

# **INSTABILITY IN MIDDLE EAST: A PRELUDE TO GREATER ISRAEL**



**Researcher**

**LUQMAN SYED**

Reg. No: 78-FSS/MSPS/S18

**Supervisor**

**DR. MUHAMMAD KHAN**

**PROFESSOR**

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS & I.R**

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY,**

**ISLAMABAD**

**2020**

Accession No. TH-23578

MS  
327.1056  
LUI

Middle East. Politics and government  
Israeli  
Arab- Israeli conflict

# **INSTABILITY IN MIDDLE EAST: A PRELUDE TO GREATER ISRAEL**



By

**LUQMAN SYED**

**Registration No. 78-FSS/MSPS/S18**

Submitted in partial fulfillment the requirement for MS Degree in Political Science with  
“Instability in Middle East: A Prelude to Greater Israel” to the Faculty of Social Sciences,  
International Islamic University Islamabad.

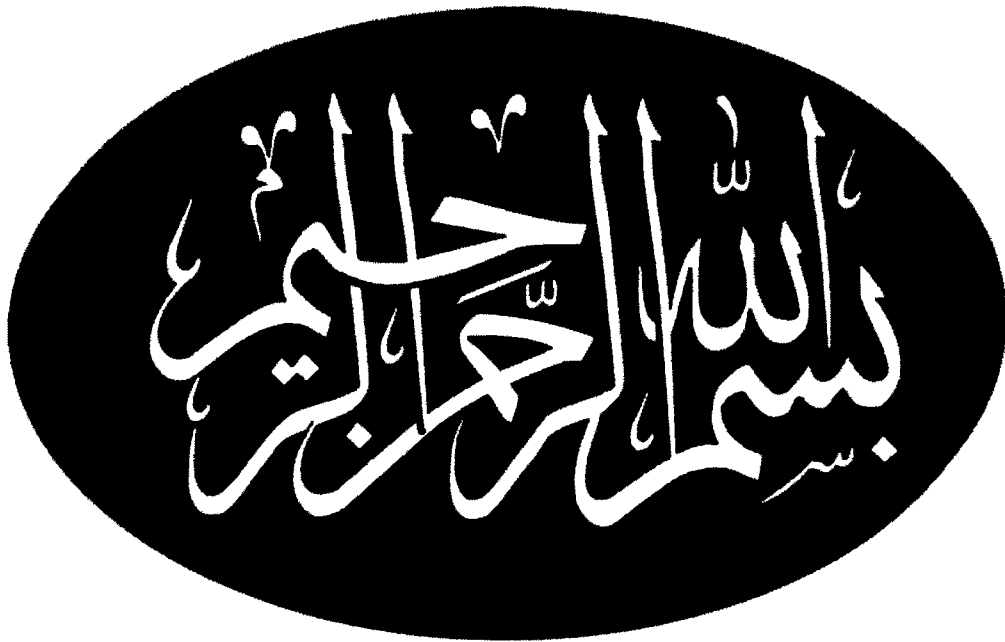
**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY,**

**ISLAMABAD**

**2020**



*In the name of Allah (SWT), the most beneficent and the most merciful*

## **DEDICATION**

**I DEDICATE THIS THESIS TO MY PARENTS, BROTHERS, SISTERS AND  
MY HONORABLE COUSIN PROFESSOR MIAN GUL SAID**

### **SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION**

It is hereby certified that the research work contained in this thesis titled **INSTABILITY IN MIDDLE EAST: A PRELUDE TO GREATER ISRAEL** has been carried out and completed by **Luqman Syed** Registration No.78-FSS/MSPS/S18 under my supervision. The quantum quality of work, contained in this thesis, is adequate for the award of degree of Master of Science.



The Supervisor: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: 11 / 09 / 2020

### SCHOLAR'S DECLARATION

I, **Luqman Syed**, Registration No. 78-FSS/MSPS/S18, student of MS Political Science in International Islamic University Islamabad hereby declared that this thesis, neither as a whole nor as a part thereof, has been copied out from my source. It is further declared that I have prepared this thesis entirely on the basis of my personal effort made under the sincere guidance of my supervisor Dr. Muhammad Khan. No portion of works, presented in this thesis has been submitted in support of any application for any degree or qualification of this or any other university or institute of learning.

Signature of Deponent



Date: 11/09/2020



### FINAL APPROVAL

This is to certify that we have gone through and evaluated the dissertation titled "**Instability in Middle East: A Prelude to Greater Israel**", submitted by Mr. Noman Syed, a student of MS Political Science under University Registration No. 78-ISS/MSPS/S18, in partial fulfillment of the award of the degree of M.A. Political Science. This thesis fulfills the requirements in its core and quality for the award of the degree.

1. **Supervisor**

Professor Dr. Muhammad Khan  
Department of Politics & International Relations  
Faculty of Social Sciences  
International Islamic University  
Islamabad

2. **Internal Examiner**

Dr. Manzoor Khan Afridi  
Associate Professor  
Department of Politics & International Relations  
Faculty of Social Sciences  
International Islamic University  
Islamabad.

3. **External Examiner**

Prof. Dr. Nouman Omar Sattar  
Area study Center  
Quaid-i-Azam University  
Islamabad

4. **Head, of Department**

Dr. Manzoor Khan Afridi  
Associate Professor  
Department of Politics & International Relations  
Faculty of Social Sciences  
International Islamic University  
Islamabad

5. **Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences**

International Islamic University  
Islamabad



## **ACKNOWLEDGMENT**

With adoration and devotion, to Allah Almighty I offer my humblest gratitude, who blessed me with an opportunity to take this study and provided me with strength to complete and dissertation. I also state my humble words for the Holy Prophet Muhammad (PUBH) and his blessed progeny who showed the right path to the mankind.

I extend my heartiest gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Muhammad Khan whose worthy and scholarly guidance has made this research possible within the given period. He has always been very kind & cooperative throughout my research. His continuous support and encouragement has made this study possible.

Moreover, offer my special thanks to Dr. Manzoor Khan Afridi, Dr. Tauqeer Hussain Sargana and Dr Masood ur Rehman Khattak, who not only helped me but also forwarded their valuable suggestions regarding the study. I also extend my special thanks to my class fellows Naimat Khan and Anis ur Rehman for their moral support and encouragement.

Last but not least, I pay special homage to my parents and family member for their unparalleled support. As they provide me with an opportunity to pursue higher studies. At the end, I salute and special thanks to my cousin Professor Mian Gul Said his support and encouragement enabled me to complete this study.

**LUQMAN SYED**

**MS Political Science**

**Spring 2018**

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

S. NO		PAGE NO.
	Acknowledgment .....	i
	Table of Contents .....	ii
	<b>List of Abbreviations and Acronyms .....</b>	<b>v</b>
	Abstract .....	viii
	 <b>CHAPTER 1 .....</b>	 <b>1</b>
1.	Introduction .....	1
1.1	Background of the Study .....	1
1.2	Rational of Study .....	6
1.3	Statement of the Problem .....	6
1.4	Objective of Study .....	7
1.5	Research Questions .....	7
1.6	Significance of Study .....	7
1.7	Limitation of Study .....	8
1.8	Operational Definition of Major Terms .....	8
1.9	Theoretical Framework .....	9
	a) Neo Realism .....	10
	b) Hegomonic Stability Theory and its Implication .....	11
2	Literature Review.....	12
2.1	Gap in Literature .....	17

3	Research Methodology .....	17
3.1	Research Design .....	18
3.2	Population .....	18
3.3	Instrument .....	19
3.4	Data Collection .....	19
3.5	Data Analysis .....	19
4	Organization of the Thesis .....	20
 <b>CHAPTER 2 .....</b>		<b>22</b>
Theoretical Framework .....		22
2. 1	Neo-Realism .....	22
2. 2	Basic Assumptions of Neo-Realism .....	23
2. 3	Neo-Realism and Its Forms .....	25
2. 4	Hegemonic Stability Theory .....	26
2. 5	Main Charetcteristic of Hegemonic Stability Theory .....	27
2. 6	Implications of Theory .....	28
 <b>CHAPTER 3 .....</b>		<b>30</b>
The Regional and Domestic Issue of Middle East .....		30
3. 1	Israel-Palestine Conflict .....	30
3. 2	Non-State Actor (ISIS) .....	33
3. 3	The Arab Spring .....	35
3. 4	Syrian Civil War .....	36
3. 5	Saudi-iran Conflict .....	40
3. 6	Yemen War .....	42

3. 7	Iraq War .....	44
3. 8	Kurdish Issue .....	46
3. 9	Libyan Civil War .....	49
<b>CHAPTER 4 .....</b>		<b>51</b>
Israeli Inerests in Middle Eastern Region .....		51
4. 1	No Other Middle Eastern power sould a become Nuclear Country State ..	53
4. 2	To Protect its Soverignty and Territorial Integrity: 1967 .....	56
4. 3	Israeli Interest in Syrian Civil War .....	57
<b>CHAPTER 5 .....</b>		<b>59</b>
How Regional Countries View Israeli Expansion .....		59
5. 1	How Gulf States View Israeli Expansion.....	59
5. 2	How Neighbor Countries View Israeli Expansion .....	63
5. 3	How Turkey Views Israeli Rxpansion .....	66
5. 4	How Iran Views Israel Expansion .....	67
<b>CHAPTER 6 .....</b>		<b>69</b>
Conclusion and Major Finding .....		69
6. 1	Conclusion .....	69
6. 2	Major Findings .....	72
6. 3	Recommendation .....	74
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY .....</b>		<b>75</b>

## **List of Abbreviations and Acronyms**

<b>ADS</b>	Aeronautics Defense System
<b>A.D</b>	Anno Domini
<b>AKP</b>	Justice and Development Party
<b>AQI</b>	Al-Qaeda in Iraq
<b>BBC</b>	British Broadcasting Channel
<b>B.C</b>	Before Christ
<b>CNIA</b>	Critical National Infrastructure Authority
<b>CNN</b>	Cable News Network
<b>EMP</b>	Euro-Mediterranean Partnership
<b>EU</b>	European Union
<b>FGO</b>	Focus Group Discussions
<b>GCC</b>	Gulf Cooperation Council
<b>GNA</b>	Government National Accord
<b>GNC</b>	General National Congress
<b>HST</b>	Hegemonic Stability Theory
<b>IDC</b>	Integrated Food Security
<b>IDP</b>	Internally Displaced People
<b>IPC</b>	Integrated Food Security phase Classifications

<b>IRG</b>	Islamic Revolutionary Guard
<b>IS</b>	Islamic State
<b>ISIS</b>	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
<b>LNA</b>	Libyan National Alliance
<b>NATO</b>	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
<b>NSA</b>	Non-State Actor
<b>NYU</b>	New York University
<b>OCHA</b>	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
<b>PKK</b>	Kurdistan Worker Party
<b>PLO</b>	Palestine Liberation Organization
<b>PMU</b>	Popular Mobilization Units
<b>SBS</b>	Special Broadcasting Service
<b>SDF</b>	Syrian Democratic Forces
<b>TRT</b>	Total Running Time
<b>UAE</b>	United Arab Emirate
<b>UK</b>	United Kingdom
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNGA</b>	United Nations General Assembly
<b>US</b>	United States
<b>USA</b>	United State of America
<b>USSR</b>	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

**WHO**

World Health Organization

**WMD**

Weapon of Mass Destruction

**YPG**

Kurdish Protection Unit

## **Abstract**

Every state has goals, objective and interest which compels to interference in another state affairs to secure and protect them from internal and external threats. Likewise, Israel has got long term interest in Middle East region since its inception in 1948. Israel desires to be dominating state in the region. Thus, Israel started interference in others state in the Middle Eastern region. While, with the support of America Israel expanded his territory in across the region. Like, American president Donald Trump accepts the sovereignty of Israel in Golan Heights. Moreover, regional countries view towards Israel and its relation with Israel. Furthermore regional countries have involvement and significance interests in the Middle Eastern region. And contain the influence of Israel in Middle Eastern region. Moreover, a regional state wants to counter the Israeli interests in Middle Eastern region. Beside, that Israel also has good and friendliness relations with United State to balkanize the Muslim countries. Because both states Israel and United States do not want Muslim countries to be united in their affairs. Besides that, regional and domestic issues going on in the region and disturb the peace of region. Moreover, study goals to discuss the factors they create instability in the region, and how Israel using this instability for his expansionist designs. Thus, research will discuss Israel long term security and strategic interests in Middle Eastern region under the lights of Neo-realism and Hegemonic stability theory and also, analyze regional countries response towards greater Israeli state.

**Keywords:** *Middle East, Israel, Palestine, Domestic Issues, State, Instability, Critical Analysis*



# **CHAPTER 1**

## **Introduction**

### **1.1 Background of the Study**

The Middle East is located at the center of Africa, Asia and Europe. The region covered from Iran to Egypt, from southern border of Turkey beneath to the Arabian Sea. The region is the birthplace of the world's great faith Islam, Judaism and Christianity. The Middle East is mostly, remaining under Islamic rule. The emergence of Islam in the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C basically changed the masses, and a whole life of the region. It is considered the base of wisdom, peace and welfare. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century after the demise of Ottoman Empire, Some scholar's argued that Middle East lost their traditional culture and old values (Khan, 2015).

Historically the Middle East encompasses of the Gulf countries Saudi Arabia, Oman Qatar, Kuwait the United Arab Emirates(UAE), Iraq, and Bahrain, Iran and the remaining comprise, Jordan, Syria, Palestine, Israel, Lebanon, Yemen, Egypt and Turkey. The populations of Middle East mostly are Muslims; approximately eighty five percent are Muslim, because of its holy places, Makah, Madina and Jerusalem (Rahman, 2008). Currently the region face several problems which are: Saudi-Iran dispute, Israel-Palestine conflict, Arab Spring, the Shiite-Sunni doctrine and the interest of external states, Such as USA, China, European Union and Russia (Khan, 2015).



Figure 1: Map of Middle East (BBC)

Moreover, population of the Middle Eastern Region approximately 246 million, and different type of ethnic group are living in the region including; Turks, Iranian, Arabs, and Kurds. While most of the people in the region speaking Arabic, Turkish, and Persian language (Kublin, 2012). Currently the region involves in rivalry between two states, such as Saudi-Arabia and Iran. Both countries want lead the region. Iran has network with non-state actor and Saudi Arabia with Western allies, United Arab Emirates (UAE). Iran plays proxy in the region. Furthermore, Iran supports Bashar-al Assad in Syria, Hezbollah in Lebanon, and Houthi in Yemen. In the contrast Saudi Arabia supports Israel and America to reduced Iran role in these countries (Dacey, Geranmayeh & Lovatt, 2018).

However, history of Israel comes from Hebrew Bible. According to the Bible Israel comes from Abraham son Jacob. And the Holy Temple of Israel was built in ancient Jerusalem.

Moreover, the Assyrians captured the Kingdom of Israel and destroyed the first Temple in Jerusalem. After that, the area ruled by different groups such as Romans, Arabs, Greeks, Fatimid's, Seljuk, Turks, Crusaders, and Egyptians. And finally the territory came under the Ottoman Empire from 1517 to 1917 (Editors, 2107).

Zionism is Israel national ideology, Zionism believes Judaism is religions as well as nationality, and deserve own state in their homeland. Such as Chinese people deserve China and French people deserve France. That's why Israel also has the right to back their first place, which was built by King David and Solomon in 1950 BC. In 19 Century, nationalism started in Europe. A secular Australian-Jewish journalist, Theodor Herzl was given international value to Jewish nationalism in 1896 (Beauchamp, 2018).

The idea of Jewish state was proposed by Theodor Herzl in 1896. Some Jewish were not satisfied because they considered it will disturb our relation with European countries. The first Jewish Congress meeting was held in Switzerland 1897. Jewish Congress decided that before the promotion of Jewish migration to Palestine, it is needed to take the consent of external government. In this regard the British-French agreement the Sykes-Picot agreement made in 1916, on this agreement a whole Arab would be divided after World War I.

The settlement of Israel considered illegal. At the end of World War I, some of the Middle East countries divided between Britain and France under the Sykes-Picot agreement. Iraq, Jordan and Palestine under the British control, Lebanon and Syria under the French influence. In 1917 the British Foreign Secretary Arthur James Balfour submitted a letter to his government for the supporting of Jewish state in Palestine, as known as Balfour declaration. In 1939 to 1945 the Nazi Holocaust make sure the Jewish state, because the sympathy of western power and America

with Jewish Community. And finally the United Nation (UN) resolution 181 passed by UN general assembly in 1947, the division of British mandate Palestine into two independent states Palestine and Israel. The reaction of the Arab state was offensive, and declared war against the Jewish.

Therefore, the United States supported the Balfour Declaration of 1917, which support Jewish state in the Palestine. In 1945 American President D. Roosevelt said, America intervene in Middle East with the consulting of Jewish and Arabs. After him, when President Truman took office he formulized a special committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Henry F. Grady to discussed with British Government about the future of Palestine. Nevertheless, America support Israeli migrants they were came from Europe to Palestine (Milestone, 2017).

While some scholar argued about Israel that questioned regarding the probability of an Israeli state, would have answered! "Don't be preposterous! Even Herzl confessed that the plan of an Israeli state, if demonstrated masses, would be met with 'common laughter'. Arab absurd call the Jews ' the indigent of the frail of people ' whom entirely regime are remove the Jews, without a country in above 18 century have no plan how to be agriculturalist, soldiers, or governmental officials. Above 99 percent of them don't live in Palestine, and those who reside there are base on Halakah (external welfare relief) (Adelman, 2008).

John Ehrenberg and Yoav Peled wrote in his book '*Israel and Palestine*' Palestine can't achieve any goals without Israeli cooperation (John & Peled, 2016). The state solutions, both country allocation of the holy places and reside separate. The concept of two state solutions was introduced in 1937, to divide the British mandatory Palestine in two states. In 2014 the round foundered think, the two state solutions was dead if two states are not, then what. Several

introduced in 1937, to divide the British mandatory Palestine in two states. In 2014 the round founded think, the two state solutions was dead if two states are not, then what. Several countries recognized Palestine state, but negotiation with Israel must because there is need to draw border and territory (Michael, 2019).

However, Israel is sharing boarder with North by Lebanon, Southeast Jordan, Southwest by Egypt, Northeast by Syria and West by the Mediterrean Sea. And Jerusalem is the capital of Israel. Moreover, the proclamation of Israel in the world, than Jewish migrants throughout the world came to Palestine (Sicherman & Ochsenwald, 2019).

This study will discuss the crisis in Muslims country, like civil war in Syria, proxy war in Yamen, Iraq War, Non State Actor, Israel-Palestine Issue, Kurdish Issue, and Saudi-Iran rivalry, this sectarian dispute made a clear path for a Greater Israeli state. Quoting here the British writer Ben-Judah asserted, "Israel wants chaos an its borders" because it is lower alarm than "an ethnic combination". And also the former US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton private email kept in her house during she was secretary of state from 2009 to 2013. In email she wrote, that this is the US policy from the beginning to violently downfall the Syrian government (Fildis, 2017).

However, Martin Kramer an American-Israeli Scholar; he said, Israeli-Palestine conflict the root cause of Middle Eastern instability. Without doubt, former American President Jimmy Carter said, "the path to peace in the Middle East goes through Jerusalem". Because, his former Security advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski said "The Israeli-Palestine conflict is the single most combustible and galvanizing conflict in the Arab worlds" (Totten, 2016).

The study is trying that what is going on in the Middle Eastern Region and who will benefits from them.

## **1.2 Rational of Study**

This research will discuss the Israel expansionist design in the Middle East. And what are the Israeli basic interests in the region. Moreover how Muslim countries are involved in internal issues, likes war in Yamen, Saudi- Iran rivalry, and Syrian crisis. However recently Israeli Prime Minister visited to Lebanon, this also gets the sign for the recognition of Israeli state some Muslims countries. Therefore, Israel wants chaos in its borders because it is less powerful than sectarian groups. And conflict between Muslims countries, because these given alternative way for a greater Israeli state.

