



مجلة

# دراسات شرق أوسطية

فصلية محكمة

مركز دراسات الشرق الأوسط

المؤسسة الأردنية للبحوث والمعلومات

رئيس التحرير

جواد الحمد

هيئة التحرير

عبد الفتاح الرشدان

أحمد البرصان

شتاء ٢٠٠٢/٢٠٠٣

العدد ٢٢

السنة السابعة

**الطبعة الأولى**

**عمان - ٢٠٠٣**

**كافة الحقوق محفوظة**

**مجلة دراسات شرق أوسطية**

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## المحتويات

المقال الافتتاحي

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البحوث والمقالات

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تقارير

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وثائق

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رسائل جامعية

مراجعات

بيبلوغرافيا

الملخص الإنجليزي للعدد

# قواعد وأصول النشر

Office / IBM

(DISK)

المقال الافتتاحي

التداعيات الإقليمية  
للاجتياح الأمريكي المتوقع للعراق











# البحوث والمقالات



## تطورات الدور الروسي في الشرق الأوسط مطلع القرن الحادي والعشرين

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١- تنشيط صادرات السلاح الروسي للمنطقة

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٢- جذب الاستثمارات ورؤوس الأموال العربية، ولا سيما من دول الخليج العربي

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٣- تنشيط العلاقات الاقتصادية والتجارية مع دول المنطقة، وزيادة الصادرات الروسية من السلع والمواد الخام إلى دول المنطقة.

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أولهما: ضرورة تخفيف العقوبات المفروضة على العراق منذ أغسطس ١٩٩٠ تمهيداً لرفعها.

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ثانيهما: رفض استخدام القوة ضد العراق

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## انعكاسات أزمة المياه في الشرق الأوسط على الوطن العربي

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- استخدام طرق الري الحديثة:

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- منع الهدر والضياع في شبكات نقل المياه:

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- البحث عن تراكيب محصولية أكثر توفيراً للمياه:

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- تطوير إدارة الموارد المائية:

- تطوير العلاقات التكاملية بين البلدان العربية في مجال التنمية  
الزراعية:

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# التقارير



## الحوار بين حركتي حماس وفتح الواقع والتحديات\*

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- الانتخابات الإسرائيلية القادمة

- التوجهات الأمريكية في الحرب على الإرهاب

- الوضع الفلسطيني الداخلي

- التوتر الذي حصل بين حماس وفتح بعد اغتيال الضابط أبو لحية

أولاً: حركة فتح

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ثانياً: حركة حماس

ثالثاً: الطرف المصري



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\* العلاقات النازية-الصهيونية (١٩٤٢-١٩٣٣)

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**Lord Moyne**



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## قراءة نقدية في تقرير التنمية الإنسانية للأمم المتحدة في الوطن العربي

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## مسودة مشروع وثيقة

### \* مكافحة الإرهاب وفق المفهوم العربي والإسلامي

هذه مسودة مشروع وثيقة عربية إسلامية لمكافحة الإرهاب الدولي وفق مفاهيم الأمة وحضارتها وقد شارك في إعدادها نخبة من الزملاء في القانون الدولي والشريعة والإعلام، وأسهم في إبداء ملاحظات أولية عليها نخبة أخرى من أمثالهم من الوطن العربي ولبلغ عدد المساهمين في إثراء مناقشتها اثنا عشر زميلاً من ست دول عربية، كما قدمت بين يدي هذه الوثيقة عدة دراسات قانونية ودينية لخدمة مفردات الوثيقة ومفاهيمها وتأسيس منطلقات علمية متماسكة بين يدي نصوصها وقواعدها، وقد استندت صياغتها إلى الاتفاقات والمواثيق الدولية وقوانين بعض الدول، وكذلك إلى ميثاق الأمم المتحدة وشرعة حقوق الإنسان، إضافة إلى الاستناد إلى أحكام الشريعة الإسلامية ومفهومها للجهاد والمقاومة والإرهاب وحدود وضوابط التعامل مع كل منها. ونحن إذ ننشر هذه المسودة فإننا نهدف إلى توسيع دائرة التشاور والإجراء من قبل الزملاء الخبراء العرب، إضافة إلى لجوننا إلى وسائل أخرى، آملين من الزملاء الذين يودون مراسلة المجلة بهذا الخصوص وكذلك من لديهم أية مقترحات بشأنها، حيث يتوقع صدور الوثيقة بشكلها النهائي قبل نهاية شهر يناير ٢٠٠٣ باللغتين العربية والإنجليزية.

