدراسي الجديد، وعادت الحياة العلمية إلى ما كانت عليه قبل الجائحة. فحملنا وتناقلنا مفاهيم ومصطلحات تكررت وتداولها الناس على نحو كبير في حياتنا الاجتماعية، وأصبحت مألوفة التداول بعدما كانت شبه غائبة في المحيط الاجتماعي العام قبل الجائحة. فتعارف أفراد المجتمع على مصطلحات ومفاهيم من مثل: التباعد الاجتماعي، والحظر الكلي والجزئي، والإغلاق، والحجر الطبي، والتطعيمات بأشكالها ومسمياتها، وغيرها من المصطلحات والإجراءات التي انتشرت على نحو كبير ومتداول في أثناء الجائحة. وخلفت ما خلفت الجائحة من تغيرات في كثير من العادات الاجتماعية ودورة الحياة خلال العام التي تأثرت بشكل كبير، وكذلك طرائق الحياة اليومية، وأبرزت عديداً من القضايا الاجتماعية المختلفة التي أصبحت ركيزة هاتين السنتين من موضوعات تتعلق بالتركيبة السكانية، والتعليم عن بعد، ووسائل التواصل الاجتماعي، والقضايا التربوية والشرعية والقانونية التي تناولت عديداً من المسائل الخاصة بالجائحة وبالوضع الصحي وغيرها من الموضوعات. فقد خلفت الجائحة ما خلفت من آثار مع الحذر من موجات أخرى قادمة، أو تحورات أو تطورات فيروسية قد تظهر وترجع العالم إلى المربع الأول أو إلى مربع أكثر سوءاً. لا أحد يعرف ماذا يخبئ المستقبل من مفاجآت، لكن القضية الأهم هنا هي كيفية الاستفادة من الجائحة ونتائجها في الاستعداد لما هو أسوأ، أو الاستفادة من هذه الجائحة في الاعتماد على أدواتها، ولا سيما التكنولوجية منها التي أصبحت من الأدوات المهمة التي أبرزتها الجائحة وجعلتها في الظهور العلني للاستخدام. فقضايا التعليم عن بعد، ومنصات التواصل الاجتماعي، والجوانب الإدارية التي تعتمد على منصات أكثر ذكاءً وتختصر وتغير من جوانب زمنية ومكانية – هي من أبرز ما يمكن الاستفادة منه خلال المرحلة القادمة. فالتحدي الأكبر الذي سيواجهنا هو كيفية الانطلاقة إلى الاعتماد على هذه الوسائل ووسائل ما يُسمى بالذكاء الاصطناعي، وما يمكن أن يحققه العالم في المستقبل

ويمكن الرجوع إلى العديد من المواقع التي توضح عملية استخدام المراجع، منها:

guides.library.utoronto.ca/apa

ثانيًا، في مجال العلوم الاجتماعية، يمكن كتابة المراجع على الوجه الموضح أدناه (APA).

١- كتابة المراجع في المتن: اسم المؤلف متبوعًا بفصلته ثم سنة النشر. (يُرمز الرجوع إلى دليل التوثيق وفقًا لنظام APA لأزيد من التفاصيل)

مثال: (Conner, 2001)

٢- قائمة المراجع، يُنجز الرجوع إلى دليل التوثيق وفقًا لنظام APA للتفاصيل.

مثال:

Conner, J. (2003). *Working with style*. *Style Writing Journal*, 12 (6), 1-22.

<http://www.stylejournal.org>

ويمكن زيارة موقع:

لمعرفة القواعد الخاصة بهذا النظام.

١١- يجب أن تشمل جميع البحوث على قائمة المراجع كاملة في نهاية البحث على أن يكون بتدوين الكتلي بالنسبة للروايات (Plasma Script).

١٢- لمقالة قواعد وأخلاقيات النشر وروايات مراجعة موقع الحوليات الإلكترونية.

شروط قبول البحوث في الحوليات

١ - لا تقبل الحوليات البحوث التي سبق نشرها بأي طريقة.

