



Middle Eastern Regional Security Complex and Emerging Geostrategic Role of Bab el-Mandeb Strait

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Abstract

The study explores the theoretical framework of securitization process of Middle Eastern regional security complex in order to understand the geostrategic role of Bab el-Mandeb Strait in the region. The Middle Eastern regional security complex which is considered complicated regional security framework due to its complexities and construction after the World War-II. The conflicts in this region based on the religions (Israel- Arabic conflicts), inter Islamic conflict Sunni bloc leading by Saudi Arabia and Iran from another side and inter Arabic conflict which based on leadership of Arabic nation. The study analyzes the geostrategic significance of the Bab-el-Mandeb Strait in securitization process of Middle Eastern regional security in the region. It analyses the sub complexes of the Middle Eastern regional security complex which decided the significance role of Bab el Mandeb Strait in trade ad security perspective in the region.

Key words: *Levant sub complex, Gulf sub complex, Geostrategic, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Bab-el-Mandeb and Red Sea.*

Introduction

The Middle Eastern Regional Security complex was born in conflicts and cooperation over the geostrategic location of the region. During the Colonial time the region was completely under the military and political predominance of British and France

colonies. Earlier the region has attracted the geostrategic attention and involvement of great powers. The significance of the Middle East comes from the reality that it considered to be the birth place and the center of Islam, Christianity and Judaism beliefs. Indeed the instability and dynamics conflict in this Region in present time not from the current time but it has its roots reaching back into the interwar years. The Middle Eastern regional security complex was emerged as a problematic region because there was no clear point of shifting from the colonial status to independence. Also, there are some states in this region never being colonial like Saudi Arabia, Turkey and Iran. These states now are considered as the regional powers so they try as much as possible to influence other states in the region. The other states that were under colonial powers are controlling such as Iraq, Egypt, Yemen, Oman and many others. Changes in the Middle East region are appearing in different and shifting contexts in the creation of new local, sub-regional, or regional security complexes in which non-Arab states and non-state actors enter into new conflicts, alliances, and other political relations with and against each other (Peter Seeberg, 2016; Kumar, 2019). In the Middle East changes have affected existing security sub complexes, thereby contributing to the discussions of possible changes in the existing state system in the Middle East and in particular in the Levant (Beck, 2016). There are three levels of the instability in the region. First one taking its roots back to the interwar especial during 1930s between the Palestinians and Zionist immigrants waves at that time then the conflict developed by the passed of time. After that the Zionist immigrants established their state Israel In 1948, at that time started the Arab-Israel conflict. Israel is considered to be the only Jewish country in the region. The Palestinians are engaged in what perhaps can be seen as the last anticolonial struggle in the world, and the cause of Palestine “remains suffused in symbolism that transcends the narrow borders of its patrimony” (Shlaim, 2014).

The second conflict between some Arabic states which leading by Saudi Arabia from one side and Iran from other side. This conflict is getting its roots from Islamic religious ideologies Sunni and Shiite. It has great effect on the stability of the region especially on current time. Many countries have been affecting by this conflict especially Syria, Iraq and Yemen. The Gulf States, together with Iran and Iraq, constitute a security sub complex formed after the British withdrawal in the early 1970s and based on a triangular rivalry between Iran, Iraq and the GCC states led by Saudi Arabia (Buzan and Wæver, 2003; Kumar, 2019; Kumar, Verma & Shah, 2020).

The third conflict is considered to be Inter Arab rivalries for seeking of becoming regional powers as well as for the leadership of Arabic nation. The first starting of this

conflict was decolonization period, the conflict between Saudi Monarchies and Hashemite also Iraq and Egypt for the leadership of Arabic nation especially after the appearance of Arabic Nationalism movement. Turkey has become a significant actor in the Arab world, especially in recent years, where the AKP-led Turkish government pursued an activist policy vis-à-vis the Middle East (Park, 2014). Middle East Regional Complex is divided into three sub complex, the first one Maghreb (Sub) complex which is considered to be weaker than other. According to Buzan and Waever (2003,193), the main regional security problem in Maghreb has been the Moroccan annexation of Western Sahara in 1975, that led to great tensions with Libya and Algeria that backed the Polisario Movement against Morocco. This issue now is not strong to offer the basis of wide Maghreb sub complex and the important for the Maghreb countries to come together for fulfilling their interests and their great connections with the Levant sub complex especially in the Arabic-Israel conflict.

