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The main dilemmas of the citizen's political security in Arab societies

المعضلات الرئيسية للأمن السياسي للمواطن في المجتمعات العربية

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الملخص

يواجه المواطن في المجتمعات العربية مجموعة من المعضلات الحكومية الرسمية وغير الرسمية التي تنعكس سلبًا على أمنه السياسي بشكل خاص وعلى الأمن البشري بشكل عام ، مما يؤدي في النهاية إلى خلق أزمات اقتصادية واجتماعية وثقافية ودينية تهدد استقرار الانظمة السياسية في المجتمعات العربية. لذلك، تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى التحقق من الفرضية القائلة بأن الأمن السياسي للمواطن العربي يتأثر سلباً أو إيجاباً بالمعضلات الحكومية التي الدولة والمؤسسات الرسمية لها دور في تشكيلها ، وكذلك المعضلات غير الحكومية الخارجة عن ارادة الدولة ومؤسساتها الرسمية. استخدمت هذه الدراسة عدة مناهج من أجل معالجة وتحديد جميع الجوانب المتعلقة بالموضوع مثل المنهج الوصفي والمنهج البنائي, وبالمثل الوثائق الحكومية والبيانات المذكورة في التقارير الصادرة عن مراكز البحوث والدراسات والمؤتمرات والمنظمات الإقليمية والدولية المعنية بدراسة الامن السياسي كانت نقاط ساخنة للحصول على المعلومات. الدراسة تحاول صياغة رؤية بحثية جديدة تهدف إلى إبراز اهمية موضوع الامن السياسي للمواطن في البلدان العربية ,نظرا لحداثة الموضوع بالدرجة الاولى, وكونه موضوع يطرح العديد من التساؤلات والاستفسارات التي ربما تساهم في تقديم الحلول للكثير من الازمات التي تعاني منها المجتمعات العربية. نتائج الدراسة أوضحت أن العديد من المعضلات الحكومية الناجمة عن الدستور , تراجع الديمقراطية , الفساد السياسي ,العنف السياسي والفقر, وكذلك المعضلات غير الحكومية مثل العنف السياسي غير الرسمي, الطائفة السياسية, الارهاب والجريمة المنظمة أثرت سلبا على تعزيز الامن السياسي للمواطن العربي.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الامن السياسي ,المواطن , المعضلات الحكومية ,المعضلات غير الحكومية, المجتمعات العربية

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Abstract

The citizen within Arab countries faces a set of formal and informal governmental dilemmas that reflect negatively on their political security in particular and on human security in general, which ultimately lead to the creation of economic, social, cultural and religious crises that threaten the stability of political regimes in Arab countries. Therefore, this study aims to verify the hypothesis that the political security of the Arab citizen is affected negatively or positively by the governmental dilemmas that the state and official institutions have a role in its formation, as well as the non-governmental dilemmas that are beyond the control of the state and its official institutions. This study used several approaches in order to address and define all aspects related to the topic, such as the descriptive approach and the constructive approach. Likewise, government documents and data mentioned in reports issued by research and studies centers, conferences and regional and international organizations concerned with the study of political security were hotspots for obtaining information. The study tries to formulate a new research vision aimed at highlighting the importance of the issue of political security for the citizen in the Arab regimes, given the novelty of the topic in the first place, and the fact that it is a subject that raises many questions and inquiries that may contribute to providing solutions to the many crises afflicting Arab societies. The results of the study showed that many governmental dilemmas resulting from the constitution, declining democracy, political corruption, political violence and poverty, as well as non-governmental dilemmas such as informal political violence, political sect, terrorism and organized crime have negatively affected the strengthening of the political security of the Arab citizen.

Key words: political security, citizen, governmental dilemmas, non-governmental dilemmas, Arab societies.

Introduction

When talking about dilemmas that threaten the citizen's political security, they are related to dilemmas that threaten the citizen's political rights. For some of them, political rights are called (constitutional rights) because the constitution recognizes them for the individual as an official member of the political group of a particular country, with the aim of enabling him to contribute to the rule of his country and the management of its affairs, and to participate in the political life of the group, that is, the enjoyment of them is limited to citizens without foreigners. ([1]), and that Violation or denial of these rights is a denial or contempt for the sanctity and dignity of the human being that contravenes the principles of right and justice, and ultimately leads to a state of rebellion and disobedience against tyrannical and tyrannical regimes that violate these rights.

This group of political rights is of great importance in drawing and directing the political life of the citizen, and affects the organization of his relationship with the authority, and it is necessary to build a stable democratic society, and the goal of recognizing and achieving these rights is to provide legal and political guarantees for the citizen's right to political participation in the governance of his country, and contributing to political decision-making and decision-making, directing the management of public affairs in it, as well as strengthening the citizen's role in shaping the overall political life in the

(1) Mashry Salma, The Right to Political Security, a published letter, Farhat Abbas University-Setif, Faculty of Law and Political Science, 2010, pp. 21-22.

state and society. Political rights have become a necessity for human rights in the modern era, as they are the legitimate and appropriate means of expressing the trends and desires of citizens in order to protect their rights and freedoms. ([1])

In this research, the factors that threaten the political security of the citizen will be dealt with, which will revolve around two aspects. The first relates to government-related threats or aspects related to state institutions and what falls within their responsibility, and the second relates to threats that fall outside the responsibility of state institutions, that is, related to social aspects, institutions, organizations and parties, and other bodies that can have a negative impact on the citizen's political security.

Research problem

The political security of the citizen and the role of the latter in supporting human security within Arab societies face a set of dilemmas. These dilemmas may be official and governmental, resulting either from political oppression and arbitrariness practiced by the state against its citizens, and the wasting of their right to conduct their lives and participate in decision-making Important at the government level, or as these non-governmental (informal) dilemmas may be outside the will of the state or its governmental institutions, resulting from informal political violence, political sectarianism, terrorism and organized crime. These dilemmas, both formal and informal, in turn negatively affect political security. Ultimately, it creates economic, social, cultural and religious crises that threaten the stability of citizens and states.

