Iranian and Israeli Infiltration in Africa and Its Implications for the Arab World: A Comparative Study

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Abstract

Objectives: This study investigates Iranian and Israeli infiltration in Africa and its implications for the Arab world. It examines the impacts and mechanisms involved in such infiltration.

Methods: The study employs historical, descriptive, analytical, and comparative approaches. It traces the process of penetration from its initial stages to subsequent extensions, defining and describing the characteristics of this infiltration. It analyzes its components, and highlights similarities and differences in the infiltration process.

Results: The study yielded the following results: Political, economic, and strategic goals, as well as security-related goals, are pursued by both Israeli and Iranian infiltration in Africa. Their specific goals include hindering Palestine from gaining international acknowledgment of its presence and attracting foreign investments to Iran. Additionally, the study identified the mechanisms employed by Israel and Iran for infiltration in Africa, such as creating diplomatic relationships between Israel and African countries, establishing embassies, and establishing a military base near the borders of Djibouti.

Conclusions: In conclusion, it is crucial to enhance cooperation and coordination with African countries across various domains while simultaneously strengthening security and strategic partnerships among Arab nations, particularly Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Sudan. This collective effort aims to effectively counter the threat posed by Iranian infiltration in Africa.

Keywords: Iranian infiltration, Israeli infiltration, Africa.

التغلغل الإسرائيلي والإيراني في أفريقيا وأثاره على العالم العربي "دراسة مقارنة"

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ملخص

الأهداف: هدفت الدراسة تحليل التغلغل الإسرائيلي والإيراني في أفريقيا وآثاره على العالم العربي. وأهدافه وأثباته.

المنهجية: جرى إتباع المنهج التاريخي، والوصفي التحليلي، والمقارن، وذلك من خلال من خلال تتبع عملية الاختراق من بداياتها إلى امتثالها اللائقة. وتجنيد ووصف خصائص هذا التسلل. وتتبع أجراها، وتطبيع أوجه التشابه في عملية التسلل.

النتائج: توصلت الدراسة إلى النتائج التالية: الأهداف السياسية والاقتصادية والاقتصادية، وكذلك الأهداف المتعلقة بالأمن، التي يسعى إليها كل من التسلل الإسرائيلي والإيراني في إفريقيا، وتحتفل أهدافهما فيما يلي في متغيرات ضمنية من التسلل. وتحتفل امتثالها اللائقة وتلقي وجنب استثمارات إسرائيل والإيرانية للنظام في إفريقيا مثل إقامة علاقات دبلوماسية بين إسرائيل والدول الأخرى. وإنشاء سفارات، وإنشاء صناعات إستراتيجية بالقرب من حرم جيبوتي.

الخلاصة: العمل على زيادة التعاون والتنسيق مع الدول الأفريقية في مختلف المجالات، وتعزيز التعاون الأمني والاقتصادي بين الدول العربية والسودانية، ولعب دور فاعل في التدخل الإفريقي في إفريقيا.

الكلمات المفتاحية: التغلغل الإيراني، التغلغل الإسرائيلي، أفريقيا.
Introduction

The continent of Africa enjoys an important status in the strategies of international and regional powers, due to its many economic, geographic, demographic, and natural components that made it the focus of the attention of these powers. Those who follow the trajectory of the history of international relations towards the continent of Africa will find that it extends back to several centuries ago. This situation is stilling the same in the contemporary era (the twentieth and twenty-first centuries). Among those regional powers, which have tendencies towards Africa to achieve certain objectives: Israel and Iran.

For Israel, it intensified its interests in the African continent until it infiltrated its various areas there. All available means were used by Israel to achieve a set of objectives through its infiltration in an integrated system, taking advantage of international and regional conditions in light of the global hegemony of the United States of America, and the weakness of the Arab position, especially after the Gulf War. Israel has managed to increase its infiltration in Africa in the political, security, and economic fields. These trends had objectives that it seeks to achieve through various means, including the above-mentioned areas. The nature of the connection of Israel with the West, which historically dominated the African continent, helped it in her transfer towards Africa, in light of the strategic relationship with the United States of America.

On the Iranian side, Iran attaches special importance to African countries and sees them as a wide and fertile arena for carrying out political, military, economic, cultural, and ideological activities, especially the countries bordering the Red Sea coast. The African continent has been a constant target in Iranian foreign policy since the 1960s when Tehran established diplomatic relations with the countries of Africa. Iranian interest increased during the rule of former President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, who placed the African continent on the list of his foreign priorities and put a set of political, military, and cultural objectives for it. Given Western and American pressures on Iran because of its nuclear program, Iran has adopted new strategies and means, through which it seeks to consolidate its infiltration in the African continent, to obtain African diplomatic support in the corridors of the United Nations and the Security Council; To break the international economic sanctions imposed on it. On the other hand, the Iranian and Israeli infiltration in Africa must have effects on the Arab world, depending on the geostrategic and cultural dimensions of this continent related to the Arab world. Based on the foregoing, this research will discuss the mentioned infiltration and its implication for the Arab world.

♦ Research problem:

The research problem that the research tries to discuss is as follows: What are the similarities and differences between the Israeli and Iranian infiltration in Africa? From this main problem, a sub-problem is derived: To what extent has the Arab world been affected by this infiltration?

♦ Research importance:

The importance of the research comes from tracing both the Israeli and Iranian infiltration in Africa chronologically and geographically, clarifying the used means in this infiltration in its various forms, and clarifying the effects on the Arab world as a result of this infiltration.

♦ Research Objectives:

This research aims to: identify the historical phases and the geographical map of each of the Israeli and Iranian infiltration in Africa, clarify the objectives of this infiltration and the means for its implementation, in addition to clarifying the effects on the Arab world as a result of this infiltration.

♦ Research hypothesis:

This research hypothesizes that the Israeli and Iranian infiltration in Africa has negative effects on the Arab world, through great similarities in some aspects, and fewer differences in other aspects.
Research questions:
1- When did the Iranian and Israeli infiltration in Africa begin historically, and what is its geographical map?
2- What are the objectives and means for implementing this infiltration?
3- What are the implications of this penetration for the Arab world?
4- In which fields did the similarities emerge, and in which fields did the differences emerge?