Secondly, unity among the Muslim countries they make a great stance against Israel, because this is illegal occupation. International powers doing nothing but set like quiet spectacle. If did something, they are totally in the favor of Israeli state. Like currently President Donald Trump appointed his Son-in-Law Jared Kushner a senior advisor and given tasked to bringing peace in Middle East, his total sympathy with Israel, because he spent a lot of time in Israel.

## **1.3 Statement of the Problem**

Israel has long term interests in Middle Eastern Region in the shape of geo-economic and geo-politic, and also conflicts in among Muslim countries because Israel do not want Muslim countries in power that's the reason which Israel balkanize the Muslim countries. Beside, that Israel would like and eager to contain the influence of regional's countries such as Saudi Arabia, Iran and Syria on the long term bases. Regional countries have also significant interest in Middle East region. And eliminate the influence and supremacy of Israel in Middle East Region.

#### **1.4 Objective of Study**

1. To analyze factors, causing the instability in Middle Eastern region.
2. To evaluate the Israeli interest in Middle East region.
3. To explore as how Israel using the instability of Middle East for the expansion as a Greater Israel.
4. To examine the role of Middle Eastern countries towards stability of the region.

#### **1.5 Research Questions**

1. What are the factors, causing the instability in Middle Eastern region?
2. What are the Israeli interests in Middle East region?
3. How Israel using the instability of the Middle East for the expansionist design?
4. What are the roles of regional countries towards stabilization of the Middle Eastern region?

#### **1.6 Significance of Study**

The Middle East has long been one of the most unstable regions in the world. Currently the region faces the instability because of the ongoing situation in the region. Lots of things behind this instability, lack of democracy, no rule of law, lack of education etc. This instability created lots of things, like unemployment, refugee problems, extremism, and financial problems. Moreover important thing is that they created a clear way for greater Israeli state. The finding of this study how the instability in Muslim countries of Middle East gets benefits to Israel. And who will be ultimate beneficial of these chaoses in Middle East. Thus, the final conclusion and recommendation of this research study will prove how gets the way for a greater Israeli state. Moreover, this study will prove constructive and valuable analysis to the leaders and policy-

formulations. For the layman and future researcher, this study will uncover critical areas and open new dimensions to comprehend and future explore.

### **1.7 Limitations of the Study**

This study is limited to the instability in Middle East; A prelude to Greater Israel. The study will cover the specific topic in the region. The area while conducting the research will use primary and secondary sources of the study. Moreover, the study will focus on instability in the region and a prelude of greater Israeli state, that how competes in the region.

### **1.8 Operational Definition of Major Terms**

Stability – refers to constancy, peace and resilience, mainly political and peace.

Proxy-war – refers to a war instigated by a major power which does not itself become involved.

Extremism – refers to the holding of extreme religious views.

Balkanize—refers to divide a region into smaller mutually hostile states.

Halakah –refer to external welfare relief.

Combustible –refer to able to catch fire and burn easily.

Galvanize –refer to cause (people) to become so excited.

Security Dilemma –refer to a situation in which actions taken by a state to increase its own security cause reactions from other state.

Holocaust –refer to a large amount of destruction especially by fire or heat, or the killing of large number of people.



Rivalry – refer to competition for the same objective or for superiority in the same field.

Zionist –refer to a supporter of Zionism, a person who believes in the development and protection of a Jewish people in what is now Israel.

Anarchy –refer to a lack of organization and control in a society or group, especially. Because either there is no Government or it has no power.

Hegemony –refer to (especially of countries) the position of being the strongest and most powerful and therefore able to control others.

Hybrid Actors –refer to are those actors which they are not fully sovereign but progressively shake power and control territory.

Insurgency –refer to the violent struggle of a group of people who refuse to accept their government's power.

## **1.9 Theoretical Framework**

This research will be conducted under the light of Neo Realism and Hegemonic Stability Theories. Both theories have dominant influence in the international relations. Neo-Realism, also known is Structural Realism because Neo realism is offshoot of Realism which simply focuses in states centric and national interest. Hegemonic Stability Theory, according to this theory major power must play their role for the stability in the world, because the major power control over raw material, strong military and good economy. Like British play hegemonic role in 19<sup>th</sup> century for the stability of the world.

### **1.9.1 Neo Realism**

Neo Realism theory was firstly introduced by Kenneth Waltz in his 1979 book “Theory of International Politics”. According to this theory the power is ultimate goal for survival. There is no unify power above state, it means there is no guarantee to any state attacks or invaded other state (Ngan, 2016). Mearchiemer claimed, power is the leading and final goals for survivals. Every player in the game internationally and domestically wants to gain power for survival. They would do anything, make alliance and broke alliance for power.

Every state wants power and hegemony over other. The international system is anarchic and every state seeks power to be dominated over other, because of state behavior show that either state is offensive or defensive. That’s the reason which Middle Eastern states follow the concept of Neo Realism.

Neo Realism favored of bipolar system in international system. But unfortunately, currently the world system based on unipolar system. The unipolar system does not have good circumstances on Middle East. The well-known idea of “Security dilemma” was established by John Harz in his book “Idealist Internationalism and the Security Dilemma” (1950) states wants to enhance its own security reduce the security of other states.

### **1.9.2 Hegemonic Stability Theory and its Implications**

The Hegemonic Stability Theory is a famous theory of Political Science and Economic. Anarchy states securing its vital national interests, therefore stability can only be attained with the presence of one hegemonic power to capable dominating the others (Joshua & Glodstein, 2005).

The advocates of this theory believes that if the existing hegemonic or a dominating actors falls, it would simply pave its way towards the collapsed of entire international political structure. Moreover, it is also true to say that whenever a hegemonic is practicing its diplomacy, political, economic or cultural interaction with other countries, infect is an attempt of dominating its power and flexing its muscle abroad. In this context, hegemony is one country's ability to individually influence the rest of the world to act as he wishes and dominate others.

Charles Kindleberger the scholar deeply associated with this hegemonic stability theory; he had believed that the Great Depression between the two World Wars was due to the absence of any strong hegemonic power in the world, which would drive the world out from this chaos (Kindleberger, 1973).

According to this theory the stability in the international order can only be attained if a global power prevails in a particular region or at global level. It will dominate the entire system due to its material resources and tangible factors of power. The advocate of this theory have pointed the Britain's hegemonic role in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and US role in the 20<sup>th</sup> century especially during the World War II, they sustained the free world from Soviet Block and Fascists (Kindleberger, 1973).

## 2. Literature Review

The rise of Israel in Middle East was very difficult story. Numerous scholars asserted that the major cause for the formation of Jewish state was the emotion of condolences of western power with Jewish after the Holocaust. Ben-Yehuda and Sandler sensed that the holocaust make “massive boost” for the formation of the Jewish Nation. The Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, who in his speech in General Assembly September 2007 he said “for more than 60 years Palestine, as repayment for the loss they happened through the war in Europe, has been below occupation of unlawful Zionist Government (Adelman, 2008).

“*The politics of expansion*” book is written by Nur Masalha in 2000. This source is relevant to the existing study. The author says, a history of Israel’s expansionist policies, focusing on the time from the June war of 1967 to the present day. He demonstrates that imperialist policies of Israel run the political area from left to right. The author argues the main problem of conflict between Zionism and native Palestine ever land, territory, demography and water. Israel made a policy to expel the Palestinians, either by conflict or peaceful measures (Masalha, 2000).



Figure 2: Greater Israel Map (RT)

Daniel Gordis is Israeli writer, he wrote a book *Israel: "A Concise History of a Nation Reborn"*. In his book he said, how a small country become a world global concerns, and how Israel become world advanced economy and technology. There is no doubt; Israel is a strong economy and militarily state in the Middle Eastern Region (Gordis, 2016). Moreover 100 years ago, the father of Israeli state Theodor Herzl started a movement, which called Zionist Movement. In this movement he demanded a Jewish state for Jewish people in Palestine territory. Currently, Israel celebrated 70<sup>th</sup> years of independent. The story of Israel is very thrilled; Israel fought several wars with Arab world but still Israel survival (Gilbert, 2018).

In 1982, Oded Yinon, the former senior official with the Israeli Foreign Ministry notably wrote in his book that every Arab dispute is in Israeli's interest. As he specially targeting the Syria conflict. This is the Yinon plan Israeli strategic plan to protect Israeli regional advantages through the divided of the nearby Arab States into minor and weaken state. As British writer Ben

Judah declares “Israel welcomes chaos on its border. Lots of document accessible, including Yinon plan, which outlines to the demolition of Syria is one of the strategy of Israel. And also the email of Hillary Clinton the helm, arrange a civil war in Syria to benefits Israel (Fildis, 2017).

Moving the US embassy to Jerusalem and allowing the Israeli expansions in occupied territory and beyond. Keep in mind this is not strictly a Zionist project for the Middle East. It is the interest of US Foreign Policy. And also the Washington visions to balkanize the Middle East (Shahak, 1982).

Most analysts on the Middle East and American foreign relation are now realizing that the instability in the region has a lot to do with Israel and it's helpful. According to the wiki leaks archive the former US Secretary of State Hilary Clinton, told the Israel intelligence service the ongoing war in Syria between Sunni-Shiite supportive for Jewish State, the email sent American journalist Sidney Blumenthal to Hilary Clinton “ Iran lose its ally” in region, if the president Bashar Assad Government disintegrate. Another email of Hilary Clinton quoted here, she wrote on 30/11/2015: “the best way to help Israel deal with Iran's growing nuclear capabilities is to help the people of Syria overthrow the regime of President Bashar Assad (Atzmon, 2016).

While there are Israeli reconciliation continuities with Arab states, recently Israeli prime Minister visited to Oman, UAE and Qatar sports and cultural activities center, the Israeli anthem playing and its flag flying. This reconciliation gave a clear message to world Israel making good relations with Arab world (Dawn, 2018).

The Middle East is the region involve in different issues, contemporary issues in Middle East: Saudi-Iran rivalry, sectarian issues, and the rise of Islamic State etc. And who will be

leading the Middle East. And other way Israel oppressed innocent Palestine's (Khan 2015). The Arab-Israeli issue is the one most explosive and shocking issue in the Arab world (Totten, 2016). The Gulf war makes the Middle East more difficult. Because, this attack makes the region more complicated, war start between states to state. Then US invasion in Iraq, the whole Middle East was changed. America use force against Saddam, and effected common people, in the result non-state actor arises (Rahma, 2017).

In 2002 the peace initiative became in Arab League meeting in Beirut, Lebanon. Fifty-Seven Muslim states-including all Arab States- said make full diplomatic relation with Israel for comprehensive peace agreement with Palestine. But Israel never said yes, because the plan needs to accept a million of Palestine refugee. Its means Israel didn't want to accept this agreement, because this is against the interest of Israeli State (Totten, 2016).

Moreover, the main issue in Middle East rivalry between Iran –Saudi Arabia. Both are Muslim country, one is Shiite leading by Iran, and another is Sunni led by Saudi Arabia. Both countries want to lead Middle East. The situation became worse in 2012, when Saudi Arabia executed 47 people. One is Shiite cleric Namir-Al-Namir, he said against the royal family. After the execution of this man, the Iran reaction immediately came, said Saudi Arabia show neglectful in his political and religious objectives (Rafael, 2016). Saudi-Iran two powerful states in the region, both countries want regional supremacy.

In 2003 US attacks on Iraq, and overthrow Saddam Government. Sunni-Arab country had been Iran hostile, and counter Iran influence in Iraq, on that time the rivalry has been raise. Moreover, in 2011, Arab Spring had been using Iran and Saudi-Arabia for their influence, particularly in Syria, Lebanon, and Yamen. In Syria, Iran support Bashar al-Assad government,

and Saudi Arabia support rebels group. In contrast, in Yemen Saudi Arabia is support government, while Iran is support rebels Houthi. However, in Lebanon Iran support Hezbollah, while Saudi Arabia support Sunni group (Jonathan, 2017).

The Arab-Israeli issue was a tension in last many decades. At the end of Second World War, the conflict was start between two states. When UNO General Assembly divided British mandate Palestine. This conflict only related to land (SBS, 2019). According to Arab, the birth of Israel was a plan against Arab States. In 1948, some Muslims country, such as Syria, Jordan, Iraq and Egypt announced war against Israel. But interestingly Israel always emerged in all wars as a winning player (IAS, 2019).

The Arab spring is also known as pro-democracy movement in several Muslim countries, including Tunisia, Syria, Morocco, Egypt, Bahrain and Libya. The event was begun from Tunisia in 2011. The Arab Spring was a group of protest; want to change the status quo, such as Egypt, Libya and Tunisia. Some protests were successful in his mission, such as Egypt, Libya and Tunisia. And some are going on and reached a bloody movement, such as Syria, and Yemen (History, 2019).

The Zionist plan currently link with the siege on Gaza, a close relationship to the 2006 war on Lebanon, the ongoing war on Syria, the 2003 invasions of Iraq, the 2011 war on Libya, Iraq and Yemen (shahak,1982). Arghavan in his research paper wrote six interest of America in Middle East, one is survival of Israel (Arghavan, 1998). Becoming a greater state of Middle East one factor behind is America; if any problem faces to Israel they solve it. And also give them a lot of funds, Jon Kerry delivered speech he said we gave more than 1/2 of our entire global foreign military financing goes to Israel.



## **2.1 Gap in Literature**

It's absolute reality that relations among Muslim states are not friendly. Several disputes are going on in Muslim States like, Saudi-Iran rivalry, Syrian crisis, Yamen war, rise of ISIS and so on. And these crises have greater influence over the region which automatically creates insecurity. The people of region faced many problems such as autocratic government, no democratic reforms and etc. these all are the gap of literature review which do not discuss by any scholar yet.

## **3. Research Methodology**

This research study will use the qualitative method which requires gathering relevant data from the specified documents in order to analyze the material and at a more complete understanding instability in Middle East and its paving way for greater Israeli state. The sources of qualitative data would be primary and secondary sources. Primary sources of data collection would be interviews, focus group discussion and; secondary sources of data collection of books, articles, governmental report, and organization report, opinion editorials from prominent intellectuals from international and national newspaper and credible websites and research journals. At the end of the concluding remarks of recommendations would be based on content analysis of the reviewed sources and collect data. Primary data for this research would be based on interviews and focus group discussion (FGD), interviews, of retired military officials, diplomats, officials of foreign office, political figures, international member of think tank and academicians. These interviews will be semi-structured questions based on both open-ended and close-ended nature.

### **3.1 Research Design**

A research design is an overall structure and master plan of any research. It is a comprehensive plan for data collection in an empirical research project. It is a “blueprint” for empirical research aimed at answering specific research questions or testing specific hypothesis and must specify at least three processes: (1) the data collection, (2) the instrument development process, and (3) the sampling process (Bhattacharjee, 2012). It is an expert system providing research strategies, scheduling and budgeting. This research work is design, focusing mainly on instability in the Middle East and its perceived way for a greater Israeli state. This research will use descriptive, argumentative, competitive and analytical approaches to reach any solid conclusion.

### **3.2 Population**

A research population is generally a large collection of individuals or objects that is the main focus of a specific query. It is for the benefits of the population that research is done. However, due to the large size of populations, researchers often cannot test every individual in populations; it is too expensive and time-consuming. This is the reason why researchers rely on sampling techniques: collections of individuals or objects known to have similar characteristics (Johnson, Reynold & Mycoff, 2008). All individuals or objects within a certain population usually have a common, binding characteristic or trait. A population is any well-defined set of units of analysis. It does not necessarily refer to people. A population might be people or it could be a set of countries, corporations, governments and states. The instability in the Middle Eastern Region: A Prelude to greater Israel is to be each and every individual of society, government or state.

### **3.3 Instrumentation**

Instrument refers to the tools or means by which investigation attempt to measures variables or items of interest in data-collections process. The instrument is the device used by investigators for collecting data.

### **3.4 Data Collection**

Data collection is a process of collecting information's from all the relevant sources to find answer to the research problem, test the hypothesis and evaluate the outcomes. Data collections method can be divided into two categories: Primary method of data collections and Secondary method of data collections. Moreover, there is a vast amount of literature on the formation, basic goals and evolution of the instability in Middle East Region, disturb the peace of region. The researcher will collect relevant data from this voluminous literature and delineate the most relevant scholarly works to complete his study. As a qualitative study method, on the contrary do not involves number or mathematical calculations. Qualitative research is closely associated with words, sounds, feeling, emotions, colors, and others element that are non-quantifiable. Qualitative studies aim to ensure greater level of depth of understanding and qualitative data collection methods includes interviews, questioners, with open-ended questions, focus groups, observations game, or role-playing case studies etc.

### **3.5 Data Analysis**

Data Analysis is a process of inspecting, cleaning, transforming and modeling data with the objective of discovering useful information, arriving at conclusions and supporting the decisions making process is called Data Analysis. According to Shamoo and Rensik (2003) various analytic procedures "provide a way of drawing inductive interference from data and

distinguished the signal (the phenomenon of interests) from the noise (statistical fluctuation) present in the data.

Data analysis is going to involve identifying common patterns within the response and critically analyzing the data to achieve research aims and goals. Once the data is collected, the researcher will analyze the collected data using the theories of Neo-Realism and Hegemonic Stability Theory to show how the instability in Middle East, paving way for a greater Israeli state. The researcher will also use comparative and analytical analysis to reach any conclusion.

#### **4. Organization of the Study**

##### **1. Introduction.**

First chapter will be introduction of the study. This section will comprise of relational of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions and significance of the study. Then there will be a detailed discussion of literature review and this research work will try to fill the gap found for this study. Research methodology is an extremely important part of the research work. It includes the research design, research population, sample techniques, data collections and data analysis.

##### **2. Theoretical Framework.**

Second chapter will be discussing the Theoretical Framework of the research, under the light of Neo-Realism and Hegemonic Stability Theory. How the Israel state are making their policy under these two theories.

### 3. The Regional and Domestic Issues of Middle East.

Third chapter will discuss the Regional and Domestic issues and problems of Middle Eastern region, such as, Syrian Civil War, ISIS, Israeli Palestine Conflict, and Iraq War so on.

### 4. Israeli Interests in the Middle East Region.

Fourth chapter will be discussing and cover the Israeli interest in Middle East region, such as economic interest, political interest, military and geo-strategic interest in the region.

### 5. How Regional Countries view Israeli Expansion.

Fifth chapter will be discussing and cover how the regional countries view Israeli expansion. Such as, Gulf States, Iran, Turkey and Neighboring countries of Israel.

### 6. Major Findings and Conclusion

The final chapter will be based on findings of overall collected data preceded by general recommendations for the regional and international players within the regions. At the end, list of references and bibliography will be provided.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **Theoretical Framework**

#### **Introduction**

This chapter will discuss the Theoretical Framework of thesis, under the lights of Neo-Realism and Hegemonic Stability Theories. The researcher has been analyzing thesis throughout these two theories. Firstly, introduce the theories then implications of the theory on thesis. Neo-Realism is a theory, which considers very dominant theory in international relations. Moreover, Neo-Realism was introduced by Kenneth Waltz in his book “*Theory of International Politics* 1979”. While Hegemonic Stability Theory introduced by Economist Charles Kindleberger. He said, without hegemonic stability theory peace can't possible. Both theories have strong consequences on Middle Eastern situations, which the researchers will analyze in throughout the thesis.

#### **2.1 Neo-Realism**

Neo-Realism is the offshoot of Realism; it was given by Kenneth Waltz and called him the father of Neo-realism. Neo-realism modified the Classical realism, and argued human nature doesn't responsible for conflict among the nations. Neo-realist argues that, the absence of an absolute authority, and international system based on Anarchy. That's why the conflict creates among the states (BlogSpot, 2013). Neo-realism is a dominant model in the study of international relations. Which was introduced Kenneth Waltz in his book “*Theory of International politics* 1979”.

relations. Which was introduced Kenneth Waltz in his book "*Theory of International politics* 1979".

According to Neo-realism, state is the main actor in international politics, no power above the state. All states always seek for power (Ngan, 2016). In Neo-realism system structure play a role in world politics. Kenneth Waltz considered war is always happening in an Anarchical system. He quoted the cold war era, and stated that, cold war was one of the most peace eras, due to bipolar system, such as United State and Soviet Union. In bipolar system two powers maintain each other. And Multi polar system was existed during World War II. In multi polar system the War could be happen anytime (Jackson, 2013).