(2) P.H.Liotta,David.A.Mouat، « Environmental change and human security »، the Nato science for peace and security programme,2008, p15.

Research hypothesis

The study starts from the hypothesis that: ((The political security of the Arab citizen is affected negatively or positively by governmental dilemmas, in which the state and official institutions have a role in its formation, such as the dilemmas resulting from the constitution, the decline of democracy, political corruption, political violence and poverty, as well as non-governmental problems outside. On the will of the state and its official institutions, such as informal political violence, political sect, terrorism and organized crime, meaning that the political violence of the citizen is directly related to governmental and non-governmental dilemmas)). Through this study, we try to answer a number of questions:

1. What is the impact of governmental dilemmas on the political security of citizens in Arab societies?
2. How have non-governmental dilemmas affected the political security of citizens in Arab societies?
3. Is it possible to reduce these dilemmas and provide possible solutions that contribute to strengthening political security?

Research Importance

The reasons leading to choosing the topic of the research entitled ((Dilemmas of the Political Security of the Citizen in Arab Societies)) lie in several reasons:

1. The issue of political security raises the interest of many researchers and scholars in the field of security in general, due to its novelty in the first place, and its being a subject that raises many questions and inquiries

that may contribute to providing solutions to many of the crises that Arab societies are suffering from.

2. Political security is one of the dimensions of human security, which raises research centers interested in studying the security of the individual (citizen) as a basic unit of analysis, working on proposing many programs and strategies that benefit the political regime and the citizen.
3. Political Security is concerned with developing, empowering and protecting the legal system through more efficient and effective mechanisms at the level of implementation, which contributes to supporting human security.

Research Methodology

According to the nature of the research problem and the goals it seeks to achieve, both the descriptive approach and the constructive approach were used, and accordingly, the goal of the descriptive approach is to diagnose the most important formal and informal dilemmas and their role in weakening the political security of the Arab citizen, based on presenting the most important of these dilemmas and their types rooted in them Theoretically researching, and then presenting some ideas and perceptions that can be used in building various strategies that work to achieve the greatest degree of political security for the citizen by reducing these dilemmas. As for the aim of the constructive approach, it is an integrated methodology for research, in which the first step is to present and detail the citizens' political security dilemmas, by describing and analyzing problematic phenomena related to the citizen's political security that present themselves on the theoretical level. Then the second step requires analyzing the political, social, cultural and economic data. Related to

the issue and to present it in the form of a new building aimed at achieving political security in particular, and to reduce the impact of dilemmas on political security in general

The concept of political security

There is almost an agreement that, there are no comprehensive, compatible definitions of political security, given that it is one of the most ambiguous, complex and complex aspects and dimensions of security. Since it is one of the dimensions of human security, the main document that adopted this concept and defined political security procedurally is: the 1994 Human Development Report, which linked the human development paradigm with all other dimensions of human security. Political security is "a means to protect human rights and Democracy" or in the sense of "that a person lives in a society that honors his basic human rights." ([1])

This is also what some have argued that political security means "freedom from fear and need and ensuring protection and empowerment of human rights, for all citizens at the same time without exception or discrimination, considering it an integrated and indivisible human rights system." Suggest that political security is a "right" of the citizen, not just the state; that is, his right to physical and personal integrity, a decent and sustainable life, and the enjoyment of all his fundamental rights and freedoms. It maintains stability and security among all countries, as well as strengthening relations between the citizen and the state, in order to reach a life of freedom, justice, integrity, transparency and legitimacy.([2])

([1]) P.H.Liotta,David.A.Mouat، op.cit., p.16.

(2)Mawloud Murad Mohiuddin, The One-Party System and Its Impact on the Political Rights of the Citizen, a Comparative Analytical Legal Study, Sima-Sulaymaniyah Press, 1st Edition, Iraq, 2007 AD, pp. 242-261.

Governmental dilemmas threatening the citizen political security

The challenges of security and its protection have become more complex in the twenty-first century, as the state is still the only one responsible for security, and in many cases the state becomes a source of threat to its citizens because it often fails to fulfill its security obligations, which may necessitate a shift of attention from state security to security The citizen; That is, the state is not the only and main connotation of public security and political security, as the interests of citizens have become the focus.([1])

Governmental dilemmas can be defined as "the dilemmas that the state and official institutions play a major role in forming." The state, in its functional sense, is directly responsible for preserving and lacking security and interests of the citizen, and the state often practices a policy of authoritarianism, weakening individual perceptions and spreading terror and fear in The souls of citizens, the restriction of freedoms, the suppression of opponents, the obstruction of the work of civil society institutions, and the marginalization of minorities are the most sources of threat to the political security of the citizen, and as a result, this will bring great challenges to decision-makers in achieving communication between citizens and the ruling regime.([2])

In Arab societies, the political regime during the past decades has been one of the biggest threats to the security of the Arab citizen through the regime's security apparatus, and the Arab citizen has often been used to fight the regimes 'wars that ended in defeats and destruction. The Arab regimes have always glorified their efforts to maintain order within the borders of their

(1)Report of the Human Security Committee "Empowering and Protecting People", New York, 2003, p. 2.

(2)Khaled Youssef Muhammad, Citizen's Political Security and its Impact on Iraqi National Security after 2003, Master Thesis (unpublished), Al-Alamein Institute for Higher Studies / Najaf Al- Ashraf, Department of Political Science, 2014, p.74.

countries, despite the fact that the Arab citizen has never felt safe because of his pursuit and control by the regimes' security services, in addition to the fact that most Arab citizens are persecuted by poverty, hunger, poor health and nutritional conditions, and poor education. Political corruption, the loss of political rights stipulated in the constitution, and the narrowing of the space for him to participate in decision-making and in public activities that help crystallize the citizen's awareness. The citizen cannot contribute to the promotion of security if he is free from all these dilemmas. ([1]), It is possible to address these governmental dilemmas threatening the political security of the citizen in a wider manner as follows: -

First: Constitutional and legal dilemmas

When talking about the citizen's political security and the constitutional dilemmas threatening him, the discussion revolves around the problems that may arise in the constitutions and the laws that have been enacted that may threaten or limit the effectiveness of the citizen's political rights.