Research methodology
This research was based on the following three research approaches:
1) The historical approach: through the temporal tracking of the process of penetration from its beginnings to its subsequent extensions.
2) The descriptive-analytical approach: by defining and describing the characteristics of this infiltration, and analyzing its parts.
3) The comparative approach: by showing the similarities and differences in the process of infiltration.

Literature Review:
   This study dealt with the Israeli infiltration in Africa by focusing on the Ethiopian model and its impact on the eastern Nile Basin countries, namely Sudan, Egypt, South Sudan, and Eritrea, in addition to Ethiopia itself. The study reached many results, the most important of them were: Through Ethiopia, Israel was able to establish its feet in Eritrea and the State of South Sudan.
(2) Study of Mabrouk, Sherif Shaaban. "Iranian Foreign Policy in Africa", Emirates Center for Strategic Studies, No. 166, i 1, 2011.
   This study analyzed the extent of economic, political, and sectarian inputs interact in influencing the tools and making of Iranian foreign policy in the continent of Africa. One of the most important results of this study: the large volume of cooperation between Iran and some African countries increased, especially at the economic level in the field of investments and industry.

What distinguishes this research from the previous studies is making a comparison - similarities and differences - between the Israeli and Iranian infiltration in Africa, and a statement of its effects on the Arab world. In addition, the research will address issues of political and diplomatic dimensions that were not mentioned by previous studies; by its modernity in the political arena, which is related to the study.

Research division:
Depending on the hypothesis of the research, and its objectives, it will be divided into the following parts:
- First: The historical phases and the geographical map of the Israeli and Iranian infiltration in Africa.
- Second: The objectives and means of this infiltration.
- Third: The implications of this infiltration for the Arab world.
- Results.
- Recommendations.
1. The historical phases and the geographical map of the Israeli and Iranian infiltration in Africa
   1.1: The historical stages and the geographical map of the Israeli infiltration in Africa
   1.1.1: The historical phases:
   Israeli-African relations began at the beginning of the second half of the twentieth century, specifically since the declaration of the establishment of the State of Israel, and extended until the twenty-first century, and these relations are continuing at various levels, and this is reflected in four main phases as follows:
-The 1st phase: building and establishing relations 1948-1967:

The first years of the establishment of the State of Israel did not witness a clear activity in the continent of Africa, perhaps because of its preoccupation with the consolidation of the pillars of its state or the lack of awareness of the strategic importance of this continent. Israeli relations with African countries began with Liberia, then came Ethiopia, then Ghana. The situation in Israel developed until the number of its embassy in Africa in 1962 reached 23.

- The 2nd phase: decline and contraction 1967-1982:

The Arab-Israeli conflict contributed to the decline of Israeli activity in Africa, due to the justice of the Palestinian issue, and the huge efforts and diplomacy undertaken by the Arab countries. After the 1967 war, seven African countries stopped their relations with Israel, but after the 1973 war, the number of African countries that stopped their relations with Israel reached 42, but Israel met that calmly and focused on increasing trade exchange with African countries. The commercial exchange in 1973 (30.7 million dollars), then it became in 1980 (110 million dollars), and this exchange was concentrated in particular with Kenya, Zaire, Tanzania, and Liberia. The strategic vision of Israel for the future played an important role in this context.

- The 3rd Phase: Improving Relationships 1982-199:

The signing of the Camp David agreement in March 1979 between Egypt and Israel had its impact in creating a new climate in the continent of Africa that enabled Israel to restore its relations with ten African countries that had previously stopped their relations with Israel. The Arab attitude towards the African countries that restored its relations with Israel was contrary to the Israeli attitude, when those countries severed their relations with them, as Israel continued the trade exchange, while the Arab countries withdrew ambassadors and stopped the Arab Bank for Economic and Development in Africa.

- The 4th phase: the restoration and strengthening of relations, 1991-present:

The most important reason for the restoration and strengthening of relations between Israel and the Arab countries was the convening of the Madrid Peace Conference in October 1991, then the Oslo Agreement between the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel, and the Wadi Araba Agreement with Jordan in 1994 thereafter. After these agreements, Israel was able to restore its relations with most of the countries of the African continent. This enabled it to overcome the crisis of the United Nations General Assembly resolution issued in 1975, which considered Zionism to be a form of racism. This resolution continued until 1991. In this phase, the number of African countries that established relations with Israel in various ways reached 44, with which Israel is still keen to maintain its relations with them until now. On the other hand, Israel has worked intensively to increase its activity in the African continent. For example, Israel is now sponsoring the state of South Sudan, which came into existence in 2011. (Hasab Alrasool, Muhammad,2011, pp:12-14)

1.1.2: The geographical map

Israel deals with many countries on the geography of the African continent, but this treatment varies from a country to another. Among the most important of these countries, according to geographical division, were the following:

A- The Nile Basin region and East Africa, which are represented in the following countries: "Ethiopia, Eritrea, South Sudan, Kenya, Madagascar, and the Congo.”

b- West Africa, which is represented in the following countries: "Liberia, Sierra Leone, Senegal, and Ivory Coast.”

C- The South African region, which is represented in: The State of South Africa.

D- The Central African Region, which is represented in the following countries: Uganda, Central African Republic, Nigeria, Zaire, and Cameroon. (Surur, Abdel Nasser,2010)

1.2.: The historical phases and the geographical map of the Iranian penetration in Africa

1.2.1: The historical phases:

Before 1979, Iranian-African relations were very few; Given Iran's association with the Western bloc before the revolution and it played various roles, including the role of the region's protector. However, with the success of the Islamic Revolution and its desire to play an independent role on the international scene, the equations turned in the middle east.

This revolution had a great impact on Iran’s foreign policy due to the change taking place inside it, in its view of the
outside world, and the change in the map of allies and opponents in the international and regional environment. The background of Iranian-African relations can be documented through the following six phases: (Yahya, Ahmed, n.d)

- The 1st phase: before the Khomeinist revolution:
  Iranian interest in the African continent dates back to the 1960s, when during the rule of the Shah. After the independence of the African continent, Iran began establishing diplomatic relations with the countries of Africa. The role of Iran was linked to the nature of its position within the system in which it is located. During the rule of Shah, it played the role of "subordinate" to American foreign policy. (Shabana, Ayman El-Sayed, 2005)

- The 2nd phase: 1979-1981:
  During this stage, the Republic of Iran did not care about the African continent because it was a period of reconstruction and internal arrangement.