The second one is Levant (Sub) complex which is affected deeply between the proxy war between the regional powers. The third one is the richest one which is named as Gulf Sub complex which is consisted of the two regional powers Iran and Saudi Arabia. These two states are taking different proxies wars in Iraq, Syria, and Yemen. Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries supported also by other Arab countries from one side which to have Sunni Islamic ideology. On other hand, Iran and other Shiite groups those who are supported by Iran directly or indirectly such as Hazib Allah in Lebanon, Al Asad Regime in Syria, Al houthi group in Yemen and some military group in Iraq. The instability of this region not just only because the domestic and regional levels but also interference of super powers such as United States of America and their existence in the region politically and militarily especially in Iraq and Syria. Moreover, Russia and Turkey bot are interfering in Syria and Libya. Due to these interferences the conflicts and disputes in the region going from bad to worse also, the interferences of Iran and Saudi Arabia especially in Yemen have made the situation of civil war more complicated. In the current time the roles of both countries Saudi Arabia and Iran have become more visible and more active in the region. The geostrategic role of the Bab el-Mandeb Strait have significance role to linking the maritime trade route between the Mediterranean Sea and Indian Ocean. This Strait is located between Yemen in the Arabian Peninsula and Djibouti and Eretria in African Horn. This strategic waterway has a vital significance in which it joins the Red Sea to the Gulf of Aden, Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean. Bab el Mandeb Strait is considered to be one of the four critical chokepoints for the international oil trade .The other three are the Strait of Malacca, the Suez channel and the Strait of Hormuz. The geographical location of the Bab al-Mandab Strait, and its importance as the southern gate of the Red Sea increased world

attention to it and like a delicious meal caused world powers to swarm around it. The growing geopolitical importance of the Bab al-Mandab, and to the important location of the Republic of Yemen, geographically and politically, put it in a position of causing the powers to swarm to gain access to it as important ground at the Bab al-Mandeb Strait (Hussain AL-Yadoomi, 1991)

The Strait is not important for the security of the region but also for the Global trade. The most important of this waterway is that it enables ships to sail between Asia and Europe without spending several days circling around the Africa continent. The Strait is considered to be the narrowest point between the Horn of Africa and Arabian Peninsula and forming the entrance of the Red Sea from southern part. From the northern part is the Suez Channel which opens the way from the Red sea to the Mediterranean Sea. The Strait is 20 miles that divides into two channels western and eastern. These two channels divided by the Yemeni island Prime which also known as Mayyun in Arabic. The Dact el Mayyun is the western channel which is considered to be the only one deep enough for large vessel such as tankers. The strait has its political, militarily and economically significance backed to 1869 the time of opening the Egyptian Suez channel. Now this Strait is the fourth busiest waterway in the Global in which it serves as critical artery for the world economy. 4 million barrels of oil and 52 vessels transit this Strait per day. In the last year five naval ships and two merchant vessels have been attacked with cruise missiles and explosives boats due to instability in Yemen.

Objectives:

- To understand the securitization process of the Middle Eastern Regional security complex
- To examine the geostrategic role of the Bab el Mandeb Strait to led the new dynamics in the Middle Eastern regional security complex

Methodology

Qualitative research methodology has been used in this study to understand the deep investigation over Middle East Regional Security complex and the role of the Bab el Mandeb Strait in the security and stability in the region. It adopted the analytical method to investigate new dimensions and consequences. The study is purely based on secondary sources of books, articles, and journals publications besides the experience of the author being a native of the region especially from Yemen. The research method is descriptive-analytic. Data is collected in using internet resources, magazines, news Channels, Website sources. The first method of collect and analysis of the study the main important of the Middle East Regional

Security Complex for the Global and investigate the different dimensions of the conflict in the region. The analysis has been carried out mainly qualitatively.