1- *Constitutional dilemmas*

The drafting of constitutions in transitional stages usually faces great difficulties that exceed those encountered in normal circumstances, due to the ambiguity of the political reality in such stages and the lack of clear political trends, and settlements related to the interests of the conflicting parties often affect the rules that must be respected and observed in the drafting of constitutions. The constitution becomes incapable of forming the framework in which the performance of constitutional institutions is organized. Drafting the

([1]) Abd al-Sattar Qassem, Arab National Security, Al-Jazeera Channel, 2015, available at: https://www.aljazeera.net/opinions/2015/4/9/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A3%D9%85%D9%86-[Accessed on June 3, 2021].

constitution in stages of democratic transitions transfers the ruled from the sect, tribe, or party to the political arena and not to the homeland, so this is negatively reflected in the drafting of the constitution's texts regarding the basic rights of the citizen, and this is what It is incompatible with the democratic system. ([1])

Fundamental rights and freedoms are among the most important pillars on which the democratic system is based, so modern constitutions have sought to explicitly recognize them, but the delegation of legislative and executive powers in authoritarian regimes to regulate the exercise of rights and freedoms under the law, has led to an assault on those rights and the confiscation of freedoms, which made its existence in constitution is meaningless. ([2])

The constitutional threat to the political security of the citizen is when the political rights stipulated in the constitution are defined through a set of constitutional controls, and this is what is mentioned in some constitutional texts that regulate the process of granting political rights through elastic terms that can be used to restrict these rights, and this is what came in The Algerian constitution, for example, in Article 57 which states, "The right to strike is recognized and is practiced within the framework of the law. The law here can restrict this right to the fullest extent." Several statements ([3]), and the Constitution of Morocco (2011) also includes phrases like this in Article (27)

(1)Antoine Masara and Rabih Qais, Drafting of Constitutions in Democratic Transitions - Arab and International Experiences from a Comparative Perspective, Symposium, The Lebanese Foundation for Permanent Civil Peace and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Beirut, 2013, pp. 11-24.

(2) Ziyad Al-Ali and others, Yearbook 2015-2016, The Arab Organization for Constitutional Law, Tunis, 2017, p. 124.

(3)Khaled Al-Majri, Regulations for Rights and Freedoms, Commentary on Chapter 49 of the Tunisian Constitution, International Foundation for Democracy and Elections, Tunisia, 2017, p.9.

thereof, “The right to obtain information cannot be restricted except by virtue of the law in order to protect everything related to national defense and the protection of the internal and external security of the state and life, and also the protection of information sources and areas precisely defined by law. ([1])

Through these rubbery expressions that add to the articles related to political rights, governments can exploit the executive and legislative bodies to restrict many of the citizens' political rights, by means of the law under the umbrella of the constitution, and from here comes the threat to the citizen's political security.

2. *Legal dilemmas*

Governments may submit laws that would restrict or limit the political rights of the citizen under the pretext of security reasons, higher interests, or public order. In Egypt, for example, many laws were enacted that contributed to restricting many rights and freedoms, including political freedoms. As anti-terrorism legislation has been drafted in Egypt in a way that allows criminalizing the peaceful exercise of political rights, as well amending the articles of the Penal Code under the Anti-Terrorism Law No (97) of 1992 when Egypt was facing political and terrorist violence at the hands of armed Islamic extremist groups, and he faced this law Criticism by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in 1993 for violating a number of articles contained in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.([2])

In Iraq, Anti-terrorism Law No. 13 of 2005 was adopted, and this law has been criticized by Amnesty International for violating a number of civil and

(1)The Constitution of Morocco of 2011.

(2) Mohamed Lotfi, Egypt - A scapegoat was found - Suppression of human rights and freedoms defenders in the name of combating terrorism and maintaining security, EuroMed Rights, Denmark, 2018, 13-16-18.

political rights due to the excessive and discriminatory use of this law for personal revenge against people who oppose the regime, and the UN Security Council raised There are doubts about the seriousness of Iraq's implementation of Resolution No. 1373/2001 concerning the prosecution of perpetrators of terrorist crimes, the freezing of their financial assets and the prevention of terrorist financing. According to a preliminary evaluation of this law, there are loose provisions, especially in Article (4) that allow broad interpretations, and that threaten public freedoms until that The law was drafted in a way that allowed anyone who violates the order to be prosecuted.([1]) These laws and others in many Arab societies are considered legal threats to the political security of the citizen because they limit or restrict many of the citizen's political rights that have been approved by international agreements and treaties, as well as what the constitutions have approved for the countries themselves, and here lies the threat to the political security of the citizen and the absence of the citizen's feeling of reassurance towards Acquired political rights.

Second: The dilemmas resulting from the decline of the democratic system

The state and its legislative, executive and judicial institutions are responsible for enacting and implementing constitutions and laws. Likewise, the state is also responsible for maintaining a democratic system, which is the main source and only guarantor of political security for the citizen. Therefore, the retreat of the democratic system is one of the most important factors

(1) Abdul-Razzaq Al-Mashhadani, Awar, Iraqi Anti-Terrorism Law, The Civilized Dialogue Foundation, No. 3981, 2013, available at http://www.ahewar.org/debat/show.art.asp?aid=342261&r=0[Accessed on March 8, 2021].

threatening the political security of the citizen. The democratic system in various forms is:

1. Compulsive interference by the military in political affairs

The military in the armed forces always have the ability to forcibly influence the country's policy and direct it in this or that direction. Their military authority also helps them in that, which suggests to them that they are the supreme and the most patriotic and responsible for national security in all its aspects, because the many military coups in Arab societies are in fact an expected result. Inevitability and inevitability to the extreme political instability and insecurity, which in turn is a result of the lived and increasing social tension caused by the unsatisfactory results in the economic and life aspects and the weakness of the political regime. It is about to be formed, and to the full assumption of power. ([1])

There are many Arab countries that have experienced a decline in democracy due to the interference of the military establishment in the political process through military coups, such as (Syria - Mauritania - Tunisia - Egypt - Sudan).([2]) The critical political options that will determine the success of the democratic system in countries in transition include those related to reforming the security establishment. In Egypt and Tunisia, for example, there is a special importance for any reforms that link forces under the control of the Ministries of Interior and Defense with respect for the law and observance of human rights. If we look at its actions before the democratic transition, and although the security institutions in Egypt have officially handed power to a

(1)Nabil Muhammad Duqail Farid and Essam Abd al-Wahhab Muhammad, The Military Institution and Political Action, Journal of African Studies, No. 27, International University of Africa, Sudan, 2002 AD, pp. 4-6.