- The 3rd phase: 1981-1989
  This is the period of President Ali Khamenei: after the success of the Iranian revolution in 1979 and the consolidation of its foundations internally and regionally, Iran was considered as a major regional country that enjoys an important strategic location and has very large economic and human potentials, which made it targeted by the major powers so as not to play its desired role in the eastern region. In an attempt to acquire new cards, Iran opened up to Africa politically, culturally, and economically.

  During the period from 1980 to 1988, Iran entered into a war with Iraq. Iranian foreign policy sought to open more circles of cooperation with various countries. Behind these moves, Iran's policy was seeking to gain more international support for it in its war against Iraq.

  This is the era of Hashemi Rafsanjani; Iran's foreign policy has helped achieve economic objectives to accelerate the pace of development, trade, and foreign investment that Iran needs to rebuild what the Iran-Iraq war destroyed. Rafsanjani's main slogan was "construction", and openness to the outside became an important goal to treat the deteriorating economic situation.

- The 5th phase: 1997-2005
  It is the stage of Muhammad Khatami; The period after 2001 to 2003 witnessed a decline in the volume of financial aid and loans to developing countries, including African countries by international lending agencies and the United States and its allies. Under the reformist government of President Muhammad Khatami, Iranian diplomacy's interests in Africa increased, where Iran has held about 32 trade fairs in Africa, Iranian exports to Africa in 2003 amounted to (1.36) billion dollars, then rose in 2010 to (3.56) billion dollars.

- The 6th phase: 2005-2013
  During Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's rule, Iranian-African relations expanded, and Iran now has 30 embassies in the African continent, and obtained the status of an observer member in the African Union, as well as hosting the Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement, and Iran has expanded in Africa under President Ahmadinejad's rule. What indicates Iran's interest in investing in Africa is the opening of the largest Iranian automobile company (Khodro Automotive Company) in Senegal in 2007, and in the same year uranium was discovered in Guinea, which contributed to the further development of Iranian-Guinean relations and increased the level of trade exchange by 140%.

  Iranian President Ahmadinejad also granted a loan to Eritrea worth 25 million euros in early 2007. In 2008, Ahmadinejad received Comoros President Ahmad Abdullah Muhammad Sambi and Eritrean President Isaias Afwerki in Tehran to increase cooperation frameworks and strengthen relations between them. During the period 2008-2010, Iranian orientations towards Africa increased due to the increasing pressures of the international community and the intensification of the impact of the economic sanctions imposed on Iran. In 2009 alone, senior Iranian officials made more than 20 visits to Africa as attempts by Iranian diplomacy to break the imposed Western blockade on it by gaining new areas of penetration in Africa.

- The 7th phase: 2013 - present
  It is the era of Hassan Rouhani, in which he used a very flexible policy towards the United States and European countries,
which contributed to removing the points of tension between Iran and the major countries. This stage is considered an extension of the fifth phase followed by President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, one of the most important features of this stage Iranian interest in the African continent has declined due to many factors, including:

1. The Arab intervention in Yemen, which is considered currently, one of the largest areas of Iranian influence.
2. The deterioration of the security situation in Iraq and the increase in the activity and influence of ISIS on Iranian interests.
3. The decline in the influence of Hezbollah in Lebanon, which made Iran seek to rebuild and restore the military and political power of Hezbollah.
4. The improvement of Iran’s relations with the major countries.

1.2.2: Geographical Map:

Iran has relations with many countries on the geography of the African continent, but these relations vary from a country to another. Among the most important of these countries, according to geographical division, were the following:

A- West African countries: Benin, Burkina Faso, Togo, Sierra Leone, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea Conakry, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Ivory Coast, Guinea-Bissau, Senegal, and Cameroon.

b- Central African countries: Chad, Gabon, Congo, Nigeria, and Niger

C- East African countries: Sudan, Uganda, Djibouti, Somalia, Kenya, Tanzania, Mozambique, Comoros, Ethiopia.


From the above historical tracing of the beginning of the Israeli and Iranian infiltration in Africa, we can see the following:

- The precedence of Israeli infiltration over Iranian infiltration in the continent of Africa historically, which gave Israel an advantage over Iran in terms of expanding this infiltration at various levels. For the geographical map: Iran had a greater share of penetration into Africa, and the reason refers to the ideological dimension because most of the African countries that Iranian infiltration reached include numbers of Muslims in their majority.

2. The objectives and the means of Israeli and Iranian infiltration in Africa

2.1. The objective and the means of Israeli infiltration

2.1.1: The Objectives

(1) Political Objectives:

The main objective of Israel’s political motive from infiltration in Africa politically is to gain legitimacy and legal recognition of Israel from the African countries. Also, one of the objectives of the Israeli infiltration in Africa is part of a broader diplomatic effort aims to obstruct Palestine’s pursuit to get international recognition; because the African countries have 54 votes in the United Nations, which can dramatically change the diplomatic balance. Israel is trying to influence the voting behavior of African countries in the United Nations and other international organizations to support its international status. Israel realizes the importance of the African voting bloc in the United Nations and international organizations because it constitutes 31-32 percent of the total votes of the members of the United Nations. (Azzam, Sabah, 2007)

(2) Security and Strategic Objectives:

Israel’s security interest in the African continent aims to achieve some of its strategic interests, which focus on threatening Arab national security in general and Egyptian in particular. Israel is also moving towards West Africa to form a belt around the Arab countries, and thus threatens the strategic depth of the Arab states in North Africa. (Joseph, Ramez Amin, 2008)

From a strategic point of view, Israel pays special attention to ensuring the achievement of its security interests, based on multiple calculations that comes not only from Israel’s geographical proximity to the African continent, but also to achieve its strategic interests in the continent, which are represented in the following:

A) Within the framework of the Israeli strategy, Africa occupied prominent importance; regarding the Israeli vital space,
which seeks to break the isolation imposed on it by some Arab countries.

B) Preventing Arab control on the Red Sea.

C) Attempting to control Bab al-Mandab Strait.

D) Exploiting its presence in the east of the African continent, to try to infiltrate the West African axis to form a belt that encircles the strategic depth of the Arab countries.

E) The water dimension in its relations with the Nile Basin countries, to put pressure on Egypt and exploit the infiltration of its African locations, which is close to Egypt by threatening the main water facilities "the High Dam", in addition to its support for Ethiopia in the construction of the Renaissance Dam.

