MS Research

THE IDEA OF GREATER ISREAL: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE MIDDLE EAST



RESEARCHER

Muqaddas 178-FSS/MSPS/F22 SUPERVISOR

Prof. Dr. Muhammad Khan Department of Politics & IR

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY ISLAMABAD PAKISTAN

Certification

It is Certified that contents and form of thesis entitled 'The Idea of Greater Israel Implications for the Middle East 'submitted by Muqaddas Registration no 178-FSS/MSPS/F22, have been found satisfactory for the requirements of the degree of MS/M Phil Political Science

Supervisor: Professor Dr. Muhammad Khan Professor Department of Politics and International Relations, International Islamic University, Islamabad Internal Examiner: atma Associate Professor Department of Politics and International Relations, International Islamic University, Islamabad External Examiner: Dr. Irfan Qaisrani Associate Professor Dept of Humanities & Social Studies Bahria University, Islamabad Dr. Noor Fatima Chairperson Politics and International Relations International Islamic University Islamabad

Dean I aculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University Islamabad

Dedication

To the women of my homeland who are deprived of even their most basic rights.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I begin my expression of gratitude by praising the Almighty Allah for the countless blessings He has bestowed upon me throughout my life. Through His guidance, I have encountered experiences that shaped my journey towards success. This research is a cherished accomplishment and I am profoundly grateful to Him for granting me the strength and courage to pursue it. His unwavering support provided me with the patience and confidence to complete my MS in my chosen field.

I extend my heartfelt thanks to my esteemed supervisor, Prof. Dr. Muhammad Khan, whose encouragement and guidance have been invaluable throughout my degree. I am also deeply grateful to the honorable members of the IR faculty for their support and motivation during my coursework and research. Their insightful discussions and kind words have significantly contributed to the development of my study.

My sincere thanks go to my beloved family whose unwavering support has been my pillar of strength. Their silent yet constant efforts have enabled me to overcome challenges and persist in my hard work. My mother, Mudassrah Mazhar's unwavering support and my siblings' love and encouragement have been instrumental in my success, and I am eternally grateful to them.

I also want to thank my cousins Kaenat Akram, and Sahar Fatima, and my friend Farhat Zahra, whose presence brought joy to my journey and whose encouragement inspired me to persevere. Their support has been a source of happiness, motivation and helped me to stay resilient.

Lastly, I express my gratitude to all my acquaintances at International Islamic University Islamabad. Their academic and professional support has been crucial in helping me achieve my degree. I feel fortunate to have been guided by distinguished faculty members who provided professional training and assisted me in fulfilling the requirements of my thesis and degree.

ABSTRACT

The concept of Greater Israel and the ongoing Palestinian issue resonate with the process of balkanization in the Middle East, orchestrated under the auspices of Zionism. This strategic plan was initially set in motion in 1948 and expanded in 1967 through direct territorial acquisitions from Palestinians. The Arab world in solidarity with Palestinian rights had been engaged in numerous conflicts. However, internal divisions subsequently weakened their unified stance, ultimately diminishing their advocacy for Palestinian rights. Consequently, regional instability persists on Israel's borders, serving the agenda of Greater Israel. A crucial point of concern is the Middle Eastern states' diminishing credibility in their engagements with Israel often without fully scrutinizing its imperialistic motives. The Abraham Accord has further clarified and consolidated this dynamic. The Middle Eastern instability remains intrinsically linked to the Zionist agenda. The Yinon Plan explicitly advocates for the balkanization of the Middle East as a pathway to realizing Greater Israel, underscoring Israel's strategic ambitions. The Middle Eastern states' increasing inclination and active cooperation with Israel have provided a conducive environment for advancing the Zionist agenda. This study delves into Israel's intentions regarding Greater Israel within the Middle East, employing an authentic literature review utilizing qualitative methods and drawing from primary and secondary sources. The research examines the divergent attitudes of Middle Eastern states towards Israel and elucidates their implications for the region particularly for the pursuit of Greater Israel through the lens of realism theory. This study underscores the profound implications of Greater Israel on the Middle Eastern geopolitical landscape. It analyzes the complex interplay between regional stability, the Palestinian question, and Israel's strategic imperatives, highlighting the strategic calculations and consequences for regional dynamics.

TABLE OF CONTENT

NTRODUCTION	l
Background Of The Study	L
Problem Statement	1
Significance Of The Study	1
Objectives Of The Study	5
Research Questions	5
Delimitations Of The Study	5
Literature Review	5
Research Gap (Gap Of Knowledge)15	5
Theoretical/ Conceptual Framework15	5
Research Methodology	3
Research Design	
Operational Definitions18	3
Procedure (Data Collection))
Data Analysis)
Organization Of The Study)
	_
CHAPTER 1	2
THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK2	2
1.1. Introduction	.2
1.2. Realism	2
1.2.1.1.041.011	-

1.3. Classical Realism	23
1.4. Basic Assumption of Classical Realism	
1.5. Forms of Realism	25
1.6. Application of the Theory	
CHAPTER II	29
THE IDEA OF GREATER ISRAEL	
2.1. Concept of Zionism	
2.2. Concept of Greater Israel	31
2.3. History	34
CHAPTER III	
INTERNAL PROBLEMS OF THE MIDDLE EAST	
3.1. Israel-Palestine Issue	
3.2. Non-state Actor	43
3.3. The Arab Spring	44
3.4. Syrian Crisis	45
3.5. Saudi-Iran Conflict	47
3.6. Yemen Crisis	
3.7. Libyan Crisis	50
3.8. Iraq War	52
3.9. Kurdish Issue	53

Chapter IV	56
IMPLICATIONS FOR THE MIDDLE EAST	56
4.1. Iranian View on Expansion	65
MAJOR FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION	66
REFERENCES	75

INTRODUCTION

Background of the Study

The concept of Greater Israel embodies an ideological pursuit within Zionism which is rooted deeply in historical and religious perceptions. This vision was conceived with the establishment of Israel in 1948, marked by the direct acquisition of Palestinian lands, a process further expanded in 1967. These actions have been driven by the hidden agenda of territorial expansion which provoked strong reactions from the Arab world. Moreover, in the wars of 1948, 1956, 1967, 1973, 1982, and 2006 the Arab states had been engaged in armed conflicts against Israel, primarily in response to its expansionist policies especially in Palestine (Dowty, 2023). These confrontations underscore the enduring tension and opposition generated by Israel's pursuit of Greater Israel which is shaping the regional geopolitics and dynamics significantly.

Subsequently, internal divisions among Middle Eastern countries have significantly eroded their collective influence, perpetuating a relentless pursuit of regional supremacy. The region grapples with many crises, each exacerbating its enduring instability. These include the protracted Israel-Palestine conflict, the entrenched rivalry between Saudi Arabia and Iran, the devastating Syrian civil war, the humanitarian crisis in Yemen, the repercussions of the Iraq War, the unresolved Kurdish issue, the ongoing conflict in Libya, and the pervasive influence exerted by the non-state actors (Coman, 2019).

However, the topic of discussion in the politics of the Middle Eastern states has been shifting from Palestine to other Middle Eastern states. In 2020, after the Abraham Accord, the intention of the Middle Eastern states to form good relations with Israel was proven (Brecher, 2017). The new technological advancement in Israel is attracting the Middle Eastern states to sign agreements. Saudi Arabia is at the top of the list to show an inclination towards Israel to maintain regional dominance however, Iran is totally against the Zionist Idea and its policies. Recently, many Arab countries have made alliances to counter Iran and other Middle Eastern countries are busy making diplomatic relations with Israel to maintain supremacy (Guzansky & Marshall, 2020). It is an alarming situation for the future of the Middle Eastern region.

The region has been going through many conflicts including the Saudi-Iran conflict, the Israel-Palestine issue, the Arab Spring, and the Shia-Sunni tussle. Another reason for constant instability in the region is due to the interests of major powers including the United Nations, China, Russia, and the European Union (Perdue et al., 2015). Various regional issues are creating complex structures in the Middle East. Saudi Arabia and Iran are open rivals in the region. Iran supports Bashar al-Assad in Syria, Houthi in Yemen, and Hezbollah in Lebanon. On the other hand, Saudi Arabia has a close relationship with Israel and America to confront Iran (Perdue et al., 2018). It has historical links.

The ideology of Zionism has fundamentally shifted the discourse surrounding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict towards territorial aspirations and the broader implications for regional stability. This ongoing ideological struggle continues to influence Middle Eastern geopolitics and remains a central issue in international relations, reflecting complex historical, religious, and geopolitical dimensions.

The above-mentioned critical challenges underscore the intricate geopolitical dynamics shaping Middle Eastern politics and hinder sustainable peace and development. The interwoven nature of these conflicts highlights their collective impact on regional stability and underscores the enduring complexities that define the region's political landscape. Although the UN has taken many steps to rebind Israel and Palestine for instance the Oslo Accord was an appreciative step the US took in 1991, 1993, and 1995.

The reason for the failure of the accord was the lack of compromise on the demands of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) by Israel. For instance, the demand of PLO for self-governance in some areas was ignored by the Israeli government. Later on, their relations got weak due to the Intifada in 2000. However, the two-state solution was recommended but has not been materialized. Since then the U.S. took responsibility for maintaining peace in the region. (Gazit, 2020). It is a war of ideologies.

No Doubt, the US has been projecting itself as a mediator but several pieces of evidence show that all efforts taken by the US were fake. For instance, the statement stated by former US State Secretary Henry Clinton was strange, that states: "Israel wants chaos on its border". This is a US foreign policy to support Israel in its great objective (Zisser, 2023). It could be perceived that the Middle Eastern region can be a new colonial territory by Israel.

The Middle East connects three regions; Africa, Asia, and Europe. In the 6th century AD, the region became popular after the emergence of Islam. Later on, the Caliphs took the responsibility to spread Islam. Jerusalem was under Hazrat Umar R.A. After that the Ottomans had a great history of rule. It was the golden period of Islam. It is perceived that after the Ottomans in the 20th century, the shine of Muslim victories was dismissed especially in the Middle East. Moreover, the Middle Eastern region is the hub of the emergence of the three most popular religions; Judaism, Christianity, and Islam (Perdue et al., 2015). During the Muslim rule, the Middle Eastern region was famous for its peace and progress.

The Gulf countries; Saudi Arabia, Iran, Oman, Qatar, Bahrain, Iraq, and United Arab Emirates are in the Middle East. The remaining part comprises Jordan, Syria, Palestine, Lebanon, Yemen, Egypt, and Turkey. Muslims were in the majority in this region (Raham, 2008). Moreover, the history of Israel is chronicled in the Bible. The Holy Temple was built in ancient Jerusalem but was later demolished during the period of the Assyrians. The Assyrians were Arabs who lived around the Arabian Peninsula. The Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) worked tirelessly to transform this region into a civilized society. Under his guidance, nomadic tribes were transformed into highly intellectual communities. After the Prophet (PBUH), the Caliphs took on the responsibility of spreading Islam. (Aris, 2012)

Furthermore, the region was ruled by Romans, Arabs, Greeks, Fatimids, Seljuks, Turks, Crusaders, and Egyptians. The Ottomans ruled it from 1517 to 1917 during which the concept of Zionism was emerging in the region (Liverani, 2017). They consider Judaism a religion as well as nationalism. They believe that they deserve their separate state. In the 19th century, the decline of the Ottomans and the penetration of the Western powers provided a chance for Jewish people to grow Jewish nationalism. Furthermore, Theodor Herzl worked on his movements openly (Beauchamp, 2018). It had a huge impact on the Jews.

Due to the inefficient attitude of the Ottomans and siding with Britain in WWI the major powers took the responsibility to resolve the regional issues. In 1916, the British-French government signed an agreement named Sykes-Picot to control the region. In 1917, through the Balfour Declaration they divided the whole Arab world. Moreover, Iraq, Jordan, and Palestine came under British control, and Lebanon and Syria came under French control. In addition, after Nazi Holocaust Jewish nationalism got boom. In 1947, the UN passed a resolution which divided the British mandate. After that, Palestine was divided into two states Israel and Palestine. The huge immigration of Jews was supported by the U.S. (Loeffler, 2010). It made the situation more complicated.

After the division, Arabs got frustrated and declared war against the Jews. Currently, the balkanization of Arab states due to many internal conflicts like the Syrian civil war, Yemen war, Iraq War, Non-State Actors, Israel-Palestine Issue, Kurdish Issue, and Saudi-Iran rivalry has been providing a chance for Israel to fulfill the dream of Greater Israel. Also, the British writer Ben-Judah said, "Israel wants chaos on its border" because it can be helpful for Israel to penetrate the region. A private email from the US state's Secretary Hillary Clinton also revealed that U.S. foreign policy has always been in support of Israel (Fildis, 2017). Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter said, "The path to peace in the Middle East goes through Jerusalem" (Tottan, 2016). This statement shows the clear intention of Israel to occupy the holy place of Muslims.

This study explores the idea of Greater Israel and the implications for the Middle Eastern region in terms of active cooperation with Israel.

Problem Statement

Israel has a preplanned and long-term interest in the Middle East. Israel started implementing it since its inception. Israel extended its domination in Palestine directly by capturing the land. Now, Israel is applying an indirect strategy to influence the Middle Eastern states to achieve its imperialistic ambitions. Israel wants to contain the regional powers such as Saudi Arabia, and Iran to achieve its objective of Greater Israel. The concept of Greater Israel is based on the ideology of Zionism and considers it a "Promised Land". However, the Middle Eastern states are interested in cooperating with Israel to gain regional benefits. In 2020, the Abraham Accord proved that the strong stance of the Middle Eastern states for the Palestinians is fading away. This study attempts to explore the implications for the Middle Eastern region because of having an alliance with Israel. This study analyzes the implications for the truncated Middle Eastern region under the Idea of Greater Israel.

Significance of the Study

After Palestine, the other Middle Eastern states are the target of Israel. However, the critical point is that the Middle Eastern states also have a strong inclination towards Israel, especially after the

Abraham Accord in 2020. The instability in Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Libya, the Kurdish issue, and the Saudi-Iran conflict provides a chance for Israel to influence the Middle Eastern region. Moreover, the dependency of the Middle Eastern states on Israel has been increasing. The Middle Eastern states are interested in starting a new era of friendly diplomatic relations with Israel. In this way, Israel's dream of Greater Israel is becoming easy to fulfill. In the end, this paper explains the implications for the Middle East concerning the idea of Greater Israel. This study explores the tense points and opens new dimensions for future studies.

Objectives of the Study

This research is being carried out to achieve the following objectives:-

- 1. To examine the idea of Greater Israel in the Middle East.
- 2. To analyze the strategies used by Israel for the establishment of Greater Israel.
- 3. To explore the implications of Greater Israel for the Middle Eastern region.

Research Questions

This research will answer the following questions:-

- 1. What is the Idea of Greater Israel which is based on Zionism?
- 2. What are the approaches of Israel for the creation of Greater Israel?
- 3. How the Idea of Greater Israel is impacting the Middle Eastern region, and what will be the implications for the Middle Eastern region?

Delimitation (s) of the Study

Since its inception, Israel has remained in a controversial position. Israel isolated the indigenous people on their land in Palestine. The Arab world fought the following wars with Israel for the rights of Palestinians including the 1948 Arab-Israeli War, the 1956 Suez Crisis, the 1967 Six-Day War, the 1973 Yom Kippur War, the 1982 Lebanon War, and the 2006 Lebanon War. In addition to these large-scale battles, Israel fought other military campaigns in Gaza and the West Bank, as well as disputes with Palestinian organizations and other non-state actors. Operations like "Operation Pillar of Defense"

(2012), "Operation Cast Lead" (2008–2009), and "Operation Protective Edge" are among them (Alan, 2020). Recently, Israel has been assassinating innocent Palestinians to occupy the land to achieve its dream of Greater Israel. In the past, the support of the Arab world towards Palestine was a big hurdle for Israel but now the Arab states are showing divergence in their attitude towards Israel for their national interests.

Reviewing the political and ideological history between Israel and the Arab states various events have been encountered. It is difficult to cover the comprehensive relations between Israel and the Arab states. Therefore, this research is limited to the Idea of Greater Israel: Implications for the Middle East. The main focus of the research study is based on the imperialist approach of Israel towards the Middle East and the implications of the Idea of Greater Israel in the Middle Eastern region.

Literature Review

The Israel-Palestine conflict has a long historical root. It created severe impacts on the Middle East. At the end of the 20th century, Israel started expanding its territory by capturing major areas of Palestine. Both Israel and the Muslims have deep religious and historical connections with the land. Israel does not compromise on this land and considers it a "Holy land" or "Promised Land" for the Jews with the reference from their holy book. Israel emphasizes that their ancestors used to live here and God has gifted this land to the Jews. Palestinians have been continuously rejecting this stance since the inception of Israel. Furthermore, the Arabs started taking strong actions through wars. Arab nationalism started revolving around the Palestinian issue, especially during Nasser in Egypt and the Baath Party in Syria. The Arab states fought many wars against Israeli Imperialist agenda based on Zionism (Danon, 2013). Later on, various steps were taken to resolve the issue.

In 1992 the Oslo Accord, a step taken by the U.S. helped to create a bridge between Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization through negotiations. The PLO is an organization formed by Palestinians to raise voice for their rights. However, according to the Oslo Accord, the Palestinian National Authority made a compromise to recognize Israel as a result of the self-governance in Gaza and the West Bank. In 2000, the resolution ended between Ehud Barak the Prime Minister, and President Yasser Arafat; when Palestinians did not achieve the objectives that were promised in the Oslo Accord for instance the right to freedom, right to self-rule, right to free access to Jerusalem, the refugees' right to return, and right to property and security were all denied by occupied Israelis. The clash resulted in a second Intifada (Dowty, 2017). So, the first step failed.

After the second Intifada, Israel had further tightened its occupation. Except, for the recognition of PNA for governance none of their rights have been accepted. The solution of the two states proposed by Palestinians has never been accepted by Israel. Palestinians believe that Israel is working on its agenda of expansion. Since 1990, the U.S. has been a mediator between Israel and Palestine to resolve the conflict (Freeman, 2017). The U.S. started taking the initiative to maintain peace in the whole region, especially after 9/11. The U.S. has ignored the imbalance of power between Israel and Palestine and considered it just as a conflict while it was an occupation by a powerful group that tightened all the ropes of powerless Palestinians. Hence, the U.S. has failed to prove itself as a good mediator (Dwin, 2021). The hypocritical nature of the US can be analyzed in this issue.

However, the flawed version of Western imperialism has been swallowing the world. The Ottoman Empire broke into many weak and small states. These states have an ethno-linguistic majority. The Arab states are not nation-states but territorial. From the 1950s to the 1970s, pan-Arab nationalism was at its peak. Every Arab state is defined as an Arab nation in the Arab constitution. Later on, these Arab states emerged as a rival against Israel. Furthermore, in 1967, Arab states were defeated by Israel, in 1973, the Arab-Israeli war and oil embargo started and, in 2000, Israel got involved in southern Lebanon under Hezbollah. Later on, it converted into a long-time war in 2006. Moreover, Iraq was invaded by the U.S. in 2003. These events were an attack on Arab nationalism and were like the death of Arabism. However, these attacks on Arabism started when the hero of nationalism Nasser died in the 1970s. Later on, the gap was filled by Saddam Hussein and Muammar Gaddafi. Moreover, the inter-state wars started which included the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq and Yemen conflicts (Chaudhary, 2014). There have been many ups and downs in this region.

Secular Arabism is highly squeezed between Islamism, sectarianism, and state-centric identities. It seems like a state failure. There are external interventions in Iraq and internal insurgency in Libya, Yemen, and Syria. For instance, if Syria promotes nationhood then Jordan, Lebanon, Palestine/Israel will be divided into mini-states. In Iraq, Arabism concentrates on the Sunni-Shia conflict, on the other side, the Kurds have a different agenda for having a separate state. Kurds in Turkey and Iraq are used by the rival states of Turkey and Iraq by exploiting them for their agenda.