Neo-realism, exposed State seeks all these things for theirs deeds- and States belief that doing every efforts whatever "defense" or "offense". This is not to say that every country wants survival, that some state is not offensively minded. This defends on the preferences of all state. Morgenthau belief that all states for power maximizes, Waltz assumed that the balance of power is the dominant factor in world affairs (Telbami, 2002). Structural realist disregard cultural differences among states system, because international system creates mainly same advantages for great power. Whether state democratic or autocratic only one matter relates, how they act towards other states (Mearsheimer, 2007).

## **2.2 Basic Assumptions of Neo-Realism**

- State are the rational actor in international system, want power and maximize benefits.
- Realism theory, given assumption human nature is egoistic, self-interest and gave preference self-interest to morality.
- International system based on anarchic system.

- Neo-realism, consider the absence of government, means international system based on anarchy. The lack of rule-making and enforcing authority.
- State are unaware the intentions or the attacks of other states.
- In international politics, security, power and survival are the main factor; all the world states want to attain security, power, and also trying to seek for more power. All states wanted to be strength through military.

Neo-realism is systematic approach of state behavior. There are six basic concepts of Neo-realism: like anarchy, structure, capabilities, distribution of power, polarity and national interest. Anarchy and structures give two main suggestions: firstly, international system is “self-help system, and international system based on anarchy. Second, state nonstop feel threatened by a potential attacks from other, where no one ordinary by virtue of authority. Country always feel insecure, state need capabilities to depend itself, this is the main capability. Distribution of capabilities among the state in international system, refer to the fourth concept, distribution of power. Polarity means system of international, such as unipolarity, bipolarity and multiparty. And final national interest, every state wants to be survival in international system for own national interest (Gate, 2012).

According to Waltz, states increase their capabilities on the basis of two forms internal and external. Internal, increase military, economic capabilities, and external making alliance. Waltz argued, theory balance of power, in this theory state wants to maintain their position in international politics (Gonzalez, 2015). Waltz; explain Classical realism argument about diplomacy, domestic, institutions, national morale and human nature are irrelevant in international system. He stated that state is the sole rational actor in international system.



### 2.3 Neo-Realism and its Forms

Neo-realism divided into two parts, “Defensive” and “Offensive” realism. Defensive realism, Waltz expressed that state need security to defend from foreign aggressions. Offensive realism, Waltz discussed that state wants more and more power rather than security (Makeown, 2017). Defensive realism and offensive realism are subordinate within the Neo-realism theory. Both parts of it emerged separated work of two American political scientists. Defensive its discovered from the 1979 book “*Theory of International Politics*” by Kenneth Walt’s, while offensive realism discovered from the 2001 book “*The Tragedy of Great Power*” by Kohn J. Mearsheimer.

Defensive realist argued that state make policies and tragedy to promoting security through defensive approach. While offensive realist assumes that state make policies and program to promoting security. And also, want more power to influence the international system (Alfarsi, 2017). According to Neo-realism, states have divisions of behaviors, Defensive realist and Offensive realist. Defensive realist, how much power is enough? In defensive actors state seeks power at the expense of other states. State seek the power of others states. Offensive realist state seeks for survivals, aside from defense. State should pursue hegemony, because they do not aware the intentions of other states (Ngan, 2016).

Defensive realism, States secure themselves against all foreign threats. State seek to protect their power through security maximizations, decrease the intentions of others states. While offensive realism all states seeks to maximizes their power relative to other state, because they know only the powerful state can guarantee to survivals (Willis, 2008). Offensive realist

state wants security by internationally, reducing the security of others. While in defensive realist state doesn't want security in this process, but defend itself (Shiping, 2016).

In Offensive realism, international system makes a way for nations to gain power and influence others states. As Robert Gilpin argues "as the power of a state increase, it seeks to expand its territorial influence, and/or its domination of the international Economy" For defensive realists, state want and seeks power to see the power of other nations (Lobell, 2010).

## **2.4 Hegemonic Stability Theory (HST)**

The Hegemonic stability theory was firstly introduced by economist Charles Kindleberger after an evaluated into the history of the Great Depression. Kindleberger (1973, 1981) proposed that the Great power states must provide public goods in order to maintain stability in the international system. In Robert koehence (1984) words, hegemonic possess have to control over raw materials, sources of capital and control over markets (Ting Liu, 2011).

The Hegemonic stability theory (HST) defined by two way; the first by, such as Kindleberger (1970), Kohence (1984) and Ikenberry (1990) focus on international political economic system while, the second pursued by theories, such as Gilpin (2011) looked at the role of hegemonic governance in reducing violent conflict (Ahmadi, 2014 ). Moreover, The Hegemonic stability theory was developed by several political scientists like George Modelski, Robert Koehane, Robert Gilpin and Stephen Krasner.

A hegemonic is a state to have all the capacity to lead the rest of the world in international system. Krasner defines two states to be hegemonic, British Empire till the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century and America onwards. Hegemonic stability theory is a very helpful to analyze the relations among the state (Wiki, 2010). According to hegemonic stability theory, the

superior authority or actor play a positive role to spread the capitalist economic system, and keep the eye in world system to protect the people interest. Securing the global resources in an appropriately prices (Ahmadi, 2014).

## **2.5 Main Characteristic of Hegemonic Power**

- The hegemonic power must be a strongest military power in the world, than any of its rivals.
- The hegemonic power must have advance technology and economy.
- The hegemonic power has a large range of political allies and friendly relations with large nations in the world.
- A hegemonic power working with allies to control the world institutions.

The theory of hegemonic stability is very imported for stability and instability in international politics. Theory argues there must be a hegemonic power, means a single power in international system for political stability. The hegemonic power punishment the aggressor power and maintain the stability in international politics. Hegemonic power has the incentives to provide the public goods and share with others weak country, because, it is the ability of military, security and politics. Hegemonic power should be provides security to weak state. The period of (1919, 1939) was most unstable period, because of the absence of one hegemonic power. Besides that, international institutions could not effective without the support of hegemonic power. Like the League of Nations was formed in 1919 with the strong support of United States President Woodrow Wilson. Moreover, after the U.S senate rejecting the League of Nations and refused to support President Woodrow Wilson. The league was failed in his mission (Yazid, 2015).

Susan Strange wrote in his book "*The Persistent Myth of Lost Hegemony*". He has suggested four elements for Structural power that can call hegemonic global positions. He said security, productions, finance and knowledge. These four element provides protection, threaten, development, and ability to dominant the others states (Strange, 1987). Kindleberger argued, there would be a hegemonic power, for the stabilized the world system, he gave the example of Great Britain in 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century, and America postwar years the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Schubert, 2003).

## **2.6 Implications of Theories**

The Middle East is a region, have a great important in international level due to, its geo-politics and geo-economics. At the same time, it is consider very important region for all majors' power such as Russia, China, and United States (U-S). In now days, these majors powers play important role in the region, engage to compete each other, and achieve their interest in the region. However Neo-realisms argued that state is the main actor in international system, they want to survival and defend itself. Moreover, Middle East states follow defensive and offensive behaviors for their survivals. So, therefore international system based on anarchic system which means the absence of higher authority to maintain rule and regulations.

Neo-realism school of thoughts argues, security is the first priority of every state to pursue its security from opponent's states. So, Neo-realism is the dominant theory in international system, because it argues state has always focused on national interest. Moreover, one hegemonic power should need to exist in international system or regime, because to keep influence on others states. For stability, hegemonic stability theory is imported. Koehence argues hegemonic states need to control over raw- materials, source of capital and production on

market. However, a Middle East country a lack of hegemonic states to influence others states to maintain stability. Further, if any state is a hegemonic, they used for it's his benefits.

TH 2-3-578

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **The Regional and Domestic Issues of Middle East**

#### **Introduction**

This chapter focuses on the Regional & Domestic issues of Middle Eastern Region. The region considers in recent times one of the unstable region in the world. Several issues involves, which makes the region unstable. Therefore, the regional & domestic issues are the core issue for the instability, which are: Palestine-Israel conflict, Non-State Actor, Arab spring, Syrian civil war, Saudi-Iran conflict, Yemen war and Iraq war etc. These are the issue, which the researcher is trying to analyze in this chapter. The following most important issues exist in Middle East region, which make the way of instability in the region.

#### **3.1 Israel-Palestinian Conflict**

Israeli-Palestine conflict has been a long issue in Middle East and effect a whole region. Some scholars argue that, if this conflict solve, half of the problems automatically solve. Zionism is Israeli national ideology. According to Zionism many religion in the world have own nationality, as well as religion. Like, Judaism is a nationality as well as religion. And French people earn France or China people deserve China. Jewish also have own state in their ancestral home. Theodor Herzl a secular Austrian-Jewish journalist was the first to started international movement around 1896 (Beauchamp, 2018). Since the end of World War II, the Israel-Palestine conflict has been one of the most terrible issues. Between 1882 and 1948 a large scale of Jewish moved to Palestine. After the First World War, British took control of Palestine. And in 1917 British officially declared Jewish state in Palestine (SBS News, 2019).

moved to Palestine. After the First World War, British took control of Palestine. And in 1917 British officially declared Jewish state in Palestine (SBS News, 2019).

Therefore, in 1947 the UN General Assembly (UNGA) passed 181 resolutions and decided to divide the British mandate Palestine into two states. The decision was accepted by Jewish leader and the Arab side declared war (BBC, 2019). By 1949 the war, Palestine called the war of Nakba, (the Catastrophe) and Israel called the war of independence. But the exile of Palestinian is continued. Now 78 percent land own by Israel. The Jordan controls the West Bank and Egypt control the Gaza. Later on, these areas given to Palestine, but unfortunately Palestine controlled nothing (Spangler, 2019).

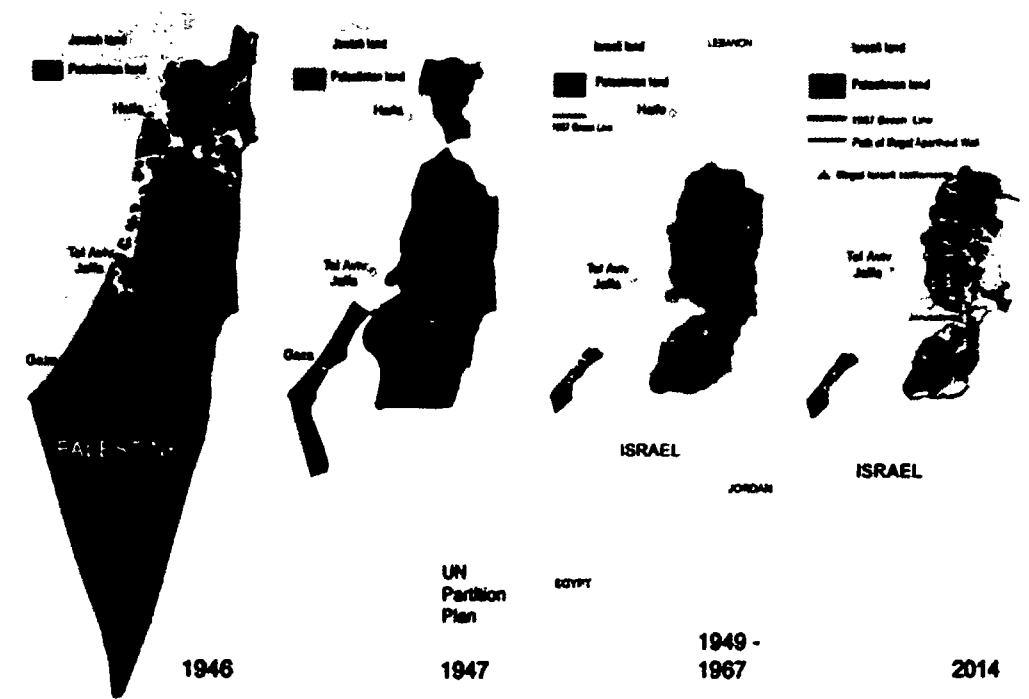


Figure 3 Palestine Land captured Israel by war BBC

Moreover, Abdel Nasser the ruler of Egypt wanted to nationalize the Suez Canal. But Britain and France consider themselves the owner of the Suez Canal. And they supported Israel to attacks on Egypt. October 29, 1956 the second war began, and Israel wanted to capture the

Suez Canal. Later on, Russian and United States kept pressurized on both Israel and Egypt to accept the ceasefire (Khan, 2013).

Meanwhile, after the creation of Israel, Israel expanded his territory many time, through Wars. In 1967 The Arab-Israeli War, known as 6 Day War, through this war Israel defeated Arab armies. Israel annexed Golan Heights, West Bank, East Jerusalem the Gaza Strip, and all of the Sinai Peninsula, expended his territory 200 percent. Moreover, in November, 1979 between Israel-Egypt signed treaties, that, Israel withdrawal from the Sinai Canal. Besides, in May, 1983 another treaty was signed between Israel and Lebanon that, Israel withdrawal from Lebanon (Rowen, 2019).

The beginning of the Oslo Accord was silently in Norway 1993. In Oslo Accords, Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) recognized Israel state, and return Israel accepted Palestine self-Government (Editor, history, 2018). In 19 September 1993, the U.S President Bill Clinton announced United States, started talks with PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) and declared its Single representative of Palestine people. In November 1995, both leader Yasser Arafat and Yitzhak Rabin were signed another treaty called Oslo II. Finally, in 2000, both party leaders unable to solve their issues, and Oslo Accord considered workless (CNN, 2019). The conflict only related to land/territory. If the land is dividing on the equal bases, then the conflict will solve. Two-state solution is the only way for Israeli-Palestine conflict. The both country should accept the two-state solution (Witkin, 2011).



### Land swaps as part of a two-state solution

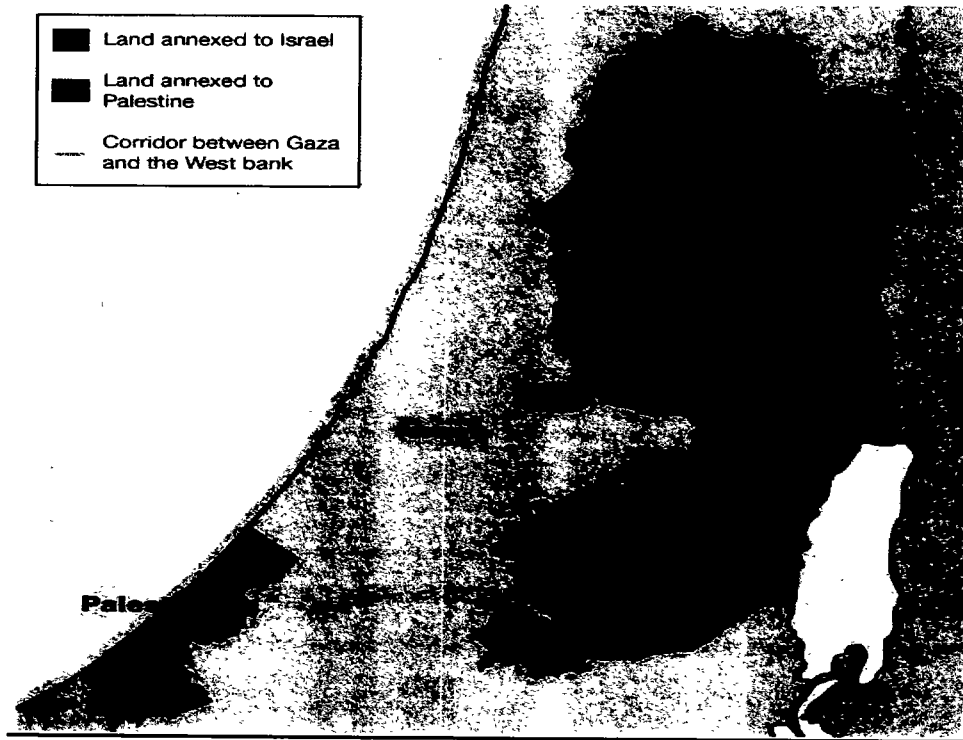


Figure 4 Two-State Solution Map (BBC)

### 3.2 Non-State Actor (NSA)

After the invasion of US-led Iraq in 2003, it created several problems. However the creations of many non-state and sub-state actors referred to “hybrid” actors. Hybrid actors are those actors which they are not fully sovereign but progressively shake power and control territory. The leading non-state actor is Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), one of the most dominant non-state actors in Middle East. The Hub of this group is Iraq. Moreover ISIS militants have utilized the demise of state structure to spread to Libya, Egypt, west and the Gulf States (Makdidi, 2017). ISIS was considered the successor of Al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI). Al-Qaeda play vital role against U.S in Iraq. But Al-Qaeda role decrease in 2007, and 2010 and Abu Bakr-Al Baghdadi took controls of the group (Sprusansky, 2014).

However ISIS also known as Islamic State, and consider West their enemy. The group captured Mosul, Iraq last June. Abu Bakr-Al Baghdadi has been its leader since May 2010. The difference between Islamic State and others jihadist organization are Islamic State want territory to rule over it. ISIS bureaucracy is divided into civil and military arms and its territory into provinces. Others jihadist group works in different places and want spread of its autonomy (Wood, 2015).

### ISIS existing places in Iraq & Syria

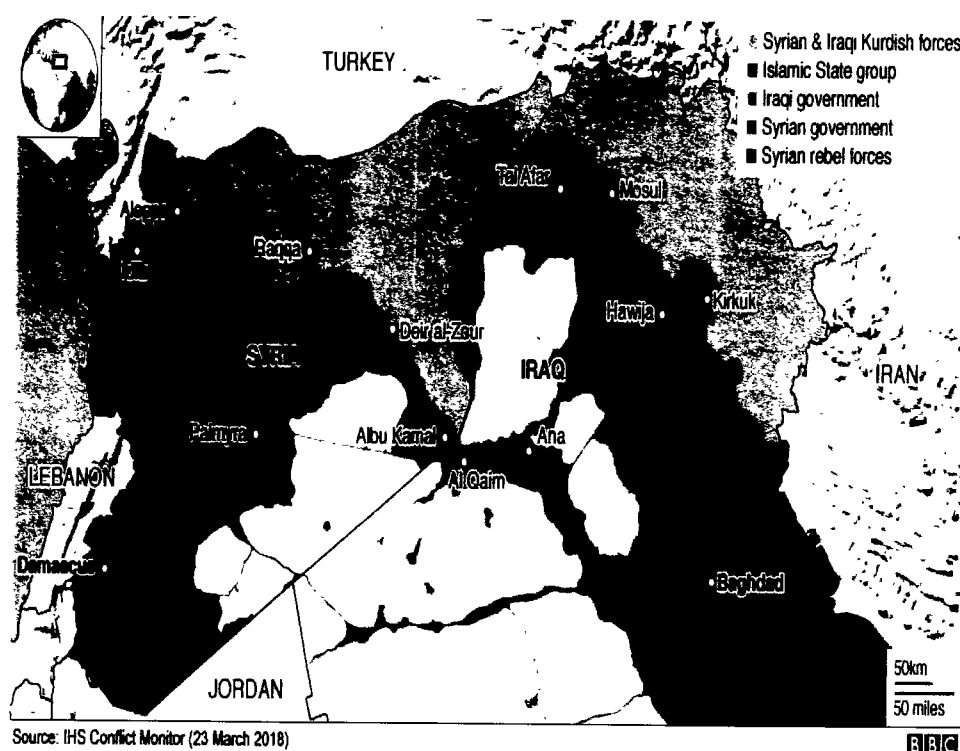


Figure 5 ISIS existing places in Iraq & Syria (BBC)

According to the Defense Intelligence Agency of America reveal ISIS had as numerous as 30, 000 fighters in Iraq and Syria, more than Al-Qaeda. 2011, Al-Qaeda had 700-1000 fighters in Iraq (Cafarella, 2019). About the Money of ISIS, ISIS is earning more than \$10 million in each month. Earning of this money on different ways, such as gathering of taxes and fees, blackmailing and export the oils from the area which ISIS occupied (Rown & McNiff, 2017).