F) Seeking to exploit the resources of the African continent to meet the requirements of development and support the Israeli economy, by linking African ports, airports, and ports to a network of Israeli shipping, marine, and airlines. (www.moqatel.com) On the level of security, specifically intelligence: Israel has worked since the nineties of the last century to encourage this aspect by finding channels of dealing and exchanging information between the Mossad and African intelligence services, and establishing contact centers to follow up on the activities of the Arab states and the African liberation forces. (Ghanem, Yahya, Harari, 2002)

(3) Economic Objectives:
The economic aspect of Israel's strategy by infiltration in Africa occupies great importance; because it achieves many objectives to Israel:
1- Opening markets for Israeli products.
2- Obtaining the raw materials needed for the Israeli industry.
3- Employing its surplus labor from experts and technicians in the African countries. (Ehab Shawky, 2013)

2.1.2: The Means:
For the means for implementing the previous objectives, they can be summarized as follows: (Ibid)

(1) The political and Diplomatic level
This comes through establishing diplomatic relations between Israel and African countries, raising the level of diplomatic representation, and opening mutual embassies. This can be seen from one of the recent African visits of the Israeli Prime Minister to the Democratic Republic of the Congo: its President, Felix Tshisekedi, announced in Washington on March 1, 2020, during the annual political conference of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), that an embassy of his country will be opened in Tel Aviv with a commercial office in Jerusalem. The Democratic Republic of the Congo is the first African country to officially announced that a part of its diplomatic representation, that is, the trade mission, will be based in Jerusalem. The President of Malawi, Lazarus Shakwera, also announced in September 2020 that he also intends to open his future embassy in Jerusalem. During his last visit to Entebbe in Uganda in February 2020, Benjamin Netanyahu asked Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni to think seriously about the idea of opening an embassy in Jerusalem. On the other hand, Israel was one of the first countries to recognize the independence of the newly created state of South Sudan, which was established after a referendum on secession from Sudan in July 2011. In May 2018, 12 African countries participated in the celebration of the United States' transfer of its embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. The twelve countries were:

(2) The strategic and security level:
This level includes three axes:
- The 1st axis: Securing the Red sea

The strategic importance of the Red Sea was and is still fresh in the minds of successive Israeli leaders. Let us remember that in the 1948 war, Ben-Gurion instructed Moshe Dayan to sacrifice anything to gain a foothold on the Red Sea shore. This happened when Israel acquired the port of Eilat. It is clear that without this seaport, Israel would be cut off from all links between it and Africa and Asia, and this fact was discovered in the 1973 war when the Bab al-Mandab strait was
closed to it. Given the absence of clear Arab rules governing the security of the Red Sea, and with Eritrea’s independence in 1993 and its distance from the Arab regime, Israel, under the “peaceful settlement”, will ensure that its security demands for the Red Sea are met.

- The 2nd axis: focus on the countries of the Horn of Africa:

As a result, Israel seeks to achieve more than one objective, based on the following variables:

A- The presence of a large Jewish community in Ethiopia (the Falasha Jews). Although Israel managed to relocate most of the Falashas, some statistics confirm that there are about fifteen thousand of them still living in Ethiopia.

B- The Horn of Africa is linked to the Red Sea and the Arabian Gulf, and consequently, it is traditionally linked to the Israeli security system and the pursuit of military and economic superiority.

C- Arranging the regional balance, which is related to Arab national security in general and Egypt in particular, and the Israeli presence in the region helps to achieve its security requirements.

- The 3rd axis: focus on the Nile Basin countries:

With the outbreak of conflict in the Great Lakes region after the overthrow of the Mobutu regime in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Israel tried to contribute to rearranging the situation under the American umbrella, which plays an active role in this region compared to the traditional French infiltration. The Israeli vision is being in holistically looking at the region, that is, with its geographical extensions in the Horn of Africa and the Red Sea. To consolidate its influence in the horn of Africa, Israel works to:

- Encouraging the generation of new leaders who belong to minorities in their countries and are associated with the United States to associate with Israel with close ties, and these were: ”Miles Zenawi” in Ethiopia, ”Isais Afwerki” in Eritrea, and ”John Garang” in South Sudan, ”Yoweri Museveni” in Uganda, and ”Paul Kagame” in Rwanda.

- Besieging Arab national security, especially in its Egyptian and Sudanese extensions, through establishing alliances with countries and ethnic and religious groups hostile to the Arabs. On the other hand, taking advantage of its presence in the horn of Africa to wave the water card in the face of Egyptian policy.

For the security aspect, the means for its implementation came through intelligence assistance and military exercises, as Israel has great credibility with African countries in the fields of intelligence and military exercises. In its African interactions from the beginning, and even in the years of diplomatic estrangement between it and Africa. During the period from 1973 to 1983, Israel focused on military assistance in the field of training police forces and presidential guards to several African countries such as Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo) and Cameroon. Israel owns 129 military bases on Eritrean territory on the islands of Fatima and Dahlak, in addition to a military base in the port of Massawa.

(3) The economic level:

Israel has developed multiple means to implement its economic goals in the African continent, by applying the following aspects:

A) Opening the markets of these countries to Israeli technologies, especially in the fields of agriculture, irrigation, infrastructure projects, and extractive industry, as well as providing Israeli expertise concerning marketing the products of these countries abroad.

B) Providing Israel’s requirements of intermediate goods and production inputs, especially concerning minerals, specifically: diamonds, which Israel considers one of the most important countries that have succeeded in operating it, in addition to the uranium that Israel needs to operate its nuclear reactors or as a reserve element to provide energy in the future.

C) Obtaining oil and gas extraction contracts, especially with evidence indicate that Africa is based on a huge stockpile of these raw materials. This site is important for Israel; because it is considered an energy importing country and hopes to secure its future needs, in addition to operating refineries and the petrochemical industry, which represents an important part of the Israeli industry.

D) The Israeli arms trade with Africa: Israel has long since become a major supplier of weapons, military devices, military equipment, advanced war technology, jamming devices, and many Israeli military experts, intelligence men, and special security groups to train special units in some African countries and rebel groups to be a starting point for carrying
out operations against Sudan and Egypt and spying on them. Also, Israel is considered a major source of missiles, reconnaissance aircraft, and banned bombs for African countries.

E) Monopolizing the trade of some crops and markets, such as monopolizing the markets for food products and fruit juice in Ethiopia, the coffee crop in Uganda, and sesame crops, groundnuts, and others in all East African countries.