The war-prone states for instance Iraq and Israel, artificial states like Lebanon and Sudan, and frustrated nations like Kurdistan and Palestine have made this region unstable (Fawcett, 2019).

This region is still covered with such crises because it is benefiting their rivals. The instability in the Middle East is a part of a plan of Greater Israel. Former US state secretary Hillary Clinton stated that "Israel wants chaos on its borders". In an email she wrote, that this is US foreign policy since the beginning of the downfall of the Syrian government (Freeman, 2017). Furthermore, the President of the United States Jimmy Carter said, "The path to peace in the Middle East goes through Jerusalem" (Totten, 2016). Some Zionists want the land from the Nile in the west to the Euphrates in the East comprising Palestine, Lebanon, Western Syria, and southern Turkey. It is said that it is a continuation of the British colonial mindset in the Middle Eastern region (Shahak & Chossudovsky, 2013). This is one of the reasons the region is still suffering.

Anyhow, the Arab countries are getting influenced by the power of Israel. The U.A.E and Saudi Arabia are highly interested in cooperating with Israel. The Abraham Accord is the latest example that shows the Palestine stance is losing credibility. The world is now in an era of advancement and technology. Israel is in the 10th position out of 129 countries in the technology. The Arab countries are highly dependent on oil resources which is not enough to maintain a power balance with competitive rivals. Moreover, Iran has a globally isolated economy due to the US sanctions. The US has shown its military sharpness by declaring an attack on Saudi Arabia's oil resources. This tension in the strait of Hurmoz was also an alarming situation. Additionally, Saudi Arabia is not a technologically advanced country. The war in Yemen further dragged Saudi Arabia into a weak position (kouam, 2022). However, this study is trying to explore the implications for the Middle Eastern region in the case of its active cooperation with Israel and how it links with the Idea of Greater Israel.

Regional Issues in the Middle East

This issue has long historical links on the ideological, strategic, and political aspects. The creation of the Jewish state created many hurdles for Palestinians. Later on, the UN divided the British mandate into two states; Israel and Palestine. It was a dream of Theodor Herzl to establish a separate state for Jews. He started a movement in 1896 (Gelvin, 2014). It led to a tussle between Israel and the

Arab world. As a result, the major immigration of the Jewish people started which became the reason for the Arab war with Israel (BBC, 2019). In the Israel-Palestine War of 1949, both states had different perspectives about the division. Palestinians called it a disturbing event and for Israel, it was a war of independence. After that Israel created difficulties for the Palestinians to live there. There was a continuous exile of the Palestinians.

Moreover, the second war between Israel and the Arab states in 1956 erupted on the issue of the Suez Canal when Nasser tried to nationalize it. At that time, the U.S. supported Israel against Egypt. Furthermore, Golan Heights, West Bank, East Jerusalem, the Gaza Strip, and the Sinai Peninsula were captured by Israel in the ten days of war in 1967. Later on, through agreements Israel promised to return the Sinai Canal to Egypt and to withdraw from Lebanon in 1979 and 1983 respectively (Russell et al., 2012). Later on, some more peace initiatives were taken to normalize the situation.

However, in 1993 and 1995 the Oslo Accord II was signed through U.S. participation. The PLO agreed to recognize Israel and wanted self-governance in return. But a deadlock between Israel and Palestine appeared again in 2000 (Morris, 2010), (CNN, 2016). The reason was that the rights which were promised by Israel were never given. After that, the Two-state solution was suggested.

Furthermore, the Middle Eastern region has many internal issues including the involvement of non-state actors, pro-democratic movements, the Kurdish conflict, sectarian conflict, and the Yemen crisis. Non-state actors are those who are not officially a part of governance but control the system. Sometimes they create major hurdles for the government and its foreign policy (Golan & Salem, 2014). Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) is one of them. The American invasion of Iraq in 2003 generated many Non-State actors. They are basically against the Western views and promotes self-interpretation of Islam. It is one of the big Middle Eastern crises. For instance, ISIS is not only restricted to Iraq but has also spread to other Middle Eastern and Asian countries (Armstrong, 2010). ISIS was attacked by the American Operation but the attempt did not help to rebuild Syria and the internal conflict is still there along with the issue of displaced people. These non-state actors have been used as fuel in the already burning region.

Furthermore, in Tunisia, there was a pro-democratic group. It wanted a fair and structured system. Its first movement started in Tunisia and became successful. It created a tinkle-down effect

on the other Middle Eastern countries. In 2011, it started in Egypt and Morocco. The role of media in the promotion of the movement was commendable. Later on, the same situation erupted in Libya, Syria, and Bahrain (Hamad and Attiah, 2019), (Salloukh, 2013). It initiated many civil wars in the region.

On the other hand, the writers who wrote against Bashar al-Assad were killed. It led to the Syrian civil war. Four new groups emerged during this civil war (Ide, 2018). One of the groups was of Assad's government and others include Kurdish Forces, Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), and an opposition group (Jaish al Fateh, an alliance between the Nusra Front and Ahrar-al-Sham) (Ford, 2023). Now, the civil war for democracy has converted into a sectarian conflict and the state has been used as a proxy war by the major and regional powers.

Another issue of sectarian differences emerged in the Middle Eastern region. The Sunni-Shia conflict is one of the major issues. The difference of sects led to a regional rivalry. Both consider themselves supreme leaders of Islam. The Muslim world is divided into two communities; Shia and Sunni. The Shia community has a strong affiliation with Iran and the Sunni community considers Saudi Arabia as its leader. Both want to gain regional hegemony. The Iranian revolution created a threat to Saudi Arabia. They always stand against one another on regional issues. Iran supports the Assad regime in Syria, Hezbollah in Lebanon, and the Houthi group in Yemen and Saudi Arabia counter it through the support of the US (Keynoush, 2018). The involvement of the foreign powers has made this issue more complex.

Later on, a new squad appeared as a GCC state which included Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, Oman, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) to counter Iran and encourage economic and security cooperation. However, the war of supremacy further added complications to the peace process. Moreover, the ruling family in Bahrain is Sunni but the majority of the population is Shia which creates a tense situation between the public and government. So, GCC states support Bahrain's ruling king Al-Khalifa, and entered their army in Bahrain (Beck, 2020). Anyhow, recently Iran and Saudi Arabia have made a deal through China to achieve peace in the Middle East (Hubbard & Bengali, 2023).

Moreover, in Yemen, there are two major groups. One is Houthi and the other is Hadi group. Houthi group has the strong support of Iran and Hadi has Saudi Arabia as its friend. The northern part of Yemen has the majority of Zaidi Shi'ism but the majority of the population is Sunni. The clash between Hadi and Houthi groups based on sectarian differences boomed after the Arab Spring in the neighboring countries. In the year 2014, the Houthi group captured Sana (the capital of Yemen). They started demanding lower prices of oil and also declared their constitution. As a result, the U.S., Gulf countries, and the EU closed their embassies in Yemen while Iran has been supporting the Houthi group (Lackner, 2019). It was a new ground for the conflict between the regional states.

It is perceived that the Yemen civil war has been used as a proxy war between Iran and Saudi-Arabia. Saudi Arabia, for many times attacked on Houthi group through air strikes. Iran also supported Saudia's rivals which became a reason for many causalities. In 2018, the UN's Integrated Food Security Phase Classification (IPS) published data that almost 20 million people are in humanitarian support. Almost 16 million people are living in an insecure food shortage (CFR, 2023). Later on, some steps were taken to overcome the crisis.

Furthermore, the World Health Organization (WHO) is alarmed that if the situation remains the same then it will be impossible to recover the health issues for a long time. The United Nations for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) asserted that more than 3 million people have been internally displaced. Almost 280,000 took asylum. Other than that, more than 40,000 Yemenis lost their lives in the bloody civil war and the playground of the major and regional powers (WHO, 2023). Moreover, another issue of Iraq was also revolving around.

The crisis of Iraq emerged after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990 made it easy for the major and regional powers to be involved actively in the internal affairs of Iraq. The U.S. along its coalition with the Middle Eastern states, defeated Iraq. When Saddam Hussein came to rule, his strict policies against the Kurds and the Shias made the process easy for the U.S. to impose sanctions on Iraq. In 2003, another attack was faced by Iraq due to ignoring the restrictions by the U.S. on the Weapon of Mass Distraction. Later on, the incident of the 9/11 attack happened and the U.S. alleged Al-Qeada for the incident because Iraq supported Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan which became a threat to the U.S. The experts said that the clash of the U.S. with Iraq became a reason for the instability in Iraq. It is believed that the U.S. intended to support Israeli interests and oil security. More than 85000 Iraqi people were killed in almost 40 years of war (Ostovar, 2018). It was a dilemma that Muslim states have been moving apart from each other and other regional and international powers were participating heavily.

Moreover, there is also a Kurdish issue in the Middle East which is older than the Israel-Palestine issue. In the 20th century, after the decline of the Ottomans the Kurdish issue raised. After WWI, when under treaties of Serves and Lausanne created new borders of the Middle Eastern region, the Kurdish community did not get a separate homeland. They are divided into Syria, Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Armenia. They are more than 25 to 35 million. Later on, the issue emerged in the form of a movement. Turkey even declared the Kurdish Workers Party a terrorist group in 1984. Till 1992, a period of civil war between Turkey and Kurdish was at its peak. Later on, they demanded a democratic confederation instead of a nation-state but no work has been done (Ergin, 2012). Moreover, the issue of the Kurdish movement in North Syria is creating many hurdles for Turkey. Turkey is responding with Shelling. The U.S. is totally against Turkey on this issue (Ide, 2018). As a result, Syria is divided and has become a ground of proxy wars.

The same is the situation in Syria in the North. Even the U.S. entered into Syria against ISIS through Kurdish support. The Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) was formed through U.S. support. It is an Arab-Kurdish alliance to fight against ISIS but Turkey has been attacking the Kurdish community of Syria because Turkey believes that it is also supporting Partiya Karkeren Kurdistan (PKK) (Gunes, 2021). So, another civil war emerged in the Middle Eastern region.

Moreover, Libyan crisis emerged in the Middle East. In 2011, the protests were started against Muammar Gaddafi in Libya. The leader of the anti-government movement was Mustafa Abdul Jalil of the National Transitional Council. He organized rebel groups in different areas and captured almost half of the state. Additionally, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) also attacked Gaddafi. Later on, in 2012 the NTC gave power to the elected General National Congress (GNC) but still the militants did not stop. After that, Libyan National Army started attacking them which led to a new civil war in the Middle East. The UN High Commissioner said that the humanitarian condition is very pathetic. Children, women, and human rights activists have been kept in detention (Mueller, 2015). These issues were helping Israel to be involved in Middle Eastern affairs.

Israeli Interest in the Middle East

Indirectly, the major powers have always been supporting the Middle Eastern crisis because it is beneficial for its national interest and the Idea of Greater Israel. The U.S. foreign policy also aligned with the approach of Israel. Hence, the instability in the Middle East is beneficial for Israel and the U.S. It was asserted when the email of the State Secretary was leaked in which he mentioned that the Syrian crisis supports the U.S. agenda.

Theoretically, Israel wants to eliminate the terrorist groups. In reality, it does not want stability in the Middle East because it is against Israeli interests. It does not want unity in this region. It is also against the initiative of the nuclear program in any Middle Eastern country. The reason for making bilateral relations of Israel with the Middle Eastern states is to get access to the water resources and to achieve the objective of Greater Israel and also to make the Arab countries against each other. Israel believes that if Muslim countries recognize Israel then gaining dominance in the Middle Eastern region will become very easy. So, Israel has been trying to maintain relations with the UAE, Egypt, Qatar, and Oman (Sela, 1998). However, some countries are in rivalry with Israel, for example, Jordan, Iran and Syria.

The Israeli attempt to destabilize the Middle East was successful due to the lack of unity within the Arab States. The destruction of the Iraqi nuclear program under the Opera Operation and the tussle with Iran happened as a result of non-cooperation within Middle Eastern countries. Moreover, WikiLeaks also asserted the American disloyalty to the Muslim states. In 2007, the attack of Israel on Syria is another example of the evil intentions of Israel for the Middle Eastern instability. Israeli Prime Minister further emphasized on Twitter that they will never allow Syria to create a threat for Israel in the form of a nuclear bomb. (Shak, 2018) Confronting and destabilizing the Middle Eastern region will make it easy for Israel to achieve its dream of Greater Israel.

Last but not least comes the Syrian crisis. Israel is also against the Assad government of Syria. It wanted to get rid of Iranian and Russian influence. Israel wants a Sunni government in Syria that can support Israel. The attack of Israel on Iran will become easy if Syria supports Israel. However, the issue of the Golan Heights is prominent in the Syrian-Israeli relationship. The ethnic conflicts within Syria have been making the country very weak. (Menashri, 2006). It explains to what extent the Middle Eastern region is under the Israeli Plan of Greater Israel.

The Arab's View of the Expansionism

In the start, the Arab countries were totally against the independent state of Israel. It fought four wars on this issue. Later on, with the change of circumstances the Arab countries become lenient towards Israel. When Egypt, Qatar, and Jordan made bilateral relations with Israel in 1991, 1979, and 1992 respectively. Moreover, Dubai also opened a Synagogue (Rabi & Uzi, 2009), (Goren et al., 2023).

After the Camp David Accord and Sadat's tour to Jerusalem, Egypt's relations with Israel became smooth but later the relations got stained under Mohamed Morsi. After that, the relations revived under Field Marshal Abdul Fattah al-Sisi. In the case of Jordan, the relations remained weak due to the Palestine issue (Dowek, 2001). All this was defining many things in different dimensions.

The reason for some Middle Eastern states to make good relations with Israel is to confront Iran. The Gulf countries allied to counter Iran. Saudi Arabia was also threatened by the Arab Spring. It wants a big security force to oppress those groups who are against the government. The Middle Eastern states are forgetting the real agenda in front of their interests, which is the rights of Palestine (Katz et al., 2012). In this way, the Middle Eastern states are trying to get closer to Israel.

The Saudi Prince Salman also supported the partnership with Israel. Many of the Middle Eastern states are doing trade with Israel. They are discussing the different aspects of intelligence and defense. Qatar has a big investment in Israel. In 2018, in an interview with The Atlantic Magazine of Crown Prince, Saudi Arabia asserted that it has many interests with Israel. In response, Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu encouraged Saudi Arabia by saying that Israel is "no longer the enemy of Gulf States" (Rahman, 2021), (Guzansky, 2015). This was a clear and unique statement for the very first time in the history of Middle Eastern and Israeli relations.

Moreover, the reason for the unsuccessful nuclear deal between Iran and the US is due to the rejection faced by the Middle Eastern states and Israel. The Syrian government's relations with Israel never improved because Syria has asserted that Israel should have a peace process with Palestine. Lebanon does not have its own identity. It has become a ground for proxy wars. Lebanon and Israel are the real rivals in this region. They are not allowed to negotiate on any issue with Israel (Benaim et al., 2021). These are the points of contention for Israel.

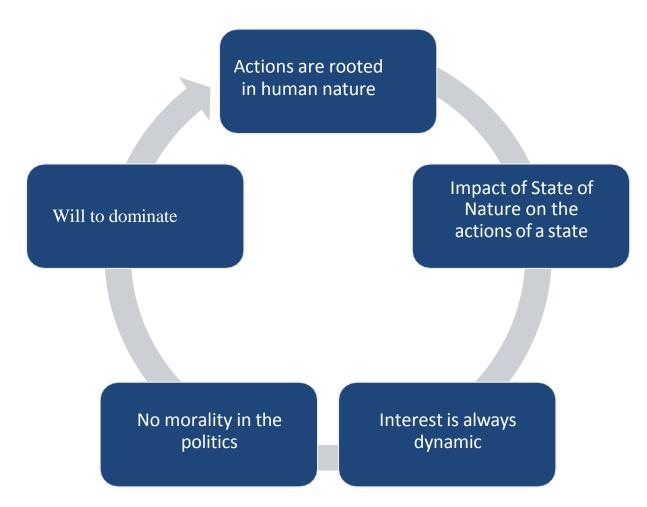
After the Iran revolution, a real rivalry emerged between Israel and Iran. Iran is deeply against the Zionist agenda of Israel. Iran is fighting a proxy war by supporting the Assad government in Syria, the Popular Mobilization Units in Iraq, and Hezbollah in Lebanon (Marcus, 2015). Now, Iran is a big threat to Israel.

Research Gap

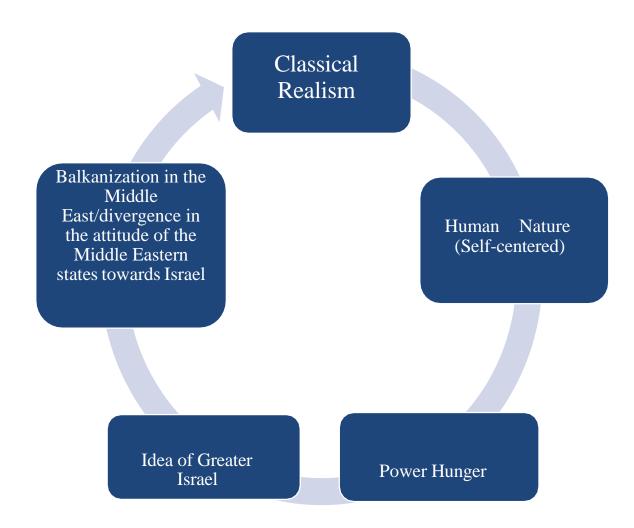
The Idea of Greater Israel is based on the ideology of Zionism. Its direct implementations can be seen in Palestine. Now, Israel is applying an indirect strategy in the Middle Eastern region to achieve its imperialistic objective. It is seen, that the Middle Eastern states are highly interested in making friendly diplomatic relations with Israel. The Arab states are looking for their national interest while ignoring the oppressed Palestinians and the horrible strategies of Israel. The new era of close relations between the Arab state and Israel can lead to the supremacy of Israel in the Arab world to fulfill its desire to establish Greater Israel. However, the implications due to the divergence in the behavior of the Middle Eastern region towards Israel have not been explored. This paper explores a new angle in the study of the Middle East and how Israel is penetrating the Arab states to achieve its objective by exploiting the changing attitude of the Arab states towards Israel.

Theoretical Framework

This research paper uses the theory of realism to define the reasons of active Israel's policies for the Middle Eastern states and the divergence of the attitude of the Middle Eastern states towards Israel. This theory provides a strong base for the argument of how and why the Middle Eastern region is under the Zionist plan. The interests of the Middle Eastern states in the region encourage them to have friendly relations with Israel. Israel considers it as an opportunity to achieve its Zionist objective of Greater Israel. Realism believes that politics is all about power. Everyone wants to be dominant. Selfishness is the top priority for being a part of politics (Jackson & Sørensen, 2015). Moreover, the agenda of greater Israel is also following this theory to fulfill its biased interests in the matter of power by taking advantage of the instability in the Middle East (*Kyanda*, 2013). In this way, this theory provides a ground for the research study.



(Kyanda, 2013)



(Complied by Author)

Research Methodology

This research paper used the qualitative method to collect data and analyze the relevant material to explore the Middle Eastern inclination toward Israel and its linkage with the Idea of Greater Israel. The sources for qualitative data are primary and secondary. The primary sources include interviews of retired military persons, professors, think tanks, and ambassadors. The secondary sources include articles, books, magazines, governmental reports, organizational reports, credible websites, research journals, and opinion editorials of prominent intellectuals from national and international newspapers. The findings are based on the content analysis of the collected data.

Research Design

A research design is a detailed process in the research to conclude. A research design made the study more clear. It creates a bridge between research objectives and research implementations. (Mahmud, 2011).

The design for the study focused on the Middle Eastern divergence towards Israel and how it links with Israel's dream of Greater Israel. A narrative research design is used with the descriptive approach and the observational method is used to conclude.