Middle Eastern Regional Complex

The Middle East is a place where an autonomous regional level of security operated in the past period. Its Regional Security Complex of a conflict formation, unusually large and complicated which also possesses some distinctive cultural features (Buzan, Waever, 2003). The Middle East as a term, albeit still contested in its meaning, did not gain much currency until after the Second World War. Especially during the Cold World, the terminology was popularized in US context (Adelson 2012, 47-50). The Middle East refers to geographic area that is situated at the connection of Asia, Africa and Europe in which it connects the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean. What makes this region to be so unique is its strategic geographic location. Also there are some many features of this region which makes it attracts the attention of great powers and empires throughout the history. The most significance of this region for the entire world because it is considered to be the birthplace and spiritual centre of the three religions Islam, Christianity, and Judaism. Especially for Islam in which it contains the holiest places as well as the highest institutions of Islam institutions of learning from one side and from other side it contains the Palestinian Holy Land which is associated with aspirations of Jews and Christians. Also in 20th century the region changed dramatically to be very significant part of the world especially the discovering of the Oil and Gas. From that time the region has become so much important for the world economically and geographically. Especially Saudi Arabia has become one of the leading regional powers in the region so it rising the competition with Iran particularly after 1979 so from that time the Persian Gulf became tension and source of instability not just for the region but also for the Global.

This is just one reason for instability but the vital source of instability in the region the Arab-Israel conflict which was starting in the late of 1940s. According to Buzan and Waever in their work *Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security* (2003), they have divided the Middle Eastern Regional Security Complex into three sub complexes, Levant Sub complex, Maghreb sub complex and Gulf sub complex. Every sub complex has its features and its geographical territory and its issues of instability.

Levant Sub Complex: In this sub complex there are many states all of them Arabian accept Israel. The countries are Palestine, Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt, Syria and Israel. Instability in this region had its roots backed to the interwar period during the waves of Zionists margents to the Palestinian land which was the reason for the long conflict which known as Arab-Israel conflict. The conflict starting after the Israeli declaration the

establishment of Israel as a independence state with the help of western countries such as UK, USA. Series numbers of wars between Israel and its Arabian neighbors. The real roots of the clashes and conflicts are based on the religious views of dominance the region. Which makes the conflict more complicated is the different views between the two nations Zionism from one side and Arabian Nationalism from another side. Palestinian people supported by Arabian League and Zionism people supported from USA, UK and other western countries especially the Jewish people in which they believe that they must establish their ancestral homeland. The first war was in 1948, which was very aggressive war due to this war more than 713,000 Palestinian Arabs fled their original lands and homes without mercy to become Palestinian refugees.

The second direct war was taking place in 1956 when Egypt closed the Strait of Tiran to Israeli shipping and blockaded the Gulf of Aqaba, as a responding for the aggressive treatment of Israeli military against the Palestinians. The responded of Israel was too much strong in which it invading the Sinai Peninsula with direct military support from British and France on October 1956, due to this support Israel succeed to capture over the Gaza Strip and Sinai Peninsula. By the pressure of UN and USA the two sides of the conflict came into ceasefire, so Israel agreed to with draw from Egyptian territory and at the same time Egypt agreed to freedom navigation in the region and the demilitarization by the UNEF. United Nation Emergence Forces allowed deploying on the Egyptian territory but Israel refused to allow them on its territory.

The third war occurred when Egyptian leader Jamal Abdu Nasser ordered to the UNEF observers to expel the Egyptian the Sinai Peninsula then deployed 100,000, so the Egyptian forces closed the Strait of Tiran to Israel shipping. Also, a mutual defense pact was signed between Jordan. In the same year especially on 5 June, Israel Air Forces attacked suddenly Egyptian Air Forces as well as Syrian, Jordanian, and Iraqi. So later this war is known Six Days War in which Israel won this war and succeed again in capturing and controlling over Sinai Peninsula, in addition, the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, Shebaa farms and the Golan Heights. There was a meeting of Arab leaders in Khartoum in response to this war so they reached consensus that there should be no recognition, no peace, and no any negotiation with the State of Israel. On Yom Kippur, the holiest day of Jewish on 6 October 1973, Egypt and Syria staged a surprise attack on Israel in which the Israeli military were unready and unprepared. The other Arab countries agreed to reinforce the Syrian and Egyptian militaries also the Arab OPEC countries agreed to increase the price of oil for supporting the war against Israel. In this war there was an indirect confrontation between USSR and US in which

Israel had turned the tide of war so the USSR threatened military intervention at that time the US secured a ceasefire on 25 October. Actually from that time till now no perfect peace even if there are some peace accords between the two sides such as *Camp David Accords* which was signed between Egypt and Israel in 1979 as peace treaty.