F) Adopting a policy of dumping in its trade to win markets, as happened with Kenya and Ethiopia when their markets were flooded with various goods and commodities, to block the way for African and African and Arab-African dealings.

Israel also aims to control the extractive industry sector in the African continent, by focusing on the exploitation of natural resources such as diamonds in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sierra Leone, Ghana, and Central Africa, and uranium in Niger.

Currently, the Israelis own the largest companies that control the African economy, such as the "Agrid Up" agricultural development company, which reclains land and establishes farms, "Alra" company, "Kon" commercial company, "Soleil and Neh", as well as the Africa Hotels Company and others. (Ghazi Hamdan, 2014)

2.2. The objectives and the means of Iranian infiltration

2.2.1: The Objectives

a) Political objectives:

Through these objectives, Iran seeks to mobilize African support and activate the regional role in the face of US plans that aimed at besieging and isolating Iran internationally, confirming Iran's worthiness to play a strong role on the African continent that competes with other regional powers and blocking the US-Israeli attempts to spoil Iranian-African relations.

Given Africa’s suffering from the policies of the colonial powers, Iran tried to win the Africans to its side by adopting the discourse of confrontation with the West, and it was keen to present itself as an anti-Western model through its participation in many frameworks of international cooperation that include developing countries, or anti-Western countries. (Abdel Halim, Amira Muhammad, 2011)

b) Strategic and Security Objectives:

Iranian foreign policy is keen to secure a foothold in the Red Sea region (the Bab al-Mandab Strait and the port of Hodeidah) and the Horn of Africa, to secure Iranian navigation and trade on the one hand, and confront the massive spread of American and Western military buildup in the region, which threatens with a war on the other hand, against Iran. Iran has certainly had the ability and skill to invest geopolitics strategically, by putting pressure on its opponents in many geographical areas, and transferring the current battle, especially with the United States and Israel, away from Iranian lands. (Mabrouk, Sharif Shaaban, 2018) From a geo-military perspective, Iran seeks to establish marine and landlines that lead to Iran's main battlefields in the Middle East, through which weapons and activists can be smuggled into. (Shehadeh, Amal, 2009)

c) Economic Objectives:

There are economic determinants of Iran in Africa that are not hidden from anyone, including maintaining - through Tehran's relations with the oil African countries, oil prices, and activating the "OPEC", to pass its decisions through the producing countries, not only consuming. At the same time, Iran has a desire for economic openness, attracting African investments to it, promoting trade exchange, and agreeing to coordinate in the exploration of economic resources, in light of the African continent maintaining huge reserves of natural raw materials, especially diamonds and uranium, and the continent is a favorable market for the marketing of Iranian products.

d) Doctrinal objectives "spreading the Shiite doctrine":

The religious and ideological dimension is one of the main objectives that direct Iranian foreign policy in the mission so-called (exporting the Islamic revolution) through Iranian institutions or cultural centers that spread Shiite thought and strengthening its influence by intensifying its efforts in Muslim communities living in Africa. It is noticeable that the trend towards Shism is increasing dramatically in Africa, especially in its west, where the number of Shiites in this part of the continent is about 7 million. (al-Bahi, Muddathir Ahmed Ismail Hussein, 2013)

The Shi'ite movement throughout the African continent has begun to increase during the past ten years in a systematic manner, and even institutionally through multiple and varied means. (Hassan, Hamdi Abdel Rahman, 2013)
2.2.2: The Means:  

The means for implementing Iranian objectives in the African continent have taken many forms, which can be highlighted as follows:

(1) Political and Diplomatic level:

Iran has held several joint African-Iranian summits and has become an observer member of the African Union. Iranian leaders at the presidential level and senior officials also continued to make constant visits to African capitals. For example, former President Ahmadinejad made more than six tours to West African countries. In 2009, senior Iranian officials made nearly 20 visits to many African countries. Between 2002 and 2006, Iran organized about 32 trade fairs in Africa. In West Africa, which is considered an area of American-Israeli-French influence, Iran was able to find a foothold in it, as it intensified its diplomatic efforts towards it through the repeated visits of Iranian presidents to the region, as previously mentioned.

The official diplomatic representation in East African countries is considered the main gateway for Iran to pass its political, cultural, and religious activities. Iran has embassies and diplomatic missions in 9 out of 18 countries in East Africa. They are Uganda, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Madagascar, Kenya, Ethiopia, Comoros, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Ghana. Iran was not satisfied with official diplomatic representation, but also sought to build bridges with regional organizations in the region; for example, Iran appointed its ambassador, Mohsen Movahedi, to Tanzania in 2011, as its representative for the East African Community (EAC), which is an organization of six East African countries: Burundi, Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Tanzania, and South Sudan. Richard Spiza, Secretary-General of the Group of East African States, expressed the group's desire and aspiration to work with Iran to enhance aspects of cooperation between them.

Iran also could establish good relations with South Africa because of Iran's attitude towards the apartheid regime, which was allied with Israel, and the arrival of the Democratic Conference Party, which was previously supported by Iran, to authority, which prompted South Africa to take a neutral role in the competition and polarization between Iran and the West.

(2) Strategic and Security level

Iran has worked to consolidate its naval presence at the southern entrance to the Red Sea, by strengthening relations with Yemen, Eritrea, Djibouti, and Sudan. And it worked to establish a military base of the Eritrean port of Assab, near the border with Djibouti, which is undertaken by the African branch of the Quds Force of the Revolutionary Guards. Also, Iran has transferred hundreds of Quds Force members, naval officers, and military experts to Eritrea.

Military training, militia formation

On the other hand, Iran provides services in the military and police fields to many East African countries, including Uganda, which the Iranian police chief, Ismail Moghadam, visited on October 14, 2014. This visit lasted for five days, resulting in the signing of a memorandum of understanding with the Ugandan police, to strengthen the ability to fight crime. He explained that the memorandum of understanding "examines various areas of cooperation, concerning maintaining security and public order, and combating crimes." Pointing out that both countries are interested in supporting cooperation in the field of enhancing technical capabilities and exchanging information. General Kali Kiahor, the inspector general of the Ugandan police, said that Uganda has asked Iran to train the Ugandan police in the field of combating terrorism, and the crime that is increasing in a way that threatens the security of the region. Iran agreed with Uganda to train and equip the police force, and build a medical center with a cost of $1.5 million; To provide medical services to officers.