Operational Definitions

- Stability: signifies a political system or government's persistence and integrity.
- Proxy War: a conflict in which, rather than going to war with one another directly, two opposed nations or parties back fighters who advance their agendas.
- Extremism: the holding of radical views, whether social, religious, or political, and the readiness to use drastic means to further them.
- Balkanize: breaking up a larger area or body into smaller frequently hostile or uncooperative components.
- Galvanize: means of igniting or shocking people into action or provoking them to act.
- Security Dilemma: symbolizes a scenario in which a state's efforts to strengthen its security

result in responses from other states, which lower the security of the first state.

- Holocaust: refers to the systematic, state-sponsored persecution.
- Zionism: a political and nationalist movement supporting the creation and upkeep of a Jewish state in the ancient territory of Israel.
- Hegemony: a nationalist and political organization that advocates for the establishment and maintenance of a Jewish state on the historic land of Israel.
- Hybrid Actors: Entities that use a combination of conventional and unconventional tactics, techniques, and strategies to accomplish their goals.
- Insurgency: refers to a movement of violent, organized, and frequently prolonged opposition or rebellion against a legitimate authority, usually a government or occupying force.

Procedure (Data Collection)

Data collection is collecting relevant data to find answers to research questions via different sources. There are two methods of data collection; primary data collection and secondary data collection (Creswell, 2022). This research study selected the relevant data from various sources through a literature review. This research uses the qualitative method to collect data. The qualitative method involves perceptions, feelings words etc. The qualitative research explores the Idea of Greater Israel in the Middle East and the implications of the changing attitude of the Middle Eastern states towards Israel. The qualitative data collection methods include interviews.etc.

Data Analysis

The process of examining, purifying, converting, and analyzing data in order to find relevant information, draw conclusions, and aid in decision-making is known as data analysis. Data is analyzed to find patterns, trends, connections, and insights that might help to explain important information or guide decisions. (Klla, 2012)

Data analysis is a process of cleaning and modeling data. It helps to explore useful and relevant information to conclude (Walliman, 2022) In this research study the data is analyzed to explain how the positive behavior of the Middle Eastern states towards Israel is paving the way for the achievement of the dream of the Greater Israel through the thematic and content analysis.

Organization of the Study

- The first chapter is about the research introduction: This chapter includes the statement of the problem, objectives, and research questions, the significance of the research study, the research gap, the research methodology, and the theoretical framework.
- The second chapter is the Theoretical Framework: This chapter provides the base for this research study. The theory of classical realism is applied to define the concept of the idea of Greater Israel and its implications in the Middle East.
- The third chapter is the idea of Greater Israel: This chapter sheds light on the Idea of Greater Israel in the Middle East and the extremist Zionist ideology of Jews. This chapter explains the connection between Zionism and the idea of Greater Israel.
- The fourth chapter is about the internal problems of the Middle East: The instability in the Middle East is discussed in this chapter and describes which strategies Israel has been using to manipulate these issues in its favor since its inception. It includes various issues including the Syrian civil war, the Libyan civil war, the Yemen issue, the Saudi-Iran conflict, the Iraq war, and the Palestine issue. This chapter explains the major interest of Israel in the Middle East.
- The fifth chapter is the implications for the Middle East: This chapter elaborates on the implications for the Muslim world due to increasing close ties between the Middle Eastern states and Israel. The divergence in the attitude of the Arab states towards Israel is leading to the achievement of the idea of Greater Israel. The new dynamics in the politics of the Arab world are increasing their dependency on Israel which can cause serious threats to the Arab World.

• The sixth chapter is Major Findings and Conclusion: This chapter concludes the study and provides more comprehensive details of the findings with recommendations. At the end, a list of research sources is mentioned.

CHAPTER-I

THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.1. Introduction

This chapter sheds light on the critical topic of Greater Israel and its implications for the Middle East through the theory of classical realism by Hans J. Morgenthau. Hans J. Morgenthau introduced classical realism in his book "Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace" in 1948. Realists explain the way things are rather than how they ought to be. Classical Realism believes that human nature is incorrigible. Classical realism presents a harsh and uncompromising attitude toward the world. Classical Realism believes the powerful always take over the weaker ones and make laws according to self-interest. Classical realism defines self-interest as what every nature naturally seeks. (Bonazzi, 2021) This research paper relates how human nature and national interests define a long-standing controversial matter. The idea of Greater Israel is based on the personal interests of Zionists. Zionists are focused on achieving their interests at the cost of Palestinians' lives and ultimately to penetrate the Middle East indirectly.

1.2. Realism

Realism is the oldest school of thought. The realist tradition was initiated with Thucydides and then Machiavelli, Hobbes, and Rousseau further extended it. In the modern era, after World War II, Hans J. Morgenthau emphasized the realistic view of international politics. There are three approaches in the realist school of thought; classical realism, neo-realism, and neo-classical realism. Classical realism defines international relations in terms of human nature and neorealism considers structure a base of anarchy on the other hand neo-classical realism believes that both actors and structures define international politics. (Molloy, 2009)This research paper considers the theory of classical realism to project the idea of Greater Israel and its implications in the Middle East.

1.3. Classical Realism

Many intellectuals advocated the realist school of thought. Some have strict and others have soft views about realism in international relations. Hugo Grotius is also considered a realist because of his state-centric view and his rules of war on legal bases instead of moral aspects however he also accepts the modern international law which reflects moral constraints. David Hume also implied the concept of a "balance of power" but never neglected the role of the ethical aspect in the international arena.

This research work follows the hard-headed view of the realist school of thought. Classical realism is the prominent and oldest school of thought in international politics. It is a struggle between right and wrong in international relations. It creates a link between essential human nature and international affairs. It is natural for the realists to have conflicts. Hobbes and Rousseau believe in a "state of war" which is inevitable because it is essential in human nature to get into conflict with others. (Nardin & Mapel, 2004) According to the theory of classical realism, human nature is designed in a way that creates a clash with others.

Moreover, realists emphasize that no power or institution can prevent a war. They reject the "society of nations", it is not powerful enough to overcome the state of war. States avoid wars by themselves whenever they consider it dangerous. Realists imply that those states who follow the ethical aspect of politics and do not struggle for their self-interest get jeopardized the most. (Hermens, 1958) The thoroughgoing of realism is that they completely neglect the role of morality in the international sphere.

Later on Machiavelli in his book The Prince completely separated morality from politics. He put stress on the imperialistic nature of politics. He believes that the weaker will be subjugated by a stronger power. The right and wrong will be defined in the respect of national interests. His writings explain how to flourish in the disrupted international arena and the world where there is no role for moral values. Furthermore, he validates the Romans who attacked Greece when King Antiochus of Syria was making a strategy to conquer Greece because it was a challenge to Roman security. States should think proactively and be able to see trouble from afar. (Forde, 1992) A state always has two options; whether it waits for an attack or can take the initiative of war.

However, Machiavelli vanished a discussion between just and unjust wars and ignored the difference between aggressive and defensive aspects. Romans conquered the world at the prospect of self-defense. They continued making victories in the neighborhood until the threat vanished. However, the Prince or state does not always behave immorally because it could create irrelevant issues. The state can be moral in necessity. He believes that it is essential to maintain moral beliefs in the domestic sphere whether you practice or not. A state is not restricted to any form of agreement or treaty. States can make promises but if these are against their national interests then a state can dismiss them. (Griffiths, 2013)

Machiavelli presented a harsh aspect of the theory of realism. Moralism is more durable because it is more hospitable while realism is cold and harsh. Realism directs people to protect themselves without the help of God or any other human being. (Stuart-Buttle, 2019).

1.4. Basic Assumptions of Classical Realism

According to classical realism, states run on six principles.

- The objective laws administer the states.
- The states' interests are defined in terms of power.
- The national interest is a vital aspect of the state for the well-being and security of the nation.
- The balance of power is necessary for preventing any state from becoming too dominant.
- There is no value for morality in politics.
- The power is a fundamental factor in the international politics.



(Morgenthau, 1954), Complied by Authur

Classical Realism is a base of national and international politics. It provides guidelines for how states form their foreign policy or how they ought to form foreign policy to survive in ruthless world politics. Hans Morgenthau explains the major principles that states follow in international relations. The national interests are dominant on every other policy. There is no role of morality in politics. Rationality helps for effective foreign policy. Moreover, politics and morality are separate. The state's strength will be defined by the power. However, power can be defined in many terms. (Morgenthau, 1954) The balance of power is essential to maintain the attained power so that one state cannot dominate the other states.

1.5. Forms of Realism

There are some variations in the theory of realism. Traditional classical realism is based on human nature, the power hunger, and the anarchic nature of international politics. (F., 2021) Moreover, Hans Morgenthau highlighted in his book "Politics Among Nations," the importance of national interest, the balance of power, and power pursuit. (Williams, 2004) Furthermore, in his book "The Twenty Years' Crisis" E.H. Carr criticizes the failure of the League of Nations and its irrational ideals during the interwar period. Neo-realism emphasizes self-help for survival as the international system is anarchic. The distribution of power is an essential concept in the theory of Neo-realism to determine the structure of the international system. Kenneth Waltz categorizes the international system into three types unipolar, bipolar, and multipolar. (Waltz, 1995) He highlighted that the states are unitary rational actors.

It makes the decision-making process easy while considering states as coherent vital forces with clear national interests. The balancing approach is adopted by the states to counter expected threats to avoid the domination of one powerful state. Neo-realism focuses on structure rather than the individual's role in the international system. (Waltz, 2010) Neo-realism is an updated version of classical realism.

There are two types of neo-realism, defensive and offensive by John Mearsheimer in his book "The Tragedy of Great Power Politics." He explained that states maximize power for survival and to avoid potential threats which is defensive realism. Offensive realism argues that due to security dilemmas states are forced to maximize their power. (Lobell, 2017) The fear of the enemy's dominance made other states enhance their power.

The idealist period between World War I and World War II failed because morality was dominated. Hence League of Nations and Treaty of Versailles did not help to create stability. Therefore, it proved that power is a major factor in anarchic international relations. The international institutions become weaker in front of powerful states. The centralized power molds the decisions of institutions of justice. (Carr, 1946) The international system is anarchic and states prioritize their national interests and power dominance.

The policy during the Cold War era was also based on the imperialist agenda. The economic interests were more valuable than ethical aspects. (Williams et al., 2009) This shows that the states are motivated by their self-interest and quest for power.

1.6. Application of the Theory

The theory of classical realism provides a lens for the analyses of the concept of the Idea of Greater Israel. The theory emphasizes national interest, power pursuit, no concept of morality, and balance of power. The Israel's Idea of Greater Israel can be considered a realist approach. There are several points which shows that how classical realism is a suitable theory for understanding the Idea of Greater Israel.



(Truitt, 1978), (Sharafnama, 2016), (Hasharon, 2017)

Classical realism suggests that state should maximize their power likewise the Idea of Greater Israel is linked with the territorial expansion in the Middle Eastern region to strengthen its position in the region. The enhancement of power in terms of territorial expansion will help Israel to secure its national interests as classical realism believes that acting for the national interest is a driving force in international politics. (Leiter, 2001) The concept of balance of power in classical realism can be perceived as that Israel wants to expand its territory to maintain its balance in the Middle Eastern region. Classical realism emphasizes the rational rather than moral approach in international relations. Israel's idea of Greater Israel is also based on this element. Foreign policy and its strategic expansion prove the rational nature of Israel. Israel does not consider any moral aspect in the matter of its idea of Greater Israel.

CHAPTER-II

THE IDEA OF GREATER ISRAEL

Israel's territorial ambitions are underscored by its ongoing policy of settling Jewish communities in Palestinian territories, a strategy aimed at expanding its land holdings. This expansionist agenda has been consistently pursued by various Israeli governments reflecting a steadfast commitment to increasing territorial control. The first notable attempt at peace was initiated by Yitzhak Rabin, whose efforts tragically were cut short by his assassination in 1995. Subsequently, the peace process faced further challenges under the leadership of Benjamin Netanyahu whose aggressive policies such as targeting Palestinian militants contributed to a stalemate in negotiations (Lee, 2000).

Despite offers from Arab nations for comprehensive peace agreements contingent on Israel's complete withdrawal from occupied territories, such proposals have not garnered Israeli acceptance. This impasse highlights the entrenched positions and complex dynamics that have hindered progress toward a lasting resolution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The historical context and diplomatic efforts underscore the enduring challenges and contentious issues that continue to shape the region's geopolitical landscape, reflecting both sides' deep-seated political, territorial, and security concerns.

The case of Syria involves strategic aspects. The lake of Tiberias held an essential position in the conflict. In 1999 Ehud Barak did not want to compromise on this lake while Syria wanted to start the negotiations if Israel returned to the pre-war borders. In 1967, Golan Heights was captured by Israel which was part of Syria before. (Hinnebusch, 2002) Moreover, Israel started increasing settlements in the West Bank. The strategy intended to increase the Israeli population in the West Bank to the extent that it became impossible for Palestine to regain or claim this territory. (Bregman, 2002)

Moreover, Israeli occupation in Gaza and Lebanon further made the peace process difficult. Such policies disturbed the waves of peace. There is much evidence in the form of interviews and letters that prove that the root cause of the conflict is the Zionist colonial project. (Khalidi, 2015) The hidden evil intention of Israel can be analyzed in the context of the war on Iraq, the war on Lebanon in 2006, the war on Libya 2011, the war on Syria, and the war on Yemen. North Africa also comes under the idea of Greater Israel. (Fromkin, 2009) The first target will be Egypt and then the rest of the region. Israel wants to divide the Arab world based on ethnic and religious differences between Muslims. Israel's main target is nationalist Arab states. Moreover, Palestine is not the real mission rather all the Arab states. (Fisk, 2007)

2.1. Concept of Zionism

The association of Zionism with the land of Palestine is deeply rooted in a historical narrative that dates back centuries. Zionists assert a connection to Palestine by invoking biblical references which they interpret as evidence of ancestral ties to the region. The term "Zionism," derived from the Hebrew word for Jerusalem, "Zion," carries significant cultural and religious symbolism among Jewish people. Zionists uphold the belief that Jerusalem was once the capital city under the rule of King David, further underpinning their claim to the land (Avineri, 2017). Central to Zionism is the conviction that Jewish people have a legitimate right to establish a sovereign state in their ancestral homeland. Theoretically, Zionism is a national liberation movement aimed at safeguarding and promoting the interests of Jewish people globally (Laqueur, 2003).

However, critics argue that Zionism has evolved into a colonial project characterized by the displacement and marginalization of Palestinian inhabitants, alongside the illegal occupation of Palestinian territories. Despite varying interpretations and historical debates, Zionism remains a complex and contentious topic in international discourse, shaping geopolitical realities and eliciting diverse reactions across the global community. The ongoing tension surrounding Zionism underscores its profound impact on Middle Eastern politics and the broader implications for regional stability and peace efforts.

In 1897, amidst growing hatred of Europeans towards Jewish people, an Australian journalist named Theodor Herzl started a political movement to demand a separate home for the Jewish people. In the 20th century, Zionists promoted the migration of Jews to Palestine due to Persecution by Nazis. (Dershowitz, 2011)

In 1987, the Basal Program was formed in which Zionists highlighted their agenda to have land for Jewish people in Palestine. Theodor Herzl started publishing a weekly magazine named "Die Welt" (The World). (Penslar, 2020)

However, Ottomans completely ignored the idea but Great Britain supported them. Although the British offered them some part of Uganda to create a separate state for the Jewish people however Zionists rejected the view. They reasserted the need for land in Palestine. Zionists started promoting the idea by distributing pamphlets and newspapers and began developing the Hebrew language. (Salkin, 2007)

After the failure of the Russian Revolution, several Zionists left Russia and settled in Palestine. However, after World War 1 Zionism reemerged and increased the pressure on Britain resulting in the Balfour Declaration. After that Zionists slowly started migrating to Palestine. The aggressive attitude of Hitler towards Jewish people forced them to immigrate to Palestine. Although, Arabs disliked the way Jewish people started accommodating Palestine. (Laqueur, 2003)

Ultimately, the issue was brought to the Anglo-United States to reach a solution. In 1947, the recommendation for the partition of Palestine into Arab and Jewish states was given. The Jerusalem was under international control. Finally, in 1948 the World Zionist Organization announced the creation of the state of Israel (Troy, 2018)

2.2. Concept of Greater Israel

Now, Israel has two objectives in the Middle East. Firstly, to become the most dominant regional power. The imperial nature of Israel is prominent in Israel's policies towards the Middle East. Secondly, to divide the Arab states based on ethnic and religious differences. Israel wants to balkanize this region to make Arab states weak. Israel has been creating proxy states in the Middle East including Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, the Sinai, and parts of Iraq and Saudi Arabia. (Masalha, 2000)

It has become clear that the Yinon Plan is nothing else than a continuation of the British colonial project of divide and rule. The goal of Israel is to increase the chances of regional supremacy. In 2008, The Atlantic published maps based on the Idea of Greater Israel given by Yinon. The US has

been supporting Israel in its evil intentions to follow the policy of division and rule. Many Muslim states including Turkey, Saudi Arabia, and NATO are also with Israel against ISIS. It will eventually demolish them as well as nation-states. (Amit & Levit, 2011)

The point of the clash is the defense of Israel. Israel's priority always remains its security. Israel has been in the fear that if it does not suppress the Muslim world it can be a major threat to the achievement of the Idea of Greater Israel. The drive for the Jewish state in the Middle Eastern region is deeply rooted in Jewish hearts while ignoring the already existing Arab populations. Israel intends to increase the political representation of Israel by growing the Israeli population in the region. Palestine is not the goal of Israel but the whole Middle Eastern region. It made the process more complicated for the Palestinians to demand their rights. (Frisch, 2011)

The religious aspect of the Jewish-Arab conflict is more sensitive. Since the creation of Israel, the religious dimension has always been at the center of the conflict. The Jewish people claim the territory of the Middle East. The Zionist ideology dates back to 1100 BC. The Zionists enjoyed supremacy for a short period under the rule of David Solomon before falling to the Romans in 586 BC. However, before the establishment of the state of Israel the Jewish people present themselves as the more suppressed and helpless human beings on this earth after the Holocaust. After fulfilling the first step of their hidden agenda now, they are moving ahead to expand their territory to accomplish the Idea of Greater Israel. (Shamir, 1982)

Since the 7th century, when Islamic rule started separating in the Middle East, this region became the central focus of enemies. Arab nationalism has been under attack since then. However, the Middle Eastern region is involved in many issues. The Arab world is badly affected by differences based on ethnicity and sectarianism. Major Powers further exploited these issues in the name of so-called peace promotion. Many examples can be absorbed in the Middle Eastern region including the Syrian civil war, the Saudi-Iran tussle, the Yemen crisis, the Iraq war, the Kurdish issue, and the Libyan civil war. (S hohat, 2002)

Israel wants to control the water resources of the region. Israel does not want to see another nuclear country in the Middle East. Iran's fragile condition is a perfect example. The allegation of

Weapon of Mass Destruction was fabricated to make Iran a weak state. Similarly, in 1981 the Opera Operation was initiated to counter Iraq.

The US was providing Fighter jets to Israel to attack Iraq. Moreover, in 2007, the Syrian nuclear reactor named Al Kiber was targeted by Israel while it was just for research purposes. The statements of the Israeli Prime Minister on Twitter were bitter towards the nuclear initiatives of other countries in the region. (Salloukh, 2017)

One of the former Foreign Ministers of Israel, Oded Yinon has described in his book that the Arab disputes are in the Israeli interests. He explains the Syrian situation and how it has been helping Israel to achieve the idea of Greater Israel. The controversial email of Hilary Clinton to Israel to initiate a civil war in Syria. In another email, Hilary Clinton's statement is proof of the preplanned strategy of Israel, in which she said that Iran would lose its counterpart as a result of the Syrian demolition. (Crace, 2018) Many military persons stated that Israel has a hidden agenda of capturing the whole area of the Middle East to acquire the resources.