(2) Larry Diamond, The Spirit of Democracy, previously mentioned source, p.94.

civilian president, they still retain many privileges and powers, and this institution has not stopped operating in a way that the Egyptians call (a state within the state) and Moreover, ensuring that the army supports the democratic transition without compromising its strong institutional interests in preserving its political influence and profitable commercial institutions represents a threat to the political security of the citizen. It shackles the citizens. ([1])

Military institutions have played a vital role in many countries, in contributing to regime changes or direct change, but in some countries where the military has enabled civilians to gain power, this institution has entered into intense conflict with them as a result of its refusal to subjugate the army. For democratic civilian governance, the military in some countries split the democratic ranks by trying to get out of civilian oversight. ([2]), for example, popular movements in Sudan in both 1964 and 1985 led to the collapse of military rule. Nevertheless, the generals returned to power in 1969 and 1989, and this indicates the failure of the reform of civil-military relations in preparing the post-transitional period to a democratic system .([3])

2 .The declaration of a state of emergency

The declaration of a state of emergency grants governments the powers and powers to suspend and suspend some provisions of the constitution and provisions of law related to human rights, even though these matters are

(1)Tulane Abd Al-Razzaq Zain, Protection of Public Freedoms in Light of the State of Emergency, a Comparative Study, Al-Baath University Journal, Volume 39, Issue 30, Syria, 2017, p.53.

(2) Laurie A. Miller and Geoffrey Martini, Democratization in the Arab World - Expectations and Lessons Learned from Around the World, National Defense Research Institute (RAND), Washington, 2013, p. 23.

(3) Hesham Bou Nassif, Coups and nascent democracies: the army and the failure to consolidate the emerging democracy in Egypt, Carleton College in Minnesota, United States of America, Tribune of the Republic, 2016, available at the following link https:// www.aljumhuriya.net/ar/35436 [Accessed on Feb 9, 2021].

stipulated in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and it is assumed that the state of emergency is a temporary state imposed only for a person facing a threat threatening the independence The state and its territorial integrity (such as natural and human disasters, as well as forms of riot and civil rebellion, in addition to armed conflicts such as civil wars and external attacks), or the normal functioning of constitutional institutions, but a number of governments may resort to declaring states of emergency for long periods without having justifications for their continuation. A pretext to suspend basic rights, and exempt the authority from any legal and constitutional determinants.([1]) The declaration of a state of emergency could cause a decline in democracy, and it happened in Algeria in 1992 when the state of emergency was declared after the results of the first round of legislative elections were canceled in 1991.([2])

Likewise, declaring a state of emergency could cause a threat to the political security of the citizen by restricting the rights and freedoms of a political nature with regard to freedom of opinion and expression, freedom of assembly and demonstration, and the presence of parties and movements, or expanding the powers of the executive authorities and authorizing the armed forces with powers and this is what came in the decision of the President of the Republic The United Arab Emirates (Egypt) legislated Law No.(162) of 1958 in Article (3). ([3])

(1) United Nations, Arab Human Development Report 2009, Human Security Challenges in Arab Countries, Regional Office for Arab Countries, New York, 2009, p. 61.

(2) Elissa Ben Gharbi and Matouk Debou, Civil and Political Rights in Algeria: Between Text and Reality, Unpublished MA Thesis, Abd al- Rahman Meera University, Algeria, 2012-2013, p. 56.

(3)Law No. (162) of 1958 Concerning the State of Emergency, Official Gazette, No. 29, United Arab Republic, Cairo, 1958.

3 .Restricting the role of civil society institutions

Civil society (clearly expressed by non-governmental organizations) has received many different definitions in essence and content. Perhaps the common definition that can be summed up is the entirety of the structures, organizations and institutions that represent the center of symbolic, social, political and economic life that is not directly subject to the hegemony of power, and include local authorities, mass media, business circles, industries, professional associations, religious and cultural organizations, and intellectual and research circles.([1])

Many governments around the world, including the Arab world, are restricting civil society institutions to prevent it from organizing and fulfilling its role, and this harassment often comes from government agencies, and the reason is due to the criticism or opposition that civil society directs to those government agencies towards their actions or policies. . The most important tools in this "crackdown" campaign are government measures to limit or prevent foreign funding for local civil society, and this is often achieved through restrictive laws. Governments also tarnish the image of local NGOs that receive external funding, and harass or even expel international groups that provide support to civil society.([2]) These harassment may also include a set of restrictions imposed by the government on freedom or independence, or harassment, intimidation, and the perpetration of reprisals against effective actors in civil society, and these hindering measures may include relying on

(1)Moncef and Nass, The National State and Civil Society in Algeria, The Arab Future Magazine, No. 191. (Beirut, M.D. and A.A., 1995), p. 104.

(2)Saskia Brechenmacher & Thomas Carothers, In for a bumpy ride: international aid and the closing space for domestic NGOs, open Global Rights, 2014. Available at the link https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/openglobalrights-openpage/--52/ [Accessed on April 7, 2021].

the law or legal provisions, including these provisions: The requirement to register without obtaining positive benefits such as tax exemption and others, Imposing criminal penalties for unregistered activities, Imposing restrictions on the registration of private associations, including international NGOs, associations that receive foreign funding, or groups working in the field of human rights, Legislation regulating freedom of expression, peaceful assembly, and association that contains provisions that are discriminatory or have a negative impact on some groups. ([1])

In addition to the arbitrary legal obstacles that are practiced against civil society that may pose a threat to the democratic system, there are other obstacles such as: threatening phone messages, surveillance, physical or sexual assaults, destruction of property, deprivation of job opportunities, loss of income, disappearances, torture, assassinations, and defamation campaigns, describing the active parties in civil society as traitors or enemies of the state or agents of the foreigner.([2]) These restrictions are in and of themselves detrimental to many civil society organizations, especially those dealing with politically sensitive issues such as human rights.