Iran also smuggles weapons to the rebel movements in Yemen and Somalia, and trains the Houthi rebels in the Eritrean "Donglo camp". In other words, Iran has started, in practice, according to a systematic approach, by transferring the war and its battle to the Horn of Africa, the Red Sea, and the Strait of Hormuz, which is a strategic and vital corridor. In this way, it threatens the Gulf and the world by closing the strait, which leads to great strategic effects in the economic and geo-
military terms on the Arab and global levels. (Othman, Sayed. Awad, 2010)

Iran has also developed a new strategy for the Revolutionary Guards after a series of sessions held by the Quds Force's Africa Affairs Unit headed by Seyyed Ali Akbar Tabatabai. And based on the directives of the Supreme Leader of the Islamic Iranian Revolution, Muhammad Ali Khamenei, to increase its infiltration into the African continent, which is the title of the plan approved by the commander of the Quds Forces, Qassem Soleimani, and adoption of new administrative divisions by the Revolutionary Guards in the African department of the Quds Forces to tighten its control over its operations in Africa. These units are North Africa, Horn of Africa, Central Africa, West Africa, South Africa, East Africa. Officers from the Revolutionary Guards with the rank of lieutenant colonel will be appointed to take control of matters in each of these secondary units, and it was decided to establish fixed offices in the countries that will be chosen as a center for managing these new units away from Iranian embassies so as not to be suspicious of them, and new commercial offices are established as a cover. Iran has approved for the previous plan a budget estimated at $300 million for the first three months, with the possibility of providing other amounts as needed.

The tasks of the previous can be summarized as follows:

1- Recruiting companies and commercial establishments to participate in the purchase of goods and materials that cannot be acquired as a result of the trade sanctions imposed on Iran.

2- Strengthening Iran's economic relations and employing the economic factor through various projects set up by Iran in the field of agriculture, energy, dams construction, roads, and other projects that the African continent lacks; to consolidate its political infiltration to reduce western influence there, especially the American.

4- Establishing secret training camps in Africa for training by the Iranian Quds Force.

5- Organizing safe marine and land corridors across Africa that are used to transport weapons, military equipment, and goods to and from Iran. (Alameddine, Riyadh, 2013)

6- Iran also uses regional proxies to achieve its goals in the African continent, most notably Hezbollah, which is Iran's arm in West Africa, where this party operates under the supervision of the Iranian Revolutionary Guards, and its activities are concentrated in Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau, Senegal, Cote d'Ivoire, Gambia, and Nigeria. Iran also recruits agents where Iranian intelligence is located; This was demonstrated by members of the diplomatic mission in Nigeria to recruit leaders in the Nigerian police and officials at ports and airports. The Iranian Revolutionary Guard is considered a military intelligence organization in Africa. (Abdel Hafez, Mahmoud Ezzat, 2021)

Uranium smuggling:

East Africa is a major transit point for uranium smuggled into Iran, as Congo uranium passes from Tanzania through two Swiss shipping companies that deliver it to Iran. This was confirmed by the International Monitoring Team specialized in Somalia in its last report for 2017, where it revealed the curtain on arms shipments smuggled from Iran to Somalia via the Houthis. The report indicates that Iranian arms shipments to the Somali “Al-Shabab Al-Mujahideen” movement were in exchange for transferring deposits of "uranium" in mines located in the Somali region of Galmudug to Tehran, intending to use them in enrichment activities within the Iranian nuclear program. (epc.ae/ar/topic/iranian-presence-in-east-africa-goals-tools-and-prospects-1, 2020)

(3) Economic and Technical level:

Iran has worked to market the Iranian model in Africa, especially in the technology sector, energy, oil exploration, petroleum exploration, maintenance of oil refineries, exploitation of petrochemical and gas potentials, development of the agricultural and health sectors, construction and construction of dams, as well as benefiting from Iran's advanced capabilities in the field of Defense and military uses. Iran has also worked to inject huge funds into the countries of Africa, export oil at cheap prices, develop infrastructure, establish factories and oil refineries, provide assistance and expertise to the agricultural and military sectors, and even cooperate with them in the development of nuclear energy.

In the future, Iran is planning for the possibility of a long-term presence in Africa, and working to find common ground to expand mutual relations, and work to exploit African resources, as well as expand trade exchange with those countries as the best place to promote Iranian goods. Iran announced that the volume of its exports to Africa tripled during the five
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years from 2003-2008, compared to the five years preceding it. It is noteworthy that the volume of Iranian exports to Africa in 2001 was $90 million, and rose to $291 million in 2008, Zambia, South Africa, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Nigeria, and Kenya are the most important markets for Iranian exports on the African continent. Iran is taking advantage of the deteriorating economic conditions of most countries in Africa, and its urgent need to obtain economic or oil aid. (Mahmoud, Khaled, 2009)

Iran is interested in geo-economic sites in the African continent, especially three areas:
-First area: The oil production areas in West Africa, which have turned into major oil and gas production areas: Nigeria, Angola, Equatorial Guinea, and Togo.
-Second area: The areas rich in uranium mines, which Iran considers a vital and strategic material within the scope of its uses in its nuclear reactors. This can be seen in Iran’s interests in this context in Niger.
-Third area: The areas of diamond mining are located in African countries such as the Central African Republic, Sierra Leone, and Liberia. On the other hand, Iran is employing oil diplomacy to win the hearts of the countries of the continent.

In this regard, for example, diplomatic and economic relations between Iran and South Africa have been strengthened by Iran’s supply of oil for several years. (Howard, Roger, 2007)

Iran aims to pass its economic policy, create a market for its products, and get the raw materials, wealth, and resources of the African continent; Where Iran has established several investment projects in Senegal, Gambia, Mali, Sierra Leone, Benin, Nigeria, Ghana, and Côte d’Ivoire, as well as in Niger, Chad, Burkina Faso, Liberia, and Guinea to achieve some economic gains, giving it a new arena in which to compensate for the international isolation imposed on it by America before and after the nuclear agreement.