Moreover the insurgencies of the group are not only concerns at the two borders of Iraq and Syria. ISIS exists in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Egypt, Indonesia, Nigeria, Yemen, Saudi-Arabia and Pakistan. In 2015 the group captured territory in Libya (Laub, 2016). However, the U.S retired Marine Corps general who led Americans army against terrorist organizations said, that, the ISIS group still remains much active (Grady, 2019).

Joby Warrick wrote a book on ISIS "*Black Flag*" he said I meet with diplomats and spics, general and head of the state, many of whom said ISIS is the biggest threat than al-Qaeda. And also said the Black Flag is an outstanding and ultimate history that tells today ISIS is very dangerous extremist group (Warrick, 2016). Today, ISIS and Al-Qaeda rival for influence over Islamist extremist group in the world. Some experts believe that ISIS overtakes over al-Qaeda as the most powerful group in around the world (Beauchamp, 2015).

### **3.3 The Arab Spring**

The Arab Spring considered the anti-government and pro-democratic movement around the Middle East. When, Tunisia people out of home and started protest against Zine EL Abidine Ben Ali. The protest was successful in Tunisia. And after that, the effect of the protest overspread in others Arab countries (Manfreda, 2019). Therefore, a young man fired on him in front of Tunisia Government building, because bad behavior of police. Then, protest began in Tunisia and Abidine step-down within a month (National Public Radio, 2011). The protest also started in Egypt January, 2011 and Morocco February, 2011. Election hold in these three countries, authoritarian government converts into democratic government (Moghadoam, 2013). Meanwhile, social media played imported role in Arab Spring, many popular commentator used

for this is “Facebook Revolution”. People used social media in these revolutions, making videos and captured pictures, then shared on social media (Wolfsfeld-S-S, 2013).

After the successful protest in Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco, the movement spread in the other countries of Middle East. Like Yemen, Bahrain, Libya and Syria. In these countries the bloody protest continues between government and oppositions (Britannica, 2019). Finally, the Arab Spring accomplishes lots of things. The Arab people against the former government, and want changed. Nonetheless, the protest shows the power of common people as well as the power of social media. Besides that, the spring shows people living are blindly, and people don't have the right of freedom of expression (Blackmore, 2019).

According to the Saudi journalist Jamal Khashoggi in a 2018 speech, he said “the debate between Islam and Democracy conclusively ended with the coming of the Arab Spring”.

### **3.4 Syrian Civil War**

The Syrian Civil War has been started from unemployment, corruption and lack of political rights. Syrian people started protest against the president Bashar al-Assad. The successful Arab Spring around the neighbor countries of Syria, so the people inspired from them. They started pro-democratic movement in March 2011 from the Southern city of Deraa. And then movement quickly converted to civil war (BBC, 2019). The peaceful protest were started in Syria, 15 boys supported Arab Spring and writing about it. The Assad government tortured on them; one of them was killed during the torture. The Assad responded was aggressive and killing hundreds of people during the protest. At that time some military soldiers join rebel groups and Syria entered a war (Aljazeera, 2018).

Therefore, Arab Spring entered in Syria, disturbing 40 year of political stability and changed the country into unrest zone. Currently, country consider has been the roots place for sectarian war (Sharara-Kanj, 2014). When the war started in 2011, the four factions of fighting groups throughout the state: Kurdish Forces, Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), Others oppositions group (Such as Jaish al Fateh, an alliance between the Nusra Front and Ahrar-al-Sham) and Assad Government (CNN, 2019).

Fabrice Balanche wrote a book “Sectarianism in Syria’s Civil War” he said in his book the ongoing war in Syria does not linked with 2011 upheavals. Its root were linked at the time of Ottoman Empire, which demanded the divided the region. Currently the Syrian Civil War has been out of the hand of Syrians. The conflict now becomes a proxy war between regional and international factors. He added more, the Sectarianism has played in Syrian Conflict. However in 2011 the Syrian democratic revolution going into the sectarian conflict (Balanche, 2018).

Although, the Syrian Civil War; which began in 2011 and attracted the foreign actor in the war to escalate the conflict. The international actor profoundly influences the Syrian conflict. Christopher Phillips a pro-democracy American advocated given interview on Syrian War, he said Six external Protagonists---United States, Qatar, Iran, Saudi-Arabia, Turkey and Qatar have influenced in Syrian Civil War (Phillips, 2016).

Furthermore, in 2017 and 2018, United State launched military attacks on Syrian chemical weapons sites in Syria. The responded of Assad Government was: Amerika did nothing but foolish behavior. Moreover, American President Trump said, Amerika attacks on Syrian chemical weapons to deterrent these weapons, because this is against our national security interest. Otherwise United Nations launched some initiative for peaceful solution of conflict. In

2014, the UN mediator Lakhdar Brahimi apologized from Syrian people and said Assad government not serious in peace initiative. If the situations will continue, it will be a big threat for stability in the Middle Eastern Region (Marks, 2018).

Moreover, “*Destroying a Nation: the Civil War in Syria*” a book written by Nikolas Van Dam special envoy Netherland to Syria. He said in his book, Syria entered into civil and sectarian war, and considered has been the warzone, which is considering the reproduction of terrorist groups and refugee in modern history (Van Dam, 2017). Here, another book “Sectarianisms in Syria’s” written by Fabrice Balanche. He said in his book, the Syrian War now into a proxy war between regional and international forces. That created many problems and every one fight for their own benefit (Fabrice, 2018). Despite that, in 2011 the U.S President Barak Obama, U.K and France many time said to Assad to step-down, but he denied. Currently, U.S and European countries fight in Syria against the Terrorist groups with the support of Gul States. Meanwhile, with the strong support of Russia and Iran the Assad governments still continue (Britannica, 2019).

United Nations efforts to reach a diplomatic solution had unsuccessful. Geneva Peace Talks---a UN based conference for facilitating a political transitions led by UN special Envoys Staffan de Mistura have been failed to any solutions. A new peace talks began in Geneva in May 2017 with an eighteen person delegation from Syria has since stalled. Another peace talks initiating by Russia in Astana, Kazikitsan, with Iran, Turkey, member of Syria’s Government and armed opposition leaders resulted a ceasefire agreement but, unfortunately the ceasefire agreement was broken, when Syrian government attacks on rebel—held areas (CFR, 2019).

2014, the UN mediator Lakhdar Brahimi apologized from Syrian people and said Assad government not serious in peace initiative. If the situations will continue, it will be a big threat for stability in the Middle Eastern Region (Marks, 2018).

Moreover, "*Destroying a Nation: the Civil War in Syria*" a book written by Nikolas Van Dam special envoy Netherland to Syria. He said in his book, Syria entered into civil and sectarian war, and considered has been the warzone, which is considering the reproduction of terrorist groups and refugee in modern history (Van Dam, 2017). Here, another book "Sectarianisms in Syria's" written by Fabrice Balanche. He said in his book, the Syrian War now into a proxy war between regional and international forces. That created many problems and every one fight for their own benefit (Fabrice, 2018). Despite that, in 2011 the U.S President Barak Obama, U.K and France many time said to Assad to step-down, but he denied. Currently, U.S and European countries fight in Syria against the Terrorist groups with the support of Gul States. Meanwhile, with the strong support of Russia and Iran the Assad governments still continue (Britannica, 2019).

United Nations efforts to reach a diplomatic solution had unsuccessful. Geneva Peace Talks---a UN based conference for facilitating a political transitions led by UN special Envoys Staffan de Mistura have been failed to any solutions. A new peace talks began in Geneva in May 2017 with an eighteen person delegation from Syria has since stalled. Another peace talks initiating by Russia in Astana, Kazikitsan, with Iran, Turkey, member of Syria's Government and armed opposition leaders resulted a ceasefire agreement but, unfortunately the ceasefire agreement was broken, when Syrian government attacks on rebel—held areas (CFR, 2019).

In March 2019, after a four year American—backed Operation with the support coalition forces eliminate the Islamic state militants group (ISIS) from Syria. Now the bigger questions however, will be ending the ongoing civil war and rebuilding Syria. And a millions refugees and displaced people come to their home, and also creating a safety, secure, for the Syrian people. It will be very complex, but not impossible. This will be depends on foreign actors such as European Union (EU), America and others major power to reconstructed the Syria. Therefore, America and European Union supported the United Nations Security Council Resolution 2254, which call for “credible, inclusive and nonsectarian governance---free and fair elections—to the highest international standards of transparency and accountability”. None of under any pressure, likely under the Assad Government (Shatz, 2019).

Consequently, 13 million Syrian—displaced in Syrian Civil War, considering half of the Syria population. There is no solution to finished the conflict and solve the issues. The internally displaced people (IDPs) are growing day by day. International community is unable to get the solution of this conflict (Ferris & Kirisci, 2016). Moreover, according to the United Nation (UN) report 400, 000 Syrian were killed and roughly 5.7 million have fled the country. However, 6.1 million people are displaced internally (CNN, 2019).

Recently, the United States led forces backed from the Northern Syria, making way for Turkish forces, which regarded the Kurdish fighters as terrorist groups. Turkey launches military operations in Northern Syria against Kurdish Fighters, and said we will creator a safe zone for Syrian refugee which host by Turkey. However, American imposed sanctions and heavy tariffs on Turkey and demanded to stop this offensive behavior. Consequently, 130,000 people were displaced in this operation. And dozens of children get injuries of Turkish shelling. The United Nations warn the situations become worst, if the operation will not stop (Guzel & Mroue, 2019).



### 3.5 Saudi-Iran Conflict

The Saudi-Iran both are powerful neighboring countries in the Middle Eastern Region. The basic difference between the two countries is Iran belong to Shia Muslim community while Saudi Arabia belong to Sunni Muslim community. Saudi Arabia is birth place of Islam and consider themselves is true leader of Islam across the world. Moreover, both countries lead two sects in Islam. Shia peoples are looking towards Iran and Sunni people's community looking towards Saudi Arabia. Both countries want to dominate the Middle Eastern politics. Therefore, in 1979 the Iran Revolutions became a true Shia state, and challenged the Saudi Arabia in Middle East (Marcus, 2019).

Saudi Arabia and Iranian Rivalry is going to a serious issue in Middle East. Both countries want to own supremacy in the Middle Eastern region. Saudi-Arabia consider themselves is a sole power of Middle East, while Iran challenge them throughout the region. However, both countries follow different type of policy. Saudi Arabia having good relations with west and specially America, in contrast Iran considers America is hazardous enemy (Terrill, 2011).

Moreover, the religious is a basic difference between the two countries. Shia considers is minority in the Middle Eastern region. Iran supports those countries which have Shia sects. Indeed, Iran supports Assad government in Syria, Lebanon and Hezbollah militias. Saudi Arabia challenges the Iran hegemony in the region with the support of America and its allies (Spiegel, 2019).

## Saudi Arabia and Iran: Rivals in the Middle East

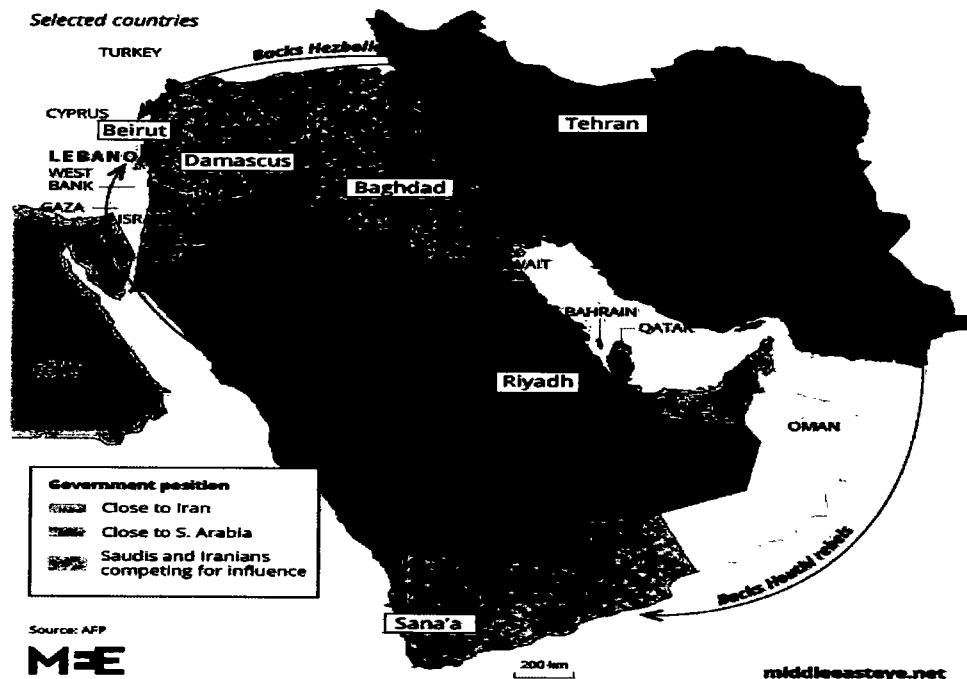


Figure 6 Saudi Arabia and Iran . Rivals in the middle east (AFP)

Although, after the Iran revolution in 1979 was reshape the relations between the Middle Eastern countries, and especially between Iran and Saudi Arabia. Both countries accept each other as rivalry in Middle East. This rivalry effect a whole region. Today instability in the region also link with this rivalry. Simon Mabon evaluates the difference between the two regions making insecure the region (Mabon, 2015). In 1980 Saddam Hussain invasions on Iran, gulf countries support Saddam Hussein with the support of America. After shortly the end of the war, Bahrain, Qatar, Kuwait Oman, UAE and Saudi Arabia made a Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) to improve security and economic prosperity to counter Iran in the region (Oprea, 2016).

Consequently, both countries confront each other in the region. Iran support Houthi group in Yemen, Bashar-al Assad in Syria and Hezbollah in Lebanon while, Saudi Arabia support the Hadi government in Yemen, and Sunni group in Syria. Both countries play proxy war in Middle

East to influence region politics (Salisbury, 2015). Bahrain is a corner center for Saudi Arabia and Iran, to shape their interest in Bahrain. Bahrain play important role in the shape of ideologically and geopolitically for both states. In 2011, the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) army entered in Bahrain to support Bahrain king Al-Khalifa ruling family against any rebellion. Otherwise 70-75 percent of population in Bahrain is Shia, while ruling family is Sunni (Mabon, 2012).

Currently, the attacks of Saudi oil tankers, Saudi Arabia claimed Iran behind this attack. The two countries become very closed to war. In this regard, American President Donald Trump said to journalist, if Saudi Arabia wants we were ready to attacks on Iran, but Saudi Arabia denied. Moreover, the situation becomes cold. When Saudi Arabia Crown Prince, Muhammad bin Salman, asked the leader of Pakistan and Iraq to speak with Iran counterparts about de-escalations. Iran responded was good and welcomed the gestures. Unfortunately, the Saudi Foreign Minister Adel al-Jubair wrote on twitter, that Saudi Arabia had not asked anyone to send message to Iran (Fassihi & Hubbard, 2019).

### **3.6 Yemen War**

Religiously, the Yemen divided largely the Zaidi Shi'ism predominates in Northern highlands with small Isma'ili minority and Sunni in majority. The sectarian issue has been continues between Zaidi and Sunni. Ironically, when the Sunni started to spread the ideology in across the Yemen then the Houthi movement began. From that time the situations become rising with time to time. Houthi want to expansion his role in the country (Baron, 2019). The Yemen conflict root had from the Houthi rebellion against Saleh during the previous decades. The

reasons were: corruptions, unemployment and food insecurity. But the situation became more occurred, when the Arab Spring change the Middle East (BBC, 2019).

Moreover, in 2014 the Yemen civil war began. When Shia Houthis rebel group raised and captured Sana the capital of Yemen. And demanding the low oil prices and formed new government. The group has a strong support of Iran (CFR, 2019). In January 2015, started tussle between Houthis and Hadi's Government, Houthis rebels detention several government member. The next month they made own government and declared constitution, Hadi fled for Saudi Arabia. The United States, many European Unions (EU) and Gulf countries closed their embassy in Yemen. Later on United Nations (UN) called Houthis to leave the Constitutional institutions (Laub, 2015).

Therefore, in March 2015, the Saudi Arabia and its allies Gulf countries started air strike on Houthi rebel and leave them economically isolates with the support of U.S intelligences. Later on, in September 2015 United Nation tries to talk between Houthi group and Yemeni Government, but unfortunately the talks was failed (CFR, 2019). When, the Saudi-led coalition consisting of 10 countries launch airstrike on Houthi rebels in Sanna. According to UNICIF, the Saudi military attacks affected more than 100, 000 people leave their home. Many scholars argued that, the Yemen War as sectarian issues between the two rivalries Saudi-Arabia and Iran. Saudi Arabia interventions in Yemen weaken its neighboring countries. While Iran gave statement about the interventions non-material need. However, Saudi Arabian was goal to maintain the status of kingdom in Middle Eastern Region (Darwich, 2018).

Halen Lackner wrote a book *Yemen in Crisis: "Road to War"*. In his book he said, Yemenis face has been the worsening and nutrition crisis. In December 2018 the UN's Integrated

Food Security phase classifications (IPC) published data. It found the situations become worse that has been claimed for previous two years. Approximately, 16 million people face lack of food insecurity, and 20 million people have need a humanitarians assistance (Lackner, 2019).

Moreover, World Health Organization (WHO) Osan Ismail added the water, fuel, electricity and sanitations shortage in over residential areas in Yemen. However, Food price increase in country by 40 percent in last few weeks. After the air strike began, the WHO warned if the health facility targeted, then the country lost the stocks of vacancies. In today, some parts of Yemen access to health care impossible (Burki, 2015).

Some of the Western countries support Saudi Arabia in Yemen. But indeed the air strikes of Saudi Arabia on Yemen killed and displaced many people. One side Western called us as champion of human rights and other side violated human rights in Yemen, with the support of Saudi Arabia (Independent, 2019). United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) said that 3 million Yemenis were displaced elsewhere in the country. And 280,000 thousands sought Asylum. Moreover, more than 40,000 thousand has been killed. Most of the people having face lack of foods and shelter (Aljazeera, 2018). Yemen is one of the poorest countries in the Gulf. If Saudi Arabia led-coalition doesn't stop the air strike, the situation becomes worse (Birchall, 2019).

### **3.7 Iraq War**

Iraq invasion of Kuwait in 1990, ended in Iraq lost the war defeated by United States-led coalition's forces in the Persian Gulf War. However, the Iraq Ba'th Party came to power led by Saddam Hussein. But his policy was harshly against the Kurds minority and Shia majority. And want to explode these people from Iraq. Moreover, the Iraqi aggressive policy and restrain Iraq

from any future aggression. United Nation imposed economic sanctions on Iraq, and stop Iraq to does not developed weapons of mass destruction and economic weapons. But Iraq refused, these orders and continually broken the UN resolutions (Britannica, 2019).

After date 9/11 attacks on America, U-S President said Saddam Hussein obtain chemical, biological and nuclear weapons and supported Al-Qaeda led by Usama bin-laden. And given 48 hours to Saddam to left down, while he refused America attacks on Iraq with the support of United kingdom in march 2003 (Augustyn, 2019). In 12 September 2002, the American President Bush address the United Nations General Assembly and warns Iraq that the military action we will take, if Iraq does not comply with UN resolution on disarmaments. After that, United Kingdom and America submit a draft resolution to UN, stating that Iraq miss the final opportunity to disarm peacefully. But this is opposed by France, Russia and Germany (BBC, 2016).

Nevertheless, The United State invasions in Iraq, nothing got but created chaos in the country and the region. The reason of invasion was that, Saddam Hussein's having weapons of mass destruction (WMD) program, and wanted to possess nuclear capability. Then United State, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice said, "we do not want the smoking gun to be a mushroom cloud". However, after the invasion weapons expert found that there is no evidence available of weapons of mass destructions, no one knows why America invaded on Iraq. But critics said, America want, to spread democracy, satisfy the oil, or Israel lobbies. Moreover, the Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld saw Iraq through the prism of status and reputation, variously arguing if February and July 2001 that ousting Saddam would "enhance US credibility and influence throughout the region and "demonstrate what US policy is all about" (Butt, 2019).

from any future aggression. United Nation imposed economic sanctions on Iraq, and stop Iraq to does not developed weapons of mass destruction and economic weapons. But Iraq refused, these orders and continually broken the UN resolutions (Britannica, 2019).