In June 1981 the newly built Iraqi nuclear facilities in Operating Opera were attacked and destroyed by Israel as a respond for this action and during the Gulf war in 1991, Iraqi military fired 39 Scud Missiles into Israel. In order to prevent a great outbreak war Israel did not respond to this attack. The conflict is still going on especially between Hamas and Hezbollah from one side and Israel from another which happened series of wars between the two sides in 2006 and in 2008.

The Levant Sub Regional complex is a region of unrest in the past, present and may be will continue to the future. The region becomes more complicated especially after the uprising of Arabic Spring which Started in the late of 2010 and in early of 2011. It started as a protest against the corruption, oppressive regimes and low standard living. The waves of protests started from Tunisia, when Tunisian citizen named Mohammed Bouazizi's killed himself by setting fire to his self with a flammable liquid and willingly burning himself as protest of ill treatment and police corruption. Then the waves of protest spreading to many other Arabic countries. The Arab Spring caused the "biggest transformation of the Middle East since the decolonization". (A. Murat Agdemir) In the Levant Sub Regional complex, the Arab Spring spreading in four countries Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Palestine. The Arabic Spring in this sub- regional complex was started from Egypt on 25 January 2011, when thousands of protests gathered in Tahrir Square in the Egyptian capital Cairo. The protest was ended with the resignation of the president Mohammed Hosini Mubarak on 11 February 2011 and transferred his power to the Supreme Council of Armed Forces. The second country was affected with the Arabic Spring in this region is Syria. In the mid of March 2011 the protests spread through the country and they had the same slogan which was started in Tunisia, Egypt and Syria "the people want to bring down the regime" in Arabic "Ash-shab yurid isqat an-nizam", the same slogan using in all Arabic countries due to have the same blood relation , language, culture and other connections. Due to these protests, the president Bashar Assad regime responded with a brutal crackdown against protesters. From that time till now the civil war in Syria going from bad to worse with increasing of interferences in the internal issues from regional and Global powers, such as Turkey, Iran, Russia, Israel, and USA. After the Arabic Spring there is no stability in Levant Sub Regional Complex in which new political Islamic movements appeared as well as extremist religious movements formulated during this era and spreading in the region.

Say for instance, emergence of terrorist groups such as ISIS and Al-Qaida etc. The Levant region has been affected deeply by the terrorist group ISIS which is considered to be one of the sources of instability for the region as well as for the globe.

The Islamic State of Iraq and Levant (ISIL) or the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) is recognized as a terrorist group by the United Nations which emerged in the Levant in 3 February 2014 (Holmes, Oliver 2014). The United Nations holds ISIL responsible for committing human rights abuses, genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity (Larson, Nina 2014). Now the Levant Sub-Regional Security is still in instability and a good environment for conflict, especially civil war in Syria which is ongoing from 2011 till now. Also, the external interference of regional and global powers makes the crisis more complicated.

Levant sub Regional Complex: The vital significance of the Bab el Mandeb Strait, which is considered to be the connection of the Red Sea and Indian Ocean and is considered to be the southern entrance to the Red Sea, so it has great significance for the Middle East and the globe as well. During the Yom Kippur War, the Egyptian Military with the help and permission of Yemeni military blocked the Bab el Mandeb Strait for the purpose of stifling Israel's vital trade lifelines to Africa, the Persian Gulf and the Far East. Due to this reason, Israel established a military base in Eritrea in the Red Sea and also the great presence of the Israeli navy in the African Horn, in which Israel has good relations with Djibouti as well as Ethiopia.

In spite of the fact that the Israel's coast does not exceed more than seven miles, Israel has strengthened it to serve her as a breathing outlet, especially when the Suez Canal was closed to Israeli shipping and made its Mediterranean outlet unable to carry Israel to the Afro-Asian regions. After controlling the Tiran Strait and being allowed to pass through the Suez Canal, Israel's main problem regarding the Red Sea normally lay in the Bab al-Mandab Strait when the Arab-Israel War took place in 1973 and Egyptian and Yemeni forces closed the Strait to Israeli navigation (Hussain Al-Yadoomi, 1991).

