

Urban Warfare in The Arab Spring from The Perspective of Strategy and Law of War

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Abstract

The action of the Social Revolution due to the use of modern technology led to the opinion of the Middle Eastern community that the arbitrary power of the dynastic rulers had created a change in war from forest wars to urban wars. The initial problem was the emergence of injustice and accusations of the Arab Springs government carrying out arbitrary actions against its people. As a result, the public held protests and demonstrations to overthrow the power of their own government in the hope of changing the model of royal democracy into freedom of freedom. The use of qualitative methods with a postmodern approach. The results show that, threats such as social pressure, dictatorship, low economic conditions, can cause a revolution followed by armed conflict in a country. Conflicts that occur in urban conditions, can be identified as a strategy to achieve the goal of changing or changing the regime towards a democratic ideology. It can be said that the main goal is to acquire expertise in a particular area or government in order to make changes from the previous condition. The means in realizing this goal are young people with their ideas for revolution and relations with other countries to help realize these goals. In addition, technology and ICT used in urban conditions also play the main role in molding people's perceptions of the idea of revolution. The trick is to use technology during urban wars and also guerrilla warfare or even proxy wars used during urban wars. In the end, the role of the United Nations and other related countries must be determined as an offer or in an effort to create peace in certain countries. Thus, humanitarian law must be applied to contribute to human rights dealing with victims of war.

Keywords: Urban Warfare, Defense, Security, Strategy and The Law of War.

I. Introduction

Arab Spring is a wave of revolution in the form of protests that occurred in several countries such as Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Bahrain, Yemen, Algeria, Iraq, Jordan, and Morocco.

This has resulted in a series of other incidents in the form of armed conflict between pro and contra-democracy parties that claimed many lives. The incident that started when a young man set himself on fire in Tunisia, as a form of protest against the injustice or inability of his government to deal with the problems in the country, has resulted in several similar uprisings in various countries that have been mentioned previously as a form of support for protests against their respective countries. The Middle East wave protest in 2011 spread very quickly which triggered people in Arab countries to join in overthrowing their dictatorships.

Various problems in Arab countries such as dictatorial regimes, human rights violations, unemployment, poverty, rising prices of basic goods, neglect of the workers fate, and monopoly of wealth also, corruption by officials are some of the many factors that lead to the success of the revolutionary movement in Eastern countries. Middle. The young man who set himself on fire was only a lighter, because prior to the action, political-economic problems had been quite complicated and had been lingering for a long time.

Furthermore, Ma'rif, B., Thohier, M., Suhendi, H. (2016) stated that the crisis in the Middle East refers to the conditions of conflict between nations that invite outsiders to participate in resolving conflicts in Muslim countries, such as in Iraq, Syria and Afghanistan and Egypt. Over a long period of time, this process has made the country dependent on the country's sponsor of peace. Instead of the country making peace, it turned out to be even more violent, and it is not clear when it will end. These countries will experience setbacks, because their resources are not used properly. Moreover, the people's dissatisfaction with government policies has become a momentum to overthrow the ruling regime.

Another impact of the Arab Spring is explained by Muttaqien, M. (2015), that President Hosni Mubarak in Egypt had to leave his palace after demonstrations erupted for days in January and February 2011. The general elections held in the country placed the Muslim Brotherhood as won the most votes in parliament and even won the presidential election by placing Muhammad Morsi as Mubarak's successor. However, Morsi only lasted a year and was overthrown by the military under General As-Sisi. Later, the Yemeni people demanded that President Abdullah Saleh step down from office. Chaotic political situation occurred in this country when the Shia Houthi group allied with Abdullah Saleh, who is no longer president, tried to seize power from President Hadi, who has the support of Saudi Arabia. At the same time, the impact of the Arab Spring a civil war in Syria flared up. The conflict is still raging and killing more than 200,000 people when opposition groups demand President Bashar Assad step down from office.

The transformation in the field of information that has occurred in the Middle East at the political level has created what is known as a political community, namely a group of people whose members are bound by a common symbol, working together to realize their goals. These communities seek to regulate themselves with a free footing of rules so that they are not alienated from these rules (Linklater 2005, 713). In other words, they seek to democratize their political life without having to wait for formal institutions (the state). Arab Spring is a phenomenon of mass movement that really wants the recognition of the existence of parties outside the country to live more freely and get what is their right. Thus, it can be understood that the Arab Spring did not necessarily make the conditions of some countries better than before, in fact some were even worse than the previous conditions even though the original idea was a revolution towards change.