After date 9/11 attacks on America, U-S President said Saddam Hussein obtain chemical, biological and nuclear weapons and supported Al-Qaeda led by Usama bin-laden. And given 48 hours to Saddam to left down, while he refused America attacks on Iraq with the support of United kingdom in march 2003 (Augustyn, 2019). In 12 September 2002, the American President Bush address the United Nations General Assembly and warns Iraq that the military action we will take, if Iraq does not comply with UN resolution on disarmaments. After that, United Kingdom and America submit a draft resolution to UN, stating that Iraq miss the final opportunity to disarm peacefully. But this is opposed by France, Russia and Germany (BBC, 2016).

Nevertheless, The United State invasions in Iraq, nothing got but created chaos in the country and the region. The reason of invasion was that, Saddam Hussein's having weapons of mass destruction (WMD) program, and wanted to possess nuclear capability. Then United State, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice said, "we do not want the smoking gun to be a mushroom cloud". However, after the invasion weapons expert found that there is no evidence available of weapons of mass destructions, no one knows why America invaded on Iraq. But critics said, America want, to spread democracy, satisfy the oil, or Israel lobbies. Moreover, the Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld saw Iraq through the prism of status and reputation, variously arguing if February and July 2001 that ousting Saddam would "enhance US credibility and influence throughout the region and "demonstrate what US policy is all about" (Butt, 2019).

Moreover, some scholar argued that, the Iraq War were mostly effect the Middle Eastern region. Many Middle East experts said Iran got benefits from the war. Because after the war election held in Iraq, Ayatollah Ali al- Sistani Shia coalition leader got majority, and made government. However, he took government made good relations with Iran (Wong. 2008).

The former French President Jacques Chirac, who was clearly opposed the America invasion on Iraq 2003. Given interview to CNN, he said France clearly tell to U.S truth about the invasion. I am telling to America be careful, if you attack, this is going to very dangerous especially for the fight against international terrorism (Chappell, 2019). The cost of the Iraq War was estimate four thousands military officials killed, and thirty thousand injured. However, 85 thousand Iraqi people and armed forces had killed, during the fourth year of war (CFR, 2008).

### **3.8 Kurdish Issue**

The origins of Kurdish conflict can be linked from the collapse of Ottoman Empire after World War I. under the treaties of Serves and Lausanne established new boundaries in Middle Eastern region. Despite several promise, no separate-nation was created for Kurdish Community (Backgrounder, 2016). Moreover, the Kurdish issue one of the serious issue in Middle Eastern region. Kurdish community covers the 25, 35 million population of the region. And basically they are living in the boarder of Syria, Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Armenia. They are the 4<sup>th</sup> largest ethnic community in the Middle East. However, they never achieved a permanent state. Therefore, in the early of 20<sup>th</sup> century Kurdish people demanded a separate nation, generally referred to as “Kurdistan”. But after the World War I Western power remain them in minority (BBC, 2019).



Therefore, the issue of Kurds was resurfaced in the 1920, when the Middle East boarder solidified. British raised a question and supported Kurdish independent state in Iraq in the Treaty of Sevres. However, the Treaty of Lausanne, a peace treaty between allied power and Turkey; they could not include the provision of Kurdish independent state. In 1926 alliance power awarded Mosul to Iraq rather than Turkey. But the lack of communication with the Kurdish, the Kurdish independent nation dream was remained (Nader. H. A. S, 2016).

The issue of Kurdish in Turkey was started from the inception of Turkey in 1923, when Kamal Atatürk declared the Republic of Turkey. According to him, if those people who want to living in Turkey called themselves as Turks. However Non-Muslims population including Greek, Armenians, Jewish and Orthodox were exploded from Turkey. And Muslims minorities such as Kurds and Alevi's kept apart from social structure of Republic. Approximately, 13 million Kurds are living in Southeastern Turkey. According to Dr Fatma Muge Gocek, the Kurdish issue is currently defined as "the oppression and denial rights of majority groups (Adolfson, 2017).

Therefore, with the passage of time, in 1984, the Turkish Kurdish Community started a movement called "National Liberation Movement". They demand for their political rights and independent Kurdish state. The responded of Turkey state that, the movement was dangerous and evil for Turkey. Turkey has labeled the Kurdistan Worker Party (PKK) as terrorist and an enemy of Turkish Republic in 1984 until present (Adolfson, 2017).

Moreover, from 1984 to 1999 the civil war began between Kurdish and Turkey Republic. Turkey Government imposed emergency on Kurdish area, increase 200,000 troops, given task to oppress the Kurdish people. The war began and considered the great civil war in Middle East.

Approximately, 15,000 people were killed and dozens of villages were destroyed (Dewdney & Yapp, 2019).

Thought, in 2014 the European Union and Amerika declared the PKK its terrorist list. But dramatically change accrued, when PKK leader said, the Kurds no longer need a nation-state but want democratic confederation within the existing nation-state. Later on, no development did on this change. Moreover, the Justice and Development Party (AK Party) declared a “solution process”. Also announced, we are sincere to solve the Kurds issue, not through violently but through peaceful. However, with the passage of time up and down come the relation between Kurds and Turkey (TRT, 2019).

. Despite the Turkey-Kurdish issue, a large number of Kurds are living in the Northern Syria, closed to border with Turkey. They are making 5 to 10 percent of Syrian population of 21 million in 2011. When, the Syrian Civil War started in 2011, several ethnic community protect own territory. Also, Kurdish groups made Syrian Protection Unit in Syria to protect own areas in Syria. In 2014 American entered in Syrian civil war against Islamic State (IS) with the help of Kurdish group in Syria. But Turkey targeted the Kurdish groups in Syria, because Turkey considered they are helping of PKK (Kingsley, 2019).

In 2015, America support Kurdish forces belonging to the Kurdish Protection Unit, or YPG, joined the Arab forces to make alliance the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF). The United States and Western power provides weapons to SDF, to fight against Islamic State (IS) (Grady & Berger, 2019).

Currently, the announcement of Donald Trump’s decision to withdrawal US troops from the Turkish-Syrian border to have badly effect the situation in Northern Syria. The Kurdish-led

Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF), they controlled the area. On October 2019, they are moving towards Turkey boarder. However the Turkey Government considers the SDF as an extension of the Kurdistan Worker Party (PKK). For this reason the Turkey launch operation in Syrian border against the SDF (Onursal, 2019).

### **3.9 Libyan Civil War**

After the successful movement and overturned the ruler of Egypt and Tunisia. Its neighbor's country Libya people starting revolt against their own ruler in 17 February 2011. On 27 February 2011 The National Transitional Council was established under the leadership of Mustafa Abdul Jalil, to organize the rebel areas. However, with the passage of time the protest were increasing, and the pro-Gaddafi protest decided to given the militarily responded to protest. While, Muammar Gaddafi threatening protester and warns to destroy the movement (Elkatawneh, 2013).

Moreover, with the passage time most of the areas going out to the Gaddafi Government control. The reign remains only on Tripoli, Sabha and Sirte. Opposition government successes in his mission, on 27 February 2011 declared own Government National Transitional Council. The Gaddafi responded towards the opposition groups was aggressive and started operation on them who controls half of the country. Nonetheless, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) launched aerial bombardment on Gaddafi and his forces (Winer, 2019).

Subsequently, the death of Muammar al-Gaddafi in October 2011, Libya's Transitional Government given authority to the newly elected General National Congress (GNC) in July 2012. But after come to power GNC have faced several problems in country. However, the Islamist militants were starting attacking throughout the country. After that in May 2014, Libyan

National Army (LNA) chief Haftar launched Operation Dignity against Islamic militants group in Eastern Libya, to counter the movement Islamist groups---including Ansar al-Sharia form a coalition called Libya Dawn. Finally Libya entered into Civil War (CFR, 2019).

Although, the country ruled by two side, Eastern Libya under the control of Khalifa Haftar has been supported by Russia, France, Saudi Arabia and UAE, and Tripoli-based Government, which under the UN-recognized Government of National Accord (GNA) supported by Turkey, Qatar and some Western power. While, the GNA forces Commander Juwaili told the New York Times, the lack of western support, the Haftar power day by day increase the Tripoli based-Government (TRT, 2019).

The United Nation warns escalating violence and a deep humanitarian crisis in Libya lead the country into Civil war. UN High Commissioner for Human Rights say, a large number of civilians, women and children keep in detention & human rights defenders and activist targeted. She added international community could take notice; those who are responsible for these human rights violations they must be accountable (Schlein, 2019).

Currently, the Haftar attacks made another civil war, which based on drone warfare by both sides. According to UN, approximately 1,000 drones have been launching by opposing sides. According to World Health Organization (WHO) 1000 fighters dead in both sides and 120,000 people flee their home to safe areas. Both side having the armed with drones. Haftar's drones have been provided by the UAE and GNA have received from Turkey (TRT, 2019).

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **Israeli Interests in Middle Eastern Region**

#### **Introduction**

This chapter will discuss the Israeli interests in the Middle East. Israel has several interests in the region, under the light of geo-strategically and geo-politically. After the creation; Israel wants to made relation with all Middle Eastern States, because this was important for Israel legitimacy. Moreover, Israel does not want the other state become powerful to challenge our supremacy in the region. In this regard, Israel did a lot of thing. Furthermore, Israel want expand and protect own territory from foreign aggression, which Israel captured in 1967 Six Day War from neighbor states. While, Israel always support the conflict among the Muslims states, because Israel knew this were less threat for us.

Israel has been long term interests in Middle Eastern region because of geo-political and geo-economic as well as geo-strategic important in the region. For the sake of these interests Israel want going to any limits. In some times Israel support the crisis in the region. Such as Yemen war, Syrian crisis, Iraq War and Iran-Saudi Arabia conflict etc. Furthermore, in this way America Secretary of State Hillary Clinton email was leak, she said in email United States support the Syrian crisis, because America had automatically support Israel. If Syrian people are living in unitedly this will be threat for Israel interest (Atzmon, 2016).

Israel has different types of interests in the Middle Eastern Region. In addition Israel wants to keep eye on those Middle Eastern countries, which want or wish to build nuclear weapons, in the region against Israel. However, Israel has interest to fight against terrorism or radical Islamist group, which was declared as Global Jihad because, Israel considers this is a threat for us. Israel also supports liberal democracy in some Arab countries (Blackwell & Slocomb, 2011).

Israel is playing any type of game in Middle East to pursue their goals. If anything going on against the interest of Israel, So Israel never participated in it. When, the Barcelona Mediterranean Conference was held in November 1995 and the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP). In this conference made commitment to peace, prosperity, and economic relation between Europe and Mediterranean region. Several countries agreed for this agreement, but Israel didn't, because Israel considered this would be against the interest of Israel. Moreover, Israel think European Union don't support for Israel expansionist design. And there is a difference between American and European views towards Israel (Sarto & A, 2003).

The Israeli and Egypt dialogue were started in 1979 to solve bilateral relation. On that dialogue Israel not only want to solve the bilateral relation, but also want to control over the water resources of the region. While, the other interest of Israel was to create conflict among the Muslims countries. Because, the negotiations would be create space for Arab world to be fragile in the region. The Israel has one and the only ultimate goals to become the superior state in the Middle Eastern region (Khan, 2013).

The following are major interests in the Middle East Region. From inception Israel's always wanted to make good relation with the Muslim countries, because Israel consider, if

Muslim country accept Israeli state in the region was the main objective of Israel. Israel is having relation with some Muslim countries, Like Egypt, United Arab Emirate (UAE), Qatar and Oman. And some have not, like, Iran, Syria, and Jordan.

Israeli interests in the Middle Eastern region, firstly Israel want no other country to become the nuclear power in the region. Moreover Israel also focused and defends its territory from foreign aggressions. Moreover, Israel always makes his policy for expansionist design. This chapter would elaborate and to highlights the Israeli interests in the region.

#### **4.1 No other Middle Eastern State should become Nuclear State**

Israel has one of the main interest in the Middle Eastern region is that to no other state become a nuclear power. For this strategy Israel had done lots of things, if any country of Middle East want or try to makes nuclear weapons, which would face consequences, Such as Iraq, Syria and now Iran. Israel has ultimate objective, to no other country of Middle East become nuclear powers. Moreover, Israel broke the International Law and values. Even Israel doesn't care about it.

However, Israel considers Iran's nuclear program is one of the biggest threats for us. Because Israel always want to destroy Iran nuclear program, for this purpose Israel don't take aggressive actions. Israel also telling to America does not fight our war, but help us with the shape of weapons and defense budget. If we are failed to destroy Iran nuclear program, America would be with our side (Cohen, 2019). Recently, some Israeli leaders were met with the Gulf countries leaders, as well as Israeli Foreign Minister Katz visited to Washington and met with Bahrain Foreign Minister Khalid bin Ahmad al Khalifah in last July to counter Iran.

The Mossad Director visited to Abu Dubai and said Israel received Oman diplomatic delegation to visit our country. Moreover the Israel and Gulf countries want to make alliance to counter the Iran nuclear program and its proxy across the Middle East (Guzansky & Shapiro, 2019). Israeli Foreign Minister Mr, Katz addressed the 74<sup>th</sup> United Nations Session. He stated that, Iran cannot be allowed to develop nuclear weapons. We and Gulf countries make together to deter the Iran nuclear program. Because, it's would be against for all of the Arab countries. Iran has been support Hezbollah in Lebanon, Syria, and Yemen (UN, 2019).

Therefore, in June 1981, Operation Opera was started against the Iraq, to destroyed Iraq nuclear bomb (Mizokami, 2019). In this operation Israel was using 14 F-15 and F-16 fighter jet. It was made by Americans. The result of this attacks Israel was success in his mission (Boudreau, 1993). Prime Minister Menachem of Israel said, took action against the “evil” Saddam Hussein of Iraq. He wants to attacks on Israel, that's why, Israel government considered this action was for own security or to secure ourselves (Shipler, 1981). However, Israel was broken all the International Law and norms regarding to respect and sovereignty of other country (Studies, 1981).

In 2015, the WikiLeaks found the former U.S Secretary of state Hillary Clinton wrote an email and send to unknown, she said in email: destroying the Iran nuclear program is the best way to help Israel and deal with Iran's growing nuclear capability and help the people of Syria to overthrow the regime of Bashar Assad. Negotiations with Iran to limit nuclear program but does not solve Israel's security dilemma. Nor will they stop Iran from improving the crucial part of any weapons program—the capability. Therefore, Israel and America want to destroy the Iran nuclear program, as like Iraq and Syria. Because this is the fundamental goals of Israel to no other Middle Eastern country become powerful (Atzmon, 2016).



Moreover, on September 06, 2007, the Israeli air force attacks on Syria, Al Kibar nuclear reactor to eliminate the Syrian nuclear program. The Israeli intelligence agency acknowledges that the Syria making nuclear weapons in the Valley Deirez-Zor regime. In that time Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert send the Mossad Director Meir Dagan to Washington and met with American Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, Israel would not allowed to Syria to making nuclear weapons (Krishner, 2019).

However, Israel was using in that operation eight Air planes, F-16 and F-15 and send to Syria Al-Kibar nuclear facility (Farrell, 2018). Therefore, many people involve in this mission, but without these three people operations were not possible, and pushed a whole operation. Prime Minister Ehud Olmert, Mossad chief Meir Dagan and Israeli Air force Commander Eliezer Shkedi (Harel & Benn, 2018).

Reality of Syrian nuclear facility was Syria's, have intended to make nuclear reactor, only for research goals. Mr. Assad President of Syria has spoken in many occasions the developing of nuclear weapons, but not publically announced. Israeli Government strongly responded the Assad statement (Sanger & Mazzetti, 2007). The reaction of International Community was shock, they forgiven Israeli attacks, and exposed that the Syrian reactor not a threat for Israel. But Israel has any information about it. They must share with Security Council (Spector & Cohen, 2008).

Moreover, Israeli Prime Minister said on Twitter, the Israel government and Mossad intelligence service we will not allowed Syria to making nuclear weapons. If they are doing, they will face consequences for it (Twitter, 2018).

## **4.2 To Protect its Sovereignty and Territorial Integrity: 1967**

The territorial integrity, is one of the principle of International Law, all over the world should respect of the other nations. Any state doesn't change the border of other state by force. (Article iv of the Helsinki Act of 1975), it possesses equal rights of self-determinations to every state of the world (Tiersky, 2016). Therefore, the state of Israel has not defined its territorial integrity. The Zionist Movement in 1947 include: the area of Lebanon, Syria, and extremely Jordan (Heim, 2008).

In, 1949, the Israel was declared of its boarder. Israel have didn't full control of Jerusalem, and most of the area control under Jordan. Israel always wants to extend their territory. However, in 1967 war followed by Six day war, Israel captured the West Bank, Gaza Strip, Golan Heights, and Sinai Peninsula. These areas expanded Israel by triple from 1948 areas (Maxwell, 2012). Although, Security Council Resolution 241 was describes the two principles for Middle East peace. Israel would leave the occupied territory in 1967 war. And all states should respect the Sovereignty of other states. Every state politically and territorial integrity free, and to live in peace (Davidson, 2002).

Therefore, Israel inaugurates the heritage side in East Jerusalem at district Silwan. Which, were captured in 1967 War.? Those areas consider would be the part of Palestine state. This inauguration did with the help of America. Israel's has basic policy to protect and extend its territory (Dawn, 2019).

Moreover, Israel always said to the United States President to accept our sovereignty over the Golan Heights that was unfortunately failed. But, President Donald Trump has announced, that America will accept Israel sovereignty in Golan Heights, which seize by in 1967 War.

American President Trump said, this is necessary for Israeli security and strategic position (Borger, 2019)

#### **4.3 Israeli Interests in Syrian Crisis**

Israel has been following a careful strategy over the Syrian crisis. Firstly, Israel consider the fall of Assad is a basic interest of Israel, because to challenge Iran-Syria axis. The second, Israel consider if Assad government fall, then the Islamist Extremist group would arise on power. Then, this is also a big threat for Israel sovereignty and security (Tur, 2015). However, Israel has been several objectives in Syrian ongoing conflict. Israel seeks to reduce Iran and Russia influence in Syria. Iran support Assad government and supply weapons to Syria and Hezbollah. Therefore, Israel wants to support Sunni extremist groups against Assad and wanted the Assad Government fall (Hanauer, 2016).

Israel considers Syria is the dangerous enemy of Israel in Middle East. Israel captured Golan Heights in 1967 war; this issue becomes the enemy of one another. Currently, Israel's views Assad regime is close ally of Iran. If, America and Israel want to attacks on Iran nuclear program. Then, Iran would utilize Syria to attacks on Israel. That's the reason Israel wants and support the fall of Assad government (Rabinovich, 2012).

Moreover, Robert Kaplan, a Geopolitical analyst, wrote in his article "the ongoing war in Syria" the delay and continuation of the conflict, the best way to help Israel. He gave the example of Iraq-Iran war (1980-1990) get benefits to Reagan Government (Solomon, 2013). However, the Arab world is not the big problem but the sole problem is its increasing its military. In inter problems and internal crisis make it's weaken. Like in Syria the Sectarian group fighting each other's, which automatically making weakening Syria day by day (Yinon, 1982).

Yinon was a former senior official with the Israeli Foreign Ministry and Journalist for Jerusalem Post, “Strategy for Israel in the nineteen—nineteen,” Published in 1982. He said very famously words that every Arab conflict is in the favor of Israel’s interest. He was specially talking about Syria (Heard, 2016). Moreover, Ram Ben-Barak Director General of Israel’s Intelligence Ministry said, that the divisions of Syria as “the only possible way” for Syrian Crisis. We are going to see in Syria—‘Alawistan’, ‘Kurdistan’, ‘Syrian Druzistan’. These Ethnic groups fight with each other’s. So, this is a plan of “Yinon Plan” the dissolution of a whole Arab into sectarian group (Sanchez, 2016).