Gulf Sub Complex: The Gulf sub-complex, which was formed after Britain's withdrawal from the area in 1971 (Buzan, Waver 2003). This sub-complex is the richest place in the Middle East due to natural resources, geostrategic location, oil and gas. This region includes Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, UAE, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, Oman and Yemen. After decolonization, this region became a good environment for conflict in three stages. The first one is the conflict between Arab states and Iran based on Islamic ideologies in terms of Shia and Sunni countries. The second conflict within the Arab

countries between Iraq from one side and Gulf Council Countries leading by Saudi Arabia based on the leadership of Arab. The third disputes between Saudi Arabia and Yemen in the southern part in the Gulf also the conflict within the Yemen itself which led to several civil wars. The first conflict to be discussed is the Arabic-Iran conflict which has two dimensions: the first one which is based on religious ideologies because both have different Islamic ideologies in which Iran is considered to be Islamic shi'asim while Arabic countries are considered as Islamic Sunnis. The second dimension is that the purpose for being regional power, in the late decades of 20 century Iraq and Iran had been long historical conflicts and disputes for the aim of dominance the region. The Gulf Arabs (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, and Oman) have since been grouped together in the Gulf Cooperation Council to (GCC), a weak sub regional strategic partnership that formed in response to the Iraq-Iran war, conspicuously to fear of them (Tibi 1993: 171). This GCC was founded in 1981 for the economic and political, and security cooperation. The 1979 revolution in Iran added a sharp ideological element to its rivalry with Saudi Arabia, since both states claimed leadership of competing Islamic universalisms (Chubin and Tripp 1996: 15, 17). During that time dynamic changes and challenges this sub regional complex, the North of Yemen was separate state and it wanted to include in the GCC but there was no acceptance due to instability and less development of the country even if it was shared some common interests with the GCC states which they were all against the South Yemen (People's Democratic Republic of Yemen which was considered as Marxist State so it was the only Socialist state in the Gulf sub regional. Iraq also had a great desire to join the GCC but no inclusion so as a response of unaccepted to give memberships of North Yemen and Iraq so with help of Jordan, and Egypt these four countries created the Arab Cooperation Council in 1989 but lasting no more because the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait 1990. In this year two major dynamic changes had happened in this year, first one has positive value which is unification of Yemen in which two separate countries became one Republic of Yemen and the second one has negative values in politics and security of this sub region it is the Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. In the early 2000s very great event happened in the sub region it is the invasion of USA to Iraq. The Yemeni ongoing civil war is the last security issue which has its impact not in Yemen but in the Gulf sub region as well.

Bab el Mandeb Strait and New Regional Security Dynamics

There are some wars in made this region more complicated, Iraq and Iran war which lasted for eight years (1980-1988) and Iraq invasion of Kuwait in 1990. Also the U.S.A invasion of Iraq for removing the Saddam Hessian regime in 2003. Furthermore, uprising of Arabic Spring (2010-2011) which was made new formation of the Middle

East in the term of politics, power as well as the economic especially in rising the competition between Saudi Arabia and Iran in which they are talking proxies wars in the region. Iran and Saudi Arabia have their fingerprints on every battleground in the Middle East (Shahram Chubin and Tripp, 2014). From 2014 and onwards the optimism attached to the Arab uprisings in the Middle East in early 2011 was replaced by a negative sentiment. The transformative logic that seemed to follow the changes from a relatively homogeneous Arab world characterized by conservative authoritarian regimes in different forms to a depoliticized Arab world in democratic progress developed into heterogeneous scenarios which leave behind an impression of crisis and anarchy (Peter Seeberg).

The authoritarian state in the region is certainly not dead; indeed in some states it is strengthened by rentier-state mechanisms and by fear of importing the chaos and anarchy in the states in turmoil (Anderson, 2014). The New Regional Cold War is premised on a securitized rivalry between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia alongside several axes of competition and multiple rankings. The transformation of this relationship from rivals into enemies has occurred in the last fifteen years and has become the defining conflict shaping the Middle East regional security complex. The Gulf sub complex has shown an unprecedented capacity to influence security dynamics in the Levant (Syria, Lebanon, Egypt) and the Maghreb (Libya and to a lesser extent Morocco and Tunisia), drawing regional non-Arab players (Turkey) and international powers (Russia, the US and several European countries) into regional proxy wars, most notably in Syria, but also in Libya and Yemen (Ruth Hanau Santin). The process of Normalization between some Arabic States and Israel which have been started in 2020, for the purpose of mutual relationships in term of politics, economics as well as military. UAE, and Bahrain from the Gulf in which they believe the entire are against the rising of Iran power, this relation based on the rule that the enemy of my enemy is a friend. This process of normalization is based on economic as well as mutual enmity for Iran and getting help from each other especially the UAE which has its eyes set on acquiring the US-made F-35 fighter jets, which could potentially shift the balance of power in the region (Aljazeera Net news). Bilateral cooperation between the UAE and Israel is reflected in the cyber security field and other relevant fields, as well as in mutual visits by officials who are serving or have previously served. In late 2019, it was claimed that \$3 billion cooperation was made between Israel and the UAE regarding the transfer of modern intelligence tools. The cooperation instances in 2020 were mostly related to the economy and health field (Hala Mulki). Therefore, the role of Bab el-Mandab strait is more