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الإسلامية والقانون الدولي

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٧. الإعداد لرد العدوان ليس دعوة للإرهاب

٨. مقاومة الإرهاب الصهيوني

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# رسائل جامعية



تقرير مناقشة رسالة ماجستير بعنوان

أثر العوامل الدولية على السياسة الخارجية لمجلس التعاون الخليجي

تجاه العراق ١٩٩٠ - ٢٠٠٠\*

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الدكتور أحمد ثابت - مشرفاً ورئيساً للجنة

الأستاذ الدكتور وليد عبد الحي - عضواً

الدكتور فيصل الرفوع - عضواً

الدكتور أحمد سعيد نوفل - عضواً

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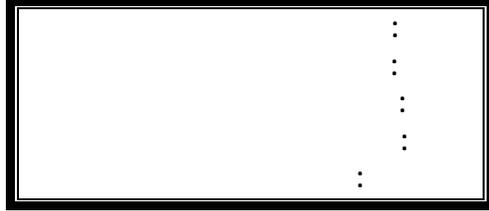
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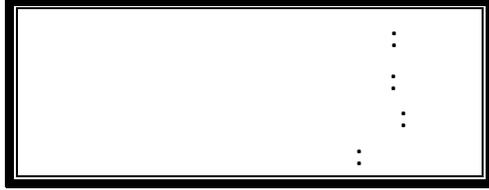
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عولة الرعب



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- *Documents*

## **Counter Terrorism An Arab Perspective**

**T**his is a draft document that the Middle East Studies Center (MESC) is working on to be issued in Jan.-Feb., 2003. It is an attempt by MESC to clarify Arab and Islamic understanding and views regarding "Terrorism", and to enrich the document through suggestions by MESJ readers. By widening participation, MESC aims at building such document to represent as widely as possible Arab elite and scholars.

Twelve scholars in related fields from six Arab countries have revised the draft. The document promotes terrorism definition. It distinguishes between terrorism and resistance or jihad. It advocates the case through international charters, the international law, human rights declaration, and also through instructions and principles of Islam as the main religion of the Arab world. Its bindings are as surprising as the Arab world aspires to be part of the civilized movement in modern history. This is in spite of unjust aggressions that its land has suffered from, and in spite of alignments of Western community in general with Israeli aggressions and assaults against Arabs.

The document takes into account many precautions concerning counteracting terrorism in its entire means under Arab and Islamic definition. The draft document is still subject to any addition, correction or modifications by Arab or even by non-Arab scholars.

*All notes and criticism are welcome before Jan. 31, 2003.*

*By: Jawad Al-Hamad  
Director, MESC*



## **Critical Review for UN Human Development Report on the Arab World**

**A** Un report on Human development for 2002 has been issued. The report deals with human rights in the Arab World under difficult situations facing Arabs at various levels.

In spite of efforts exerted in preparing the report and its recommendations, it reveals many defects:

- 1- Shortage of basic information about Arab countries.
- 2- “Affiliations” of the academic team, which prepared the report despite of correlation of information, they tried to design.
- 3- US exploitation of such report (as Secretary of state did) to talk about the need for political, economical, social and educational reforms in the Arab countries.

This report, therefor, should be carefully dealt with to have proper results out of its objective.

*Report By: Talal Atreesi*

## **Somali Peace Conference in Nairobi**

**A** rta peace conference, held by the Somali Civil Society in Nairobi, has led to generating transitional structures on the lines of the national Transition. Agreement adopted structures have been formulated and filled up parliament, presidency and transitional national government, according to the agreed upon formula. The new formula is base on equal participation in power by the main four tribes. Half the positions would be allotted for smaller tribes. The agreement gives women and minorities unprecedented share in power.

UN, the Arab league and Organization of the African Unity (OAU) support the agreement. But Ethiopia has rejected the conference outcome and seeks destroying Somalia, including by military means.

*Report By: Obaida Faris*

- 2- Concern by those who had cooperated with the defeated side to hide such cooperation and avoid incrimination, and to stand in the forefront of indictment and condemnation band aiming to share in the victorious' gains.

Such indictment and condemnation were not limited to conduct in politics and war management but went further to ideology itself. A comparison, hence, has been held between Zionist and Nazi ideologies before moving in historical review of the above-mentioned era.

*Report By: Haiat Al-Huwaik Ateia*

## ME Peace process Follow-up

**T**he Middle East (ME) peace process has been motionless since July, 2002 as a result of continuous Israeli war on the armless Palestinian People, in addition to US negligence and its preoccupations with arrangements for Iraq invasion.