Another impact of the various conflicts or revolutions that occurred was the urban areas in various Arab Spring countries, as mentioned by Serag, Y. (2017) that several transformations

in the images of the Arab cities have been changed and is different from city to city and sometimes even within the same city. With the similar characteristic of Arab Spring, a revolution also started in Syria in 2011, and has attained significant momentum since 2012. It started as a revolution that then become an ongoing civil war in 2011. Some Syrian cities are alleged to have undergone significant changes due to the destruction inflicted on them. Type of this destruction can be grouped as urban pesticides, or so-called deliberate destruction (N, Abujidi, 2014). As stated by Laue in her study on the case of Aleppo city, the city was gradually devastated by ground fighting, with many parts of the city being destroyed. This may took the form of collateral damage to many of its buildings and even entire neighborhoods (F.Laue, 2013). The situation in Syria is similar to that in Aleppo, and in principle the extent of damage inflicted on cities by the ongoing armed conflict has already affected them significantly.

In addition, it can be said that the series of rebellions and revolutions play an important role for urban cities characteristics. In the 'Arab city', the city serves as the fundamental physical and social space of resistance and struggle: it is the major site of organizing protests and mobilizing masses on one hand, and the repression of these protest-movement by the regimes, on the other hand. Thus, the 'Arab street' riots 'have not 'been organized in the countryside thus turning into a guerilla war, but took place in the streets and squares, in conference hall, campuses, and on the virtual space essential to the urban life style.

The protesters level of violence used by the government plays an important role in the consequence of the urban nature of the uprisings, where the strategy used usually is the one of occupying and camping on squares and streets. The other perspective to this is that the regimes challenged by activists have committed intensive violence. However, this kind of violence often backfired, severely undermining their own legitimacy and enhancing the legitimacy of protesters at national and international level. (Ardic, N., 2012).

Based on the description of the previous problem, it can be understood that the Arab Spring is a condition of revolutionary change that leads to conditions of conflict that occur in several Arab countries. In this article, the author also observes how the city played a role in the occurrence of urban warfare that took place during the Arab Spring involving many factors in the urban warfare. This paper is expected to be able to reveal some details in urban warfare in the Arab Spring, especially in the categorization of threats, strategies to deal with threats, and prepared law enforcement actors.

II. Research Methodology

The method used in this study is a qualitative method with a postmodern approach. As qualitative research, checking the validity of the data can be done to prove the certainty of the research using interval validity, external validity, reliability and objectivity tests (Sugiyono, 2017).

In the modern era, both positivist and postpositivist, experts are focused on efforts to build truth by looking for a rational-logical relationship, both linearly in the positivist, and creatively (divergent, lateral, holographic, and others) in the postpositivist. In the Postmodern era, experts are not looking for a rational-integrative relationship, but creatively finding the momentary power of various things that are mutually independent and can be utilized. The end of the postpositivist era featured systems thinking tik, while early postmodern thinking needs to start developing synergistic thinking. Thinking systemically as well as synergistically can be done in the postmodern paradigm.

III. Results And Discussion

III.1. *The Category of Threats in Arab Spring*

Arab countries are known to maintain an authoritarian political culture. This is proven by the existence of leaders who are either outright in power or those who have been in power for a long time. The political elites 'who have been' at the peak of power for a long time are finally facing the rise of mass forces that shake their power. Arab leaders began to lose power, for example Zein al-Abidin Ben Ali in Tunisia and Hosni Mubarak in Egypt. This also happened to several other leaders, where they were faced with the threat of a similar loss of power (Wicaksono, I., 2019).

The Arab Spring phenomenon in several countries had a major impact on the political, social and economic condition in the international community. The effects of the Arab Spring can be described as: destabilization of world oil prices, existence of economic, social and political crises in Middle Eastern countries, increasing of Islamic political influence in the Middle East, a desire from Western countries to spread political gain in the region of Middle East.