Reducing the restriction of the role of civil society institutions requires setting separate boundaries for the scope of the state's work and intervention, so that the freedom of civil society institutions does not affect the work, as a basic condition for ensuring the practice of democracy. Therefore, regulating the relationship between the state and these institutions must be in accordance with the following principles. ([3])

(1)The United Nations, A Practical Guide for Civil Society, The Space Available for Civil Society and the Human Rights System in the United Nations, Switzerland, 2014 pp. 14-15.

(2) The United Nations, A Practical Guide for Civil Society, Ibid, pp. 16-17.

(3)Ammar Saadoon Albadry, The Problem of Party Pluralism and the Transfer of Power in Egypt Before the

A. For the state to be the political and legal framework for civil society.
B. That the state is not a tool in the hands of a group or a party to ensure that no control over society, but that the state is neutral towards various social forces.
C. That the state's monopoly on the right to the legitimate use of force be, within the framework of the law, which sets the boundary between the state's exercise of its functions and competencies on the one hand, and its arbitrariness in exercising these functions and competencies on the other hand.
D. That the forces and civil society institutions exercise influence over the policies that the state takes, in a peaceful and non-peaceful manner, such as pressure groups and interests, demonstrations, strikes, sit-ins, and the practice of violence.

Third: Unfair political participation

The legitimacy of elections and public confidence in the resulting democratic governance structures depend to a large extent on fair political participation and the actual integrity of the electoral process. If citizens and candidates believe that the elections were unfair or poorly administered, they may not accept the election result. Political participation is one of the main factors that reinforce and threaten the citizen's political security. The political participation includes many mechanisms, for example, elections and candidacy, political pluralism, political parties, freedom of opinion and expression, participation in holding senior positions, and other mechanisms and other mechanisms that embody the reality of the citizen's political security.

Revolution of 25 January 2011, Dar Al-Bayda for Printing, Publishing and Distribution, Baghdad, 2020, pp. 139-140.

The unfair political participation includes several aspects that come in the forefront:

1. Unfair elections

Unfair elections are considered as one of the most important threats to the citizen's political security because elections are considered one of the most important factors in establishing a democratic system. Through elections, a citizen can obtain his political rights. If these elections are unfair, then the citizen loses his political rights to choose who It represents him or his rights as a candidate, and herein lies the threat to the political security of the citizen. The electoral process must be based on a number of important pillars: the periodicity of the elections, the legality of the elections and the administration of the elections. ([1])

This process includes (voting – monitoring results – complaints – resolving disagreements). It is not possible to talk about real democracy without tight preparation for the electoral process in a way that allows the political regime to build its democratic institutions, and the periodicity of elections in an atmosphere of integrity and freedom starts from the stage of registration until the goal of resolving disputes. The objections will confer the necessary legitimacy on political practice, which provides the required political security for the citizen. ([2]) If fair elections are to be supportive of the principle of political equality and universal suffrage, we find that citizens in many countries are of equal interest. The democratic system still faces challenges

(1) Saleh Yasser and others, The Impact of Electoral Processes on the Democratic Transition Process, Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Amman, 2012, p. 7.

(2) (UNDP) Democratic Governance Team - Bureau for Development Policy, Elections and Conflict Prevention - A Guide for Analysis, Planning and Programming, New York, 2009, pp. 1-2.

and obstacles that hinder fair and just political participation, just as women suffer throughout the country For a world of weak representation in political positions as well as in the leadership of political parties, and minorities in some countries face many obstacles to freedom of participation and voting and deprivation of a number of political rights, as well as weak rule of law and the lack of integrity required by the administrative bodies of elections, as well as the presence of chaos in political financing of parties, and the absence of the necessary transparency and oversight for this funding, all of these matters challenge the integrity of the elections and thus represent threats to the citizen's political security.([1]) He is concerned about this entire process and misses his political security.

2. Formal party pluralism

Political parties are among the most important features of modern democratic systems, as they embody the will of citizens embodied through political participation through elections and participation in political decisions to achieve what the citizen aspires to, there is no conception of a democratic system without political parties, electoral competition, and a peaceful transfer of power.([2])

There may be party pluralism, but it is formal and unreal when the political system is fundamentally closer to a one-party system. Multiparty is a term given to a system that allows the existence of political parties and provides guarantees for their right to fair political participation and competition

(1)Report of the International Commission on Elections, Democracy and Security, Deepening Democracy - A Strategy to Improve Election Integrity Worldwide, International IDEA and the Kofi Annan Foundation, Sweden, 2012, p.20.

(2)Idriss Jandari, The Partisan Experience in Morocco, Ambiguity of Perception and Obstructing Practice, Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, Doha, 2012, p. 2.

for power, that is, prevents the hegemony of a party one on the other parties.([1])

In the last ten years, many Arab countries such as Jordan, Yemen, Morocco, Algeria, Sudan, Mauritania, Lebanon and Egypt began to allow political parties after it was prohibited, and despite the freedoms available for party work, these parties do not have a real opportunity to participate in power on the basis of competition and peaceful deliberation between them because the entrances of government It is not based on electoral competition, but is based on dominant party rule, individual rule, the army, security services, and control of resources and media. Political parties face legislative situations (parliamentary election laws) that appear designed to prevent political parties from reaching the parliamentary majority or the possibility of alliance and coalition among themselves to coordinate elections. ([2])

In general, partisan pluralism completely in most Arab countries is still restricted and formal, and it is still difficult to talk about a real and fair competition for power or its circulation throughout the Arab countries. And there is still a large part of the political public opinion that believes that the pluralism and democracy system, including what it contains of The absence of direct control over the public space and the permissibility of competition and conflict between political parties and freedom of expression and thought may contribute to providing a suitable soil for the increase in foreign influence and the development of internal conflicts that threaten to rupture the national entity and perhaps return to the values of sectarianism, tribalism and religious

(1)Abu Zaid Adel Al-Qadi, Pluralism of Parties and Patterns of Democratic Transition, Egyptian Institute for Studies, Political Studies, Istanbul, 2018, p.15.