If Syria will fall, the biggest winner from Syria balkanization would Israel. Israeli Prime Minister Interviewed in Davos, told the Jerusalem Post of his doubts “that” a Unitary Syrian state can ever reemerge. “I wish it could happen, but I’ am not sure could put Humpty Dumpty back together again”. He said, “I would say, the best result you might be able to get is a benign balkanization, benign Canonizations in Syria. That’s as good as you’re going to get (Heard, 2016).

While, a British writer Ben Judah said “Israel welcome Chaos on its border” because Israel consider it is less threatened by “an Ethnic Patchwork” of zone of similar groups. (Like, Druze, Kurds, Shi’a, and Sunni), than the militarized country which, was created under the 1916 Skypes—Picot Agreement (Judah, 2015).

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **How Regional Countries View Israeli Expansion**

#### **Introduction**

In this chapter will discuss the regional countries view Israeli expansion. How are the regional countries relations with Israel? From the creation to till the regional countries regional responded towards Israel; such as Arab States, neighbor's states, Iran and Turkey. Moreover, these countries change their view with time to time. Some state starts their relation with Israel and recognized state of Israel, while some keeps their view still aggressive. Therefore, some states having good relation in past with Israel but not in present. And some have followed their relation with Israel in 1950 were aggressive and presently cooperative. In this regard the Arab States views towards Israel aggressive and fought several war.

But currently their views are change and want good relation with Israel. Although, in 1948 mostly Arab state can't accepted the Israeli state in Palestine territory, but currently accept the Israel. In this chapter the researcher would discuss the regional countries views Israeli expansion, how the regional states are having views towards Israel? These include:

#### **5.1 How Gulf States View Israeli Expansion**

After the creation of Israel in 1948, the Arab countries and Israel fought four major wars. But, currently the Arabs view change towards Israel with the environment. Egypt in 1979 and Jordan in 1994 were making diplomatic relation with Israel. Moreover, in Dubai recently open a

new Synagogue (Mednicoff, 2019). For a several years Israel and Gulf Arab countries starts backdoor contact to develop relationship with each other's.

In October 2019 Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu visited Oman, said to reporter; I want to formalize relations with Saudi Arabia after the upcoming election (Rahman, 2019). Although, the relationship between the Israel and the Gulf states a lots of reasons behinds this relationship. Experts argue that Iran is becoming the biggest threat for the Gulf countries. Saudi Arabia and UAE argue we need relations with Israel to counter Iran in the region. Moreover, the Arab Spring has been change the whole structure of Middle East. In this regard Saudi Arabia also need police to compete own people in the wake of upcoming uprising, for that's reasons Saudi Arabia want to make relations with Israel to consume the Israeli technology (Elgindy, 2019).

However, Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah in March 2002 initiate a 'peace plan', commonly known "Beirut Initiative", calling Israel withdrawal from all the Occupied territory which was seized in 1967 Six Day War, and return Palestine refugee to Israel. In returned we recognized Israel (Ahmad, 2018). Although, Saudi Arabia spends millions of dollars to help the suppress Palestinians, and always support Israel-Palestine negotiations. But now, both countries Israel and Saudi Arabia are having mutual hostility towards Iran. In this regard both countries want to starts working on negotiations (Beauchmap, 2018).

Gulf States and Israel meeting always have been kept secret. But In February 2019, Benjamin Netanyahu, the Israeli Prime Minister flew to Warsaw for highly conference. During this visit he was met the Saudi Arabia and UAE Foreign Ministers, and discussed Iran. However, this meeting was not kept secret. Netanyahu was success to wining the recognition of two

wealthiest Arab countries. Moreover, the Palestine activist Kamel Hawwash said “Israeli flags could soon be flying in the skies of some Gulf states” (Black, 2019).

Interviews of Saudi Crown Prince Mohammad bin Salman given on 2 April 2019 said, “Israel have the right to its own land” and formal relation between Israel and Saudi Arabia could be mutual benefits (Hubbard, 2019). Saudi Journalist and analyst Abdul Hamid Ghbein told The Time of Israel “there is no doubt that the attitude of Arabs change, that Israel is no longer enemy state, but a part of region. I believe there will be diplomatic, cultural, and economic relation at the end of 2020, said Ghbein. Moreover, In March 2018, Saudi crown prince, Muhammad bin Salman told the US based Jewish groups that the Palestinian must accept the peace proposal of Trump. He said, it is about time to accept the offer (Svetlova, 2019).

The Israel and Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) are ties only under the radar of Defense, Security, and intelligence interests. GCC countries are fears from the Arab Spring, because some of the Middle Eastern countries have been damages from it. Because this reason GCC countries want to Israel cooperates with us in defense and security. In 2011, the Abu Dhabi Critical National Infrastructure Authority (CNIA) was agreeing to purchase unnamed aerial vehicles from Israel’s Aeronautics Defense System (ADS). While, trade between Israel and GCC countries also exist conducted under the 3<sup>rd</sup> party, in the shape of security products, agriculture, medical technology and communication system. In 2013 the Israeli business group visits to Qatar to discussed Qatar investment in Israel (Ulrichsen, 2016).

Therefore, in 1947, Saudi Arabia was the first state to oppose the state of Israel and given vote against the UN Partition Plan. The behaviors of Arab states toward Israel changed in last decades. In this regard spring 2018 the Saudi Crown Price given interview to The Atlantic

Magazine said, there will be lots of interests between Israel, and the GCC". In contrast, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said Israel "no longer the enemy for Gulf States". In the regard of these both statements, Professor Yossi Mekelberg said, "let's not delude ourselves, Israeli-Palestine is not the big issue right now, Iran is the big issue, and it's becoming bigger and bigger by the second..... The Palestine needs to recognize that in order to priorities, they are not the top priority in the Gulf (Quitaz, 2019).

Moreover, the Israel and the Gulf countries relation increasing are abruptly, because of Iran growing regional threats for Israel as well as Gulf States. Moreover, the US and Iran Nuclear Deal in 2015, don't acceptable to Israel and GCC, because, both parties have the same views towards Iran (Lovatt, 2016). Changing the view of the weak Gulf States towards Israel depend on interests and their relation with Israel on very complex situations. Sometimes it's depending on public view (Stollman, 2004).

In the Gulf States, Qatar is the only country to develop their relation with Israel after 1991, and considered the first country to give De facto recognition to Israel. In 1996 Qatar hosted a business delegation of Israel in Doha to developed business between Israel and Qatar. Qatar also exports a huge gas to Israel and the retaliation Israel help Qatar technologically and security bases (Rabi, 2009).

Recently a Survey conducted the Arab opinions with regard to Israel. In this survey we found that most of the Arab people against any cooperation with Israel. The survey conducted in 11 countries, 18,830 respondents gave our view about state of Israel. Approximately 90% of them said, Israel is the biggest threat to the stability of the region. While, 87% of respondent were still disagree with own countries Government to recognized Israel (Kurd, 2018).



## **5.2 How Neighbor Countries View Israeli Expansion**

The neighboring countries of Israel have very dynamic relations, sometimes fought war and then made good relations with Israel. Israel is sharing border with Jordan, Egypt, Syria and Lebanon. After the creation of Israel the behaviors of neighboring countries were aggressive but with the passage of time the behavior became smoothly cold. Neighbor states of Israel declared war against Israel and fought several wars. However, sometimes these states considered war was not the way to solve all the issues.

Egypt is playing an imported role in Palestine issue and leading the Arab countries against Israeli State. From 1948 to 1973, Egypt fought for Palestine right of self-determination. However, signed peace treaty with Israel in 1979, started new span of relationship (Khani, 2018). Moreover, Egypt and Jordan are the only Arab countries to have peace agreement, diplomatic relations with Israel and support Israel peace process. But the people of these countries did not support Israeli peace process. In this regard, Israel Political Scientist “Yechezkel Dror gave lecture in Tel Aviv: “the United States want to democratize regional states ideologically, it’s very acceptable to us. But let’s assumes quick democratizations of Egypt and Jordan. Will it strength their peace with Israel? Certainly not. The ruling elite understood the need for peace with Israel. But the public in the streets, the masses in the marketplace, definitely don’t. Opinion polls in Egypt show clearly that the public doesn’t support peace” (Benn, 2005).

Therefore, Egypt changing their views toward Israel, established official relation in February 1980. And the Egypt President Sadat’s visit to Jerusalem, Camp David Agreement, and making good relations, argued these efforts will make for regional peace process (Cohen, Azar, 1981). The President of Egypt Anwar-al-Sadat was having good relation with Israel, but after the

assassination of him in front of cameras. Analyst says; the death of Sadat would dead the Foreign Policy of Egypt. But the result was not that, the Egyptian Foreign Policy abruptly changes toward State of Israel (AL- Mashat, 2019).

Israel and Egypt relations have been discuss sometimes as “cold peace” both countries have security establishment and develop cooperation’s in current years. Interestingly, the Egypt views toward Israel before the Arab Spring was cooperative, after came to power President Mohamed Morsi of the Muslim Brotherhood, rejected any cooperation with Israel. And keep a way himself from Israel. Moreover, after the takeover of the Field Marshal Abdel Fattah al-Sisi his view towards Israel was once again cooperative (Stern, 2016).

However, Egyptian President Abdel Fatah el-Sisi met with the Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu at the first time in public, in ahead of the United Nations General Assembly in New York. Experts say Israel-Egypt relations now days at their highest level in the history (Tahhan, 2017). Jordan also has views towards Israel like others Arab States, after the birth of Israel in 1948. Keep aggressive behavior against Israel till 1970, but after signed a treaty with Israel in 1970 a treaty called Peace Treaty. Jordan leaders met several times with Israel leaders. On the basis of this treaty two countries were agreed to start economic, security, trade, cultural, tourism and gas measures (Sham, Lucas & R, 2001).

Jordan was made good relations with Israel for the future of Middle East common market. But the Israeli non- acceptable behavior and hostility towards Palestine, in this regard in Jordan’s all political people including: Parliamentarians were accept that Israel’s is our incompatible enemy (Kardoosh, 2019). Recently, Jordan King Abdullah release a videos, and said we were fought two war with Israel, and we also signed a peace treaty with Israel 25 years

ago, but still we are in a worst position. He said, our relations with Israel always in low, but I hope we are improving our relations (Adamrasgon, 2019).

Israel and Syria were having aggressive attitude toward each other since the creation of Israel in 1948. In last 40 years Israel and Syria fought three full wars, (1948, 1969, and 1973) and also short war (1969-70, 1982). Despite that, they are engaged in political conflict. Moreover, in Golan Heights both countries were reached for another war during ceasefire. Finally, in last decades Israel and Syria were agreed to come on to solve bilateral issue (Rabinovich, 1990). But still today they are not even reached any agreement on a common agenda. And Syrian President Assad said clearly we want peaceful agreement with Israel, if Israel fulfills all the conditions of comprehensive peace (Diab, 1994).

In 2019 recently, the Syrian President Bashar al-Assad was given interview on state television said; that the ongoing Civil War in Syria Israel directly supports Anti Government groups with the support of America. And also said, he doesn't recognize modern nations of Israel (Toi, 2019). In July 2019, the Syrian Foreign Minister filled complaint in UN Security Council that, Israel doing state terrorism in Syria with the support of America (Gross, 2019). Lebanon is not a major player in the Arab world. It was used by actors and countries as a strategic place, like, Iran, Syria, Israel and Hezbollah. However, all these actors and states used Lebanon for its proxy and hegemony purpose (Brussels, 2018).

Moreover, Director General of Lebanon's General Security Department, Mr. Abbas Ibrahim said, "Lebanon's one and only enemy is Israel". And also most of the Politicians supported Hezbollah against Israel, they said, Hezbollah is right what they are doing. However, there is a law in Lebanon that Lebanese are not allowed to sit with Israelis. If anyone doing this,

he will face law and give punishment. Currently both countries enjoy diplomatic relations and trade relations (Maroun, 2016).

### **5.3 How Turkey View Israeli Expansion**

After the Second World War, Turkey support the West and America in confront of USSR. Turkey was entered the U.S Middle East policy and support Israel against Arab world. However, Turkey was the first Muslim country to recognized Israel in March 1949 (*de facto*) and *de jure* in January 1952. As George Gruen argues that, Turkey relation with Israel has been governed by the concept of “Ambivalence” for decades. Later on, we were seen up and down in their relationship (Tur, 2012).

Subsequently, after the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, Turkey smoothly separated itself from the U.S Middle East policy. And change their views toward Palestinians refugee. Subsequently Turkey calls, the useful solution of Palestinian issue. Moreover, Turkey recognized of the PLO in June 1975 as the sole representative of Palestine, and supports its vote in November 1975 in UN General Assembly resolution (Hassan, 2008). In 5 November 1994 Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin thanked Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Ciller “for taking a step no other Turkish Prime Minister ever dared to take, to visit Israel”. He said this trip will be change the Middle East (Gruen, 1995).

Moreover, Syria is a strategic imported and foreign threat for Israel as well as Turkey. In this regard 1996, both countries were signed comprehensive strategic agreement. The military cooperation and training agreement include: intelligence sharing, joint training naval strategy, weapons sale, electronic surveillance and the upgrade of Turkey’s Phantom F-4 jets by Israel, totaling \$630 million business. Moreover, after the political change in Turkey, the Justice and

Development Party (AKP) came into power in 2000 under the leadership of Tayyip Erdogan. The AKP vision of regional stability and economic visions, they made “zero-problem with neighbors” regional policy. In 2000, Tayyip Erdogan said, if Israel served for Turkey national interest then no change will come in ties with Israel. In 2004, between Israel and Turkey \$ 2 billion bilateral trade---and 2012 has grown to over \$4 billion (Stern & Ross, 2013).

The turning point of Israeli-Turkish relationship came on, when Israel attacks on Gaza Strip; “Operation Cast Lead” was considered the changing turn in their relationship. The accident occurred when Turkey works on Syria and Israel negotiations table. After the attacks Syria was suspend the negotiation with Israel. Turkey was very upset. In January 29 2009, when Tayyip Erdogan step out from the stage during angry exchange with Israeli President, Shimon Peres during at the World Economic Forum at Davos, Switzerland. Currently, the Turkey relations with Israel, and other Middle Eastern countries, are within the context of “peace in the Middle East” (Ulutas, 2010).

Behind the relationship between Israel and Turkey is America; America force them for making bilateral relations. Often US policy makers shape the Israeli-Turkish arrangement. And both countries support the American Foreign Policy in the Middle East (Walker, 2006).

#### **5.4 How Iran Views Israeli Expansion**

Iran views toward Israel have been dividing into two periods, post-revolutionary period and after revolution. After the creation of Israel; Iran and Israel, consider Arab countries were a common enemy. The logic is simple: Enemy of my enemy can be my friend. Moreover, Iran and Israel started cooperation and official relations. Israel send two successive ambassadors to Tehran, while made trade in oil (Sachs, 2019).

Subsequently, the Islamic Revolution in Iran changed the Iranian Foreign Policy and entered itself in international arena. However, Iran also keeps its policy towards hostile, rejecting the Zionism and the legal legitimacy of Israel State (Menashri, 2006). Iran considers the Jewish State is the conspiracy of Jewish-Christian against Islam. While, consider itself the most extreme Anti-Zionism position (Litvak, 2006). Therefore, the Iranian views toward Israel has been discuss in three point: United States consider Iran its adversary and the friendship of Israel and America towards Iran; the growing Israel and Arab States nexus against itself; and the radical ideologically hostility toward Israel. On the basis of these three views Iran considers Israel is a biggest hostile in Middle East (Kaye, Nader & Roshan, 2011).

Recently, the Iranian Foreign Minister, Muhammad Javad Zarif was given interview with Ann Curry. He said, he accused the Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of internationally misreading Jewish Scripture in order to make the case that Iran is malevolently predisposed towards Jewish: “if you read the book of Esther, you will see it was the Iranian King who saved the Jewish”, Zarif said. “If you read the Old Testament, you will see that it was an Iranian King who saved the Jewish from Babylon (Goldberg, 2015). And also, the commander of Iran Revolutionary Guard said on Monday that destroying arch-rival Israel was an “achievable goal”. “This sinister regime must be wiped of the map and this is no longer.....a dream (but) it is an achievable goal” Major General Hossein Salman said, quoted by the Guards’ Sepah news site” (AFP, 2019).

Currently, Iran is playing Proxy War against Israel. Iran support Assad government in Syria, Popular Mobilization Units (PMU) in Iraq and Hezbollah in Lebanon. Moreover, Iran considers these areas are a proactive for Iran. Both countries having aggressive mode with each other’s (Spyer, 2019).

## CHAPTER 6

### Conclusion and Major Findings

#### 6.1 Conclusion

Middle Eastern Region is one of the important regions in the world, due to its resources, energy, and Holy sites. The countries behavior against each other's, are making the region unstable, especially Israeli behavior towards Muslim States. Neo-Realism and Hegemonic Stability theories are the theories which mostly applied in my research. Neo-Realism is an offshoot of Realism and currently very dominant theory in international relations. In modern world most of the states follow this theory to achieve our goals. Kenneth Waltz gave Neo-Realism theory, in his famous book "*Theory of International Politics 1979*". He said clashes among the nations, because of the absence of absolute authority in international relations. Hegemonic stability theory was introduced by Charles Kindlerberger in first time, after the Great Depression. According to him, Great Power maintains peace and stability in the world, provides security, raw materials and protect its resources. The major power must possess strong military, advanced technology and make alliances with others power. Several issues are going on in Middle Eastern Region like, civil war in Syria, proxy war in Yamen, Iraq War, Non State Actor, Israel-Palestine Issue, Kurdish Issue, and Saudi-Iran rivalry, this sectarian dispute made a clear path for a Greater Israeli state. Quoting here the British writer Ben-Judah asserted, "Israel want chaos an its borders" because it is lower alarm than "an ethnic combination".

Israel has different types of interest in Middle East Region. Here analyzing Israeli interests on the basis of geo-politically and geo-strategically. However, Israel formulates policy

Israel has different types of interest in Middle East Region. Here analyzing Israeli interests on the basis of geo-politically and geo-strategically. However, Israel formulates policy and strategy to achieve its goals. After got independence Israel want to made good relation with all Middle Eastern states, to recognize the state of Israel. Israel prime minister gave the statement we were establishment diplomatic relations with all Arab worlds. But Arab worlds opposed and gave aggressive responded. Furthermore, Israel has been support the ongoing war in Muslim countries, because Israel knew, if Arab world live together it will be threats for us. Moreover, America full supports Israel with their interest. In this regard, American Secretary of state Hillary Clinton email was leaked in email she said, United States supports the Syrian civil war, because it's will be benefits for Israel. Furthermore she said if Syrian people living together its will more threat for Israeli interests. Although, Israel also fighting against terrorism or Islamic extremist group, which given name as Global Jihad? Besides that, Israel one and ultimate goals, to no others Middle Eastern countries become nuclear power. If any countries want to build nuclear weapons, Israel attacks on them. Such as Israel attacks on Iraq and Syria, because Israel worries about their nuclear program. Now a days Iran running to build nuclear weapons. And Israeli leaders were talking about it in many occasions. Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu was appeared in 74<sup>th</sup> session of United Nations General Assembly. He said we will destroy Iran nuclear program. Israel has the support of Gulf countries to destroying Iran nuclear program. However, email of American Secretary of state Hillary Clinton was leaked, she was send to unknown. She said in her email, destroying Iran nuclear program; the best way to help Israel.