The factor of religion, which is understood, and customs and allegiances based on ethnicity is what instills the patriarchal and neopatriarchal political culture that is now a feature of Arab politics. It is explored by Hisham Syarabi that patriarchy is a "universal form of traditional society" in contrast to modernity which "begins in Western Europe."

The Arab Spring has opened the door to democratization in Arab countries that have long lived in authoritarian political systems. The Arab Spring was the momentum for the birth of people power to fight against tyrannical regimes, such as Ben Ali in Tunisia, Mubarak in Egypt, and Assad in Syria, even though Assad is still able to maintain his power to this day amid attacks from other groups. opposition that gets support from the West (foreign).

Therefore, after the turmoil of The Arab Spring 2011, Arab countries have moved to build democratic political institutions even though the steps to build democratic political institutions are facing various challenges, both those that come from internal (society and world government). Arab itself) as well as challenges that come from external parties. Challenges Internal factors are the culture and sociology of Arab society which is built without political participation that is widely given to its people and also the low political participation of women. Arab countries are classified as countries where women's political participation is very low, until now. Ethnologically, the classification of countries in the Middle East region is predominantly Arab. On the other hand, most of the region is influenced by Islam for ethno-religious reasons. These two elements have become an inseparable thing so that the Middle East region is often referred to as the "Arab and Islamic World." These two factors shape some countries in North Africa, including the Middle East region. Politically, most regimes in the Middle East are dictators' way and autocratic. This can be observed through some unique and interesting phenomena. First, political participation and the presence of political parties are very limited. Second, Middle Eastern leaders rarely come to power in elections. Most of the leaders in power today, or at least a generation before them, came to power by coup or inheritance. Third, there are interesting biases towards religious identity and political condition. Although Islamic identity are very dominant in this region, but political parties and Islamic movements themselves are suppressed by the ruling regime. (Umar, et.al, 2014).

Moreover, mass movements that take place in Arab countries have the same characteristics, namely protests against social and economic conditions, rejecting dictatorships,

and fighting against corruption. It can be understood that the Arab Spring is a continuation of the long struggle and search of the Arab world which is predominantly Muslim to be able to determine itself, free from the grip, both from outside (foreign) and from its own internal authoritarian power. The conditions of poverty, unemployment that have been felt since the colonial era until now are still being experienced. Whereas the Middle East region has abundant natural oil resources. Meanwhile, their European neighbors have enjoyed prosperity in the 20th century. The average income per capita of people in the Middle East region is 2 dollars per day. Natural wealth is indeed managed by the state, but is controlled by a few people who are close to the authorities, including state assets in the form of companies and business entities. So that wealth only accumulates in the authorities and those close to them (Tamburaka: 2011).

Departing from the socio-economic and political situation that occurred from the three countries, it can be said that the turmoil of the Arab Spring which is still ongoing today is the tip of the iceberg of people's hopes for a free (democratic) life. Life under pressure, suffering, and torture by an arbitrary regime that happened to Mohammed Bouazizi was actually felt directly by the Tunisian people in general and the Arab-countries people more broadly. Therefore, the upheaval of the Arab Spring which became the beginning to end authoritarian regimes and the rise of public expectations for a democratic life in Arab countries cannot be separated from the social, economic, and political conditions faced by the countries.

III.2 Strategy for Facing Threats in Arab Spring Urban Warfare

The battle to occupy the city has many perspectives, where one of the dynamics is in mass mobilization as a form of struggle to return the city to its citizens, so that then restoration of the city can be carried out as a political bet. The city's claim to be a space for controversy, political reframing, and the expression of new perspectives can be seen as one of the main outcomes of the 'Arab Spring' (Lipietz and Lopes de Souza, 2012).