ب - لا تقبل المجلة نشر أبحاث الماجستير أو الدكتوراه أو أي مستندات منها.

ج - لا تُرد ولا تُسترجع أصول البحوث المنشورة للأشخاص سواء نُشرت أم لم تُنشر.

د - لا يجوز نشر البحوث في جهات أخرى بعد موافقة الحوليات على نشرها. وإذا ثبت ذلك، فسيتخذ إدارة الحوليات الإجراءات القانونية المتبعة بهذا الشأن.

هـ - يمكن للباحث نشر بحثه في جهات أخرى بعد الحصول على إذن كتابي مسبق من رئيس التحرير وبعد اتساع ثلاث سنوات - على الأقل - على نشره في الحوليات.

و - يفرض البحث الذي تنوخر فيه القواعد المكتوبة سابقاً، بعد موافقة هيئة التحرير على منحهم التصريح منى صلاحية البحث للأغنى في المجلة.

ز - تدفع المجلة للباحث خمسين نسخة من بحثه الإلكتروني كإعانة.

تُقبل البحوث وجميع المراسلات الخاصة بالحوليات إلى رئيس التحرير عن طريق البريد الإلكتروني للمجلة.

الإلكتروني للمجلة

رئيس تحرير حوليات الآداب والعلوم الاجتماعية

ص.ب: ١٧٣٧٠ الخالدية

رمز بريدي: 72454

الكويت

ISSN 1560 Key title: Hawliyyat Kulliyat al-Adab

<http://apc.kuniv.edu.kw/AASS>

E-mail: aass@ku.edu.kw

قواعد النشر

في حوثيات الآداب والعلوم الاجتماعية

- ١- تظهر الحوثيات البحوث والنُرسات الأصلية باللغتين العربية والإنجليزية في مجال العلوم الاجتماعية والعلوم الإنسانية والآداب.
- ٢- أن تُمثل النُرسات إضافةً جديدةً في حقل التخصص.
- ٣- لم يُسبق نشر النُرسات بأي صورة كانته ولم يسبق أيضاً تقديمها للنشر إلى جهة أخرى في كتاب أو غيرها إلى الحوثيات. وتلتزم الباحث كتابةً وقراءةً وتعهد بأن البحث المُقدم لم يسبق نشره في أي وعاء نفس أو أرسل إلى جهة أخرى.
- ٤- ألا يقل عدد كلمات النُرسات عن (١٥٠٠٠) كلمة شاملة المراجع والهوامش والمجلد (يحدود ٥٠ صفحة). ولا يجوز عدد الكلمات عن (٦٠٠٠٠) كلمة (في حدود ٢٠٠ صفحة).
- ٥- يُقدم البحث بالبريد الإلكتروني: (mla@mla.org) مكتوباً بواسطة مُعالج النصوص Microsoft Word وعلى معطلة ونصف وخط (١٢) **Times New Roman** في حالة البحوث باللغة العربية وعلى معطلة ونصف وخط (١٢) **Times New Roman** في حالة البحوث باللغة الإنجليزية.
- ٦- يُزوَّج البحث ملفاً منفصلاً للبيانات معيولاً باللغتين العربية والإنجليزية في حدود (٢٠٠) كلمة على أن يحتوي ملف البحث على: فُتات النُرسات وأسئلتها ونتائج التُرسات المُستخدِمة، ويُنزل التتبع المُنتجَنت وأهم الاستنتاجات.
- ٧- يُزوَّج البحث مع البحثِ مبرقةً علميةً مُختصرةً معيولةً باللغتين العربية والإنجليزية تشمل أهم مؤلفاته وأبحاثه.
- ٨- تُقدِّم الطرائد والأشكال والرسوم (إن وجدت) بأصوتها المُتعلِّقة للطباعة بصيغة **PDF** وبمستوى دقة ٣٠٠ dpi.

٩- في حالة رغبة الباحث بنشر البحوث أو الطرائد أو الأشكال البيانية (إن وجدت) يلتزم بتقع تكاليفها.