For example, the African continent owns 21% of the total gold reserves in the world. South Africa owns about 56% of the total African gold reserves, while Tanzania owns about 10% of the total gold reserves in the continent, and South Africa owns about 97% Of the platinum reserves in the African continent, Angola is rich in three main natural resources: iron, oil, and diamonds, and it is the third-largest African country in the production of precious stones. (Abdel Hafez, Mahmoud Ezzat, 2021)

(4) Doctrinal level:

Iranian embassies in Africa spend huge amounts of money on projects to promote the ideological ideology of the Wilayat al-Faqih regime (Shiiism) and to establish intellectual, religious, and political lobbies loyal to it. (Janahi, Mahmoud Hassan, 2009) For example, a large center was opened in Senegal on May 14, 1981, called the "Islamic Social Center". Iranian Shiite newspapers and publications also entered Senegal, which contains half a million Shiites, where the Iranians established many emerging Shiite associations and institutions as follows: a seminary (Hawza) in the heart of the capital, Dakar, called "The Great Prophet's Seminary", "he Prophet's Club", "the Imam Ali Mosque", and "the Islamic Dispensary". (Sidi Ould Abdel Malik, 2009) In Comoros, Shiism is increasing, where the number of Shi'ites in 2008 reached nearly 100 persons. This country did not suffer from any sectarian tensions until Iran came to it in 2006, causing strife and unrest.

In the same year, in November, Iran opened a cultural center in the capital of Comoros "Moroni", called "The Center of Althaqalyn". Among the tasks of this center: collecting and sending male and female students to study in Iranian seminaries (Hawzahs). (Walad Barq, 2008) According to a statistic published by the Iranian "Fars" agency, the number of those who converted to the Shiite sect in Africa has exceeded 20 million, and the spread of the Shiite sect in West Africa, according to the statistics of the World Shia Population website, has reached about 7 million. To spread its doctrine.

In Mali, the Iranian Cultural Center in Bamako plays an important role in attracting more Malians by offering many opportunities to study in Al-Mustafa International Schools funded by the Iranian University of Qom, which is one of the 13 institutions run by the Center in Mali. (Othman, Sayed. Awad, 2010)

The Organization of Islamic Culture and Relations is one of the leading Iranian organizations in East Africa, which coordinates various activities of Iranian organizations responsible for religious and cultural activities abroad. These activities are carried out either under the name of the "Islamic Culture and Relations Organization" or its affiliated organizations that operate a large number of mosques and Islamic centers in Kenya, Uganda, and Zimbabwe. Iran opened many Shiite centers in
Djibouti, led by the "Ahl al-Bayt Center" in 2014. The Iranian Shiite activity has recently developed in Djibouti, and it has become an open phenomenon after it was secret, through the activities carried out by Shiite centers there. 


3. The implications of the Israeli and Iranian infiltration in Africa on the Arab world

3.1: The implications of the Israeli infiltration

Israel used all available means to achieve its objectives by its infiltration in Africa with an integrated system, taking advantage of international and regional conditions in light of the global hegemony of the United States of America, and the weakness of the Arab position, especially after the Gulf War. Through its infiltration, Israel aimed to overcome the regional reality that rejects it, to reach the appropriate situation to encircle the Arab countries, to thwart any Arab moves on the African arena, and to drive a wedge between Arabs and Africans within the framework of achieving Israel's goals, whether at the strategic or security level, in addition to its economic goals of ensuring African markets remain open to its military products, and Israel's African movement has helped the nature of its connection with the West, which has a historical connection to the African continent in light of the strategic relationship with the United States of America and Israel's work as a mediator for the benefit of Western powers on the African continent.

Africa, especially the Horn of Africa and the Red Sea region, as two complementary units, represents great importance within the framework of achieving Arab national security, especially in its Gulf region on the one hand, and the national security of Arab African countries, especially Egypt and Sudan, through the following:

1) The regions of the Horn of Africa and the Red Sea region represent the southern wall of Arab national security, the western security belt, and the strategic depth of the Arabian Gulf region (according to the Gulf War) as the main direction for the transit of oil trade and the link between the regional systems in the region.

2) On the level of Egyptian and Sudanese national security, the Horn of Africa and the Red Sea regions represent the security belt of the strategic depth of the two countries, in addition to their control over the areas of securing navigation through the Suez Canal, and the concentration of Egyptian and Sudanese oil wealth arising in the Red Sea and what affects them will directly affect the Egyptian and Sudanese national security, which is one of the pillars of Arab national security.

By reviewing the Israeli objectives in the Horn of Africa region, the expected threats can be estimated as follows:

a) Threatening the scope of Arab national security in general:

It is mainly represented in threatening the vital security scope of the southern strategic direction through the Israeli presence in the Horn of Africa and the African countries bordering the Arab countries. Accordingly, the conflict over the corridors and strategic areas, especially in the Red Sea, where a serious contradiction will remain between the requirements of Israeli security and the requirements of Arab national security; Through its access to maritime facilities at the southern entrances of the Red Sea, and its presence in Eritrea, Israel seeks the following:

1- Establishing focal points for reconnaissance and follow-up of Arab military and security activities.
2- Exploiting the area when necessary as a means of pressure.
3- Dispersal of the military efforts in case of managing an armed conflict between Israel and the Arabs.
4- The possibility of using the region as starting points to launch preemptive strikes, whether against Egypt or other Arab targets.

B) Impact on Egyptian and Sudanese national security:

As Israel focuses in its movement on influencing the Egyptian and Sudanese national security through many important aspects, which are threats to the Nile waters through Israel's endeavor to exploit its relations with the Nile Basin countries to put pressure on Egypt in case of any confrontation in the region, to influence the Egyptian position during the Arab-Israeli peace negotiations, and seeking to achieve its ambitions in obtaining the waters of the Nile, and obstructing any efforts that Egypt might offer to Sudan to get out of the rebellion crisis in the Sudanese region of Darfur and to preserve the territorial integrity of Sudan.

Also, Israel is working to obstruct any Egyptian projects to develop water resources in the Upper Nile and is striving to
provoke trends demanding a reconsideration of the Nile Water Agreement. Israel also seeks to offer its expertise and investments in the direction of implementing projects that harm the Egyptian and Sudanese interests in the Nile waters, and offer to help in the construction of the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam, and its quest for a relative transformation to change the directions of the downstream branches of the Nile to the Red Sea. Moreover, Israel does not hesitate to support the anti-Egyptian-Sudanese movement for coordination and cooperation between the basin countries and the relevant regional organizations. On the other hand, and in the context of the upcoming water wars, Israel covets the Nile waters and realizes that Egypt's security is intrinsically linked to it. Therefore, it concentrates its presence in the Nile Basin countries and engages in many policies and practices that create hostile Arab-African contradictions that reach to the extent of inventing projects in some African countries to influence Egypt and Sudan's share of the Nile waters.