The Abraham Accord is a significant change in the history of Israel-Arab relations. This step was taken to normalize ties while completely ignoring the Palestine issue. The name of the Abraham Accord is meant to reflect the shared belief of the Abrahamic faiths, including Judaism, Christianity, and Islam regarding the role of Abraham as spiritual patriarch. After the Abraham Accord, Israel's officials are increasing visits to Arab countries to strengthen diplomatic relations. (Zakharchenko & Aleksandriuk, 2022)

Recently, an Israeli cabinet member visited Saudi Arabia to discuss the importance of Tourism while in Gaza the continuous killing of children, women, and old men has been happening by Israel since October 7, 2023. (Al-Jazeera, 2023) However, the Arab League meeting in Cairo on Oct 11, 2023 condemned the killing and targeting of civilians "on both sides" equating the occupied and the occupation force. (Bishara, 2023) The response of the OIC countries has been equally feeble and flimsy.

Since the Abraham Accord, almost 450,000 Israelis have visited the United Arab Emirates to

enhance business ties. Interestingly, Sudan agreed to join the accord on the American assurance that the country would be removed from the list of states promoting terrorism. Similarly, Morocco signed the normalization agreement with Israel in exchange for US recognition of Moroccan sovereignty over the disputed Western Sahara. Morocco and Israel are cooperating in intelligence, technology, and military advancement. (Alsaafin, 2018) In 2006, the Military Armed Forces Journal also published a map that shows Greater Israel. (Brown, 2008)

2.3. History

The background of this ongoing conflict dates back to the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire after World War 1. After World War 1 the question arose for the Ottoman Empire's future holders. Russia, Britain, and France formed the Triple Entente to decide how to divide Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, and Palestine according to their Interests. Hence, Russia got control of Constantinople because of its interest in the Mediterranean Sea. France had economic and strategic interests in Syria hence France took control of Syria. Britain desired access to India through the Suez Canal and the Persian Gulf. (Caplan, 2020)

The territory which was under the Ottoman Empire is now called the Middle East. World War 1 made the Ottoman Empire weak to the extent that it eventually went into the hands of the superpowers of that time. Britain and France were the decision makers. In 1916, they signed a tentative agreement called Sykes-Picot for six years. Sykes-Picot was a confidential agreement between Britain and France for the division of areas of the Ottoman Empire.

In 1917 another agreement was held between the superpowers named Balfour Declaration. It was an agreement to establish a separate homeland for Jews in the land of Palestine. Britain wanted to create a position as a trustworthy ally in the Middle East to ease access to the Suez Canal and India. It was approved by the newly formed International Organization named the League of Nations. Initially, Britain made it compulsory to obtain consent from Arab residents of Palestine but Jews criticized the decision by saying Britain was favoring Arabs.

Anyhow, a hope of a national homeland emerged in the hearts of Jewish people first time in

history. After that, World War I occurred which changed the whole geopolitical landscape. Many Jews were massacred by Adolf Hitler in the Holocaust in Europe. It was the peak point for the Jews to make a point of their separate homeland. In 1946, President Truman made a special committee to discuss the future of Palestine. Till 1947, after all the discussions all recommended to divide the Britain mandate of Palestine into two provinces one for Arabs and the other for Jews. The area of religious importance was held under international control under the resolution 181. (William, 2010)

Finally, in 1948 a national state was established for the Jews. However, Britain satisfied the Arabs and Jews that without the consultation no decision would be made. In the start, Britain was against the creation of a state for Jews without the consent of Arabs because it wanted to maintain its good relations with the Arabs due to its own political and economic interests.

This decision made the Arab world furious and a stream of hatred erupted between the Arabs and the Jews. Despite knowing the ground reality and the impact of the decision President Truman recognized the state of Israel. Many Arab states initiated the war against Israel including Jordan, Egypt, Lebanon, and Syria. Some organizations were established to negotiate for Palestinian rights including Hamas, the Palestinian National Authority, and the Palestinian Liberation Organization. (Dershowitz, 2006)

Furthermore, in respect of the Oslo Accord in 1993 the Palestinian National Authority has designated the power over civilian problems and security. It was the result of the Gaza-Jericho Agreement. The PNA agreed on the acceptance of Israel on two conditions. First, the complete withdrawal of Israel from the occupied areas second, the self-government of Palestine. Anyhow, the agreement failed due to the continuous settlements of Israel in the Palestine territory. It resulted in the second intifada.

The Palestinian Liberation Organization was established in 1964. It is the main body representing the Palestinian people in the United Nations. Initially, its target was to eliminate the state of Israel and recreate Palestine as the Arabs' place. It was called a terrorist organization by the international world. Later on, in 1993 the Palestinian Liberation Organization recognized Israel with the Oslo Accord. The former President of PLO Yasser Arafat, initiated peace talks in return for

acceptance of PLO as an official representative of Palestinians. Many Arab countries backed Oslo Accord and many Jewish people opposed it. It ended with the assassination of Prime Minister Rabin in 1995.

The ideology of PLO is based on some basic aspects. PLO wants all the displaced Palestinians back in Palestine. It believed there should be no amendment in the borders defined by the British mandate. PLO denied all the historical and religious claims of Israel on the territory of Palestine. (Marmor, 2015)

Moreover, another organization Hamas emerged to fight for the rights of Palestinians. Hamas was established by an Imam in 1987. It has a stronghold in many areas of Palestine. It has external rivalry with Israel and internal rivalry with the Palestinian Liberation Organization. Hamas played a major role in the first intifada and second intifada every time in the Gaza war. Currently, Hamas has been confronting Israel in the ongoing situation in Gaza since 7 October 2023. Israel has been bombing Gaza ignoring the international rules of war.

Hamas prefers the defense of Palestinians by attacking Israel directly by using war tactics while the Palestinian Liberation Organization tries to fight for Palestinians via negotiations and diplomacy. PLO pushed many steps that could bring peace between Jews and Arabs. A large area of Gaza is under Hamas while PLO has a stronghold in the West Bank. The incident of 2008 presents a clear picture of the evil nature of Israel. The attacks on the Gaza Strip for eight days by the Israeli Air Force were painted as self-defense. (Sørli et al., 2005)

This is the sad reality that before solving the Palestine problem a new tussle erupted between the representatives of Palestinians. After the involvement of several organizations and the United Nations, a solution was proposed which is two states on the land of Palestine.

After the war in 1948, an Armistice agreement was formed named Green Line between the Arabs and Israelis. In 1967, the agreement was disrespected by Israel in the Six Days War. (Hinnebusch & Imady, 2018) It further emphasized Israel's intention to not resolve the conflict but rather encourage it. Israel always tries to prove itself as an innocent player. Israel criticized the

international community for not supporting Israel in economic difficulties against Egypt in the straights of Tiran. Furthermore, Israel expanded territory in the Sinai Peninsula, Golan Heights, and Gaza Strip, areas of Egypt, Syria, and the West Bank.

In 1972, the Olympic Massacre was a prominent example of the tensions between Israel and the Arab world. In 1973, the fourth Arab-Israeli war erupted on the holy day of the Jews. Yom Kippur, in the tradition of the Jews, is considered a very special day for Jews. The Arab attack made them extremely furious and Israel replied aggressively. Although, it was clear that Israel was capturing an area of Egypt. In the end, Egypt successfully regained the Sinai Peninsula. Anyhow, areas of other Arab countries were still left under the illegal occupation of Israel. (Hinnebusch & Ehteshami, 2014)

Later on, Israel made its position strong in the international arena. No doubt, Israel has always been the support of the US. The United Nations provided military equipment and training to Israeli soldiers while keeping a blind eye on the issue of Palestinians. As a result, in the 1980s and 1990s, Israel experienced intifadas by Palestinians and their representative organizations. PLO is still a hope for the Palestinians.

In 2018, Palestinians in Gaza protested for their right to return to their land from where they were displaced, called the Great March of Return. However, in 2021, the Israel-Arab tussle turned into violence for 11 days. When the Muslims were praying in their holy month of Ramadan, Jews entered with loudspeakers to disturb them. As a result, Palestinians protested in front of Israeli courts to stop settlements.

After the horrific incident of 7 October 2023, Israel has been attacking Gaza and imposed a complete blockade. Many Palestinians are displaced from their land. The genocide of innocent Palestinians has a long heart-wrenching history. Since Israel has started increasing settlements in the occupied areas the beam of hope of Palestinians' sovereignty is defusing. The constant international support for Israel has made this issue more complicated.

Till now, there has been no positive result seen in the negotiations. Disagreement has been seen on both sides on the issue of borders and due to differences within political parties. An excellent example is Netanyahu's statement in the election of 2015. He boldly said that if he won the election there would be no concept of a Palestinian state. It has been clear that Israel has no interest in following the two-state solution. (Pappe, 2007)

CHAPTER-III

INTERNAL PROBLEMS OF THE MIDDLE EAST

The central idea of this chapter is the core domestic and regional issues of the Middle Eastern region, and how Israel has been manipulating these issues in its favor. Many internal issues have been destroying the Middle Eastern region like the Israel-Palestine issue, Saudi-Iran hatred, the Syrian civil war, the Arab Spring, the Yemen Crisis, Non-state Actors, the Iraq war, etc. These are the central problems bringing the Middle Eastern region's downfall. The Middle Eastern region includes many countries. Every country has its own identity although all are Muslim countries.

3.1. Israel-Palestine Issue

The Israel-Palestine conflict is a struggle between two prime communities on the historical conditions. The superpowers are playing an essential role in the tussle between the two communities. The Israel-Palestine tussle has long historical roots. It is a matter of fact that despite many peace initiatives the conflict is getting more complex due to the hard-headed Zionist ideology. Zionism is an ideology that believes that Jewish people have the right to promote Jewish ideology and protect them. They believe that their predecessors lived in Palestine and it is their right to return to Palestine (Kaplan, 2019). However, Zionism is a colonial project.

Furthermore, in 1896, Theodor Herzl an Australian journalist started demanding a separate homeland for the Jewish people. He started promoting the agenda by publishing Newspapers and Pamphlets. Meanwhile, after World War I, Zionists started pressurizing Britain to fulfill their demand of separate homeland which resulted in the Balfour Declaration in 1917. Finally, in 1947, the United Nations General Assembly divided the British Mandate of Palestine on the demand of Jews for their separate homeland. (Said et al., 1979)

In the result, the Arabs got furious and initiated war against it. The war initiated by the Arabs against Jews was defined in two different ways. Israel called it a Nakba while the Arabs called it the War of Independence. Moreover, on 29 October 1956, another conflict erupted on the issue of the Suez Canal between Israel and Egypt. In 1967, the 6-Day War started by Israel to expand its territory. In

that war, Israel captured several areas including Golan Heights, West Bank, East Jerusalem, Gaza Strip, and the Sinai Peninsula. (Shohat, 1988)

However, an organization was founded in 1964 called the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to create an independent State of Palestine. It is recognized as the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people" by over 100 countries and has observer status at the United Nations since 1974. Moreover, in 1993, the Oslo Accord I was also signed between Israel and the Arabs in which Israel recognized the Palestinian Liberation Organization and got self-rule in Palestine. The Oslo Accords were a series of agreements between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) aimed at resolving the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The accords marked the first direct, face-to-face agreement between the two parties and were intended to lay the groundwork for a lasting peace settlement.

Furthermore, in 1995 an Oslo Accord II (also known as the Taba Agreement) was signed between Israel and the Arabs. The focus of this agreement was on advancing Palestinian selfdetermination, governance, and control over territories. However, in 2000 the peace efforts failed due to ignoring the demands of Israel. After several negotiations through Accord, the two-state solution was suggested. However, the second intifada became the reason for the failure of Oslo Accord II.

Alternatively, Arafat, the President of the Palestinian Authority (PA), declared that the establishment of a new State of Palestine should be done so by force, unleashing Palestinian militants instead of accepting a diplomatic settlement of the conflict. The Palestinian Authority (PA) is an interim self-government body established to administer parts of the West Bank and Gaza Strip as a result of the Oslo Accords, specifically the Oslo Accord I (1993) and the subsequent Oslo Accord II (1995). Until now, Israel has been constantly violating the international law and the agreements. Israel has been continuously attacking Palestinians. Israel never tried to find a solution rather it made the situation more complicated. (Massad, 1996) Because the Zionist agenda of Israel is based on the ethnic cleansing of the native people which can lead to the fulfillment of the dream of Greater Israel (Slly, 2019). Moreover, this research study takes into consideration the perspective of both Israel and Palestine, rather than presuming that the revolt was solely the result of one state. (Olls, 2019)

Although, the 1993 Oslo Agreement was a hope for Palestinians that their circumstances would

improve. For instance, they will be free from Israeli occupation. However, some Palestinians believe that renewed conflict is the only option because the diplomatic process has failed. (Blia, 2021)

According to Ted Gurr, a discrepancy between what people think they are entitled to and what they receive frequently leads to civil unrest. The dissatisfaction and fury are caused by this "relative deprivation". (Flis, 2021) The Palestinians have been experiencing deprivation of their basic rights. This became the reason for the aggressive attitude of Palestinians towards Jews.

Now the question arises what has been altered by the Oslo process? First, it delegated some powers to civilian agencies through the Palestinian Authority. Second, the land in the West Bank and Gaza Strip was divided into three areas by the Oslo II agreement in 1995; Area A was fully under Palestinian responsibility for civilian and security matters; Area B was split between Palestinian civil and Israeli security responsibilities; and Area C was completely under Israeli control. Moreover, the West Bank was split into three groups by the middle of 2000: A (approximately 17 percent), B (24 percent), and C (59 percent). However, the territories A and B were governed by the Palestinians but were not connected and difficult to administer. (Jala, 20211)

However, Israel continues to focus on its stronghold over Palestinian lives despite developments. The Oslo agreements did not specifically restrict the growing Israeli settlement in the West Bank and East Jerusalem. It is reported that in Gaza and the West Bank (excluding East Jerusalem), the number of Israeli settlers rose by at least 117% and 46% between 1993 and 2000 respectively. In 2000, after seven years of the Oslo Accord I Israel continued to hold complete sovereignty over East Jerusalem, 20% of Gaza, and around 59% of the West Bank (Area C). Israel continued to maintain security control over an additional 24% of the West Bank (Area B). (Elin, 2020)

In addition, Israel continued to receive a large amount of taxation and revenue from Palestinians and used to provide funds rarely. Palestinians were forced to pay according to Israeli rates for major consumer products and other items because Zionists held the customs union. Once, Israel also initiated a policy of denying Palestinians and did not permit them to live in Jerusalem who were unable to prove that they belonged to Jerusalem; over 1,600 Palestinians and their families were taken out in this manner between 1996 and 1998 and according to Israeli officials, more Israelis

relocated all those areas of Gaza, the West Bank, and Jerusalem. (Kalan, 2019)

Moreover, between September 1993 and June 1998 some 670 Palestinian homes were demolished in the West Bank, including Jerusalem. Israel seized 41,000 acres of land in the West Bank in the first two years following the Declaration of Principles' signature. Israel annexed 10,000 more acres of land in West Bank land in 1999. (Zila, 2020) Since then Palestinian towns and villages have been reduced, there are no natural growth patterns, and in certain regions, Palestinian agricultural activities have been compromised due to the loss of their land.

Furthermore, the complete control over the borders of Jordan, Egypt, occupied East Jerusalem, the border which connects Gaza and the West Bank and internal borders between Palestinian cities and villages are most significant for Israel. Israel routinely blocked these borders by interfering with commercial, financial, postal, medical, and educational Operations. Furthermore, the "southern" Gaza-West Bank route opened in late 1999 based on an agreement because a safe transit route was important for moving commodities between Gaza and the West Bank. (Gilas, 2021) Moreover, Palestinians have been required travel permits for at least ten years to access East Jerusalem or travel from Gaza to the West Bank.

Israel may cut off specific villages and cities because these places are mostly under the influence of the Palestinian authority. In addition, the multi-level Israeli control on the borders posed a special threat to the Palestinian economy and Palestinians' fledgling attempts to foster trade and foreign investment. Several military persons have stated that Israel has been occupying the land illegally. (Halaf, 2021) The recent critical situation is a major example that how Israel is plotting a strategy to attack Gaza. Since 1948 Israel has been justifying its illegal steps to capture Palestine and now the Middle East.

From 9 October 2023, Israel has been constantly bombing Gaza and attacking children, women, and old men. Many mosques and hospitals have been demolished until now. The situation in Gaza is unimaginable. (Rowlands et al., 2023) This proves that Israel was never interested in the solution but rather used strategies to expand the occupation.

3.2. Non-state Actor

The concept of non-state actors emerged during the Cold War when democratic forms of government were expanding due to pro-democratic movements. The non-state actors started organizing themselves according to their values. Non-state actors have been surrounding the Middle Eastern region for so long. Non-state actors are organizations that indirectly influence the political aspect of the country but are not involved in the political process. Non-state actors have become the element of interstate tussle rather than government companions. Non-state actors are also called hybrid actors. The hybrid actors are the groups that can influence diplomats, policymakers, and analysts. (Josselin & Wallace, 2001)

The term non-state actor can be categorized into several forms. The first category is sponsored militia, which works according to the requirements of their sponsors. The international powers are using non-state actors as a tool to develop their strategic moves. The second category of non-state actors follows the state objectives. The third type of non-state actors can be autonomous entities that impact governmental policies and are also called hybrid actors. Sometimes hybrid actors work along the state and some work against it. When hybrid actors survive for a long time, they penetrate the governmental structure and get the power to mold policies. (Farrior, 1998) Mostly, they form strong ties with external patrons and are used as a tool in proxy wars.

Furthermore, in the Middle Eastern region, non-state actors started emerging after the US-led Iraq invasion in 2003. The emergence of non-state actors defines that the region has been going through internal conflicts and civil unrest. The hegemony of the Middle Eastern governments has been challenged internally. There are several examples of non-state actors in the Middle Eastern region, for instance, Iraqi Awakening, Islamic State, Kurdish Parties, Popular Mobilization Units (PMU), National Defense Forces, Amal, and Hezbollah. (Frous, 2014) The hybrid actors are playing a role in ongoing instability in Syria, Iraq, Yemen, and Libya.

The hybrid actors become active when state does not perform its role. The hybrid actors can create instability and insecurity in the state or can play a major role in protection and stability. Iran supports the hybrid actors because they have a huge role in creating an impact on governmental policies and can help the revolutionary vision of Iran. Syria supports Tahrir al-Sham, which is also called Nusra Front. In opposition of Tahrir al-Sham a Sunni group and Kurdish People's Protection Units have been working. (Aris, 2021)

Many states have been sponsoring the hybrid actors including Turkey, the United States, Qatar, and Saudi Arabia, and also other than the Middle Eastern states. Furthermore, In Lebanon, there are two groups, Amal and Hezbollah, gradually Amal grew as a traditional political actor while others converted into hybrid actors. (Lecocq, 2020) Hence, different circumstances in a state decide the role of non-state actors.