Washington has proclaimed its "Road Map" calling for halting the "Intifada" against creation of a Palestinian interim state. A parallel European plan was declared. But both plans have had no interest by the Israeli government, which keeps on the terrorist acts against Palestinians.

In spite of efforts by the Quadripartite Committee and some Arab and European parties, nothing has had any real Impact on the process, owing to US priorities and very extremist positions and acts by Israelis.

*Report By: Mohd. AbdulFattah*

- *Reports*

## **Dialogue Between HAMAS And FATAH.. Reality and Challenge**

**D**uring 9-13 Nov., 2002 talks were held between HAMAS And FATAH movements in Cairo though Egyptian mediation by general Amero Sulaiman.

Talks were concluded with no declared results, but news about a new stage of talks, in Cairo early in Jan., 2003 suggest that the first stage was not failure.

According to members in Cairo meeting, the agenda included national dialogue between both movements, and means of sustaining the INTIFADA.

At the same time, Israel has refrained from promising to stop assassination of HAMAS activist.

Also, there is division among FATAH lines, some which call for HAMAS authorization for FATAH other call for resistance. Including Al-Aqsa Battalions.

*Report By: Middle East Studies Center*

## **Nazi-Zionist Relations (1933-1942)**

**T**he subject deals with Zionist-Nazi relations during 1933-1942 era of Hitler's power in Germany. Such relations underwent many contradictory phases witnessing ideological identification, enmity and close cooperation according to signed official agreements and to programmed implicit accords. Some of which were proclaimed while others were kept secret after the Nazi defeat and unconditional surrender. Tons of restricted papers, therefore, were denied for researchers, for two main reasons:

- 1- Concern by the victorious parties to write their own story of history.



## **The Water Situation in the Middle East at the beginning of Twenty First Century**

**T**his paper is a study of the water resources in the Middle East. It seeks to answer the most important question raised in this problematic field- namely locating and measuring the water resources in the Middle East. The paper further seeks to assess the total amount of the water demand in this area. A comparative study of the water supply and demand is conducted so as to discover the level of water shortage in the Middle East. It also seeks to assess the secure level of water supplies needed in the area.

The Arab world, the estimated data shows, has substantial water resources varying between (231.3) to (274.7) billion cubic meters. Between (195) and (202) billion cubic meters are in actual use, and the share of the eastern part of the Arab world from this amount varies between (76.2) and (97.4) billion cubic meters. With the rapid population increase and the systematic development of the socio-political, economic and cultural life, the present water situation is under severe pressures, which creates further demand for water. The total water demand in the Arab world in the year 2000, this paper estimated, is put at (202) billion cubic meters, including (64.4) billion cubic meters allocated specifically to the eastern part of the Arab world.

The study has also shown that all Arab countries in particular, and other Middle Eastern countries in general, are now under the water poverty line, internationally estimated below (1000) cubic meters per capita per year. Most of these countries are even below the (500) cubic meters per capita per year, which is considered normal for dry and semi-dry areas.

The major findings of this paper are briefly listed, along with the recommendations suggested to improve the level of Water Security in the Middle East.

*Research By: Monzer Khaddam*

- 7- **Russian-Jordanian efforts to develop military cooperation.**
- 8- **Russian efforts to develop relations with Arab Gulf States. Russia seeks to activate military cooperation with Arab Gulf States as they represent a good market for arms. Nevertheless, Russian relations to these countries remained limited in comparison to Russian initial ambitions.**
- 9- **The détente in Russian-Turkish relations and developing military cooperation after a long period of tension due to the disagreement over many issues.**

**In brief, although Russian role in the Middle East witnesses some activation since Putin assumed the power, it is still limited in comparison to Arab expectations. Exerting a more effective and independent Russian role in the Middle East depends on the Arab efforts to: develop common real interests with Russia; active Arab propaganda in Russia; developing relation with Russian national and communist political powers to gain their support.**

***Research By: Norhan Al-Sheikh***

• *Studies & Articles*

## **Russian Role in the Middle East in the Beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century**

**T**he development in Russian foreign policy since President Putin assumed the power in March 2000 raised very important questions with regard to the scope of the Russian role in the Middle East and whether it represents the evolution of a new active Russian role in the region?