Future role of Bab el Mandeb Strait in regional Securitization Process

The Bab el-Mandeb Strait is a strategic route for oil and natural gas shipments. The Bab el-Mandeb Strait is a sea route chokepoint between the Horn of Africa and the Middle East, connecting the Red Sea to the Gulf of Aden and Arabian Sea. The Bab el Mandeb Strait is very important for the Global in which is a junction for 3.8million barrels trading per day and come across the red sea and Gulf of Aden. The Bab el Mandeb Strait is economically vital for the countries of the region, Egypt relies on it for its own liquefied natural gas importations, Saudi Arabia, the United Arabic of Emirates and Qatar depend on it as it's a key maritime passage that reaches the oil pipeline called the Suez-Mediterranean which transits oil through the Suez Canal towards Egypt (Karim Zaouq, 2018). Due to the geostrategic significant of this Strait for the region and for the Global there are numbers of foreign military missions increasing day by day. The most visible aspect of this militarization is the number of the naval forces deployed in the region and the proliferation of military facilities in the coastal areas, surrounding the Bab el Mandeb Strait, Red Sea, and the Gulf of Aden. Over the recent years, the conflict in Yemen has been an important focus of the regional instability, and the likelihood of a military conflicts between blocs that support the opposing factions increased sharply in the second half of 2019 (Antonio Alexander2020). The Bab el Mandeb is also important for the Global food security Chatham House report in 2017 listed 14 chokepoints of systemic importance for the global food trade, eight of which are maritime. The Bab el Mandeb is one of those chokepoints (Bailey &Wellesley, 2017). The current situation in which ongoing civil war in Yemen has increased the regional conflict between Arabic states leading by Saudi Arabia from one side and Iran from other side made the Strait stability more complicated and increasing of the process of militarism of the Strait. The instability of this Strait will directly affect the regional and global maritime and global trade. Minor naval incidents between Iranian and Saudi or Egyptian vessels of the coast of Yemen, including near Bab el Mandeb, are increasingly likely, raising the risk of collateral damage to shipping in transit across the strait and disruption to strategic oil cargo routes which will have an impact on the oil market (Anthony Mc Auley, 2015). China in its big project "One Belt One Road" (OBOR) has focused deeply and paying great attention in its project on this maritime route so it is trying as much as possible to build good relations with Yemen as well as with Djibouti. Especially with Djibouti China is based good relation in the term of economy as well as military. In case of Yemen it is not good environment in the current time due to civil war from one side and the regional interferences from other side. Despite these regional vulnerabilities, Djibouti endeavors to eventually established its self as the Singapore of the Horn of Africa (Capital, 2014). Due to China's enhanced