3.3. The Arab Spring

Since 2010, many armed rebellion groups started demonstrations and protests against the hardheaded governments in the Arab World. The movements were initiated from Tunisia and then penetrated other Arab countries including Libya, Bahrain, Syria, Yemen, and Egypt. Across the Arab World, a chain of anti-government demonstrations erupted resulting in regime change. In 2011, Tunisian, Libyan, and Egyptian rulers Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, Muammar Gaddafi, and Hosni Mubarak were overthrown respectively. Later on, in 2012 Yemeni leader Ali Abdullah Saleh was brought down as a result of ongoing anti-government aggression. (Natil, 2016)

The wave of toppling down the governments started spreading in Sudan, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Algeria, Oman, Morocco, and Lebanon. The spark of anti-government protests was seen in Saudi Arabia and Palestine but on a low scale. The protestors wanted to topple the regime. (Barakat & Fakih, 2021)

The internal uprisings led to several large-scale contests and conflicts including the Syrian Civil War and the rise of the Islamic State of Iraq and Levant (ISIL), which led to the revolt in Iraq. Moreover, the Egyptian crisis led to the coup by Abdel Fattah al Sisi, in 2013. He toppled the government of President Mohamed Morsi with suspension of the Egyptian constitution. Many protests erupted against the coup. The Rabaa massacre had occurred as a result of anti-coup demonstrations. Many groups united against the coup such as Jihadists in the Sinai Peninsula. The Pro-Brotherhood groups also initiated violent attacks and Soldiers of Egypt started pressurizing government for Islamic rule in Egypt. (Kumaraswamy, 2021)

Furthermore, the political-military tussle erupted in Libya. The Libyan instability resulted in the death of Muammar Gaddafi. His death led to the civil war in 2014. Later on, another war started and continued till 2020. Due to the war, a political crisis arose that led to the economic crisis. Moreover, President Abdullah Saleh toppled down after his 33 years of service. The vice-President, Abdrabbuh Mansur Hadi tried to unite the factions to defend themselves from Houthi militants.

After the Libyan crisis, Yemen stood up to face the ongoing wave of anti-government aggression. In 2014, the civil war started when the Houti group attacked the capital of Yemen. Houthi group took power by holding office and installing an

Interim Revolutionary Committee (Weiss, 2003)

Hence, the Arab Spring which started to bring democracy to Tunisia converted into large-scale civil wars in different countries in the Middle East. The long-standing political and economic instability has created a power vacuum in the Middle Eastern states. The contour revolutionary moves have collapsed the complete power structure. This power vacuum provided the chance for the regional and international powers to intervene in the internal issues of various Middle Eastern states including Yemen, Syria, Libya, Bahrain, and Iraq. (Hibou, 2011)

The instability led to the creation of many non-state actors in the Middle East which further strengthened the crisis. The dilemma is that no one is interested in the collective betterment rather every state is focusing on its national interests.

3.4. Syrian Crisis

The Syrian crisis is a multi-sided conflict. The tussle involves many sponsors and non-state actors. In Syria, anti-government protests started against Bashar al-Assad. A Syrian Armed group emerged which initiated the Syrian insurgency. He was the commander-in-chief of the Syrian Armed Forces. He was also the secretary-general of the Arab socialist Ba'athist ideology. His father was a General and held a Presidency from 1971 to 2000. (Akgündüz et al., 2015) During his period he transformed a republican state into a de facto dynastic dictatorship.

The state was controlled by secret agencies that were loyal to the government of Bashar al-Assad and his family. A series of repressive attacks erupted from 2001 to 2002. It was a period of political and cultural activism. People were against the oppressive attitude of Bashar al-Assad's regime because he lacked the positive characteristics received from his predecessor Hafez al-Assad. His regime was the personality authoritarianism. Although he has declared himself a secular leader but does not stop exploiting the sectarian tension in Syria. (Jones, 2015)

The first decade of his rule was remembered as the most suppressive and intense period. He encouraged censorship, high surveillance, forced disappearances, and discrimination of ethnic minorities. He formed the Ba'athist secret police to control the system in Syria. Furthermore, the United States, the European Union, and most of the countries of the Arab League discouraged the evil and aggressive regime of Bashar al-Assad. He initiated intensive attacks on the Arab Spring. As a result, the US, EU, and the Arab League pressured him for his resignation from the Presidency in 2011. However, the United States started intervening in Syrian politics after 2011. The United States sanctioned the Syrian government and started the training of the Free Syrian Army to fight against the Islamic State. The United States initiated Operation Inherent. (Khallaf, 2016) It was the campaign started in Iraq, Syria, and Libya to eradicate the Islamic State.

The group supported Bashar al-Assad and initiated intense attacks that caused several civilian deaths. Up till now, the regime of Bashar al-Assad has formed Detention Centers. It is an extensive level of violation of human rights. The Caesar report has presented pieces of evidence of torture and execution of persons by the Syrian government. In 2016, the United Nations reports explained the Syrian prisons as the most horrible places. (Topgül & Adalı, 2020)

In addition, the Syrian government's actions and policies have been compared to Nazi groups. Hilter tortured the civilians in World War II in the same way the Syrian government has been attacking the people. In 2014, the Syrian Accountability Project was started against Bashar al-Assad's war crimes and brought it into the International Criminal Court. In 2023, Canada and the Netherlands also filed a case in the International Criminal Court against the authoritative rule of Bashar al-Assad. On 15 November 2023, France was also added to the list of countries that raised their voices against the conservative and oppressive regime of Syria when Bashar al-Assad used illegal chemical weapons on innocent Syrian Civilians. (Kaya, 2020)

The Syrian Crisis has reached the extent that the people are living in an unbearable situation.

It is a critical issue in the already fragile Middle Eastern situation. The Syrian crisis is another opportunity for the accomplishment of the Zionist dream of Greater Israel. The international powers are exploiting the region for their interests. (Byman & Speakman, 2016)

3.5. Saudi-Iran Conflict

The Middle Eastern region has been the ground of proxy wars for international and regional powers. The prominent regional powers of the Middle East are Saudi Arabia and Iran. The tussle between both countries started after the Iranian Revolution in 1979. Before the Iranian revolution, both countries had friendly relations. The Saudi-Iran conflict is called the cold war of the Middle Eastern region. (Gökalp & Mencütek, 2015) The Saudi-Iran conflict has initiated proxy wars in the other neighboring countries to maintain their political and military influence in the Middle Eastern region.

In 1932, King Saud proclaimed the Wahhabi ideology in Saudi Arabia. He declared Saudi Arabia the protector of Islam. However, in 1979 the Iranian revolution declared Iran the safer of Islam. The Iranian revolution was a challenge to Saudi Arabian dominance in the region. It threatened Saudi Arabia's position. Moreover, the Arab Spring of 2011 initiated a wave of instability and distrust in the Middle Eastern region. (Heisbourg, 2015) The Arab Spring provided platforms for the Saudi-Iran conflict.

Saudi Arabia and Iran started forming their allies in the Middle Eastern region to maintain their influence. Iran supports the authoritative regime of Bashar al-Assad in Syria, Hezbollah in Lebanon, and the Houthi group in Yemen. Hezbollah is a Shiite-based organization hence it becomes a direct ally of Iran based on a similar ideology. Moreover, Syria supports Iran in countering Israel and Iraq.

Furthermore, Saudi Arabia was threatened by the Iranian revolution and formed an organization in the region named Gulf Countries Cooperation (GCC) in 1981. The organization contains six Middle Eastern states; Qatar, Bahrain, Oman, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates. The headquarters of GCC is in Riyadh, the capital of Saudi Arabia. However, the countries of the GCC organization are not identical in political and ideological terms. Interestingly, Qatar and

Oman have commercial links with Iran despite joining the GCC. (Ulusoy, 2019)

The Middle Eastern region has been exploited by the international powers. The United States, Israel, and Turkey are the big players in the Middle Eastern region. Moreover, the Iraqi crisis is proof of the first victim of proxy wars between Saudi Arabia and Iran. In response to the Iranian revolution, Saddam Hussein attacked Iran and the Iran-Iraq conflict lasted for eight years. After that, in 1990, Iraq attacked Kuwait, and then Saudi Arabia responded to Iraq aggressively with the support of the United States. (Michael, 2009)

Furthermore, in 2003 and 2011 the American-led Iraqi invasion created a power vacuum in the region. Later on, non-state actors and militias filled the political vacuum. After the withdrawal of the US forces, the influence of the Islamic State increased in Iraq and it became Iran's counterpart. Moreover, the Kurdish issue has become the common ground of conflict between Saudi Arabia and Iran. (Amin, 2013)

After Iraq, Syria became a ground for a proxy war between Saudi Arabia and Iran. Since Arab Spring, Iran and Hezbollah have been supporting the regime of Bashar al-Assad while Saudi Arabia and other GCC states are criticizing and opposing the government of Syria. (Morales, 2018) Yemen is also a victim of the power competition of regional powers. The Houthi and Hadi groups have been used as instruments to maintain their influence in the Middle East. Since 2014, when Houthi held office with the backing of Iran, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates have been supporting the exiled Hadi government for the restoration of power. (Rosenblatt & Kilcullen, 2022)

Bahrain also indulges in the self-centered politics of Saudi Arabia and Iran. The majority of the population in Bahrain is followers of Shiite ideology while the ruling government, Al- the Khalifa family obeyed the Sunni ideology. Bahrain has become a state of sectarian conflict. Iran and Saudi Arabia have been exploiting the sectarian differences. The government of Bahrain has accused Iran of assisting anti-government groups, especially after the Arab Spring. While Saudi Arabia is an ally of Bahrain and stands with the stance of the government of Bahrain. (Hamrah, 2023)

3.6. Yemen Crisis

Yemen has been suffering from severe humanitarian crises due to a long-standing civil war, a devastated economy, and a lack of food. Since 2004, Yemen has followed a path leading towards a poor future for the Yemenis. There are two main groups in Yemen: Hadi and Houthi. Hadi ruled Yemen for many years. However, due to poor administration and high fuel prices, the Houthis started condemning Hadi's government. The Houthis began demanding a change of government, but the Hadi group was reluctant. (Lackner, 2017) The Houthis initiated a movement named Ansar Allah.

The tussle which began in 2004 transformed into Arab Spring and then converted into a civil war till 2014. However, during the Arab Spring, the power was forcefully sifted from the President to a deputy Abdrabbuh Mansour Hadi. However, the armed forces got tired of the civil war and ruling government and withdrew from many provinces. Houthi considered the withdrawal as an opportunity and seized a vast area in the north. (Lackner, 2019)

In 2014, the Houthis seized the capital of Yemen, Sanaa, after becoming offended by the governmental policies. They started demanding a new government and a reduction in high fuel prices. In 2015, former President Hadi left the country. However, Hadi asked the international community to restore power in Yemen (Clausen, 2015). In 2018, the United Nations provided a report which stated that Yemen has been going through the worst humanitarian crisis in the world. Moreover, Hudaydah port is under the severe threat of attack due to the civil war between Hadi and Houthis which is an essential source of food, water, and healthcare. (Hufa, 2018)

In 2022, an attempt was made for a ceasefire but it ended in October. Millions of Yemeni people have been displaced. Almost 21.6 million need assistance and services. There is no source of clean water, food, and secure shelter to live in. On other hand, due to malnutrition health of millions is badly affected. More than 2.2 million children who are under the age of 5 years, are suffering from malnutrition and require proper treatment. Almost 2.5 million are not attending the school. (Hiris, 2017)

Saudi Arabia has been backing the Hadi group in Yemen while Iran has been supporting the Houthi group. However, in 2023, an initiative was taken by both Iran and Saudi Arabia to normalize their relationship which is a good sign for the future of the Middle East. However, Iran and Saudi

Arabia have converted the region into a platform for proxy war based on sectarianism and ethnicity. It intensified the Sunni-Shia conflict. After Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates is leading the conflict. (Brika, 2019)

3.7. Libyan Crisis

Libya has been another disabled child in the lap of the Middle East since 2011. The fall of the government of Muammar Gaddafi opened the gates to instability and crisis in Libya. The government of Muammar Gaddafi was toppled by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The governments after Muammar Gaddafi did not play an effective role in stabilizing the system which created a vacuum for militias.

After uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt, a revolt in Libya was initiated. Mustafa Abdul Jalil a military person formed the new government as National Transitional Council. The supporters of Gaddafi started protesting against the dictator's rule. However, during the civil war, the government lost many areas. The opponents made their government in those areas. Anyhow, after the death of Muammar Gaddafi, the power was given to the elected General National Congress (GNC) in 2012. (Winer, 2023)

During the civil war in Libya, Islamic militia became active. The chief Haftar of the Libyan army started attacking Islamic militants under Operation Dignity. After the election of 2014, the country was divided into two prominent factions. One faction is called Al-Sarraj and the other one is called Haftar. However, the government office is held by Al-Sarraj. Since then, Haftar has been criticizing and attacking Al-Sarraj through military offense. However, Haftar has been controlling large areas in Libya. Moreover, the Islamic State emerged but did not last for long. The violent attacks between Al-Sarraj and Haftar have become normal. (Gunes, 2018)

The role of International and regional powers in Libya proves the evil intent of great powers. Libya is another tool in the proxy war between great powers basedon economic, political, and ideological interests. Regional states including Egypt, Jordan, the United Arab Emirates, and international powers including Russia and France backed Haftar. Al-Sarraj has been supported by regional countries including Qatar and Turkey and international powers including the United Nations, United States, and Italy. (Lewis, 2011)

These countries have been providing military weapons and soldiers' deployment. Haftar has gotten missiles from France which were detected by the Libyan National Army (LNA). Russia has provided mercenaries while Saudi Arabia funded Haftar. Egypt has been providing weapon assistance while it is drowning itself due to an economic crisis. Al-Saraj has been backed by Turkey. Turkey has been making agreements to deploy Turkish soldiers in Libya. It is reported that many drones have been provided to the government of Libya to fight against Haftar along with the active contribution of Syria by providing its soldiers to the Libyan government while Syria itself is struggling with political and economic instability. Both groups can sacrifice anything to achieve power even the lives of civilians. For instance, the theory of classical realism focuses on power dominance rather than stability. (Gaub, 2014)

International and regional powers are actively pursuing specific interests in Libya. Italy has a colonial mindset and does not want stability in the whole Middle Eastern region, including Libya. Libyan oil reserves are of essential interest to Italy. Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and the United Arab Emirates consider Haftar an enemy of Islam and claim to be the protectors of Islam, hence they are constantly attacking Haftar. (Tor, 2023)

Furthermore, Turkey has signed a maritime boundary agreement with the Government of National Accord (GNA). According to the agreement, Turkey claims some portion of the eastern Mediterranean because it contains gas reserves. The oil and gas reserves are the resources which are supporting the Libyan economy. However, Haftar controls large areas with oil crescents and hydrocarbon reserves. The sole national enterprise acknowledged by the United Nations is the National Oil Corporation (NOC) in Libya. Moreover, many entities are trying to break its monopoly. Currently, three international companies are working with NOC; Italy's company Eni, France's Total, and Russia's Tatneft. (Shihundu, 2022) However, Libya is going through political, economic and social crisis through internal and external means.

3.8. Iraq War

Iraq gained attention after the attack on Kuwait in 1990. It was the first great crisis after the Cold War. The reason behind the attack was to get rid of heavy debt and gain oil reserves from Kuwait. However, the United States initiated the war against Iraq to counter the invasion made by Saddam Hussein. But, Saddam Hussein maintained his power by ignoring the demands of Kurds and Shia communities. During the United States invasion, it was highlighted that Iraq had been trying to create a dangerous biological weapon named a Weapon of Mass Destruction (WMD). (Simon, 2020)

In 1998, the 42nd President of the United States initiated Operation Desert Fox and attacked many Iraqi military installations. Moreover, the incident of 9/11 in 2001 further intensified the situation. The Bush administration, the 43rd President of the United Nations named it a Terrorist attack by Muslims and he introduced the term Global War on Terror to fight against terrorist groups (GWOT). (Varvelli, 2020) It is believed that all the Islamic groups follow the orthodox ideology and do terrorist attacks in the name of Islam.

The major targeted organizations were Al-Qaeda, Taliban, and Islamic State. The Islamic State includes the State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) and the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) which is also called Daesh in Arabic. All the Salafi Jihadist groups were targeted by the mission initiated by the United States. The US forces distributed the Global War on Terrorism Service Medal based on all the campaigns initiated after 9/11 to counter-terrorism. (Saleem, 2019)

As a result of different campaigns begun by the United States, almost 38 million people were displaced and 4.5 trillion civilians died in Yemen, Iraq, and Syria. The United States invested 8\$ trillion in the War on Terror (Fils, 2018). Along with the War on Terror the terminology Islamophobia emerged. Islamophobia is a hatred against the Muslims and Islam.

In 2002, the Congress of the United States passed a resolution to start Operation Iraqi Freedom. The resolution granted power to use force against the authoritarian Iraqi government of Saddam Hussein. The coalition of major powers including the United States, the United Kingdom, Poland, and Australia started bombing Iraq. In 2003, Saddam Hussein was seized by US forces in Operation Red Dawn in the town of Ad-Dawr. In 2006, he was hanged for committing humanitarian crimes. (Joffé, 2019)

The war has brought many changes to its opponents. These changes impacted the political development and international relations of the Middle East. (Otman & Karlberg, 2007) Moreover, the war's impacts stressed political liberalization and created international realignments. There are new sectarian divisions and authoritarian regimes throughout the region that are facing greater challenges. (Waddams, 2023) It challenged the sociological theories about social change and policy.

The end of Saddam Hussein's government created a power vacuum in Iraq. The sectarian issue generated hype and the Sunni-Shia conflict created violence on a large scale. The sectarian tussle transformed into a civil war. Moreover, in 2007 the United States increased its military presence in Iraq to counter the uprisings. The United States started to rebuild Iraq after the war. However, in 2011 the Obama administration withdrew American forces from Iraq. The elections were held in 2005 and Nouri al Maliki held the office. However, he formed policies based on the ideology of the Sunni sect. (Fabbrini, 2014) This act further intensified the sectarian issue by neglecting the other sect.

However, many analytics were against American policy to attack Iraq, including former French President Jacques Chiac. Several critics assume that Americans want to spread their liberation policy, penetrate democracy in the region, access oil resources, and support the Israeli agenda by exploiting the internal issues of the Middle Eastern region (Kekilli, 2017).

3.9. Kurdish Issue

The Kurdish issue is one of the major civil wars in the Middle East. The conflict was initiated after WWI with the demolition of the Ottoman Empire and boundaries were formed by the allied powers under the treaties of Serves and Lausanne in the region. The Kurdish community did not get a separate homeland. As a result, it divided into different countries in the Middle East, including Syria, Turkey, Armenia, Iran, and Iraq. (Himdak, 2017) The Kurdish community is unique in its ethnicity. However, the demand for an independent state is never acknowledged by higher

authorities.

The Kurdish issue is a tussle between the Kurdistan Workers' Party and the state of Turkey. The Kurdish people want an independent country to attain more power to secure their rights. The conflict took place mainly in Northern Kurdistan. Turkey has been spending a major portion of its economy on the conflict. Moreover, Tourism has been affected due to violence between the Turkish government and the Kurdish group. (Efegil, 2011)

Furthermore, the Kurdish group was formed in 1978 by some Kurdish students in the village of Fis under the name Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK) and the movement led by Abdullah Ocalan. They started a movement called the "National Liberation Movement." The objective of the group was to raise voices against the oppression faced by the Kurdish people in Turkey. The Turkish government has been suppressing their cultural, political, and linguistic rights and values. Moreover, Kurds were not allowed to wear cultural dresses (Firat, 2011). It was even prohibited to have Kurdish names (Haig & Öpengin, 2014).