Israel also has one ever goal, to protect its sovereignty and territory from foreign aggression which Israel seized in 1967 Six Day War. Israel captured some part from



neighboring's, in this war, from Jordan, Egypt, Syrian and Lebanon. Moreover, Israel considers if the Assad Government falls, there will be Islamist extremist group. It's also threat for Israel. Besides that, Israel want to fall the Assad government, because to challenge the Iran nexus with Assad. Israel is making it policy towards Syrian crisis very carefully. Robert Kaplan wrote article, he said the delay and continuations of Syrian conflict, the best way to help Israel. Moreover, the Syrians Civil Wars weaken the Syrian state. Regional countries have different type of view towards Israel. Some countries have aggressive and some have cooperative relations with Israel. Since the perception of Israel in 1948, the Arab countries didn't to recognized Israeli state and declared war against Israel. And rest of the state established their relations with Israel. But with the passage of time the Arab views changed. Therefore, Egypt, Jordan and Gulf countries started their relations with Israel. In this regard Israeli prime minister recently visited to Oman, he said, Israel wants to formalize their relation with Arab States. Moreover, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates (UAE) clearly argued, we need relations with Israel, to counter Iran in the region. Expert said the increasing Iran hostility towards Gulf States. In the contrast Gulf States started their relations with Israel. Palestinian activist Kamel Hawwash said, Israeli flags could soon be flying in the skies of some Gulf States. No wonder, the attitude of Gulf leaders towards Israel were changed, but the common people of Gulf countries still keeps strong views in the enmity of Israel. On the basis of this, Survey conducted in Gulf countries: views towards Israel. 87% people said we have no need to recognized state of Israel. While, neighboring countries also have strong views towards Israel. After the creation of Israel, neighboring countries fought several with Israel. Therefore, in 1979 Jordan and Egypt signed a treaty with Israel. Egypt and Jordan always supported peace process. But the people of these countries didn't support any cooperation with Israel. Egypt was started diplomatic relation with Israel in 1980,

and also established security and trade relation. Besides that, Syria also has a strong hostility towards Israel since from the creation and now. Moreover, Turkey views toward Israel; after the creations of Israel Turkey started their diplomatic relation with Israel in 1949. In that time Turkey supported American bloc. Therefore, in November 1975, Turkey recognized Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and supported UN General Assembly Resolution on Palestine. But later on, Turkey Prime Minister Tansu Ciller visited to Israel in November 1994 and restarted their relation. Furthermore, both countries were agreed to established security and strategic relations. Iran views toward Israel have good and bad positions. In 1948 Iran started its relations with Israel. And both countries were established cooperative relations. But after the Iranian Revolution in 1979, Iran views changed toward Israel and supported PLO and Hezbollah against Israel. Currently, both countries keep aggressive behavior towards each other's. Moreover, a lot of Iranian leader publically said, we will finish Israel from the earth.

## **6.2 Major Findings**

1. Instability in Middle Eastern Region has been long term issue of the region. Moreover, disunity among the Muslim states of the region paving path for Israel expansionist design.
2. Non States Actor is also big problem for the Middle Eastern peace. And consider a big threat for whole states in the region. One of famous is Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS).
3. Inter & intra disputes among the Muslims state in Middle East create a way to Greater Israel.

4. Regional Organizations are totally failed to solve the issue of the region. Like Arab League. OIC and GCC.
5. Currently some Middle Eastern States making relation with Israel. In this regard, the Palestine activist Kamel Hawwash said “Israeli flags could soon be flying in the skies of some Gulf states”. And also, Saudi Journalist and analyst Abdul Hamid Ghbein told The Time of Israel “there is no doubt that the attitude of Arabs change, that Israel is no longer enemy state.
6. American support making Israel more powerful in the Middle Eastern Region.
7. International Community and international organization doing nothing, but set like quiet spectacle.
8. In future most of the Middle Eastern countries will be accept the sovereignty of Israeli state.
9. Every country keeps their national interests in first priority and ignored the oppressed Palestinians.
10. Most of the world country see the Israeli illegal expansions and enjoy their relations with Israel.
11. US presence in the region and their convergence with Israel is making more powerful Israel in his expansion’s policy.
12. To stop expansions policy Israel is only possible, if international communities come forward and solve the Israel-Palestine issue.

### **6.3 Recommendation**

1. The Israel-Palestine issue is a hottest issue and it has a great impact on the peace of the region. Therefore, both countries must solve their issue through dialogue.
2. Israel ought to stop their expansionist policy then the issue can be solved.
3. The international community must play its role to stop Israel from his expansionist policy, which disturb the peace of the region.
4. Muslim states must come forward, mostly richest state like, Saudi Arabia, UAE, Qatar, Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey to help the oppressed Palestinians in his rights.
5. United Nations must come forward and stop the Israeli aggressive policy.
6. Muslims state should avoid the internal and intra issue because it has ultimate's benefits to Israel.
7. Muslims state should solve their issue through dialogue. And also starting their relations.
8. Instability among the Muslims state making the Palestine issue weak.
9. Muslims country will make their policy very carefully, because Israel plays important game in the region.

## Bibliography

- Adamrasgon. (2019). *King Abdullah: Israeli-Jordanian relations are at 'an all-time low'*. Retrieved December 02 2019, from <https://www.timesofisrael.com/king-abdullah-Israeli-Jordanian-relations-are-at-an-all-time-low/>
- Adolfson, J. (2017). *An Evolution of the Kurdish Issue in Turkey: Beyond a State-Centric Perspective*. Claremont McKenna College Thesis. Retrieved September 3 2019, from [https://scholarship.claremont.edu/cmc\\_theses/1559](https://scholarship.claremont.edu/cmc_theses/1559)
- AFP, N. (2019). Top Iran general says destroying Israel 'achievable goal'. Retrieved October 11 2019, from <https://www.vonews.com/middle-east/top-iran-general-says-destroying-israel-achievable-goal>.
- Ahmad, S. (2018). *Pakistan and World Affairs*. (First ed.). Lahore. World Times.
- Aljazeera, News. (2018). *Key facts about the war in Yemen*. Retrieved November 16 2019, from <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/06/key-fact-war-yemen-160607112342462.html>.
- Aljazeera, News. (2018). *Syria's civil war explained from the begging*. Retrieved November 18 2019, from <https://www.aljazeera.com>syria-civil-war-explained-160505084119966>.
- Al-Mashat, M. (1983). Egyptian Attitudes toward the Peace Process: Views of an "Alert Elite". *Journal of the Middle East*. 37. 395-397. Retrieved October 10 2019, from Middle East Institute.
- Arnold, M. (2015). *Two state solution*. Retrieved November 02 2019, from <https://www.bommereg.com/quicktake/two-state-solution>.
- Atzmon, G. (2016). *Hillary Clinton and the Syrian Shoah*. Retrieved November 05 2019, from <https://www.gilad.co.uk/writings/2016/3/19/3u4e5ns6d7e60pngcwmn3zu2ppho2y>
- Augustyn, A. (2019). *Iraq war*. Retrieved October 10 2019, from <https://www.britannica.com/event/iraq-war>.
- Backgrounder. (2016). *Turkey's Kurdish Conflict: 2015-Present*. Retrieved November 04 2019, from <https://isdf.eu/content/upload/2016/12/2016-turkeys-conflict-kurdish-conflict-2015-present.pdf>.
- Balanche, F. (2018). *Sectarianism in Syria's Civil War*. Washington. Retrieved October 13 2019, from The Washington Institute for Near East Policy.

- Barnes-Dacey, J., Geranmayeh, E., & Lovatt, H. (2018). The Middle East's new battle lines. European Council of Foreign Relations. Retrieved July 21 2019, from [http://www.ecfr.eu/mena/battle\\_lines](http://www.ecfr.eu/mena/battle_lines).
- Baron, A. (2017). *Mapping the Yemen conflict*. European Council of Foreign Relations. Retrieved October 22 2019, from ECRF MENA Programme.
- BBC News. (2019). *Why is there a war in Syria?* Retrieved November 09 2019, from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-35806229>.
- BBC, News. (2019). *Yemen Crisis: Why there is a war?* Retrieved October 14 2019, from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-29319423>
- BBC, News. (2019). *Eurovision 2019: the Israeli-Palestine situation explained*. Retrieved September 19 2019, from <https://www.bbc.com/news/newsbeat-44124396>.
- BBC, News. (2016). *Timeline: Iraq War*. Retrieved December 16 2019, from <https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-36702957>
- BBC, News. (2015). *Who are the Kurds?* Retrieved November 22 2019, from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-29702440>
- Beauchamp, Z. (2015). *ISIS used to be al-Qaeda in Iraq*. Retrieved August 16 2019, from <https://www.vox.com/2018/11/20/17995830/isis-used-to-be-al-qaeda-in-iraq>
- Beauchamp, Z. (2018). *How are the Middle Eastern countries handling the conflict?* Retrieved September 04 2019, from <https://www.vox.com/2018/11/20/18080074/israeli-palestine-conflict-saudi-arabia-iran-turkey-egypt-jordan-syria-libanon>
- Beauchamp, Z. (2018). *What is Zionism?* Retrieved March 23 2019, from <https://www.vox.com/2018/11/20/18080010/zionism-israel-palestine>
- Benn, A. (2005). *Israel and Arab democracy*. Retrieved December 13 2019, from Center for the National Interest.
- Bhattacharjee, A. (2012). *Social Science Research: Principles, Methods, and Practices*. (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) Florida. University of South Florida.
- Birchall, G. (2019). *Yemen war: what is happening in Yemen and why Saudi Arabia at war with them?* Retrieved November 14 2019, from <https://www.thesun.co.uk/news/yemen-war-what-is-happening-in-yemen-and-why-saudi-arabia-at-war-with-them>.

- Blackmore, E. (2019). *What was the Arab Spring and how did it spread*. Retrieved September 25 2019, from <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/culture/topic/reference/arab-spring-cause/>.
- Black, I. (2019). *Why Israel is quietly cosyng up to Gulf monarchies*. Retrieved September 28 2019, from <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2019/mar/19/why-israel-quietly-cosying-up-to-gulf-monarchies-saudi-arabia-uae>
- Blackwill, R. D., & Slocombe, W. B. (2011). *Israel: A strategic asset for the United States*. Retrieved October 15 2019, from <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/view/israel-a-strategic-asset-for-the-united-states> on, 18(01),
- Blogspot, A. (2013). *Neo-realism the conflict in the Middle East*. Retrieved April 24 2019, from <https://blogspot.com/2013/04/neo-realism-conflict-in-middle-east-html>
- Britannica, E. (2019). *Iraq War*. Retrieved October 12 2019, from <https://www.britannica.com//iraq-war>
- Britannica, E. (2019). *Arab Spring*. Retrieved April 24 2019, from <https://www.britannica.com/event/arab-spring>.
- Britannica, E (2019 ). *Syrian civil war*. Retrieved September 19 2019, from <https://www.britannica.com/event/Syrian-civil-war>.
- Brussels, A. (2018). *Old games New rulers conflict Israel Lebanon border*. Retrieved September 20 2019, from <https://www.crisisgroup.org/middle-east-north-africa/eastern-mediterranean/israelpalestine/old-games-new-rules-conflict-israel-lebanon-border>
- Borger, J. (2019). *Trump say U.S will recognize Israeli's Sovereignty over Golan Heights*. Retrieved March 12 2019, from <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2019/mar/21/Trump-U.S-Golan-Heights-Israel-Soverignty>.
- Boudreau, D. (1993). The Bombing of the Osirakreactor. *International journal on world peace. International Journal*. 10. 25-28. Retrieved September 20 2019, from Paragon House.
- Burki, T. (2015). Yemen health situation "moving from a crisis to a disaster". *Journal of Medical*. 385. 1609. Retrieved October 12 2019, from Lancet.
- Butt, A. (2019). *Why did Bush go to war in Iraq?* Retrieved October 20 2019, from <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/bush-war-iraq-1900318150236739.html>
- Charles, K. (1973). *The World in Depression, 1929-1939*. (First ed.). California: University of California..

- Chappell, B. (2019). *Jacques Chirac French president who opposed U.S Iraq war, is dead at 86*. Retrieved August 22 2019, from <https://www.npr.org/2019/09/26/jacques-french-president-who-opposed-u.s-iraq-war-is-dead-at-86>.
- Cafarella, J. (2019). *ISIS's second comeback: Assessing the next ISIS insurgency*. Retrieved August 28 2019, from <http://www.understandingwar.org/reports/isis-second-comeback-assessing-next-isis-insurgency>.
- CNN, News. (2019). *Oslo Accords fast facts*. Retrieved September 14 2019, from <https://edition.cnn.com/2013/09/03/world/meast/oslo-accords-fast-facts>
- CNN, News. (2019). *Syrian Civil War Fast Facts*. Retrieved September 09 2019, from <https://edition.cnn.com/2013/08/27/meast/syrian-civil-war-fast-facts/index.html>
- Cohen, C. (2019). *What Israel can learn from yet another tremor in the Middle East?* Retrieved August 29 2019, from <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2019/10/11/what-israel-can-learned-from-yet-another-tremor-in-the-middle-east/>
- Cohen, S. P., & Azar, E. E. (1981). From war to peace: The transition between Egypt and Israel. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 25. 87-89.
- Council on Foreign Relation, (2008). *Iraq war*. Retrieved September 18 2019, from <https://www.cfr.org/iraq-war>
- Council on Foreign Relation. (2019). *Civil War in Syria*. Retrieved August 10 2019, from <https://www.cfr.org/interactive/global-conflict-tracker/conflict-civil-war-syria>
- Council on Foreign Relation. (2019). *Civil war in Libya*. Retrieved August 22 2019, from <https://www.cfr.com/interative/global-conflict-tracker/conflict/civil-war-libya>
- Council on Foreign Relation. (2019). *War in Yemen*. Retrieved September 20 2019, from <https://www.cfr.org/interactive/global-conflict-tracker/conflict/war-in-yemen..>
- Darwich, M. (2018). The Saudi Intervention in Yemen: Struggling for Status. *Journal Insight Turkey*. 20. 126-128. Retrieved October 04 2019, from PSET VAKFI İktisadi İşletmesi, SETA VAKFI
- Davidsson, E. (2002). *The right of existence of the state of Israel and Israel's territorial integrity*. Retrieved October 22 2019, from <https://aldeilis.net/english/the-right-of-existence-of-the-state-of-israel-and-israel's-territorial-integrity/>
- Dawn, News. (2018). *Israeli Rapprochement?* Retrieved April 20 2019, from <https://www.dawn.com/news/1442310>



- Dawn, News. (2019). Israel starts work on Jewish heritage site in Jerusalem Palestine neighborhood. Retrieved November 10 2019, from <https://www.dawn.com/news/1491447>
- Del Sarto, R. A. (2003). Israel's contested identity and the Mediterranean. *Journal of Mediterranean Politics*. 8. 30-32.
- Dewdney, J & Yapp, M. (2019). *Turkey*. Retrieved November 8 2019, from <https://www.britannica.com/place/turkey>
- Diab, M. (1994). *Have Syria and Israel Opted for Peace?* Retrieved December 6 2019, from <https://www.mepc.org/node/4953>
- Editors, H. (2017). *Israel*. Retrieved November 10 2019, from <https://www.history.com/topics/middle-east/history-of-israel>
- Editor H. (2018). *Oslo Accords*. Retrieved September 3 2019, from <https://www.history.com/topic/middle-east/oslo-accord>.
- Editors, H. (2019). *Arab Spring. A & E Television networks*. Retrieved August 12 2019, from <https://www.history.com/topic/middle-esat/arab-spring>
- Ehrenberg, J and Yoav. (2016). *Israel and Palestine*. (First ed.). Maryland. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Elkatawneh, H. (2013). Libyan Civil War. *Journal of SSRN Electronic*. 212. 41-45. Retrieved October 23 2019, from <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2377561>
- Elgindy, K. (2019). *What's behind the relationship between Israel and Arab Gulf states?* Retrieved November 23 2019, from <https://www.brooking.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2019/01/28/whats-behind-the-relationship-between-Israel-and-Arab-Gulf-states/>
- Farrell, S. (2018). *Israel admits bombing suspected Syrian Nuclear Reactor in 2007, Warns Iran*. Retrieved November 25 2019, from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world/middle/east-43481803>.
- Fassihi, F. Hubbard, B. (2019). *Saudi Arabia and Iran Make Quiet Opening to Head Off War*. Retrieved September 13 2019, from <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/04/middleeast/Saudi-arabua-iran-talks.html>
- FİLDİŞ, A. T. (2017). "Greater Israel" Project and Balkanization of Syria. *Journal of Social Sciences*. 03.70-74. Retrieved March 9 2019, from Balkan and Near Eastern.
- Ferris, E. G., & Kirisci, K. (2016). *The Consequences of Chaos: Syria's Humanitarian Crisis and the Failure to Protect*. (First ed.). Washington. Brookings Institution Press.

- Gilad, A. (2016). *Hilary Clinton's Email*. Retrieved April 12 2019, from:  
<https://gilad.online/writings/2016/3/19/>
- Gilbert, M. (2018). *The Story of Israel: From the Birth of a Nation to the Present Day*. (First ed.). London. Andre Deutsch.
- Goldberg, J. (2015). *The Iranian Regime on Israel's Right to Exist*. Retrieved October 15 2019, from <https://www.theatlantic.com.international/archive/2015/03/iranian-views-of-israel-/387085/>
- Gonzalez, A. (2015). *Neo-realsim and the current situation between Iran and the United States, due to Iran's nuclear program*. Retrieved March 22 2019, from:  
<https://www.academia.edu./29734425/>
- Gordis, D. (2016). *Israel: a concise history of a nation Reborn*. (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). Bredebro. Ecco; Illustrated Edition
- Grady, J. (2019). *Marine who led ISIS fight says threat still remains?* Retrieved October 10 2019, from <http://www.news.usni.org>> Foreign forces
- Grady, S & Berger, M. (2019). *Who are the Kurds. And why is Turkey attacking them?* Retrieved September 8 2019, from <https://www.washingtonpost.com/2019/10/11/who-are-the-kurds- and-why-is-turkey-attacking-them/>
- Gross, J. (2019). *Syria accuses Israel of 'state terrorism' for alleged strikes*. Retrieved October 5 2019, from <https://www.timesofisrael.com/syria-accueses-israel-of-state-terrorism-for-alleged-iran-linked-site-strikes/>
- Gruen, G. E. (1995). Dynamic progress in Turkish-Israeli relations. *Journal Israel Affairs*. 1. 302-304. Retrieved October 3 2019, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/13517129508719351>
- Guzel, M. B, Mroue. (2019). *Turkey widens invasions as Syrians army returns to northeast*. Retrieved September 9 2019, from <https://apnews.com/a7033640>
- Guzansky. Shapiro. (2019). *Friends with Caveats*. Retrieved November 17 2019, from <https://www.foreignaffairs.com>article>friends-with-caveats>.
- Hanauer, L. (2016). Israel's Interests and Options in Syria. *Project National Defense Research Institute Santa Monica United States*. 185. 102-106. Retrieved September 8 2019, from <https://doi.org/10.7249/PE185>
- Haroun, Alfarsi. (2017). *Comparison: Defensive realism vs. Offensive realism*. Retrieved May 13 2019, from <https://www.profolus.com/topics/differences-between-defensive-realsim-and-offensive-realsim/>

- Harel, A& Benn, A. (2018). *No longer a secret: How Israel destroyed syria's Nuclear Reactor*. Retrieved October 12 2019, from <https://www.haaretz.com/world-news/MAGZINE-no-longer-a-secret-how-israel-desroyed-syria-s-nuclear-reactor-1.5914407>
- Hassan, S. (2008). Turkey 's Israel Policy Since 1945. *Journal In Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*. 69. 922-924. Retrieved November 4 2019, from Indian History Congress.
- Heard, S. Lind. (2016). “*Balkanization of Syria is a Catastrophic Idea*”, Retrieved May 3 2019, from: <https://www.arabnews.com/columns/news/899396>
- Heim, D. (2008). *The right of existence of the state of Israel and Israel's territorial integrity*. Retrieved September 23 2019, from <https://aldeilis.net/english/the-right-of-existence-of-the-state-of-israel-and-israel's-territorial-integrity/>
- Hubbard, B. (2019). *Saudi Prince Says Israelis Have Right to 'Their Own Land*. Retrieved November 12 2019, from: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/03/world/middleeast/saudi/arabia/mohammad-bin-salman-israel.html>
- Independent,N. (2019). *Yemen war*. Retrieved October 24 2019, from: <https://www.independent.co.uk/topic/yemen-war>.
- Israel shahak. (1982). “*The zoinist plan for middle east*” (First ed.) Belmont: Association of Arab-American University Graduates.
- Janathan, A. (2008). “*The rise of Israel*” *A history of a revolutionary state*. England: (First ed.) Routledge press.
- Jonathan, M. (2017). *Why Saudi Arabia and Iran are bitter rivals*. Retrieved October 15 2019, from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-42008809>
- Johnson, J. B., Reynolds, H. T., & Mycoff, J. D. (2008). *Political Science Research Methods*. (6<sup>th</sup> ed.). Washington, D.C. Congressional Quarterly Press.
- Joshua S. Goldstein (2005). *International Relation*. (First ed.). New York: Longman Publishing Group.
- Joshua,R.Willis. (2008). *A Comparative Theory Analysis of Defensive realism and Offensive realism*. Retrieved April 23 2019, from <https://www.slideshare.net/joshwillis10/comparative-theory-analysis-of-defensive-realsim-and-offensive-realsimfinal>