(2)Mahdi Anis Jaradat, Political Parties and Movements in the Arab World, Amman, Jordan: Osama House for Publishing and Distribution, Edition 1, 2010, p. 344.

conservatism, which in the end will reflect negatively on security Political citizen.([1])

Fourth: Growing governmental political corruption

Political corruption can be defined as "a deviation in the use of power granted to politicians under the constitution and law, individually or collectively, to serve the self-interest of decision-makers and ignore the institutional role of the state's political structure in order to increase their power or wealth or both." For example, political corruption in the case of Iraq results from the subordination of the national and popular will (parliament), to the conflict of political will (of the parties), which leads to narrow partisan interests that prevail in the public interest .([2])

Political corruption in government institutions is among the most important threats to the citizen's political security, which it causes in the disintegration of solidarity ties as well as the embodiment of a political culture resulting from regulations and laws issued by political institutions that cannot be produced, as it is called the term (erosion of democracy) due to the erosion of trust and loss of legitimacy through laws that lead to an imbalance in distribution Just as well as through corruption and appropriation of the gains of democracy. Excessive concentration of power, by reproducing and distributing information and access to it, increasing hegemony and imparting a technocratic character to knowledge and information related to the political process, and by taking over decision centers, all of this will lead to the erosion of the democratic project and the return to The case of traditional societies,

(1)Burhan Ghalioun, Obstacles to Democracy in the Arab World, Al Jazeera Media Network, 2004, See https://www.aljazeera.net [Accessed on May 5, 2021].

(2)Ammar Saadoon Salman Albadry, Challenges to the Iraqi parliament's functions in the post Saddam Hussein regime, Published Ph.d thesis, Universiti Utara Malaysia, 2014,p 183.

the decline in the rate of abstention from voting in elections and the decrease in the percentage of political parties involved in countries that suffer from such problems, especially in developing countries, are indications of the citizens' attitude towards the political process, which negatively affects democratic growth.([1])

The annual report of Transparency International for 2017 showed that the Arab countries (with the exception of the United Arab Emirates and Qatar, despite their decline, remained above the average) witnessed a decline in terms of implementing anti-corruption measures, as 19 Arab countries out of 21 countries scored less than 50 in Corruption Perceptions Index 2017: These indicators indicate the persistence of corruption and its negative effects in Arab countries, and the lack of success of mechanisms to combat it. The main reason for this is the feeling of security and safety among those involved in acts of corruption in Arab societies, in light of insufficient regulatory systems, weak governance systems and ethical standards, and failure to activate accountability mechanisms, in light of the decline in efficiency and integrity standards in choosing the occupants of higher posts. This is reflected, directly or indirectly, on the citizen's sense of political security towards the political and democratic process. ([2])

Fifth: governmental political violence

It is the use of force or the threat to use it by the political regime to inflict harm and harm towards citizens or groups, or certain elements thereof,

(1)Kassem Miloud, Corruption and bureaucracy and their role in eroding the contents of democracy in Algeria, Journal of Human and Social Sciences, Issue 29, Qased Merbah and Ouargla University, Algeria, 2017, p. 305.

(2)Aimen Fathi Al-Ghobari, How does corruption impede the achievement of sustainable development ?, The First Arab Environmental Journal, Kuwait, Issue 248-249, 2018, available at http://afedmag.com/ web/ala3dadAlSabiaSections details.aspx?Id

to ensure its continuation in power - and to reduce the role of opposition to it in the sense of achieving political goals, as the regime practices political violence through its repressive apparatus, such as the army and police. And the security and intelligence agencies, or through exceptional decisions and laws issued by political motives. ([1])

Governmental political violence increases when society is weak and completely submissive to the will of the state, and the state is also reduced to the hand of the authority, but rather in the hands of the ruling person, and society in turn becomes reduced to a sect, sect, race, or party, and the ruler's sect, sect, sect, or party becomes the community Who enjoys the rights and benefits of a well-off life, and the rest are subjects who do not deserve to live, as is the case in the history of the national authority in Iraq from its establishment in 1921 to its collapse in 2003. The ideology of national authority (Arabism) played a fundamental role in tearing apart society, and the culture of contradiction between the components of society about its relationship with the authority overtook the expense of the society that had become weak.([2])

The political goals or motives that government forces that practice political violence seek to achieve differ according to the nature of those forces, the limits of their power, their position in political power and the nature of their ideology. There are forms of practicing official or governmental political violence such as: political arrests, imprisonment or execution in political cases, or the use of the army to eliminate internal violence. The goal of any political

(1)Amna Qajali, Media and Political Violence, Academic Book Center, Amman, Jordan, 2015, pp. 16-17.

(2) Uday Faleh Hussein, Political Violence in Iraq After 2003: "A Field Study", Unpublished Master Thesis, College of Political Sciences / University of Baghdad, 2010, p. 78.

regime is to continue ruling, and some regimes may fail to achieve stability by absorbing the new forces that want to gain power, participate in governance, and obtain a greater share of power and influence. The ruling regime may resort to the use of force to strike and limit the forces that represent a threat. For him, during 1985, Arab countries such as (Syria - Sudan - Libya - Morocco - Iraq - and Yemen) occupied the first ranks in official governmental violence and threatening the political security of the citizen. ([1])

Sixth: Poverty and the deteriorating economic reality

Poverty can be defined as that level of income or spending that is adequate to meet the basic needs for survival. It can also be defined as the inability of individuals or families to have sufficient resources to satisfy their basic needs. ([2]).