During the 1930s to 1940s, the Turkish government named them Mountain Turks instead of considering them Kurds. It was a direct attack on the identity of the minority Kurdish people. In the 1980s, the dictatorship further implied strict policies against Kurds which further intensified the situation. Moreover, the military coup in Turkey banned the Kurdish language till 1991. Many Kurds were detained due to opposing government orders. They were arrested and punished by the government. (Muehlenhoff, 2019)

In 1984, the first violent uprising occurred by the Kurdish Worker's Party. The European Court of Human Rights (ECTHR) or Strasbourg Convention on Human Rights criticized Turkey for human rights abuses. However, Turkish allies supported Turkey and blamed the Kurdish community especially PKK for the uprisings. The Kurdish Worker's Party alleged drug trafficking, terrorist tactics suicide bombings, etc. (Tank, 2005) In 2013, a successful ceasefire happened after negotiations. However, in 2015 the Ceylanpinar incident again hit the ongoing ceasefire. The murder of two policemen extended the conflict. Furthermore, the Justice and Development Party (AKP) used this crisis to gain support on the political ground. They won the election with the promise to solve the Kurdish issue but did not make any developments. (Kılıçaslan, 2015)

It is sad to know that the Kurdish issue benefited the international powers. Moreover, the northern area of Syria is also influenced by the Kurdish people. The Kurdish assisted Americans to enter in Syrian civil war to fight against Islamic State in 2014. In return, Americans formed the Protection Unit (YPG) for the Kurdish community. They allied with Arab forces and formed the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF). Furthermore, the SDF was provided weapons by the Western powers and the United States. However, the SDF has been considered as a modified version of the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) by Turkey. (Balaban, 2021)

CHAPTER-IV

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE MIDDLE EAST

The Middle East is a region of different people, religions, languages, and cultures. The Middle Eastern states are rich in resources. They have been facing multiple challenges internally and externally. The Middle Eastern states are also facing threats from the Non-state actors. (Shamir, 1982) The Arab world needs to improve its relations with its neighboring states to reduce threats. Moreover, the Middle East is a conflicting area due to several internal issues. The Muslim-Jewish conflict has worsened the situation.

However, the creation of the state of Israel in 1948 after the controversial policies of the British colonial empire and France created a point of contention between Israel and the Arab world. Israel is politically, economically, and technologically a strong state in the region. Initially, the creation of the Jewish state in the region was considered a defeat for the Arab countries. The Arab countries started attacking without knowing the strong capabilities of Israel. The West criticized the Arab states for attacking Israel and even supported Israel. (Derouen & Sprecher, 2006) The Arab states fought many wars on the issue of Palestine with Israel in 1948, 1956, 1967, 1973, 1982, and 2006. In the wars, Israel captured major areas of Palestinians. In the 20th century, the Arab League was the first Muslim organization that raised a voice for the rights of Palestinians and condemned the growing Zionism in Israel. (Rider & Owsiak, 2021)

Anyhow, in the Arab world the status of Israel is improving after its partnership with some Arab states due to which public opinion in the Arab world is changing in respect of Israel. (Norton, 2007) Those states who were reluctant to make ties are now cooperative towards Israel. The states that had rigid policies towards Israel are making agreements. Now, the Arab states who were strongly against Israel are showing active cooperation towards Israel. The personal interests of the Arab states have forced them to forget the rights of Palestinians. All the Arab states want to have close relations with Israel to enhance ties with the United States indirectly. In 2020, the Abraham Accord brought the Arab states close to Israel. (Tesfaye, 2020)

The United Arab Emirates, Egypt, and Bahrain are making bilateral relations with Israel to protect their interests. It is a great geopolitical shift in the political history of the Middle Eastern region. It is difficult to predict the future of the Arab states after having close cooperation with Israel. Moreover, many clauses of the Accord are confidential. (Meir, 2019). The Arab states are engaging with Israel despite having the Palestine issue unresolved. The agenda of Israel is clear and its policies are completely aligned with the dream of Greater Israel. While ignoring the bloodshed of Palestinians the Arab states are busy making new agreements with a Zionist state due to their national interests.

Later on, gradually the stance of the Palestinians started fading away. In 1979 and 1994, Egypt and Jordan were the first two Arab countries that initiated cooperation with Israel. In 2019, the visit of Benjamin Netanyahu to Oman and the United Arab Emirates improved the relations between Arab states and Israel. (Al Jazeera, 2018) Moreover, the United Arab Emirates has opened a synagogue to show its flexibility in having cardinal relations with the Zionist state. (Pourahmadi, 2023)

In 2019, Benjamin Netanyahu met with the Foreign Ministers of Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. In 2020, Benjamin Netanyahu expressed his interest in diplomatic relations with Saudi Arabia. While analyzing the future of these secret meetings of the Israeli Prime Minister with the governments of the Arab states a Palestinian activist Kamal Hawwash predicted that soon the flag of Israel will be flying in the Arab states. In 2019, the controversial statement of the crown prince Muhammad bin Salman made the intent of Arab states clear. He said that Israel had a right to its land. (Halor, 2020)

In 2022, Joe Biden visited Israel and showed his support towards Zionists. He even mentioned that to be a Zionist it is not essential to be a Jew. The former Israeli Prime Minister Yasir Lapid titled Joe Biden a great Zionist. Although, to present himself as an unbiased leader he mentioned that the solution of two states is necessary to end the conflict between Israel and Palestine.

After visiting Israel he landed in Saudi Arabia to attend the summit of Gulf and regional allies in Jeddah. The strange thing at the summit was that he did not mention the Palestinian issue but rather encouraged Saudi Arabia to neglect the conflict with Israel and move forward. The leader of the Palestinian National Authority disappointingly said that the leaders are just saying the words with no action or solution. Furthermore, Saudi Arabia lifted the policy of banning Israeli overflights.

In 2020, the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain took the initiative to improve relations with Israel through the Abraham Accord while ignoring its Zionist policies and its implications in the Middle East. It was considered the only possible solution for peace in the region. Through this agreement both the Arab states recognized Israel as a sovereign state. Moreover, the name Abraham Accord was finalized to show the commonalities of belief between Islam and Judaism. (Amineh, 2007)

In 2021, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu visited the United Arab Emirates to strengthen the diplomatic relations between Israel and an Arab state. Later on, many other Arab states started joining the Abraham Accord. In 2021, Sudan came forward to be part of the Abraham Accord. Furthermore, Morocco joined the Abraham Accord by signing the agreement. (Foris, 2014)

Moreover, Libya tried to make efforts to normalize relations with Israel but large numbers of protests were made in the country to restrict Libya from taking any such action. The constant agreements of the Arab states with Israel are considered a betrayal by Palestinians. It is a great disappointment that the Arabs who were the only supporters of Palestinians took a back step. In 2023, Israeli Tourism Minister Haim Kart visited Saudi Arabia at the conference of the United Nations.

Israel has been engaged in different support activities by sending its delegation to Saudi Arabia with the involvement of the United Nations Educational and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The leader of the Palestinian National Authority stressed that it is unimaginable to have peace in the Middle East without resolving the issue of Palestinians and providing them with their due rights. (Podeh, 1997)

During the agreements between Israel and the Arab states, several Palestinians were killed by Israel but all the Arab states ignored it. They are interested in protecting their interests rather than cooperating with Muslims. Israel does not change its harsh policies but the Arab states blindly safeguard their interests. Moreover, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and Bahrain have a major enemy in the region: Iran. They want to counter Iran and for that matter, Israel is the only powerful state that can help them. These peace deals are also helpful for the government of Israel. As in the last elections, Benjamin Netanyahu got elected on the stance that he could make more peace deals with the Arab states. (Klein, 2017)

Israel has the most advanced technological systems. Saudi Arabia is lacking behind in technology and needs a strong surveillance system for its citizens to restrict them from any opposition to its policies. No doubt, in the past Saudi Arabia had a rigid stance on the rights of Palestinians. In the current scenario, Saudi Arabia and Israel have the same enemy in the region which is Iran. To counter Iran it is necessary to have diplomatic ties with each other. (Zisser, 2023)

On the other hand, in 2021 Sudan showed interest in Israel because of being on the list of state-sponsored terrorism. By joining the Abraham Accord the United Nations removed Sudan from the list of state-sponsored terrorism. Furthermore, Morocco has a conflicting area of Western Sahara and the U.S. has recognized its authority as the result of its close relationship with Israel.

Furthermore, the Abraham Accord is more suitable for Israel. The peace deals for normalization of relations can lead to more peace treaties with other Arab states. Moreover, Nethanyahu stated in his doctrine that peace could be achieved through peace or strength. Moreover, Saudi Arabia and Oman took a step to make it possible for Israel to achieve its objective. (Huang, 2022)

It is a success of Israel to have close relations with the Arab countries without resolving the Palestine issue. These so-called peace deals made it easy for Israel to hold the West Bank. At the start, the Arab leaders raised voices against it and declared it unjustifiable. Later on, the missile security deals cooled their emotions down. (Sørli et al., 2005)

The second benefit that Israel is getting through peace deals is that it is providing an opportunity for Israel to have normalization of relations with more Arab states. The Arab states are focusing on the materialistic gain. A hope emerged for Israel that sooner other Arab states would recognize it. Now, the Arab states are proving it through their actions. (Shindler, 2014)

The third benefit for Israel is that through these deals it has become easy for Israel to counter Iran. Major support has been required from neighboring Arab states to contain Iran. Through these peace treaties, it has become quite easy for Israel to shift the balance of power wherever it wants in the Middle East. Now, Israel can move its military to the center of the Persian Gulf. Many Professors have stressed in the interviews that the sectarian conflict is benefiting the Israeli interest in establishing Greater Israel. Sooner or later, the Arab world will face its consequences.

The fourth benefit is in defense deal with the United Arab Emirates which can help Israel to access the Arabian Sea. Its advanced technology can get access to the entire region. The fifth benefit to Israel through a peace deal with Bahrain was to give Israel access to the nearest coasts of Iran, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia. Strategically, Israel can have a strong hold on the region. It could reduce the dependency of Israel on the United States to get information on the internal situation of the Middle Eastern region. (Laqueur & Schueftan, 2016)

The sectarian, ideological, and ethnic differences between the Middle Eastern states are the reason for having a strong technological system to counter the rival states. However, Iran is a mutual enemy between them. They want to form major alliances to isolate Iran in the Middle Eastern region. There are several reasons why Arab states shifting their policy towards Israel. In this case, the Arab states are more focused on national interests rather than collective betterment. However, The United Arab Emirates wants to contain Turkey and Iran to restrict their domination.

The United Arab Emirates has a deep interest in technological advancement and for that matter, Israel is a big support. The United Arab Emirates wants to develop a security and defense department in case of cyber and supersonic warfare. It wants the 5th generation fighter jets for instance F-35 to develop airfields. (Quandt & Indik, 2016) The center of focus of the United Arab Emirates is to form good relations with the United States, for that matter close coordination with Israel is essential. The United Arab Emirates' Minister of State and Foreign Affairs, Anwar Gargash stated that it was not good to wait for a perfect time for normalization of relations. However, both countries have their potential benefits in case of close diplomatic relations. (Shindler, 2014) Several ambassadors have discussed in the interviews that the Middle Eastern region is strategically very crucial for Israel. The Middle Eastern region has numerous resources. Some ambassadors perceived based on their knowledge that access to hot waters is one of the major interests of Israel. Trade would be easy and cheap for Israel in case they could fulfill their agenda of a Greater Israel.

After the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain comes on the fourth number who recognized Israel. Bahrain also considers it the best possible option to achieve its future objective in terms of economic, strategic, and diplomatic aspects. The United States has been appreciating Bahrain for the initiative to normalize relations with Israel. Bahrain is a state where the majority population is Shi'a but the ruling class belongs to the Sunni sect of Islam. Since 2011, they have been protesting against the ruling government as the government suppresses the Shi's sect. Iran is alleged to have supported the protests in 2011. So, Bahrain needs to have a strong partner against its enemy in the region. (Reiter, 2023)

Furthermore, to have good relations with the United States is also the main objective of Bahrain. Bahrain wants to have advancements in technology to control internal uprisings for instance Bahrain made a deal on Pegasus spyware to keep a check on internal threats. Bahrain is a weak state and it is assumed that Bahrain follows the policy of Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates hold a strong position in the region and the weak states follow them to form their foreign policies. (Welty, 1984)

After Egypt, Jordan, the United Arab Emirates, and Bahrain, Sudan became the fifth state that tend to normalize relations with Israel. Sudan's diversion in relations with Israel was highlighted when it broke ties with Iran. Furthermore, in 2016 Ibrahim Ghandour the Sudani Foreign Minister explained about its diplomatic relations with Israel.

In 2020, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Nethanyahu met with the Head of the Sovereignty Council of Sudan to discuss their new diplomatic relations. Moreover, Sudan opened its air space to Israeli aircraft. The immediate benefit to normalizing relations with Israel was that the United States officially removed Sudan from the list of State Sponsors of Terrorism (SSTL). (Veracini, 2013)

Sudan is going through a financial crisis. The floating economy of Sudan will be back on the boat after removal from the SSTL. It has been three decades since Sudan is on the SSTL. It was a complete disaster for the economy of Sudan. The majority of the population is living below the poverty line. After removal from the SSTL foreign investment will be increased.

The United States will provide financial support to Sudan to revive its economy. Sudan is a weak country. It is not able to participate in regional politics. Thus, its main focus is on economic and political development. Israel would support Sudan to strengthen its agricultural development, advancement in aviation and to eradicate migration issues. (Greenstein, 2015)

Sudan is rich in live stocks, Arabic gum, wheat, ground stock, sovghum, and sugarcane. Sudan requires a new market for exports. Israel is the best option for Sudan for that matter. Moreover, Morocco and Israel have been in a close diplomatic relationship as many officials visited the country. Since 1975, Western Sahara has been a disputed area and now the United States is supporting Morocco in this dispute in return for the normalization of relations with Israel. (Munayyer, 2023)

The area was a conflicting point between Morocco and the pro-Algerian Polisario Front when Spain left the territory. Morocco is enjoying the newly established relations with the West and the United States. (Biger, 2008) Morocco opened air space to Israeli planes. It has also signed a formal cyber security agreement to share information, research, and development. A Morocco embassy has opened in Israel to strengthen its relationship on financial and security levels. (Milian, 2021) Some other Middle Eastern states are on the pathway of normalization of relations. They are not disclosing their diplomatic relation with Israel due to opposition on domestic, ethnic, and sectarian ground. Saudi Arabia is the most essential state in the Middle Eastern region. Other small states follow Saudi Arabian policies. Saudi Arabia used a covert mode in the case of its relations with Israel. (Barhai, 2009) The new regime of Muhammad Bin Sulman and the Foreign Minister have been taking several steps to advance the country. For instance, the sports and entertainment industry is booming now. He has changed all those policies which restrict women. (Reynolds, 2023)

In the meeting of some top officials of Saudi Arabia and the United States, it is reported that Jewish people are taking a step toward a diplomatic shift in the relations between Saudi Arabia and Israel. Saudi Arabia is constructing a city based on artificial intelligence and advanced technology. It wants to modernize its technological department further. For that matter, Israel is the best state that can assist Saudi Arabia in its advanced technological sector. (Furlan, 2019)

As the United States has decreased its presence in the Middle Eastern region. Qatar is a small rich country. It has the largest gas field in return for its close relations with Iran. It acts like a mediator country in case of conflict. Qatar's foreign policy has been opened to all the states in the region. Qatar has cardinal relations with Iran, Turkey, and the United States. In 1996, Qatar started normalizing relations with Israel. However, in 2000 the uprising in Palestine stopped the ongoing trade relations between Israel and Qatar. Moreover, Qatar is a huge exporter of liquid gas. So, both countries have benefits to form cardinal relations with Israel. (Waxman, 2018)

The kingdom of Oman gave a very ambivalent stance on the new shifting foreign policies of the Arab states with Israel. Oman mentioned that it is good to see close relations between the Arab states with Israel in return for the end of Israeli occupation. Since 1970, Oman has been a neutral country. It does not form its relations based on sectarian division. It balanced the foreign policy both with Iran and Saudi Arabia. The new regime of Sultan Hatim bin Tariq brought many advancements in many areas. Several analysts predicted that soon Oman will join those countries that have cardinal relations with Israel. Oman has interests in public health, the economic sector, and reducing oil prices. (Silverburg, 2019)

On 7th October, Israel launched heavy bombardment on the Gaza Strip. Almost more than 11, 39 civilians have been killed and 240 have been detained. Israel has been blaming Hamas for taking the initiative. (Al Jeezera, 2024) Although, the world is condemning Israel for committing war crimes including torture and rape, and attacking. Israel responded and called it a mistake due to the collapse of the military security system. Although, the United States has been verbally condemning Israel and also providing weapons during the crisis. (Flan, 2024) The hypocritical attitude of the international powers encouraged the Zionist agenda of Israel.

However, a report was published to clarify the reason for Hamas' attack which is the Israeli settlements in the occupied West Bank and Jerusalem. Secondly, they assassinated thousands of Palestinian civilians in 1940. Many have been detained. In the West Bank, a large number of homes have been destroyed by Israel. For instance, in the town of Ash Shuyukh in the East of Hebron a Palestinian home was raided by the army of Israel. A student at Birzeit University was arrested because he supported the Palestinians. (Alak, 2024)

Moreover, Israel has also targeted several medical places in Gaza while ignoring international pressure. It has also attacked two major Palestinian refugee camps: the Jabalia and Nuseirat. Israel has destroyed many neighboring areas in Gaza City including Shujayea, Daraj, and Tuffah. Israel has also bombed the Nasser Medical Complex and Ministry of Health in Gaza. In this incident, more than 18,800 people have been assassinated. (Rabînôvîş, 2008)

The World Health Organization called Al-Shifa Hospital a bloodbath where with every passing second a new patient is coming for medical treatment. Due to constant Israeli bombardment and attacks the United Nations agency explained that there are no basic instruments and resources required for health care. It is a horrific situation created by Israel. There is no bed provided to the patients because of the large number of patients. (Unrwa, 2024) Many military persons have analyzed that sooner or later Israel will capture the Middle Eastern state. It is because of the Middle Eastern changing attitude towards Israel, that Israel is free to attack innocent Palestinians and capture their land.

However, Israel claimed that the reason for attacking hospitals was that they were used by Hamas for planning strategies to destroy Israel. They emphasized that a proper control and command system has been operating in hospital places. According to the United Nations, there were about 1.9 million Palestinians of which 80% were displaced after horrific and continuous attacks by Israel. However, the United Kingdom and Germany called for a ceasefire. (Cohen-Almagor, 2012)

4.1. Iran's View of Expansion

Iran initiated participating actively in international relations after the Iranian Revolution. It has been against Zionism and the legitimacy of the Israel state. There are three major reasons why Iran sees Israel as an enemy. The first is due to the strong cooperation of Israel with the United States. Secondly, due to the increasingly close relationship between Israel and the Arab States. Thirdly, due to Iran's ideological perspective against Israel. (Awan, 2016)

Israel is often regarded as the major enemy in the Middle East for the Middle Eastern states. Moreover, modern warfare strategies have evolved and provide a chance for indirect confrontation. Iran's influence is notably active in Syria, Iraq, and Lebanon (Cunha, 2024). In Syria, Iran bolsters the Assad regime. In Iraq, it supports the Popular Mobilization Units (PMU). In Lebanon, Iran maintains robust cooperation with Hezbollah. (Sanaei & Karami, 2021)

Iran believes that Israel wants to penetrate the Middle Eastern region. The changing attitude of the Arab world towards Israel while ignoring the rights of Palestinians depicts that soon Israel will be successful in its mission. (Lis, 2022)

MAJOR FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

The concept of Greater Israel is rooted in Jewish religious ideology with adherents asserting that this entitlement is divinely derived from the Bible. They contend that the land is a divine promise to the Jewish people. However, it is important to note that the Bible has undergone numerous modifications with time. Moreover, Israel harbors several strategic and political interests within the Middle Eastern region. Historically, Israel has sought to establish amicable relations with Middle Eastern states. Nevertheless, the Arab states have consistently refused to recognize Israel. The United States has steadfastly supported Israel in its confrontations with Middle Eastern nations. The persistent turmoil within the Middle Eastern states has been advantageous for Israel. The region is mired in internal conflicts and one of Israel's foreign policy objectives appears to be the exacerbation of these internal divisions. This strategy undermines the cohesion and stability of Middle Eastern states thereby serving Israel's broader geopolitical goals.

The Middle Eastern region, a crucible for the world's three major religions Judaism, Christianity, and Islam holds immense historical and spiritual significance. The aftermath of World War I and the subsequent decline of the Ottoman Empire catalyzed the rise of Zionist ideology. This shift precipitated the Sykes-Picot Agreement in 1916 and the Balfour Declaration in 1917, ultimately leading to the British mandate to divide the land into Israel and Palestine. The Muslim world is bifurcated into Shia and Sunni sects, with the Shia community gravitating towards Iran and the Sunni community aligning with Saudi Arabia. Both nations are fighting for regional hegemony. Later on, the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) emerged as a coalition to counterbalance Iran's influence.