Impact on the situation in Somalia

If these are some of the negative Israeli repercussions on the Arab national security represented in the effect on two countries in it, namely Egypt and Sudan. Some information indicates an influential role for Israel in its logistical support for the fighting forces in Somalia, and its support for the continuation of the conflict, and the state of instability by supporting one team over another. Where chaos and general fighting in Somalia are included in Israel’s plans, and this perception is reinforced by its close cooperation with the so-called Republic of Somaliland. (www.moqatel.com/openshare)

(2) The implications of Iranian infiltration

There is no doubt that Iranian infiltration in the African continent constitutes a threat to the Arab world from several aspects, both at present and in the future, and the threat of this infiltration may resemble the Israeli threat in various forms. This can be summed up as follows:

a) Infiltration of the security and regional systems of the Horn of Africa:

In the geopolitical sense, the Horn of Africa is a corridor and gateway for the major sea lanes overlooking the Arab region, represented in the Red Sea. Just as Israel does as a result of linking the Horn of Africa to the Arab-Israeli conflict, and its attempt from the beginning to have a sea outlet on the Red Sea, Iran is working hard to prevent the Red Sea from being under Arab control, and this explains its close relations with Ethiopia and Eritrea, and it seeks to strengthen its influence and extend its geosphere is deep in Africa. There is no doubt that the increase in Iranian activities in the Horn of Africa casts negative shadows and repercussions on Arab national security as a whole, and threatens the national security systems of some Arab countries (Egypt and Saudi Arabia). It also plays a hidden role in Somalia, which increases the complexities of the continuity of the Somali dilemma, despite the sectarian differences, in terms of the Sunni nature of the Somali groups, but Iran does not hesitate to cooperate tactically with any fundamentalist Sunni organizations.

b) Hitting Arab interests in the African depth:

The intensity of Iranian influence in the depths of Africa as well as throughout the continent, and in light of the decline and negative Arab performance, constitutes an objective opponent against Arab existence and interests. Although there are influential Arab communities in some African countries, especially in West Africa, and they mostly come from the Levant, and despite the status of the economic empowerment of these communities, they do not play an active political role in serving Arab interests, but in the opposite direction, in serving Iranian interests and objectives.

C) Ignite and explode the dispute between the countries upstream and downstream of the Nile Basin:

Israel was the first to establish strategic relations with the upstream countries (Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, and the Congo) to put pressure on Egypt and Sudan, and threaten their water security, but Iran joined Israel to obtain a share of pressure papers on Egypt specifically in the future regarding this file. And to barter it in other files through its influence in those countries.

d) Attempting to blow up the peripheral regions of the Arab regional system in Africa, such as Sudan and Mauritania, blowing up ethnic issues. Iran has also worked to create the seeds of hostility between Arab and African peoples under religious claims by spreading Shiism. (Othman, Sayed. Awad,2010)
* Research Results

After the presentation made by the research on the issue of the Israeli and Iranian infiltration in Africa and its effects on the Arab world, this comparative research reached the following results:

1) The historical precedence of the Israeli infiltration over the Iranian infiltration in Africa for a long period, which gave Israel the advantage of the lead in strengthening its infiltration in Africa.

2) Iran had a greater share in the geographical infiltration in Africa, due to the presence of Islam despite the difference in doctrines between it and African countries including Islam (Sunni and Shiite).

3) The political objectives of Iranian and Israeli infiltration differed: the main objective of Israel's political motive for infiltration in Africa is to gain the element of legitimacy and legal recognition of Israel from African countries and to influence the Palestinian issue; especially Jerusalem, and influence on the Arab League. thus; Israel has sought in various ways to establish diplomatic relations to consolidate the concept of the Israeli existence as a sovereign state and a member of the international community. While Iran seeks, through its infiltration, to mobilize African support and activate the regional role in the face of American plans that aim to isolate Iran internationally, confirming Iran's worthiness to play a strong role in the African continent that competes with other regional powers, and blocking the US-Israeli attempts to spoil Iranian-African relations.

4) The security and strategic objectives of the Iranian and Israeli infiltration in Africa were similar, by trying to control the Red Sea, the Bab al-Mandab Strait, the sources of the Nile, placing forces for the two countries in Africa, using military bases.

5) The economic objectives of both Iranian and Israeli infiltration in Africa were similar, in terms of working to find new markets for them there for export and employment, and access to strategic commodities such as diamonds, uranium, and oil.

6) Iran had a non-existent objective for Israel in Africa, by religion, which is to spread the Shiite sect.

7) The means for implementing the objectives of the Iranian and Israeli infiltration are similar to a large extent and different in some aspects: they are similar in the economic and technical means, and the strategy concerning the Red Sea, while they are somewhat different in the security and military aspects for various considerations.

8) Both the Iranian and Israeli infiltration forms negative effects on the Arab world, represented in the strategic, security, and military aspects and from the doctrinal point of view the "spreading of Shiism" which related to the Iranian infiltration.

*Recommendations

The study recommends the following points:

1) Working to increase cooperation and coordination with African countries in various fields, especially economic; to polarize them in favor of Arab issues; especially the Palestinian issue.

2) strengthening security and strategic cooperation between the Arab countries, especially Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Sudan; to counter the threat of Iranian infiltration in Africa.

3) Confronting the Shiite expanding, and the policy of Shiism, which Iran pursues with its various arms, by Arab countries, especially the Gulf countries, to support and establish projects, and cultural institutions in Africa by Arab countries, in addition, to polarize African youth to study and learn at the Arab universities. Here, it is indicated to the role that should be taken into consideration by the religious institutions in both Saudi Arabia and Egypt: both the Saudi missionary institutions and Al-Azhar in Egypt.

4) Since Iran is working on exploiting poverty and unemployment in Africa to increase its penetration, the Arab countries should act in the same context.

5) Strengthening Arab-Arab relations, despite some disputes between them, to preserve their national security; to counter the Israeli infiltration in Africa.

6) Offering political, diplomatic, and technical support by the Arab countries to Egypt and Sudan in their dispute with Ethiopia on the Renaissance dam.
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