The paper shall address these questions as well as many others, through discussing the trends and the main features of Russian foreign policy in the Middle East, which are represented as follows:

- 1- The Middle East's Position in the priorities of Russian foreign policy is still receded as Putin gives the high priority to the West and Asia.
- 2- Russia has limited interests in the Middle East represented in activating arms trade and increasing Russian exports to the region, and attracting investments and capital to Russia.
- 3- Retaining a limited role in the peace process of the Arab-Israeli conflict as well as its inconsistency in practicing that role. Although the efforts to reactivate its role, and that the Soviet Union, and later Russia, formally, played the role of the second sponsor of the peace process, Russia's role remained limited. That due to many considerations, among which is American hegemony over the Middle East peace process, Russia's lack of the factors that could allow it to influence or practice pressure on the process.
- 4- Maintaining strong relations with Iraq. While Russia demands Iraq's full compliance to Security Council resolutions, it supports lifting sanctions on Iraq and refuses any use of force against it. This position is based on Russia's economic interests in Iraq.
- 5- Fostering unprecedented Russian-Iranian relations. Although the intensive American pressure, Putin shows great interest in activating relations with Iran and fostering closer and stronger cooperation particularly in technical and military fields.
- 6- Developing Russian relations with its classical allies in the region. Since Putin assumed the power in Russia, its relations with a number of its traditional allies such as Syria, Libya, Algeria, Egypt have developed considerably.

Informed and knowledgeable circles are afraid of aggressive Israeli attitudes under extreme rightists headed by Arie Sharon, who may commit mass massacres and forced transfer against Palestinians amounts to hundreds of thousands to Jordan.

Those dangerous variables under a new divided or destroyed Iraq, would lead to US controlled regime, where Israel would achieve great influence and the Palestinian issue might pay a heavy price.

The Iraqi and other six neighboring countries may fall under American control and respond to its demands in decades to come. This might lead to regional instability, which its components and consequences are not yet clarified according to different scenarios.

***By: Editorial Board***

• *Editorial*

**The Regional Impacts of the US Incursions into Iraq**

**D**uring the recent nine months (March-Dec., 2002), the Middle East (ME) region lived under the Shadow of battles and war smokes. There have been many scenarios and expectation of war nature and positions of various involved parties.

The United States new trends towards Iraq have spread a lot of fear in the region. It has almost paralyzed the economy, social development, and political development. It has confused the states planning systems as well as their improvement programs. Many investors have become reluctant to approve any new approach to the region where as the UN regional bodies got prepared to leave in case of this invasion to Iraq takes place.

Preliminary study of political map surrounding Iraq divides neighboring states into three groups;

Firstly, Iraq and Turkey, the stronger and more strategic important neighbor in the region.

Secondly, Jordan and Syria, the Arab neighbors of the most strategic and economic ties with Iraq.

Thirdly, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, the only two Gulf countries bordering Iraq, and the most directly affected by any change in the political structure.

Recent Studies have warned of greater danger on man, animal and agricultural than the Iraqi regime itself. War Impacts have no limit and destroy whatever lies on the way.

There is such a fear that this new adventure will create wide spread of instability on different levels including economy, security and even political ones.

Although other great powers, such as France, China, Russia and other industrial countries, as Japan, Canada and Italy understand the dangers of the US trends, they have no strong opposition stands to prevent US execution of its military plans, owing to their close relations with Washington.

Neighbors of Iraq are also expressing their views of opposing the attack whilst they prepare them selves even to participate in some way or at least to support. All positions are just based on the analysis of Saddam fall and that the UN would issue a new resolution to legitimize such an action. It will be then as an international coalition that neighboring countries might decline to oppose.

# **English Abstracts**

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# Middle Eastern Studies

Journal

By Middle East Studies Center  
Cordially with the Jordanian Institute for Research &  
Information

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## **This Journal (MESJ)**

*The Middle Eastern Studies Journal (MESJ) is the first Jordanian academically reviewed journal that is widely distributed throughout Jordan. The journal, which takes a special interest in changes taking place in the region, is multidisciplinary in nature and includes international relations, political, historical, sociological, strategic, and economic studies focusing on the Middle East - defined as the Arab world, Iran, and Turkey. The journal also covers conferences, discusses current issues and publishes book reviews relating to the region. The review committee includes professors from different parts of the Arab world.*

*The Middle East Studies Centre (MESC) and The Jordanian Institute for Research & Information (JRI) jointly publish MESJ. It has had an independent legal standing since March 7, 2000. It is published four times a year: (January-April-July-October).*

*MESJ is the modified model of the "Middle Eastern Issues" journal that was published individually by the MESC from March, 1996 through December, 1999.*

*The MESJ is managed by an editor-in-chief along with an editing committee. The consultation committee consists of different Jordanian and Arab ex-officials, experts and academics.*

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