The Middle Eastern states have paramount importance due to their abundant resources and significant strategic value. The geopolitical dynamics of major powers are intricately tied to this region. This research paper employs the theory of classical realism to analyze these dynamics. According to classical realism, states formulate policies driven by their self-interests often at the expense of others. This theoretical framework prominently expounded by Hans Morgenthau in his seminal work posits that morality holds no place in international relations; rather, state actions are governed by pragmatic considerations of self-interest.

In contemporary international relations, classical realism remains a prevalent theoretical lens through which state behavior is examined. Both Israel and the broader Middle East exemplify the application of this theory as each entity pursues its interests with scant regard for Palestinian rights. Moreover, the Middle Eastern region is further complicated by a multitude of internal conflicts including the Syrian civil war, the Israel-Palestine conflict, the Kurdish issue, the Yemen crisis, the challenges posed by non-state actors, the Iraq war, and the Iran-Saudi rivalry. These conflicts underscore the pervasive influence of classical realism as states and non-state actors prioritize their strategic objectives in a highly volatile environment.

The normalization of relations between Middle Eastern states and Israel represents a significant geopolitical shift in the region. Historically, these countries have been embroiled in conflicts over Palestine but the recent establishment of diplomatic, political, and economic ties has changed the situation. Israel and its Middle Eastern counterparts are collaborating on advanced technological industries which marks a pivotal development. Israel's increasing relations with Middle Eastern countries reduce its reliance on the United States for access to the Gulf of Aqaba as Israel can independently foster strategic partnerships in the region. This newfound diplomatic leverage mitigates potential threats in the Red Sea, presenting Israel with an unprecedented opportunity to enhance its regional influence. Strengthened trade relations with Arab states will further bolster Israel's economic stature.

Furthermore, Israel's regional hegemony depends on its close ties with the Middle Eastern states, facilitated by its advancements in technological and intelligence sectors. The recent technological collaborations will likely enhance Israel's access to confidential regional information, extending its strategic reach and consolidating its dominance in the Middle East. Moreover, Israel's growing influence in the region is likely to augment its control over Middle Eastern states. The latent objective of Israel appears to be the realization of its vision for Greater Israel encompassing not only Palestine but other neighboring states. In contrast, Middle Eastern states may derive some benefits from this normalization process strategically, financially, and diplomatically. However, Israel is expected to have the primary advantage.

For instance, the United Arab Emirates stands to enhance its trade and security sectors through this rapprochement. Sudan was previously labeled an extremist nation and it has already been removed from the list of state sponsors of terrorism, potentially shedding its zealot reputation. On the other hand, Morocco gained legal recognition for its control over a conflicting area of Western Sahara. Bahrain through its expanding relations with Israel is poised to achieve significant strategic and economic advancements. Moreover, the Middle Eastern state, rich in oil resources finds Israel a strategic partner for the export and trade of oil. This collaboration could significantly isolate Iran as a regional adversary. Despite the complexities, Israel and the Arab states are taking steps toward normalization of the relations and the peace process which is a positive move toward resolving long-standing conflicts in the region.

An intriguing aspect of the current geopolitical landscape is that a solution to resolve the conflict is to establish an independent Palestinian state. However, Middle Eastern states are prioritizing their interests often at the expense of Palestinian rights and are not supporting them. Despite their historical brotherhood with the vulnerable Palestinian state it is disheartening to observe that not only Jewish states but also Muslim nations are marginalizing Palestinians. Ironically, the very states that once engaged in wars with Israel following its establishment are now driven by self-serving interests leading to a blurred commitment to the Palestinian cause. This shift underscores a fundamental principle in international relations: there are no perpetual allies or adversaries, only enduring self-interests.

In Syria, the Assad government receives substantial backing from Iran, prompting Israel's aggressive stance towards Syria as a means to counter Iranian influence in the region. Consequently, Israel's actions in Syria are an indirect strategy to curtail Iran's regional power. This complex interplay of alliances and enmities highlights the pragmatic underpinnings of contemporary world politics where strategic interests invariably take precedence over ideological commitments. Palestinian activist Kamel Hawwash has noted a significant shift in the policies of Arab states toward Israel, predicting that the Israeli flag may soon be seen flying in the Gulf States (Alan, 2020). Despite persistent public opposition to Israel the governments of several Middle Eastern countries are increasingly aligning with it.

Moreover, the aftermath of the Arab Spring in 2014 has plunged Yemen into a protracted civil war between the Houthi and Hadi factions, rooted primarily in sectarian divisions. Saudi Arabia supports the Hadi government, while Iran backs the Houthi movement. The civil war has wrought extensive devastation in Yemen, exacerbated by the involvement of both national and international actors who have contributed to the intensification of the conflict. Furthermore, the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait provided a pivotal opportunity for superpowers to intervene in the internal affairs of Middle Eastern politics. The stringent policies of Saddam Hussein coupled with his support for Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan served as a pretext for the United States to impose sanctions on Iraq. This intervention highlighted a notable division among Muslim states, allowing international powers to assume a dominant role in addressing the region's internal issues. This conflict provides a chance to regional and superpowers to exploit the situation for their agendas.

Additionally, the Kurdish issue significantly contributes to the instability of the Middle East. The Kurdish population is fragmented across five states: Syria, Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Armenia. This division led to persistent tensions and conflicts, further complicating the geopolitical landscape of the region. The involvement of both regional and international actors in these issues underscores the complex interplay of local and global interests that continue to shape Middle Eastern politics. The issue has significantly escalated in Turkey, particularly with the formation of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) in 1984, which aimed to defend the rights of the Kurdish community. International powers have also capitalized on the Kurdish issue. For instance, the United States entered Syria to combat the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) with the assistance of Kurdish forces. This collaboration formed an Arab-Kurdish alliance against ISIS. However, Turkey has consistently targeted the Kurdish community in Syria, perceiving their activities as supportive of the PKK, which Turkey considers a terrorist organization. This complex situation intertwines with broader geopolitical strategies, including the agenda of Greater Israel, where regional dynamics and alliances are leveraged to influence and potentially reshape the political landscape of the Middle East.

The crisis in Libya was precipitated by anti-government protests leading to the organization of rebel groups by the leader of the National Transitional Council in key areas of the country. Retaliatory attacks from opposing factions ensued, escalating the conflict into a civil war. This volatile situation is exacerbated by various factors, including sectarian disputes that have reached a pinnacle, with religion playing a pivotal role in exacerbating tensions. Amidst these conflicts, Israel has been accused of supporting civil wars in Muslim-majority countries as part of a hidden agenda to influence Middle Eastern politics. Terrorism has allegedly been utilized as a means for Israel to intervene in the policymaking processes of these states, with the overarching objective of asserting regional dominance. Iran emerges as a primary target of Israeli strategic interests.

Historically, Israel's territorial ambitions manifested notably in the Six-Day War of 1967, where it captured significant territories belonging to several Arab states, including Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and Egypt. This event underscores Israel's assertive military tactics and its strategic posture aimed at securing geopolitical advantages in the region. Zionism as an ideology has historically advocated for the establishment and expansion of Israel, culminating in the concept of Greater Israel. This ideological pursuit, rooted in a perceived religious mandate, has been central to Israeli policy since the nation's founding in 1948. However, the implementation of Zionist principles has engendered significant frustration among Arab states, leading to multiple conflicts over territorial expansion.

The Middle Eastern region has become a crucible of instability largely due to these internal conflicts. Key ongoing disputes include the Israel-Palestine conflict, the Saudi-Iran rivalry, the Syrian civil war, the Yemeni crisis involving the Houthi insurgency, the Kurdish issue spanning multiple states, internal strife in Libya, and the pervasive influence of non-state actors. Internal conflicts in the region have also been exacerbated by proxy warfare, where external powers such as Iran have supported factions aligned with their interests. For instance, Iran backs the Syrian government led by Bashar al-Assad, the Houthi group in Yemen, and Hezbollah in Lebanon. In contrast, Israel's prolonged military actions against Palestine have been instrumentalized as indirect interventions aimed at realizing the concept of Greater Israel.

The efforts to resolve the Israel-Palestine conflict have been numerous, with initiatives like the Oslo Accord initially offering promise but ultimately faltering due to the parties' inability to reach a sustainable compromise. Subsequent proposals for a two-state solution have similarly failed to materialize amid ongoing tensions and divergent national aspirations. The United Nations has played a pivotal role in attempting to mediate and facilitate peace negotiations between Israel and Palestine. Despite these efforts, achieving a lasting resolution remains elusive, underscoring the deep-seated complexities and entrenched interests that continue to define the Middle Eastern geopolitical landscape.

However, Israel's pursuit of expanding its diplomatic ties with Arab states took a significant step forward with the establishment of the Abraham Accords in 2020. This historic initiative marked the first formal agreements aimed at fostering closer relations between Israel and several Arab countries. Israel's advanced technological capabilities have served as a compelling incentive for Middle Eastern nations to engage in cooperative agreements. Saudi Arabia, in particular, has demonstrated a growing inclination towards Israel, viewing such partnerships as instrumental in bolstering its regional influence and countering common adversaries, notably Iran. The enmity between Israel and Saudi Arabia towards Iran underscores a broader ideological conflict within the region, heightening geopolitical tensions and posing potential threats to regional stability.

However, the role of the United States in this dynamic is complex and multifaceted. While officially advocating for peace and stability in the Middle East, the U.S. is perceived by some as pursuing policies that could inadvertently support Israeli ambitions for regional hegemony. This perception fuels concerns that the Middle East may become a new arena for colonial-like expansions facilitated by Israeli influence and U.S. strategic interests. In sum, the evolving diplomatic landscape in the Middle East characterized by the Abraham Accords and intensified regional rivalries presents both opportunities and challenges for the future stability of the region. The interplay of technological advancements, ideological conflicts, and geopolitical strategies underscores the complexities and uncertainties that define Middle Eastern politics in the contemporary era.

The unresolved conflict between Israel and Hamas continues to perpetuate violence, with recent incidents on October 7th drawing international condemnation for the high toll of civilian casualties among Palestinians in Gaza. This strategic area holds significant importance for Israel, yet its military actions have sparked widespread criticism from the majority of countries, condemning what is perceived as excessive use of force resulting in the deaths of numerous innocent civilians. Moreover, the wave of pro-democracy movements that swept through Tunisia, Egypt, Morocco, Libya, Syria, and Bahrain initially aimed at political reform has instead exacerbated internal instability. These movements have often devolved into protracted civil conflicts, fueled by sectarian divisions manipulated by both major global powers and regional actors for their own geopolitical agendas.

The Middle Eastern region is further besieged by the presence of non-state actors like ISIS, who have capitalized on regional instability to assert control over territory and populations through acts of terrorism and insurgency. Concurrently, the Kurdish movement across several states for instance Syria, Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Armenia has added another layer of complexity, contributing to regional destabilization. In sum, the Middle East remains a volatile arena shaped by unresolved conflicts, proxy wars, and the activities of non-state actors, highlighting the enduring challenges and geopolitical maneuvers that define the region's intricate political landscape. The concept of Greater Israel represents a significant ideological objective for the state of Israel, driving its policies and actions in the Middle East. Historically, Israel has strategically supported and sometimes exacerbated crises in the region, aligning with its goal of expanding territorial control and influence. This alignment is reinforced by robust support from the United States, whose foreign policy often converges with Israeli interests, particularly regarding regional security and stability.

Israel portrays its involvement in Middle Eastern affairs as part of a broader mission to combat terrorism and ensure regional security. However, critics argue that Israel benefits from regional instability, which furthers its objectives more effectively than stability would. Fragmentation and weakened state structures in the Middle East are viewed as conducive to Israel's pursuit of territorial expansion, facilitating the realization of Greater Israel. Natural resources, including crucial water supplies, are integral to Israel's strategic interests in the region. Initially employing direct military actions to assert dominance, Israel has shifted tactics towards normalizing relations with neighboring states. The recent diplomatic agreements between Israel and countries like the United Arab Emirates, Egypt, Qatar, and Oman illustrate this strategic shift, despite ongoing Palestinian grievances resulting from Israeli policies.

Israel's success in destabilizing Middle Eastern states is attributed in part to divisions among Arab nations, which have historically hindered unified responses to Israeli actions. Examples include Operation Opera against Iraq's nuclear program and attacks on Syrian installations, which underscore Israel's proactive stance in shaping regional dynamics to its advantage. Moreover, Israel's alleged attempts to influence the Syrian government by promoting a Sunni-dominated administration align with its broader geopolitical objectives. Such maneuvers are perceived as strategic moves aimed at weakening potential adversaries and facilitating future actions against Iran, should a supportive Syrian regime emerge.

In conclusion, Israel's policies in the Middle East are driven by its pursuit of Greater Israel, supported by strategic alliances and actions aimed at maintaining regional dominance. The complex interplay of regional geopolitics, resource dynamics, and diplomatic initiatives underscores the multifaceted strategies employed by Israel to achieve its long-term objectives in the Middle Eastern arena.

Major Findings

- 1. **Israel's pursuit of Greater Israel**: Israel's strategic objective includes the establishment of Greater Israel through the expansion into Arab territories.
- 2. **Closer relations with Middle Eastern states**: Increasing diplomatic ties between Israel and Middle Eastern states facilitate Israel's goal of Greater Israel.
- 3. **Indirect overtaking through diplomacy**: Israel aims to exert influence over Arab states indirectly through diplomatic engagements.
- 4. **Instability and expansionist policy**: Instability in Middle Eastern states supports Israel's expansionist policies by creating conducive conditions.
- 5. **Regional dominance and instability**: Israel's pursuit of regional dominance perpetuates instability, facilitating its objective of Greater Israel
- 6. **Failure of international organizations**: Regional and international organizations have been ineffective in resolving Middle Eastern issues.
- 7. Normalization of Arab-Israeli relations: Arab states' closer ties with Israel indicate a shift away from viewing Israel as an enemy state.
- 8. **Compromise of national pride**: Arab states compromise national pride for perceived benefits from relations with Israel.
- 9. **US support and Israeli influence**: Biased support from the United States strengthens Israel's influence in the Middle East.
- 10. **Recognition of Israeli sovereignty**: Anticipated majority recognition of Israel's sovereignty by Middle Eastern states in the near future.
- 11. The primacy of national interest over Palestinian rights: National interests of Middle Eastern states supersede considerations for Palestinian rights.
- 12. Division of Arab states and Israeli manipulation: Internal crises and lack of unity

among Arab states may lead to further fragmentation, exploited by Israel to fulfill its dream of Greater Israel.

13. **International community's role in resolution**: Halting Israel's expansionist policies requires proactive intervention by the international community to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian issue.

REFERENCES

Akgündüz, Y., van den Berg, M., & Hassink, W. H. J. (2015). The impact of refugee crises on host

Labor Markets: The case of the Syrian refugee crisis in Turkey. *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2(20). https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2564974

- Amin, Z. T. (2013). Why Did the United States Invade Iraq?, 6(12). https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203804568
- Amineh, M. (2007). The Greater Middle East in Global Politics. *JStor*, 26 (8), 35-67. https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004158597.i-544
- Aras, B. (2000). Turkish-Israeli-Iranian relations in the nineties: Impact on the Middle East. *Springer*, 40(2), 66-89.
- Aris. (2021). Reimagining U.S. Strategy in the Middle East: Sustainable Partnerships, Strategic Investments. Academia, 70(20), 12-30. <u>https://doi.org/10.7249/rra958-1</u>
- Armstrong, J. D. (2010). In Civil Society and International Governance: The role of non-state actors in the EU, Africa, Asia, and the Middle East. essay, Routledge.
- Balaban, G. (2021). Ontological (in)security and the Kurdish issue in Turkey: The use of security

discourse (1925–1984). *Poligrafi*, 65(8), 261–287. https://doi.org/10.35469/poligrafi.2021.274 Barakat, Z., & Fakih, A. (2021). Determinants of the arab spring protests in Tunisia, Egypt, and
Libya: What have we learned? *Social Sciences*, 10(8), 282.
https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci10080282

Beauchamp, Z. (2018, November 20). How did Israel become a country in the first place?. Vox.

https://www.vox.com/2018/11/20/18080016/israel-zionism-war-1948.

Beauchamp. (n.d.). What is Zionism? - vox. https://www.vox.com/2018/11/20/18080010/zionism-

israel-palestine

Beck, M. (2020). The aggravated struggle for regional power in the Middle East: American allies Saudi Arabia and Israel versus Iran. *Global Policy*, *11*(1), 84–92.

Benaim, — Daniel, BenaimFellow, D., Benaim, D., Fellow, Al-Dawsari, — By Nadwa, Cambanis,

Biger, G. (2008). The boundaries of Israel-Palestine, past, present and Future: A critical geographical

view. Israel Studies, 13(1), 68-93. https://doi.org/10.2979/isr.2008.13.1.68

Bonazzi, M. (2021). The Sophists. Cambridge University Press, 14(2), 70-80.

Brecher, M. (2017). Dynamics of the Arab-Israel Conflict. Springer, 13(1), 43-56.

Brika, B. (2019). The water crisis in Libya: Causes, consequences and potential solutions.

DESALINATION AND WATER TREATMENT, 167(22), 351–358. https://doi.org/10.5004/dwt.2019.24592

Byman, D., & Speakman, S. (2016). The Syrian refugee crisis: Bad and worse options. The

Washington Quarterly, 39(2), 45–60. <u>https://doi.org/10.1080/0163660x.2016.1204352</u>

Wois, A. (2021). A progressive course correction for U.S.–Saudi relations. *The Century Foundation*. <u>https://tcf.org/content/report/progressive-course-correction-u-s-saudi-relations/</u>

Boras (2017). Yemen, 11(22), 60-90. https://doi.org/10.18356/45538129-en

Biras 1950–2015. Yemen crisis. British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, 49(1), 181–183.

- Carr, E. H. (1946). The Twenty Years' crisis, 1919-1939: An introduction to the study of international relations (6th ed.). Harper Perennial, 20(5), 60-70.
- Clausen, M.-L. (2015). Understanding the crisis in Yemen: Evaluating competing narratives. *The International Spectator*, 50(3), 16–29. <u>https://doi.org/10.1080/03932729.2015.1053707</u>
- Cohen-Almagor, R. (2012). Politics and government in Israel. the maturation of a modern state. *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies*, *11*(2), 286–288. https://doi.org/10.1080/14725886.2012.686571
- Coman, A. (2019). Instability in the Middle East: Structural changes and uneven modernization
 Council on Foreign Relations. (n.d.). Yemen's tragedy: War, stalemate, and suffering.
 Council on Foreign Relations. <u>https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/yemen-crisis</u>

Dowek, E. (2001a). Israeli-Egyptian Relations: 1980-2000. Frank Cass, 22(4), 15-20.

Dowek, E. (2001b). Israeli-Egyptian Relations: 1980-2000. Frank Cass, 34(8), 60-70.