In addition to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the two International Covenants on Human Rights recognize that the ideal of a free person who is not shackled by the shackles of fear and want can only be achieved if conditions exist that enable everyone to enjoy his economic, social and cultural rights, as well as his civil and political rights. In light of poverty, it is not possible to talk about any human rights, especially with regard to enhancing the political security of the citizen. Therefore, poverty and inequality are considered a violation of these human rights and others such as the right to life, the right to participate, freedom of expression and assembly, the

([1])Hassanein Tawfiq Ibrahim, The Phenomenon of Political Violence in Arab Systems, Center for Arab Unity Studies, 2nd Edition, Beirut, 1999 AD, pp. 48-277.

([2])Amro Hisham Hammad, Abd al-Ramahn Janem, The Phenomenon of Poverty in Iraq: Reality and Treatments (for the period 1976-2006), Iraqi Journal of Economic Sciences, Ninth Year - Issue Twenty-Eight, 2011, p. 60.

principle of non-discrimination and the right to safety. Poverty is the main cause of human rights violations in the Arab world. ([1])

All human rights impose three types of obligations on the state- :

1. Respect: it means not interfering with the citizen's enjoyment of his rights as a human being.
2. Protection: it means ensuring that the state protects the citizen from the encroachment of any non-governmental party. On these rights.
3. Fulfillment: It means taking positive measures by the state to achieve human rights. ([2]).

The riots in Arab countries such as Egypt 1977, Tunisia 1981, 1984, Morocco 1984, Sudan 1981 and 1985 were the result of the governments of these countries raising the prices of basic commodities and reducing subsidies, in implementation of the recommendations of the International Monetary Fund, which led to an increase in poverty rates. Some also believe that these crises were caused by the deviant behavior of politicians and their desire to gain or maintain power and not to take quick and real steps to improve the standard of living for citizens, which negatively affected the strengthening of the political and human security of the citizen.([3])

([1])Jamil Odeh Ibrahim, Poverty is a main cause of human rights violations, Adam Center for Defending Rights and Freedoms, 2015, available at: https://m.annabaa.org/arabic/rights/800-[Accessed on Nov 4, 2021].

(2)United Nations, High Commissioner for Human Rights - World Health Organization - Regional Office for the Eastern Mediterranean, Health and Human Rights Publications Series, Issue 5, Human Rights, Health and Poverty Reduction Strategies, Cairo, 2010, pg. 6.

(3)Jamil Odeh Ibrahim, Political Violence and Peaceful Political Action, Imam Shirazi Center for Studies and Research, 2016 available at http://shrsc.com/news81-[Accessed on Nov 12, 2021].

Non-governmental dilemmas threatening the political security of the citizen

In addition to the governmental factors threatening the citizen's political security, the most important of which were discussed in the previous request, there are also non-governmental factors that pose a threat to the political security of the citizen, a significant number of which will be dealt with, meaning "those threats that are outside the will of the state or its governmental institutions.

First: public political violence

It is one of the most important factors affecting the strengthening of the citizen's political security, and it means "acts of violence carried out by individuals and organized and unorganized groups to achieve political goals and by various means." It is practiced by citizens or groups of them against the political regime or some of its symbols, or it may be practiced by some political and social forces in society, not against the political regime and its apparatus, but against other social forces and groups for political reasons, or for economic, social, or religious reasons with political connotations.([1])

Perhaps among the bodies that carry out the tasks of the groups that carry them out are Ibid : ([2])

1. Islamic groups and organizations: It comes on top of the political and social forces that practiced political violence, especially in the Arab countries, and from the reality of political violence incidents.

(1)Uday Faleh Hussein, Ibid, p.15.

(2)Hassanein Tawfiq Ibrahim, Ibid, pp. 136-161.

2. University students: The students occupied the second place among the main forces that practiced political violence in the Arab region.
3. The forces involved in civil wars: Among the powers that fought civil wars in the country, separating from countries or obtaining self-rule.
4. Political workers within the scope of the political regime.
5. Units of the army: units of the army units in a number of Arab regimes, dozens of acts of violence against the military regimes.

Read more acts of violence in general, the use of coercion or coercion by forces against the imposition of an imposition on society, in other words, these programs, and then the implementation of the will, and the most common forms of political violence that the forces of society follow against the state are:

1. Turbulence: violent political activity with broad public participation and a relatively low degree of organization.
2. Conspiracy: the use of coercion or coercion on a limited scale in order to gain or consolidate political power. The most common manifestations of Conspiratorial violence are assassination, terrorism, and military coup.
3. The revolution: it is a popular violent act that leads to a complete and radical transformation of the systems of society.([1])

In many Arab countries, there are other forces that have practiced popular violence, and these forces include, for example, the return to democracy in Yemen - some Palestinian resistance factions in Jordan - the dissident Baathists in Syria and Iraq - the Berbers in Algeria (Amazighs) - some socially marginalized groups Mathematics for some left-wing cells. The

(1) Talib Hussein Hafez, Political Violence in Iraq, Journal of International Studies, University of Baghdad, Issue forty-first, p. 97.

left-wing star cells practiced some political violence against the ruling regime in Libya, Egypt, Iraq, Yemen and Kuwait. ([1])

Second: political sectarianism

A sect is a religious, sectarian, or ideological group whose affiliates seek to obtain its breadth and social function within society within society, and this is what is known as the political sect. ([2])

It also means a set of phenomena expressing the use of natural and ethnic fanaticism in order to circumvent the public policy laws, and transforming the state and its public institutions from public interests into an instrument of private interests. For example, the existence of sectarian, religious or ethnic pluralism within the state is a natural matter, but the danger lies when it is exploited by interest groups through the monopoly of a certain sect of political power at the expense of other sects, Inflaming sectarian conflict between members of the same community, and preoccupying them with sectarian strife at the expense of the country's main issues. ([3])

The emergence of a phenomenon appeared in the last century, and then it appeared after the emergence of what is known as political Islam, after the emergence of what is known as political Islam, after the emergence of what is known as political Islam, after the emergence of what is known as political Islam. In the Arab Spring (for example, Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, and Yemen), in turn, strengthen the framework for this phenomenon.([4]), and the

(1)A group of authors, Violence and Politics in Contemporary Arab Societies, Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, Part Two, 2017, p. 256.