In the process of the Arab Spring, its cities and squares developed into “revolutionary occupation democratic spaces” (Döşemeci, 2011), as happened in 'Tahrir' Square, which is the symbolic and actual site of the 'Egyptian Revolution'. The main strategy of the activists in the early stages of the uprising was to physically occupy the square, where hundreds of thousands of people flocked to Tahrir, and stay there day and night for three weeks. Seeing this, the security forces gradually withdrew, but the number of protesters increased, especially on Friday. This paradoxically presents them with both opportunities and challenges. Even though they were full of determination, as a logical consequence the protesters had to provide security, food, hygiene and health services independently. Thus, groups from different ideological backgrounds then share responsibility and joy for their 'collective action' in Tahrir. It can also be said that they then learn how to challenge oppressive regimes and live together as a functioning community. Tahrir has become an arena for two forms of collective action, both politically and communally. In this sense, urban space serves as a stage for communal self-presentation and for constructing the identity of a new cosmopolitan. With this dual function and taking the basic strategy of occupying physical (and social) space into consideration, Tahrir's condition later became an inspiration for social movements in other contexts (such as the OWS movement in the United States) and made it a research point for social movements in the social sciences (Ardic, N., 2012).

The main strategy in the revolution is the occupation of urban space to organize collective actions. In this case the space referred to here can be interpreted as space with physical boundaries and virtual space. Virtual space supported by information and communication technology (ICT) plays an important role and shows other urban characteristics of the Arab Spring, among other things large-scale forms of protests and demonstrations are

mostly organized through ICT infrastructure, including social media (most commonly used are Facebook and Twitter), mobile phones and satellites (especially the Al-Jazeera Network). This argument needs to be limited by technological determinism which holds that technology is not simply an instrument that actors use at their will, because technology can and does affect social relations depending on the socio-historical context, even if it has no institutions of its own. (MacKenzie and Wajcman, 1999). In treating modern technology, it is necessary to understand the fact that all technological tools are created in and through systems of normative meaning, social relations, including economic interests, military and political power relations, even ideological derivatives and not as independent forces. Thus, it can be said that the intent of the actors' use of new technologies during the Arab Spring was only for the social circumstances that conditioned the events. This is reflected for example in the effective use of Facebook and Twitter for organizational purposes which are used more by young people than by the usually parent-led regime – the old regime did not even appreciate the importance and potential of social media. who could pose a danger to themselves until it was too late.

Looking from this perspective and limitations it can be said that ICT is a product of globalization and industrial revolution that bring the technological revolution and has functioned as a mass communication weapon (Mann, 2003) against the regime and for opposition groups. Three types of ICT have played an important role in this regard namely satellite TV, mobile phones and the internet, including Wikileaks which helped to some extent to trigger protests by exposing the dirty secrets of the regime, as in the case of corruption and the wealth of the Ben Ali family in Tunisia. But on the other hand there are those who remain skeptical of social media's impact, based on a recent study involving an analysis of more than three million tweets, gigabytes of YouTube content and thousands of blog posts shows that they are in fact being played with a central role in shaping the debate. politics in the “Arab Spring” by spreading, among other things, inspirational stories about protests and “the idea of democracy across international borders” (Howard, P. et al. 2011: 2).

By making ICT available to everyone, it means that it also provides space for activists to be able to communicate and coordinate effectively, as well as an opportunity to attract worldwide attention, recognition, legitimacy, and solidarity from people from all over the region. This may have influenced the attitudes and plans of dictatorial regimes and other governments related to the opposition groups in the Arab Spring. In the same way, these electronic networks and non-state media in the Arab world are also playing a role in undermining the legitimacy of oppressive regimes across the region, and possibly hastening the downfall of some of them. And ultimately, social media has also made news coverage of the event more pluralistic, partly breaking the monopoly (and manipulation) of media conglomerates, particularly in the West (Schillinger, R., 2011).

Based on the description above, it can be stated that the strategy in facing the urban warfare among the Arab Spring is under the end to change or to substitute the regime towards the democratic ideology. This can be stated that the main objective is to gain authority to a certain area or event government in order to make changes from the previous condition. The means in realizing the end are the youth with their idea towards the revolution and another connection with other countries in helping realizing the end. Moreover, the technology, ICT used under the urban condition also play important role to mold the perception of society towards the idea of revolution. The ways are the utilization of the technology during the urban warfare and also the guerilla or even proxy war that are used during the urban warfare.

III.3. Actor and Law Enforcement in the Arab Spring Case

The impact of the Arab Spring turmoil was felt by other Arab countries, where the Arab Spring became an arena for the struggle for the influence of major countries in the world. And the presence of foreign parties in this turmoil certainly cannot be separated from the national interests of each of these countries towards the Middle East region, especially the Arab World, which has its charms. The fascination or charm of the Arab world is the subject of discussion.