focus on the border Middle East and Africa in recent years , its security interests are rapidly following pace with its rising geo-economic interests and investments especially its strategic chokepoints, so the Bab el Mandeb will remain as essential strategic chokepoint for the trade and the free flow of oil and gas and remain as an important Chokepoint in the Middle East and Africa (Geoffery F. Gresh,2017). The proxy war in Yemen is due to the Geostrategic location of the country as well as the interferences the regional power for the purpose of influence the region especially Iran that tries as much as it possible to control the gulf region . The strait of Bab el-Mandeb enjoys a privileged position, not because it receives more or less volume of oil maritime transit, but because it constitutes the Southern gateway to the Suez Canal to reach European and North American's oil markets and the Indian Ocean to reach African or Asian markets. However, while it is commonly agreed that it is a crucial gateway for maritime trade routes, it is also deemed to constitute one of the most dangerous and unstable straits in the world, as its neighbors face several threats and regional challenges (Ana Aguilera Raga, 2020). The main driving force of instability in Bab el-Mandeb: the case of Yemen Bab el-Mandeb is in the southwest part of Yemen coastline, and extends its ports until the northern port of Midi. These ports are a strong naval force asset for the rebels since the outbreak of the civil war in 2015 and have been a source of danger for the shipments' transit, particularly through the Red Sea enclave. With a hundred thousand people killed and other thousand injured, the country has been experiencing what is still today the world's worst humanitarian crisis (BEAUMONT, Peter, 2019). Changeability and instability of the Middle East are related to the significance of the region and the emergence of new movements and conflict that appear from one time to another in the past as well as in the present. From the Uprising Arabic Spring some many religious and political movement that created new majors and new dimensions in the region which affected this region deeply starting from the revolutions of Arabic Spring which have created new political regimes which control for specific time especially in Egypt, Yemen, and Libya. The counter revolutions wave which started in 2013-2014, in which replace the regime in Egypt and creating civil wars in Yemen and Libya till now. These counter revolutions support by the regional powers so that these counter revolutions have developed from having domestic dimensions to regional dimensions. The Egyptian revolution that supported by Gulf States Saudi Arabia and UAE for the purpose of removing the Islamic Brotherhood Movement from the Egyptian authority so they succeed.

In the case of Yemen Iran supported the Houthi movement to make counter revolution against the legitimate Yemeni president Hadi so they succeed in controlling the capital of Yemen so Saudi Arabia made Arabic coalition to fight against Houthi, this ongoing

war which started in 2015. New major dimensions appeared in this region started in 2020 after the process of normalization of the relation between some Arabic States started by UA, Bahrain and Israel. Some Arabic States became more familiar with Israel because the regional Cold war which is going on between Israel and Iran. This regional cold war makes the region more complex day by day in which instability increasing in this region. This conflict deeply affects the maritime security. The political change and unrest that have swept through the Middle East and North Africa since early 2011 are likely to have profound consequences for the pursuit of long-standing U.S. policy goals in the region with regard to regional security, global energy supplies, U.S. military access, bilateral trade and investment, counter-proliferation, counterterrorism, and the promotion of human rights. The profound changes in the region may alter the framework in which these goals are pursued and challenge the basic assumptions that have long guided U.S. policy (Christopher M. Blanchard, 2012).

Conclusion

Over recent years, the Middle East has become a theatre of competition between the regional powers as well as global powers. International powers have attempted to consolidate their presence in the region, particularly in the Middle East states, in an effort to increase access to distant regions and project power far beyond their natural borders. The participation of multiple actors with conflicting interests has led to a militarization of the region. The increasing of number of military bases in the Gulf States, Red Sea as well as the Gulf of Aden due to the geostatic significance of the region. This region attracts the super powers to build good economic, political and military relations, so all super powers try to have great influence in the region and to ensure the security of the critical sea routes for the purpose of saving the global trade. The conflicts of the Middle East mostly create by the regional powers for seeking of dominant the region especially that one is depended on the religion for example Iran tries to transfer and exporting its revolution and its Islamic ideology which is considered to be Shiite bloc. In other hand, Saudi Arabia tries as much as possible to influence the Arabic and Islamic world especially Sunni bloc. The Yemeni crisis is affected deeply by the external dimensions and regional powers which make the situation in Yemen going from bad to worse day by day.

The geostrategic location of Bab el Mandeb attracts the regional powers as well as super powers so all try to control this vital location for the purpose of remain stability in the maritime route in the strait. Indeed, peace remains elusive as the conflict between the Saudi Arabia-UAE- led coalition and Iran-backed Yemeni Houthi militia continues to escalate in Yemen. The most important point here is that the conflict continues to threaten the free flow of oil through the Strait of Bab el Mandeb to the rest of the world.

The peace and stability in Yemen depends on regional powers and their dealing especially Iran, Saudi Arabia and UAE. The instability in Yemen will effect deeply the maritime route in the Bab el Mandeb and will affect the global trade in which this waterway enables ships to sail between Europe and Asia without having to spend several days circling around the entire continent of Africa. Therefore geostrategic role of Bab-el-Mandeb is one of the deciding factors to predict the Middle Eastern regional security in upcoming future. The securitization process in the region brings new phenomenon debates over the regional security in the region.

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