(2)A group of authors, Sectarianism, Tolerance, and Transitional Justice from Discord to the State of Law, Center for Arab Unity Studies, 1st Edition, Lebanon, 2013, p. 60.

(3)Khaled Mzabia, Political Sectarianism and its Impact on Political Stability, Case Study of Lebanon, unpublished MA thesis, Qasdi Merbah University - Ouargla, Algeria, 2012-2013, p.7.

(4)A group of authors, Sectarianism, Tolerance, and Transitional Justice from Discord to the State of Law,

political sect can directly affect the political security of the citizen through its influence on the state and its fragmentation, due to the inability to contain and accept pluralism, and its reflection on the principle of citizenship. And the legitimacy of the political regime and real democracy based on participation and acceptance of pluralism, peaceful rotation, and state sovereignty over its entire territory. ([1])

Third: Terrorism and ideological extremism

The concept of terrorism is directly related to criminal phenomena such as organized crime and political violence, and terrorism is distinguished from other criminal phenomena through the systematic use of murder and threats to achieve political goals. This strategy creates a state of fear among non-target groups as well, hence the strategy of terror is directed towards soft targets such as citizens, as it uses barbaric methods of destruction such as detonating cars, bombs, etc., and it is more expressive than violence because it targets the public and the media to achieve its political goals.([2])

There are those who closely link extremism and terrorism (the best evidence for this is what is happening in Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Tunisia, Algeria and Libya). They define extremism as the process of polarization to which an individual or group is exposed and through which dialogue, tolerance and consensus is dispensed with those who disagree with them in ideas. And visions, and engaging in a confrontation with them that can bear the use of non-violent pressure and coercion, leading to resorting to various forms of political violence, up to violent extremism acts represented by terrorist acts,

Ibid, pp.33-34.

(1)Khaled Mzabiah, Ibid, p. 19.

(2)Ahmad Falah Al-Amoush, The Future of Terrorism in this Century, Naif Arab University for Security Sciences, Center for Studies and Research, Riyadh, 2006 AD, p.57.

and there are many types of extremism such as religious extremism, which is the most famous types of extremism which is represented in Join religious groups that refuse to engage in political life. As for the second type, it is political extremism and aims to change and even rebuild social and political institutions by challenging legitimate standards and policies that exist in reality, but it does not necessarily end in the use of violence. ([1])

Fourth: Organized Crime

Organized crime is an escalating threat threatening domestic and international peace and security, and a direct threat to the political security of the citizen. Organized crime is a major threat to democracy and human rights and it directly threatens any factors of development, especially in countries that witness weak rule of law, and it is a direct threat to political stability and economical. ([2]) Organized crime often thrives in countries that are politically unstable or undergoing a transitional democratic transition or societies emerging from conflict (such as Iraq, Syria, Yemen, Libya, Egypt), which have been the focus of the United Nations network of institutes that were launched. Organized crime is one of the most important threats to human rights, and human rights cannot survive with this type of crime. ([3]) Organized crime includes many practices such as offenses of maritime piracy, money laundering, human trafficking, migrant smuggling, arms and drugs smuggling, sexual exploitation of women, cybercrime, and others. They constitute activities that threaten national, regional and global security and spread

(1)Faraj Moftah Faraj Aniba, Threats to Contemporary Arab National Security (2003-2016), Unpublished Master Thesis, Middle East University, Jordan, 2017 AD, 56-57.

(2)United Nations, General Assembly, 94th Session, 99th Session, New York, 2010, p.5.

(3)United Nations, Twelfth Congress on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice, (Salvador - Brazil), 2010, pp. 1-2.

dangerous effects as a result of factors that help their growth, such as wars, armed conflicts and corruption. ([1])

Organized crime can directly affect the political security of a citizen by affecting his daily life and his place of living, especially if these crimes are committed under a political cover when they are carried out by parties and persons who have high positions in the hierarchy of power through their exploitation of the state of security and judicial weakness of state institutions This is what contributes to increasing instability, breaking the law, and violating human rights and basic freedoms for the citizen, at which time the citizen's political security is exposed to a direct threat. ([2])

Conclusion

The citizen's political security is manifested through respect for political human rights and ensuring the freedom of political exercise for citizens, introducing them to and guaranteeing these freedoms through constitutions and laws, and affirming them through the realistic practices of the ruling systems and between groups within states. Political security is of a complex nature because it combines, preventing political oppression by the authority through arbitrary measures that limit freedom of thought, media and ideas, and on the other hand, it emphasizes ensuring equality among all citizens in the exercise of all political rights. Therefore, it examines the nature of the relationship between the ruler and the ruled and the rights of citizens to govern themselves on their own.

(1) Tariq Zain, Transnational Organized Crime, International Cooperation and Means of Combating (Precautionary Measures), Arab Center for Legal and Judicial Research, Council of Arab Ministers of Justice, League of Arab States, First Edition, Beirut - Lebanon, 2017, p.6.

(2) Mashry Salma, Ibid, pp. 102-103.

There are factors that have formed great dilemmas for the citizen's political security in Arab societies, some of which are governmental (officially), through state institutions, agencies, constitution and laws in force related to constitutional and legal dilemmas, dilemmas resulting from the decline of the democratic system, restricting the role of civil society organizations, growing government corruption and political violence Governmental and informal or non-governmental factors related to informal social and political activities, to informal political violence, political sectarianism, terrorism and organized crime. These dilemmas, both formal and informal, in turn negatively impacted on the political security of the citizen, which ultimately led to the creation of economic and social crises. Cultural and religious that reflected negatively on the stability of citizens and states

The challenges that affect the political security of the citizen can be reduced by adopting a new strategy that works to end the impact of the dilemmas that affect the political security of the Iraqi citizen on the official and informal levels by amending the constitution to guarantee political rights and the democratic system, approving laws that guarantee political rights and participation Effectiveness, political pluralism, democratic parties, the effectiveness of civil society, ending corruption and preventing political violence.