It should be understood that the involvement of foreign parties in the turmoil is protected by international law called Humanitarian Intervention, whereby foreign parties will ensure that they have a legal basis for interfering. This humanitarian intervention, classified by O'Brien, has several conditions, namely: (i) there must be a threat to human rights, especially one that is massive; (ii) intervention must be limited to the protection of human rights; (iii) actions that are not based on invitations from the regional government; and (iv) action was not taken under Security Council Resolutions (Thontowi and Iskandar, 2006: 260).

By looking deeper into the involvement of foreign parties in the dynamics of the political arena in the Middle East region, especially in Arab countries, it is found that the map of the forms of involvement is outlined in the form of assistance (cooperation), and social media pressure in influencing public opinion and direction policy. Even though the involvement of foreign parties is carried out in various ways, there are several visible patterns, such as where the US does not interfere too much in the political transition in Tunisia, but the foreign parties that are most involved in this matter are the European Union, especially France. On the other hand, the US is very active in protecting its political interests in Egypt by participating in overseeing the political transition process, with the hope that the Egyptian leaders after Hosni Mubarak are leaders who can continue to safeguard their national interests, including safeguarding and protecting Israel's existence.

The armed conflict in Syria, for example, today cannot be separated from the series of Arab Spring events that occurred in Tunisia and then spread to surrounding countries. The Tunisian people's movement which was able to overthrow the ruling regime became an inspiration for social movements in Syria. At first the movement for change in the anti-government opposition group showed a commitment to change in a peaceful manner without violence with the scenario that after the Assad regime delegated its power to the national coalition, it would be followed by the holding of general elections conducted in an honest and fair manner under the supervision of international institutions. The movement for change in Syria, as in several countries, such as Tunisia, Libya, Bahrain, Egypt, has received support from regional countries including international leaders. America and the European Union have openly expressed their support for the movement for change in the Middle East with the hope that the more democratic countries in the Middle East, the better for the spread of democratic values, human rights and good governance in the Middle East. During this period, Turkey was one of the countries that had good relations with pro-democracy groups in the Middle East, and was one of the most active in campaigning for countries in the Middle East to start considering democracy as the new norm in managing government.

Along with the increasingly harsh attitude of the Assad regime towards the opposition, the West strongly criticized the attitude of the Assad regime and asked the regime to accelerate the democratization process, but this suggestion was ignored by Assad. Having received support from Russia, Assad increasingly believes in their military power will be able to finish off the opposition groups. Diplomatic contacts between Syria and Russia were intense during this period, considering that Syria and Russia had a very long-standing strategic relationship both in the economic and defense fields. As Assad's stance became increasingly tough, the

United States and the European Union indicated the option of providing weapons assistance to the opposition against Assad. This attitude is shown by European parliamentarians who openly support the option of providing arms assistance to opposition groups who are fighting against the regime of Bashar al Assad. France and Britain are two European Union member countries that are trying to get involved in the Syrian crisis by sending aid to opposition groups which later have a military wing in the form of the Free Syrian Army, the form of assistance they provide in the form of funding and technical defense training by sending elite troops who can provide training for opposition soldiers.

When international pressure grew stronger, the Assad regime did not budge, the United Nations' efforts to resolve the armed conflict in Syria never succeeded, especially at the UN Security Council level because it was hampered by the veto clauses held by five member countries namely America, Russia, China, Britain. and France. Russia is a party that always rejects every option of military operations to free the Syrian people from the Assad regime as was the scenario a decade earlier when the American coalition ended Saddam Hussein's era in Iraq with a military invasion approach. Instead of withdrawing support for Assad, the Russian leadership accused the West of trying to act like heroes, even though they had a track record of failure when they invaded Iraq in 2003. Russian President Vladimir Putin's criticism of the American leader made the UN's version of the peace option to this day unheard of. materialized (Martin Chulov, 2012).

In addition, in responding to the war that occurred, the main legal rules governing the conduct of war and protection for the parties in the disputed area are International Humanitarian Law. Broadly speaking, International Humanitarian Law consists of two parts, namely The Hague Laws (The Hague Laws of War) which regulates the ways and methods of fighting and the Geneva Laws which regulates the protection of victims of armed conflict. Along with its development, these two laws were equipped with Additional Protocol I 1977 which complemented the provisions on war and Additional Protocol II 1977 which complemented the provisions on armed conflicts that were not international in nature such as rebellion within a country (Sefriani, 2018).