- Judah, Ben. (2015). *Israel Welcomes Chaos on its Border*”, *Politico*. Retrieved March 9 2019, from <https://www.politico.eu/article/Israel-welcome-chaos-in-its-border/.03/02/2017>
- Julia, Schubert. (2003). *Hegemonic stability theory: the rise and fall of U-S leadership in world economic relations*. (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). Munich. Grin Publish.
- Kardoosh, M. (2019). *Jordanians Now See Israel as an Implacable Enemy, Despite 25 Years of Peace*. Retrieved October 2 2019, from <https://www.haaretz.com/middle-eastnews/.premium-25-years-after-peace-with-israel-jordanians-see-little-benefit-1.8067457>
- Kaye, D. D., Nader, A., & Roshan, P. (2011). *Israel and Iran: A Dangerous Rivalry*. Project by: Rand National Defense Research Instsanta Monica.
- Khan, A. B. (2013). Egyptian–Israeli Relations, History, Progress, Challenges and Prospects in the Middle East. *Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies (in Asia)*. 7. 17-19.
- Khan, R. M. (2015). A perspective on the evolving geopolitics in the Middle East. *Journal of Margalla Papers*. 919. 107-109.
- Kingsley, P. (2019). *Who are the Kurds, and Why Is Turkey attacking them in Syria?* Retrieved September 12 2019, from <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/14/world/middle/east/the-kurds-facts-history-.html>
- Krishner, S. (2019). *Shadow Strike: Israel hits Syria's Nuclear Reactor*. Retrieved October 3 2019, from <https://blog.timesofisrael.com/shadow-strike-israel-hits-syria-s-nuclear-reactor/>.
- Kublin, H. (2012). *Background: Middle East*. Retrieved March 6 2019, from <https://www.scholastic.com/teachers/articles/teaching-content/backgrounf-middle-east/>
- Kurd, E, D. (2018). *On Israel's 70th anniversary, what does the region think?* Retrieved September 14 2019, from <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/05/on-israels-70th-anniversary-what-does-the-region-think/>
- L. Baradji, Rafael. (2016). “Religion Power and Chaos in Middle East”. *Journal SAGE* .15. 109-111. Retrieved May 10 2019, from <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12290-016-0391-9>.
- Lackner, H. (2019). *Yemen in Crisis: Road to War*. New York. Project by Verso; Retrieved October 15 2019, from Reprint Edition Verso
- Laub, Z. (2016). *Yemen in crisis*. Retrieved October 28 2019, from <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/yemen-crisis>

- Laub, Z. (2016). *The Islamic state*. Retrieved September 13 2019, from <https://www.efr.org/background/islamic-state>
- Lesser, I. O., Nardulli, B. R., & Arghavan, L. A. (1998). Sources of conflict in the greater Middle East. Sources of conflict in the 21st century: Retrieved August 20 2019, from Regional futures and US strategy.
- Litvak, M. (2006). The Islamic Republic of Iran and the Holocaust: Anti-Semitism and Anti-Zionism. *The Journal of Israeli History*. 25. 20-25.
- Lovatt, H. (2016). *Can a regional process unlock Israel-Palestine peace?* Retrieved October 3 2019, from <https://www.ecfr.eu/article/commentary-can-a-regional-process-unlock-israel-palestine-peace->
- Makdisi, K.S., Hazbun, W., & Gündoğar, S.S. (2017). Regional Order from the outside in External Intervention, Regional Actors, Conflicts and Agenda in the MENA Region. *Journal MENARA Methodology and Concepts Papers*, 5.
- Mabon, S. (2012). The Battle for Bahrain: Iranian-Saudi Rivalry. *Journal Middle East Policy*. 919. 57-59.
- Mabon, S. (2015). Saudi Arabia and Iran: Power and Rivalry in the Middle East. *Journal I.B.Tauris*. 132. 12-13.
- Manfreda P. (2019). *Arab Spring impact on the Middle East*. Retrieved September 22 2019, from <https://www.thoughtco.com>issues>the-middle-east>basic>
- Marcus, J. (2019). *Why Saudi-Arabia and Iran are bitter rivals*. Retrieved October 1 2019, from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world/middle-east-42008809>
- Marks, J. (2018). *Why Is There a Civil War in Syria?* Retrieved October 5 2019, from <https://www.history.com/news/syrian-civil-war-assad-rebels>
- Maroun, F. (2016). *Lebanon's Hatred of Israel A Symptom of Dysfunction*. Retrieved November 9 2019, from <https://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/8952/lebanon-israel>
- Maxwell, R. (2012). *Political Independence and Territorial integrity for all*. Retrieved October 15 2019, from <https://trumanlibrary.gov/education/lesson-plans/political-independence-and-territorial-integrity-all>.
- Mearsheimer, J. J. (2007). Structural realism. International relations theories: *Journal Discipline and diversity*. 83. 71-74.

- Mednicoff, D. (2019). *Why increasing Arab-Israeli closeness matters*. Retrieved October 12 2019, from <https://theconversation.com/why-increasing-arab-israeli-closeness-matters-119691>
- Menashri, D. (2006). *Iran, Israel and the Middle East Conflict*. Retrieved September 22 2019, from <https://www.tandfonline.com/dio/abs/10.1080/13537120500381901>
- Milestones. (2017). *Creation of Israel*. Retrieved August 21 2019, from <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/creation-israel>
- Mizokami. (2019). *How Israel daring 1981 raid on Iraq nuclear program*. Retrieved October 3 2019, from <https://foxtrotalpha.jalopnik.com/how-israel-daring-1981-raid-on-iraq-nuclear-program-h-1832211988>.
- Moghadam, M. (2013). What is democracy? Promises and perils of the Arab Spring. *Journal Current Sociology*. 61. 395-398.
- Mohd. Noor Mat Yazid. (2015). The theory of hegemonic stability, hegemonic power and international political economic stability. Retrieved May 12 2019, from European center for research training and development UK: 3.
- Nader, A., Hanauer, L., Allen, B., & Scotten, A. G. (2016). Regional implications of an independent Kurdistan (No.1452). Published by Rand Corp Arlington Vaarlington United States.
- National Public Radio. (2011). *The Arab Spring: A year of revolution*. Retrieved October 13 2019, from <https://www.npr.org>2011/12/17>the-arab-spring-a-year-of-revolution>.
- Ngan, T. T. T. (2016). *Neo-realism and the Balance of Power in Southeast Asia*. Retrieved May 16 2019, from Paper dipresentasikan untuk lokakarya The Central and East European International Studies Association–Internastional Studies Association (CEEISA-ISA).
- Nur, Masalha. (2000). *The Politics of Expansion*. (First edition.). London, Pluto press.
- Onursal, R. (2019). *Why the Kurdish conflict in Turkey is so intractable*. Retrieved September 22 2019, from: <https://www.theconversation.com/why-the-kurdish-conflict-in-turkey-is-so-intractable-125101>
- Oprea, L. (2016). *Saudi-Iranian cold war: string up sectarian hostilities*. Retrieved October 12 2019, from <https://mediterraneanaffairs.com/saudi-iranian-hostilities/>.
- Phillips, C. (2016). *The battle for Syria: international rivalry in the new Middle East*. (First ed.). USA. Yale University Press.

- Quitaz, S. (2019). *Saudi-Israeli Relation the emergence of a new Alliance*. Retrieved September 8 2019, from <https://www.alaraby.co.uk/english/indepth/2019/08/14/saudi-israeli-relation-the-emergence-of-a-new-alliance>
- Rabinovich, I. (1990). Israel, Syria, and Lebanon. *International Journal*, 45. 309-314. Retrieved October 14 2019, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/002070209004500302>
- Rabinovich, I. (2012). *Israel's View of the Syrian Crisis*. (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). Washington, D.C. Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution.
- Rabi, U. (2009). Qatar's relations with Israel: challenging Arab and gulf norms. *The Middle East Journal*. 63. 443-445. Retrieved October 14 2019, from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20622930>
- Rahman, K. (2008). Internal Factors Affecting the Middle East: Trends and Implications. Policy Perspectives. *Pluto Journals*. 5.95-99. Retrieved September 3 2019, from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/42909183>
- Rahman, O. (2019). *What's behind the relationship between Israel and Arab Gulf states?* Retrieved September 23 2019, from <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2019/01/28/whats-behind-the-relationship-between-Israel-and-Arab-Gulf-states/>
- Rahma, A, M. (2017) Security dilemma in the Middle East. Retrieved August 22 2019, from Middle East Diplomacy Conference on Security in the Middle East.
- Research, G. (2012). "what are the basic concept of neo realism". Retrieved March 5 2019, from [https://www.researchgate.net/post/What\\_are\\_the\\_basic\\_concepts\\_of\\_neorealism](https://www.researchgate.net/post/What_are_the_basic_concepts_of_neorealism)
- Robert Jackson Georg Sørensen. (2013). "International relation theories and approaches". (First ed.). London. Oxford university press.
- Rown , B & McNiff, Catherine. (2017). *ISIS Timeline*. Retrieved September 7 2019, from <http://www.infoplease.com>world>event>isis-timelines>
- Rosman-Stollman, E. (2004). Balancing Acts: The Gulf States and Israel. *Middle Eastern Studies Journal*.40. 185-187. Taylor & Francis. Retrieved October 23 2019, from Taylor & Francis
- Rowen, B. (2019). *Early history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict*. Retrieved August 10 2019, from <https://www.infoplease.com/history/world/early-history-of-the-israeli-palesyinian-conflict>
- Sachs, N. (2019). *Iran's revolution, 40 years on: Israel's reverse periphery doctrine*. Retrieved October 10 2019, from: <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos-/2019/01/24/iran-revolution-40-year-on-israel-reverse-periphery-doctrine/>

- Salisbury, P. (2015). Yemen and the Saudi–Iranian ‘Cold War’. Retrieved October 3 2019, from Research Project Middle East and North Africa Programme, Chatham House, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Vol 11.
- Sanger, D & Mazzetti, M. (2007). *Israel struck Syrian Nuclear Project, Analysts Say*. Retrieved September 5 2019, from <https://www.nytimes.com/2007/10/14/washington>.
- Sanchez, Dan. (2016). “*Israel & Syria: B is to Balkanize*”. Retrieved October 3 2019, from <https://www.washingtonsblog.com/2016/02/Israel-Syria-plan-B-balkanize.html>.20.01.2016-
- SBS, News. (2019). *The Israeli-Palestine conflict explained*. Retrieved September 23 2019, from [https://www.sbs.com.au/news/the Israeli-Palestine-conflict-explained-?](https://www.sbs.com.au/news/the-Israeli-Palestine-conflict-explained-?)
- Schlein, L. (2019). *UN Warns Libya Moving Toward Full-Scale Civil War*. Retrieved October 12 2019, from <https://www.voanews.com/Africa/un-warns-libya-moving-toward-full-scale-civil-war>
- Scham, P. L., & Lucas, R. E. (2001). 'Normalization' and 'Anti-Normalization' in Jordan: The Public Debate. *Journal Israel Affairs*. 9. 58-60.
- Shahak. (1982). “The zoinist plan for middle east” . *Journal Association of Arab-American University Graduates*. 11. 210-212. Retrieved March 2 2019, from Belmont:
- Sharara, S. L., & Kanj, S. S. (2014). War and infectious diseases: challenges of the Syrian civil war. *Journal PLoS pathogens*. 10. Retrieved August 10 2019, from <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.ppat.1004438>
- Shatz, J, H. (2019). *The Syrian Civil War Is Coming to an End*. Retrieved October 12 2019, from <https://www.rand.org/blog/2019/04/the-syrian-civil-war-is-coming-to-an-end.html>
- Shipler, D.K. (1981). *Iraq atomic reactor, attacks condemned by U.S. and Arab Nations*. Retrieved September 2 2019, from <https://www.nytimes.com/1981/06/09/world-israeli-jest-destroy-iraqi-atomic-reactor-condemned-us-arab-nations.html>
- Sicherman, S. E, & Ochsenwald. (2019). *Israel*. Retrieved September 19 2019, from <https://www.britannica.com/place/israel>
- Solomon, A, B. (2019). *What is Israel's Interest in Syria?* Retrieved October 20 2019, from <https://www.jpost.com/Middle-East/what-is-Israel-interest-in-Syria-325693>.
- Spangler, E. (2019). Understanding Israel/Palestine: Race, nation, and human rights in the conflict. Retrieved October 5 2019, from Brill Sence



- Spector, L.S & Cohen, A. (2008). Israel Air Strike on Syria's Reactor: Implications for the Nonproliferation Regime. Retrieved November 8 2019, from Arms Control Association
- Spiegel, O. (2019). *USA, Saudi Arabia, Iran: a new conflict in the Middle East?* Retrieved September 9 2019, from <https://www.speigel>international>world>usa-saudi-arabia-iran-a-new-conflict-in-the-middle-east?>
- Sprusansky, D. (2014). *Understanding ISIS: Frequently asked questions*. Retrieved September 22 2019, from: <http://www.wrema.org/014-october/understanding-isis-frequently-asked-questions.html>.
- Spyer, J. (2019). *The Iran-Israel War Is Here*. Retrieved November 12 2019, from <https://www.wsj.com/article/the/iran-israel-war-is-here-11566947384>
- Sreeresmi. (2019). *Israeli-Palestine- conflict: History, War and Solution*. Retrieved September 22 2019, from <https://www.clearias.com/israel-palestine-conflict>
- Susan, Strange. (1987). The persistent Myth of lost hegemony. Retrieved April 13 2019, from The MIT press interntional organization, 41.
- Steven, E. Lobbel. (2010). *Structural realism/Offensive realism*. Retrieved May 22 2019, from <https://oxfordre.com/internationalstudies/abstract/10.1093/acrefore/978019084626>
- Stern, M., & Ross, D. (2013). The role of Syria in Israeli-Turkish relations. *Journal of International Affairs*. 14. 118-120. Retrieved October 5 2019, from Georgetown University press.
- Stern, M. (2016). *The Reality of Israel-Egypt Relations*. Retrieved September 15 2019, from <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/menasource/the-reality-of-israel-egypt-relations/>
- Studies. (1981). The Israel raid on Iraq's nuclear reactor. *Journal of Palestine studies*. 11. 309-312. Retrieved October 23 2019, from University of California Press.
- Svetlova, K. (2019). *As Saudi bloggers reach out to Israel, Some see signals of a regional shift*. Retrieved October 9 2019, from <https://www.timesofisrael.com/as-saudi-bloggers-reach-out-to-israel-does-it-sinify-a-regional-shift/>
- Tahhan, Z. (2017). *Egypt-Israel relations 'at highest level' in history*. Retrieved October 26 2019, from <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features.2016/11/egypt-israel-relations-highest-level-history--161107083926863.html>
- Tange, Shiping. (2016). Form Offensive to Defensive Realism. Retrieved May 13 2019, from [www.sirpa.fudan.cn/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/tang-2008-1-form-offensive-to-defensive](http://www.sirpa.fudan.cn/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/tang-2008-1-form-offensive-to-defensive).

- Telbami, S. (2002). Kenneth Waltz, neorealism, and foreign policy. *Journal Security Studies*, 11. 100-103. Retrieved May 23 2019, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/714005344>
- Terrill, W. A. (2011). The Saudi-Iranian rivalry and the future of Middle East security. Retrieved April 10 2019, from Army War Cool Strategic Studies Inst Carlisle barracks Pa.
- Teny, tai-ting liu. (2011). Hegemonic stability and North East Asia: what hegemonic? What stability? *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences*. 3. 7-9. Retrieved May 12 2019, from National chung Hsing University.
- Tiersky, A. (2016). *Territorial Integrity*, Retrieved September 21 2019, from <https://www.csce.gov/issue.territorial-integrity->
- Timthy, Makeown. (2017). *Neorealism*. Retrieved May 10 2019, from <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obp-9780199743292/>
- Toi, S. (2019). *Assad says Israel behind all anti-government forces in Syrian civil war*. Retrieved October 3 2019, from <https://www.timesofisrael.com/assad-say-israel-behind-all-anti-government-forces-in-syrian-civil-war>
- Totten, M. J. (2016). The New Arab–Israeli Alliance. *Journal World Affairs*. 179. 30-33. Retrieved September 21 2019, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/0043820016673779>
- TRT, N. (2019). *Timeline of the PKK's war on Turkey: 1974-2019*. Retrieved November 12 2019, from <https://www.trtworld.com/magazine/a-timeline-of-the-pkk-s-war-on-turkey-1974-2019-30618>
- TRT, N. (2019). *Which way is the Libyan civil war headed?* Retrieved November 23 2019 from: <https://www.trtworld.com/magazine/which-way-is-the-libyan-civil-war-headed-31207>
- Tür, Ö. (2012). Turkey and Israel in the 2000s—From Cooperation to Conflict. *Journal Israel studies*. 17. 45-49. Retrieved September 14 2019, from Indiana University Press.
- Tur, O. (2015). *Israel and the Syrian Crisis--Between Keeping the Status Quo and Demanding Change*. Retrieved November 13 2019, from <https://dergipark.org.tr/download/article-file/107100>.
- Twitter, C. (2018). *Israeli PM Status*. Retrieved April 11 2019, from <https://mobile.twitter.com/9764789466869760>
- Ulrichsen, K. C. (2016). Israel and the Arab Gulf States: Drivers and Directions of Change. Retrieved October 24 2019, from James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy of Rice University

- Ulutaş, U. (2010). *Turkey-Israel: A fluctuating alliance*. Retrieved November 22 2019, from Universities-und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt SETA.
- UN, N. (2019). *Iran cannot be allowed to develop nuclear weapon: Israeli foreign minister*. Retrieved September 3 2019, from <https://www.un.org/en/story/2019/09/1047812>.
- Van Dam, N. (2017). *Destroying a nation: the civil war in Syria*. Retrieved October 29 2019, from Bloomsbury
- Walker, J. (2006). Turkey and Israel's Relationship in the Middle East. *Journal MUSE*.17. 5-6  
Retrieved October 10 2019, from Duke University Press.
- Warrick, J. (2016). *Black Flag: The rise of ISIS*. (First ed.). London. Anchor reprint.
- Wiki, M. (2010). *Hegemonic stability theory*. Retrieved May 23 2019, from <https://mediawiki.middlebury.edu/ipe/hegemonic-stability-theory>
- Winer, J. (2019). *Origins of Libyan conflict and options for its resolution*. Retrieved October 28 2019, from <https://www.mei.edu/sites/default/files/2019-03/Origins...>
- Witkin, N. (2011). A Two-State/One-Land Solution for the Israeli-Palestine Conflict. Retrieved September 12 2019, from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23012992>
- Wolfsfeld, G., Segev, E., & Sheaffer, T. (2013). Social media and the Arab Spring: Politics comes first. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 18. 45-50.
- Wong, E. (2008). *Over waive: Iraq war*. Retrieved November 23 2019, from <https://www.nytimes.com>ref>timestopics>topic-iraq>.
- Wood, G. (2015). *What ISIS Really Wants?* Retrieved September 24 2019, from: <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2015/03/what-Isis-really-want/384980/>
- Yinon, Oded. (1982). A Strategy for Israel in the Nineteen Eighties (the "Yinon Plan"), Translation Israel Shahak, KivuAnim (Israel), Retrieved, May 21 2019, from Voltaire Network.
- Yousaf, ahmadi. (2014). An assessment of Gulf States' perceptions of US hegemony and security in the Persian/Arabian Gulf. Retrieved September 4 2019, from Nottingham Trent University.