- Efegil, E. (2011). Analysis of the AKP government's policy toward the Kurdish issue. *Turkish Studies*, *12*(1), 27–40. <u>https://doi.org/10.1080/14683849.2011.563938</u>
- Ergin, M. (2012). The racialization of Kurdish identity in Turkey. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *37*(2), 322–341.
- F., M. D. J. (2021). Realism and psychological science. Springer Nature, 45(6), 13-40.
- Fabbrini, S. (2014). The European Union and the Libyan crisis. International Politics, 51(2), 177-

195. https://doi.org/10.1057/ip.2014.2

- Farrior, S. (1998a). State responsibility for human rights abuses by non-state actors. *Proceedings of the ASIL Annual Meeting*, 92, 299–303. <u>https://doi.org/10.1017/s0272503700058067</u>
- Farrior, S. (1998b). State responsibility for human rights abuses by non-state actors. *Proceedings of the ASIL Annual Meeting*, 92, 299–303. <u>https://doi.org/10.1017/s0272503700058067</u>
- Firat, U. (2011). Kurdish identity claims in a Turkish state: To be a Kurdish intellectual in Turkey. *PsycEXTRA Dataset*. <u>https://doi.org/10.1037/e509842012-001</u>
- Ford, R. S. (2023). The Syrian Civil War. Escaping the Conflict Trap. *Middle East Institute*, 20(1), 118-190.
- Forde, S. (1992). Varieties of realism: Thucydides and Machiavelli. *The Journal of Politics*, 54(2), 372–393. <u>https://doi.org/10.2307/2132031</u>

- Furlan, M. (2019). Israeli–Saudi relations in a changed and Changing Middle East: Growing cooperation? Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs, 13(2), 173–187. <u>https://doi.org/10.1080/23739770.2019.1670500</u>
- Gaub, F. (2014). A Libyan recipe for disaster. *Survival*, 56(1), 101–120. https://doi.org/10.1080/00396338.2014.882470
- Gazit, M. (2020). The Middle East Peace Process. Middle East Contemporary Survey, 75–102.
- Gelvin. (2014). The Israel-Palestine Conflict: One Hundred Years of War. *Cambridge University Press.* 27(3), 225-267.
- Gökalp Aras, N. E., & Şahin Mencütek, Z. (2015). The International Migration and Foreign Policy Nexus: The case of the Syrian refugee crisis and Turkey. *Migration Letters*, 12(3), 193–208. <u>https://doi.org/10.33182/ml.v12i3.274</u>
- Golan, G., & Salem, W. (2014). Non-state actors in the Middle East: Factors for peace and democracy. *Routledge*. 34(1), 125-167.
- Goren, N., Brodsky, J. M., & Baharoon, M. (2023, May 14). *Oman plays it safe on Israel*. Middle East Institute. <u>https://www.mei.edu/publications/oman-plays-it-safe-israel</u>
- Greenstein, R. (2015). Israel–Palestine and the apartheid analogy: Critics, apologists, and strategic lessons. *Israel and South Africa*. <u>https://doi.org/10.5040/9781350220898.ch-010</u>
- Gunus, B. (2018). Civil War in Libya and crisis management. *Güvenlik Bilimleri Dergisi*, 7(2), 263–291. <u>https://doi.org/10.28956/gbd.482076</u>

- Gunes, C. (2021). Kurdish politics across the Middle East during the 1970s. *The Cambridge History of the Kurds*, 250–268.
- Guzansky, Y. (2015). Iran and the Arab Gulf States: Change amidst continuity. *Israel Journal of* Foreign Affairs, 9(1), 63–74.
- Haig, G., & Öpengin, E. (2014). Introduction to the special issue Kurdish: A critical research overview. *Kurdish Studies*, 2(2), 99–122. <u>https://doi.org/10.33182/ks.v2i2.397</u>

Hamad Attiah, S. M. (2019). The international and regional conflict in the Middle East and its

impact on the Arab region (the model of the Arab Spring). *Tikrit Journal For Political Science*, *3*(11), 237.

Hamrah, S. (2023). Contextualization of sectarian conflict and violence in Iraq. *Contextualizing* Sectarianism in the Middle East and South Asia, 5(13), 117–134.

https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003329510-9

Heisbourg, F. (2015). The strategic implications of the Syrian refugee crisis. *Survival*, *57*(6), 7–20. https://doi.org/10.1080/00396338.2015.1116144

Hibou, B. (2011). The force of obedience. Polity.

- Hinnebusch, R. A., & Ehteshami, A. (2014). The foreign policies of Middle Eastern states. Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.
- Huang, X. (2022). Shaping of national political culture. Political Order in Modern East Asian States,

173-192. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003171522-8

- Hubbard, B., & Bengali, S. (2023, March 10). Answers to 7 key questions on the Saudi-Iran deal. *The New York Times*. <u>https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/10/world/middleeast/saudi-</u> Arabia
 - Ide, T. (2018). Climate War in the Middle East? drought, the Syrian Civil War, and the State of climate-conflict research. *Current Climate Change Reports*, *4*(4), 347–354.

International Affairs, 94(6), 1237–1255.

- Ilis, G. (2016). Iranian foreign policy in context. *Diplomacy and Reform in Iran*. Middle Eastern Politics, 3(1), 45-56. <u>https://doi.org/10.5040/9781350986091.ch-001</u>
- Joffé, G. (2019). Can Libya survive as a single state? *L'Année Du Maghreb*, (21), 253–262. https://doi.org/10.4000/anneemaghreb.5771
- Jones, S. (2015). The Syrian Refugee Crisis and U.S. National Security. International Politics,7(10), 77-88. <u>https://doi.org/10.7249/ct444</u>
- Josselin, D., & Wallace, W. (2001). Non-state actors in world politics: A Framework. *Non-State Actors in World Politics*, 1–20. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781403900906_1
- Kaplan, G. B. (2019). Democratic Zionism and twenty-first-century Zionism. *The Origins of Democratic Zionism*, 105–123. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429026065-8
- Katz, Y., & Hendel, Y. (2012). In Israel vs. Iran: The shadow war. essay, Potomac Books.

- Kaya, A. (2020). The unfolding of the Syrian refugee crisis in Turkey: From temporariness to permanency. *Transnational Migration and Border-Making*, 3(9), 94–119. <u>https://doi.org/10.3366/edinburgh/9781474453486.003.0005</u>
- Kekilli, E. (2017). Anatomy of the Libyan Crisis. *Insight Turkey*, 19(3), 159–179. https://doi.org/10.25253/99.2017193.10
- Keynoush, B. (2018). Saudi Arabia and Iran: Friends or foes? *PALGRAVE MACMILLAN*, 20(1), 78-90.
- Khallaf, S. (2016). The Syrian refugee crisis in the Middle East. Land of Blue Helmets, 5(15). https://doi.org/10.1525/california/9780520286931.003.0017
- Khan, A. A. (n.d.). *The Zionist plan for the greater Israel by* -ProQuest. <u>https://www.proquest.com/docview/1678895630</u>
- Kılıçaslan, G. (2015). Generational differences in political mobilization among Kurdish forced migrants. *The Kurdish Issue in Turkey*, 157–182. <u>https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315740881-7</u>
- Klein, M. (2017). No end of conflict: Rethinking Israel-Palestine. *Bustan: The Middle East Book Review*, 8(2), 211–215. https://doi.org/10.5325/bustan.8.2.0211
- Kumaraswamy, P. R. (2021). The arab spring. *Political Science*. https://doi.org/10.1093/obo/9780199756223-0337
- Lackner, H. (2017). Introduction: Yemen and the Gulf States: The Making of a Crisis, 7(16), 1–6. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1wrpww6.3

Lackner, H. (2019). Yemen in crisis road to war. Verso.

- Lackner, H. (2019). Yemen in crisis road to war. Verso.
- Laqueur, W., & Schueftan, D. (2016). *The Israel-Arab Reader: A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict.* Penguin Books.
- Lecocq, S. (2020). EU foreign policy and hybrid actors in the Middle East: Ready for geopolitical contestation? *Global Affairs*, *6*(4–5), 363–380. https://doi.org/10.1080/23340460.2021.1872401
- Leiter, B. (2001). Classical realism. Noûs, 35(s1), 244–267.

https://doi.org/10.1111/0029- 4624.35.s1.10

- Lewis, W. (2011). Libya: Dream versus reality. *Mediterranean Quarterly*, 22(3), 42–52. https://doi.org/10.1215/10474552-1384864
- Liverani, M. (n.d.). Israel's history and the history of Israel. *Cambridge Core*, 2(30), 12-30. <u>https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/israels-history-and-the-history-of-</u>Israel
- Lobell, S. E. (2017). Structural realism/offensive and defensive realism. Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies, 70(B), 24-47 <u>https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.013.304</u>

- Loeffler, J. (2010, December 17). Between Zionism and liberalism: Oscar Janowsky and Diaspora Nationalism in America: AJS Review. *Cambridge Core*. <u>https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/ajs-review/article/between-zionism-and-liberalism-oscar-janowsky-and-diaspora-nationalism-in-</u> America
- Marcus, K. L. (2015). Anti-zionism and Anti-Semitism. The Definition of Anti-Semitism, 146-190.
- Marmor, D. (2015). The modern Middle East and Israel: *Straight Power Concepts in the Middle East*, 51–69. <u>https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt183h12s.7</u>
- Massad, J. (1996). Zionism's internal others: Israel and the Oriental Jews. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 25(4), 53–68. <u>https://doi.org/10.2307/2538006</u>
- Massad, J. A. (2005). The persistence of the Palestinian question. Cultural Critique, 59(1), 1–23.
- Michael N, S. (2009). Iraq-Kuwait war (1990–91). *Max Planck Encyclopedia of Public International Law*, 9(10). https://doi.org/10.1093/law:epil/9780199231690/e318
- Minkan, K. (2020). Iraq Crisis. Middle East Policy, 7(3), 151–164.
- Molloy, S. (2009). Aristotle, Epicurus, Morgenthau, and the political ethics of the lesser evil. *Journal of International Political Theory*, 5(1), 94–112. <u>https://doi.org/10.3366/e1755088209000342</u>

Morgenthau, H. (1954). Politics among nations: The struggle for power and peace. New York.

Morocco. (2009). Oxford Art Online. https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.t2079382

- Morris, B. (2010). In One state, two states: Resolving the Israel/Palestine Conflict. essay, Yale University Press, P. 15.
- Muehlenhoff, H. L. (2019). The (de) politicization of the securitized Kurdish rights issue. *EU Democracy Promotion and Governmentality*, 107–130. <u>https://doi.org/10.4324/9781351168809-6</u>

Mueller, K. P. (2015). Precision and purpose: Airpower in the Libyan civil war. Rand Corporation.

- Munayyer, Y. (2023). Israel/Palestine. *The One State Reality*, 68–86. https://doi.org/10.7591/cornell/9781501768392.003.0004
- Murray, Alastair J. H. & Murray, Anne (1997). Reconstructing Realism: Between Power Politics and Cosmopolitan Ethics. *Edinburgh University Press*.

Nardin, T., & Mapel, D. (2004). Traditions of International Ethics. Cambridge University Press.

- Natil, I. (2016). Civil State in the post–arab spring countries: Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya. *The Arab Spring, Civil Society, and Innovative Activism*, 217–231. <u>https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-57177-9_10</u>
- Norton, A. R. (2007). The role of Hezbollah in Lebanese domestic politics. *The International Spectator*, 42(4), 475–491. <u>https://doi.org/10.1080/03932720701722852</u>

Ostovar, A. (2018a). Iran, its clients, and the future of the Middle East: The Limits of Religion.

International Politics, 30(2), 45-60.

- Otman, W., & Karlberg, E. (2007). The Libyan Economy Economic Diversification and International Repositioning. *Springer*, 1(2), 30-40.
- Pappe, I. (2007). Zionism and the two-state solution. Where Now for Palestine? https://doi.org/10.5040/9781350223936.ch-002
- Perdue, L. G., Baker, C. A., & Carter, W. (2015a). In *Israel and Empire: A postcolonial history of Israel and early Judaism.* essay, Bloomsbury.
- Podeh, E. (1997). Rethinking Israel in the Middle East. *Israel Affairs*, 3(3–4), 280–295. https://doi.org/10.1080/13537129708719441
- Quant, M. S. (2016). Camp David: Peacemaking and politics. Brookings Institution Press.
- Quiroz Morales, O. H. (2018). Sectarianization. mapping the new politics of the Middle East. *Foro Internacional*, 58(3), 581. <u>https://doi.org/10.24201/fi.v0i0.2532</u>
- Rabi, U. (2009). Qatar's relations with Israel: Challenging arab and Gulf norms. *The Middle East Journal*, 63(3), 443–459.
- Rabînôvîş, I. (2008). Israel in the Middle East: Documents and readings on society, politics, and Foreign Relations, pre-1948 to the present. Brandeis Univ. Press.
- Reiter, Y. (2023). Jewish-Arab Relations in Israel. *The Palgrave International Handbook of Israel*, 1–12. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-16-2717-0_68-1

Reynolds, J. (2023). Apartheid and international law in Palestine. Prolonged Occupation and

International Law, 104–132. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004503939_007

- Rijo Lopes da Cunha, M. M. (2024). Introduction: Music and cultural diplomacy in the Middle East—geopolitical reconfigurations for the twenty-first century. *Music and Cultural Diplomacy in the Middle East*, 1–21. <u>https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-36279-8_1</u>
- Rosenblatt, N., & Kilcullen, D. (2022). Syria 2011–19. Understanding the New Proxy Wars, 4(11), 47–72. <u>https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780197673591.003.0003</u>
- Rowlands, L., Rasheed, Z., & Regencia, T. (2023, October 9). Israel-Hamas war updates: Israeli bombing rocks Gaza through the night. *Al Jazeera*, 3(1), 35-45.
- Russell, J., Cohn, R., & Finkelstein, N. G. (2012). Image and Reality of the Israel-Palestine Conflict. LENNEX Corp.
- Said, E. W. (1979). Zionism from the standpoint of its victims, *International Politics*, *1*(1), 7–58. https://doi.org/10.2307/466405
- Saleem, A. (2019). Tribal conflict and political stability in Libya. *Contemporary West Asia*, 2(15), 303–312. <u>https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429325083-16</u>
- Sanaei, M., & Karami, J. (2021). Iran's eastern policy: Potential and challenges. *Russia in Global Affairs*, 19(3). https://doi.org/10.31278/1810-6374-2021-19-3-25-49
- Sela, A. (1998). The decline of the Arab-Israeli conflict: Middle East politics and the quest for regional order. State University of New York Press.

hamir, Y. (1982). Israel's Role in a Changing Middle East. *Foreign Affairs*, 60(4), 789. https://doi.org/10.2307/20041173

- sharafnama, sharafnama. (2016). 2. Zionist Israel and its enemies. Zionist Israel and the Question of Palestine, 18–51. <u>https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110498806-003</u>
- Suhiun, F. (2022). Libya: Arms proliferation and armed groups. the Libyan conflict revised. *Conflict Studies Quarterly*, (38), 60–72. <u>https://doi.org/10.24193/csq.38.4</u>
- Shindler, C. (2014a). Introduction: Israel and the world powers. *International Politics*, 2(1) 20-40. https://doi.org/10.5040/9780755611522.0006
- Shindler, C. (2014b). Introduction: Israel and the world powers. JStor, 145-200. https://doi.org/10.5040/9780755611522.0006
- Shohat, E. (1988). Sephardim in Israel: Zionism from the Standpoint of Its Jewish Victims. *Social Text*, 19(20), 1–35. <u>https://doi.org/10.2307/466176</u>
- Shohat, E. (1988). Sephardim in Israel: Zionism from the Standpoint of Its Jewish Victims. *Social Text*, 12(1), 20-60.
- Silverburg, S. R. (2019). The Contemporary Middle East. International Relations, 70-80. https://doi.org/10.1093/obo/9780199743292-0266
- Simon, S. (2020). The Iraq War and the War on Terror. *Balance Sheet*, *12*(6), 16–38. https://doi.org/10.1515/9780804772044-004
- Sørli, M. E., Gleditsch, N. P., & Strand, H. (2005). Why is there so much conflict in the Middle East? *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 49(1), 141–165. <u>https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002704270824</u>

- Sørli, M. E., Gleditsch, N. P., & Strand, H. (2005). Why is there so much conflict in the Middle East? *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 49(1), 141–165. <u>https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002704270824</u>
- Tank, P. (2005). Analysis: The effects of the Iraq War on the Kurdish issue in Turkey. Conflict, Security & Conflict, Security & Comput. 5(1), 69–86. <u>https://doi.org/10.1080/14678800500103309</u>
- Tokin, K. (2021). The Arab-Israeli conflict. *The Israel-Palestine Conflict*, 166–197. https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9781139583824.009

Tiffin, U. (2017). The Kurdish issue is made in Turkey. Frontline Turkey, 60-80.

https://doi.org/10.5040/9781350986534.ch-001

- Takan, A. (2015). The triangulation of US foreign policy towards the Middle East. *Foreign Policy in Iran and Saudi Arabia*. 24(1), 200-220.
- Topgül, C., & Adalı, T. (2020). Internal movement of Syrian refugees in Turkey. *Syrian Refugees in Turkey*, *5*(19), 162–181. <u>https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003048879-13</u>
- TÖR, Ö. (2023). Akdeniz'de Libya Mücadelesi (struggle for Libya in the Mediterranean). *Kocaeli Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 1(45), 17–28. <u>https://doi.org/10.35343/kosbed.1169748</u>
- Truitt, W. H. (1978). Realism. The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, 37(2), 141–148. https://doi.org/10.1111/1540_6245.jaac37.2.0141

- Ulusoy, K. (2019). The impact of the Syrian refugee crisis on Turkey's State Capacity. Forced Migration and Human Security in the Eastern Orthodox World, 5(9), 147–163. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781351185233-6
- UNRWA | United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine refugees. (n.d.). https://www.unrwa.org/

Varvelli, A. (2020). Libya: From uprising to war, 2011–2019. Bustan: The Middle East Book Review,

11(1), 34-45. https://doi.org/10.5325/bustan.11.1.0034

Veracini, L. (2013). The other shift: Settler Colonialism, Israel, and the Occupation. Journal of Palestine Studies, 42(2), 26–42. <u>https://doi.org/10.1525/jps.2013.42.2.26</u>

Waddams, F. C. (2023). The Libyan economy. The Libyan Oil Industry, 7(45), 303–323.

https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003440017-20

Waltz, K. N. (1995). Realist thought and Neorealist theory. Journal of International Affairs, 44, 21-

37. https://doi.org/10.5040/9781350392984.ch-003

Waltz, K. N. (2010). Theory of international politics. Waveland Press.

Waxman, D. (2018). The pro-Israel lobby in the United States. *Israel and the United States*, 79–99. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429499579-4

Weiss, K. M. (2003). Want what you have, or have what you want? Endeavour, 27(2), 48.

https://doi.org/10.1016/s0160-9327(03)00057-7

- Welty, G. A. (1984). Israel: Between colonialism and Imperialism. *The Antioch Review*, 42(1), 60. https://doi.org/10.2307/4611311
- Woffer, H. K. (2014). Where do we go from here? finding the true path to an arab spring. *How Capitalism Failed the Arab World*. https://doi.org/10.5040/9781350220638.ch-008
- Williams, M. C. (2004a). Why ideas matter in international relations: Hans Morgenthau, classical

realism, and the moral construction of power politics. *International Organization*, 58(04). https://doi.org/10.1017/s0020818304040202

- Williams, M. C. (2004b). Why ideas matter in international relations: Hans Morgenthau, classical realism, and the moral construction of power politics. *International Organization*, 58(04). <u>https://doi.org/10.1017/s0020818304040202</u>
- Williams, W. A., Gardner, L. C., & Bacevich, A. J. (2009). The tragedy of American diplomacy.
 - W.W. Norton & Company.
- Winer, J. M. (2023). The origins of the Libyan conflict and the path for its resolution. *Escaping the Conflict Trap*, 9(18). <u>https://doi.org/10.5040/9780755646982.ch-007</u>
- World Health Organization. (n.d.). Yemen Country Overview. World Health Organization. https://www.who.int/countries/yem/

Yiftachel, O. (2002). The shrinking space of citizenship: Ethnocratic politics in Israel. Middle East

Report, (223), 38. <u>https://doi.org/10.2307/1559463</u>

Zisser, E. (2023). Israel in the Middle East 75 years on. Israel Affairs, 29(3), 459–472.

Zisser, E. (2023). Israel in the Middle East 75 years on. Israel Affairs, 29(3), 459-472. https://doi.org/10.1080/13537121.2023.2206209