In connection with the law of war, the Houthis, the government and pro-government groups, and other armed groups have been proven to use child soldiers directly during the war, as it was verified by the United Nations in 2017, that 842 cases of recruitment and use of child soldiers with an average age of 11, of which nearly two-thirds contributed to the Houthis. In 2018, the number of child soldiers has reached approximately 3,000 cases, with 1,117 children aged 17 years. (Ainayyah, Setiyono, Supriyadhie, 2020). The recruitment and use of minors as child soldiers is prohibited under international humanitarian law and other international law instruments. In non-international armed conflicts, imposing mandatory military service or enlisting children under the age of 15 into the armed forces and actively engaging them in hostilities is a form of war crime (Dewi, 2013).

However, in humanitarian law related to the principle of proportionality, it is regulated in several articles. Arrangements regarding attacks that cause civilian losses and are not proportional to military gains are regulated in Additional Protocol 1 of 1977 Geneva Conventions 1949 Article 51 paragraph 5 letter B, arrangements regarding what must be done before launching an attack are regulated in Article 57 paragraph 2 letter A, and regarding attacks that result in civilian casualties, it is contained in Article 85 paragraph 3 Letter B. In addition, the principle of proportionality is also regulated in the 1998 Rome Statute in Article 8 no. 2 which regulates war crimes (Giovanny and Lutfi, 2021). In the Yemeni armed conflict, the expert group noted that airstrikes repeatedly targeted residential areas resulting in

significant property damage and civilian casualties. At least 60 cases of airstrikes hit residential areas and killed more than 500 civilians, including 233 children and 84 women. One such example is the 25 August 2017 airstrike that hit a residential building in the Faj'Attan area of the city of Sana'a, killing at least 15 civilians and wounding 25 others, including 11 children and 7 women and also the 20 December 2017 in the Bab Najran area of Sa'dah Governorate where three coalition airstrikes hit a family home, killing at least 12 civilians, including at least 3 children and 3 women.

IV. Conclusions

Ultra-transformation in the contemporary world is an unintentional consequence of the interaction of various things such as internal contradictions and the dynamics of societies in transition on the one hand, and the impact of pressure on international structures and institutions on regimes that refuse to change the situation, and on the other hand also the desire to accelerate economic development played its part in this kind of transformation.

The series of uprisings and revolutions that are as clear as an open book during the 'Arab Spring' exemplify the tendency towards the failure of authoritarian regimes to meet the needs and expectations of their citizens, especially for the educated and urban youth, for whom political openness is the norm and the need for high levels of achievement of certain economic growth (or seems to be achievable) in an increasingly integrated world due to the globalization of goods, services, ideas and images.

Therefore, the movement of intellectual groups and social media is in line with the expectations of change from the lower society, namely the hope for a better and more ideal life. The Arab's people believe that the ideal life is the establishment of a democratic political system. Therefore, democratization becomes an inseparable part of The Arab Spring, because it (Arab Spring / al-Rabi' al-Arabiyy) is understood as the season that becomes the starting point for the growth of democracy in these countries, although it is not easy to build a democratic political institution. It was faced with various challenges; one thing is certain that The Arab Spring has opened the door to changes in the political order and life of the Arab world.

The threats such as social pressure, dictatorship, low economic condition, may lead to the revolution that followed by armed conflict in a country. The armed conflict that was happened in a urban condition, can be identified as the strategy to achieve objective in changing or to substitute the regime towards the democratic ideology. This can be stated that the main objective is to gain authority to a certain area or event government in order to make changes from the previous condition. The means in realizing the end are the youth with their idea towards the revolution and another connection with other countries in helping realizing the end. Moreover, the technology, ICT used under the urban condition also play important role to mold the perception of society towards the idea of revolution. The ways are the utilization of the technology during the urban warfare and also the guerilla or even proxy war that are used during the urban warfare. At the end, the role of UN and another related country should be determined as the offer or in an effort to create peace in the certain countries. Thus, the humanitarian law should be applied to contribute in human rights facing the casualties of war.

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