١٠- يراعى الباحث عند كتابة البحث الالتزام بأحد نسختة من أحد التاليفين:

أ - **Modern Language Association MLA**

ب - **American Psychological Association APA**

يستخدم في البحوث والنُرسات في مجال العلوم الإنسانية والآداب نظام **MLA** والبحوث في مجال النُرسات الاجتماعية نظام **APA** من حيث كتابة المراجع والهوامش في تاليف البحث أو في قائمة المراجع.

ولاً، في النُرسات في مجال العلوم الإنسانية والآداب يمكن كتابة المراجع على نظام **MLA** على التوجه المُوضح أدناه:

١ - الهوامش - توضع الهوامش في نهاية البحث في حالة عدم وجود فصول.

- تُرتب أرقام التاليف بطريقة متسلسلة حتى نهاية كل فصل أو حتى

نهاية البحث في حالة عدم وجود فصول.

- تكتب الهوامش عند نهايتها لأول مرة كاملة على التاليف (اسم

المؤلف، عنوان الكتاب) (بالخط الأسود) رقم الجزء، رقم الصفحة، اسم

التاليف، مكان النشر، سنة النشر، رقم الصفحة.

مثال: (بين حمزة، الأحكام جزء ٢، ط ١، دار المعارف، القاهرة، ١٩٦٦: ص ١١٦).

٢ - المراجع

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١٩٧٥، ص ١١).

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مها إبراهيم المسعد
مديرة التحرير

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الحولفة الثالثة والأربعون
الرسالة الثانية بعد المئة السادسة

1444 هـ / 2022 م

ثمن العدد

قطر: ١٠ ريال

البحرين: دينار واحد

الكويت: ٥٠٠ فلس

عمان: ريال واحد

السعودية: ١٠ ريال

الإمارات: ١٠ درهم

ثمن النسخة في دول الوطن العربي ما يعادل دولاراً واحداً

ثمن النسخة في الدول الأجنبية ما يعادل ثلاثة دولارات

الاشتراك السنوي لعدد (١٢) رسالة

الدول الأجنبية	الدول العربية	الكويت	نوع الاشتراك	سنوات الاشتراك
٢٢ دولاراً	٦ دنانير	٤ دنانير	أفراد	سنة واحدة
٩٠ دولاراً	٢٢ ديناراً	٢٢ ديناراً	مؤسسات	
٣٧ دولاراً	١٠ دنانير	٧ دنانير	أفراد	سنتان
١٥٠ دولاراً	٣٧ ديناراً	٣٧ ديناراً	مؤسسات	
٥٢ دولاراً	١٤ دنانير	١٠ دنانير	أفراد	٣ سنوات
٢١٠ دولارات	٥٢ ديناراً	٥٣ ديناراً	مؤسسات	
٦٧ دولاراً	١٨ ديناراً	١٣ ديناراً	أفراد	٤ سنوات
٢٧٠ دولاراً	٦٧ ديناراً	٦٧ ديناراً	مؤسسات	

جميع المراسلات الخاصة بشروط النشر أو أية استفسارات أخرى
توجه إلى رئيس تحرير حويليات الآداب والعلوم الاجتماعية
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الاجتماعية ١٩٧٣، مجلة	والتعريب والنشر ١٩٧٦، مجلة	الشرعية والدراسات
الكويت للعلوم	الحقوق ١٩٧٧، حويليات الآداب	الإسلامية ١٩٨٣، المجلة
والهندسة ١٩٧٣، مجلة	والعلوم الاجتماعية ١٩٨٠،	التربوية ١٩٨٣، المجلة
دراسات الخليج والجزيرة	المجلة العربية للعلوم	العربية للعلوم الإدارية ١٩٩١.

حوليات الآداب والعلوم الاجتماعية

فصلية علمية محكمة - تصدر عن مجلس النشر العلمي - جامعة الكويت

حركات الإسلام السياسي وإعادة إنتاج الصراع في المشرق العربي: محاولة للفهم من منظور نظرية الفوضى الخلاقة

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قسم العلوم السياسية - كلية الآداب - جامعة اليرموك
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