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Conflicting Visions in the Middle East

Abstract:

The visions of the major regional powers in the Middle East are conflicting for facilitating regional hegemony, strengthening their status and seeking for roles that ensure their interests. Arabs, through Saudi Arabia and Egypt, attempt to establish their regional presence as they are the largest powers in the region. On its part, Turkey is working to revive the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, Iran has achieved successes in extending its sovereignty and Israel intends to lead the region on the basis of being the most developed power and continuously works to weakening and dividing countries surrounding it.

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رؤى متضاربة في الشرق الأوسط

أ.د. ناجي محمد الهناش / جامعة تكريت / كلية العلوم السياسية / تكريت - العراق
المُلخص:

تتضارب رؤى القوى الإقليمية الكبرى في الشرق الأوسط لتسهيل الهيمنة الإقليمية وتعزيز مكانتها والسعي إلى أدوار تضمن مصالحها. ويحاول العرب من خلال السعودية ومصر ترسيخ حضورهم الإقليمي باعتبارهم القوى الأكبر في المنطقة. ومن جانبها، تعمل تركيا على إحياء الإمبراطورية العثمانية. ومن ناحية أخرى، حققت إيران نجاحات في بسط سيادتها، وإسرائيل عازمة على قيادة المنطقة على أساس كونها القوة الأكثر تطوراً، وتعمل بشكل مستمر على إضعاف وتقسيم الدول المحيطة بها.
الكلمات المفتاحية: رؤى متضاربة، الشرق الأوسط، تعزيز المكانة.

Introduction:

The tendency toward control over the Middle East has become a human heritage

due to the successive developments in this region since the Second World War. They become prominent during the Cold War and the international conflict between the United States and the former Soviet Union to dominate this region. This confirms that the importance of region is not only related to its geography, but also in attracting the global attention translated by what has happened in this region till this day.

Undoubtedly, the Middle East is of great importance thanks to the economic, geographical, cultural and civilizational reasons as this region is a central power in the world and is located at the confluence of the largest continents, namely, Europe, Asia and Africa, and remained a vital route for global transportation throughout history. Because of geographical and economic centrality of this region, it has become the world's most sensitive region toward international politics. At the same time, this has given the region a considerably global importance, making it a region of conflict and competition for both international and regional influence. Thus, the Middle East has been changed to a strategic domain for cooperation and conflict among these powers, seeking for hegemony at both global level among the major powers and regional level among its main regional powers that seeks for the status and secures their situations and roles that are in line with their interests. At a time when Arabs, through Saudi Arabia and Egypt, are attempting to establish their regional presence for being the largest and most influential powers in the region. However, there are other foreign projects as Turkey is working on the revival of the Ottoman Empire, an Iranian project has achieved successes in extending sovereignty and Israeli project wants to lead the region on the basis of being the most developed one and is constantly working to weaken and divide the countries surrounding it. As this research focuses on the major regional powers in the region and their visions on the Middle East, it is hypothesized that there is a conflict in the visions of these powers in this region on their interests and objectives. This illustrates the problem which attempts to find solutions for the basic questions on: How Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Turkey, Iran and Israel are considering their regional reality? How do they draw their visions according to their interests? What is the nature of the role played by these powers in the region based on that? Therefore, the research is divided into two visions on the Middle East: Arabic and foreign visions to form the structure of this research.

Section One: Arabic vision On the Middle East

Although the Arab countries are organized under more than one Arab regional organization like the Arab league, the Gulf Cooperation Council and the Arab Cooperation Council ⁽¹⁾, there is no unified Arabic visions on the Middle East and its issues as evidenced by the dispersion of the Arabic effort towards foreign occupations of Arab countries, especially the Israeli occupation of Palestine, as well as the dispersion of the Arabic position on the crises experienced in the Arab

regional system, which became a dispute to be a cause for worsening the positions. Accordingly, this system is unable to resolve its crises, which are many starting from the crisis of Kuwait in 1990 and ending by the Syrian and Yemeni crises. Thus, this study sheds light on two Arabic visions based on their importance at the Arabic and regional levels, namely the visions of Saudi Arabia and the Egyptian one.

1. The vision of Saudi Arabia:

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is one of the pivotal countries not only at the level of the Gulf region, but also at the regional level, because of the country's assets and its strategic importance due to many characteristics, including:

1. The global economic position, which made the Kingdom one of the influential countries in the global economy because of the storage of the largest global reserves of oil, and the daily production of oil estimated at (11.9) million barrels, as well as reserves of natural gas estimated at (108.2) billion cubic meters ⁽²⁾.
2. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia occupies a distinct strategic location, overlooking important seas and bays in international navigation and observing the international oil transit lines through its western coasts on the Red Sea and the eastern ones on the Arabian Gulf.
3. The religious and spiritual status among Muslims for the presence of Mecca, the Prophet's Mosque and the tomb of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him).
4. The diversity of international relations of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia that are based on good - neighborliness and peace, and the settlement of disputes peacefully, as well as its positive role in solving many of the crises in the Middle East.
5. The significant role of Saudi Arabia in the establishment of many Islamic institutions, including the Muslim World League in 1962, the Organization of the Islamic Conference in 1969 and their headquarters⁽³⁾.
6. The significant role of Saudi Arabia in establishing the Gulf Cooperation Council in 1981.

Saudi Arabia has worked within the framework of its regional vision to be effective and present at the Arab and Islamic levels in order to preserve the stability of the region and prevent other regional powers from dominating the region. There are a number of important situations in this direction:

1. The leadership of Saudi policy for many initiatives to settle the conflicts and crises in the region, including:
 - The Taif Agreement to end the civil war in Lebanon in 1990, which culminated in success and ended a civil war in Lebanon that lasted for 15 years ⁽⁴⁾.
 - Caring for the Iraqi-Kuwaiti talks in 1990 to solve the Iraq-Kuwait crisis before the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, its subsequent position against Iraq and work with the

international coalition to end the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait.

- Put forward an initiative to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict at the Beirut summit, known as the Arab initiative, received Arabic agreement, and was based on the principle of land for peace (Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories, in exchange for Arab recognition of "Israel").

- Working with the Gulf states to solve the Yemeni crisis.

2. After the outbreak of the revolutions of the Arab Spring, Saudi Arabia worked in two directions for the stability of the countries in which the revolutions took place, **the first:** The use of force by sending military forces to Bahrain to suppress the revolution there; and second: sending financial aid to Egypt and Tunisia in order to stabilize the situation in them ⁽⁵⁾.

3. opposing to the ambitions of the regional powers seeking for dominance over the region. It has a strong position against the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait in 1990, and opened its territory for the first time in its history to the coalition forces to remove the Iraqi forces from Kuwait, and is working today strongly according to the strategy of containment and encirclement of Iran through the rear door policy from Pakistan and surrounding it with an Islamic line to prevent further regional expansion of the latter. According to new data in the Middle East, Saudi Arabia needs to develop its regional alliances on its own to face external challenges. At this level, continuous efforts by the King (Salman bin Abdul Aziz) have emerged to build a regional alliance in the region includes Turkey and the axis of Sunni states to resolve many unresolved issues ⁽⁶⁾.

4. Saudi foreign policy was characterized by diversity in building foreign relations, especially with the major powers, and retained its privileged relations with the United States, which considered it as ally that ensures its protection and the protection of the Gulf region.

5. Financial support of Saudi Arabia for many countries that suffer from instability, especially Arab and Islamic ones, in order to enable these countries to control the situation they are experiencing.

6. The events of September 11, 2001, left major repercussions on Saudi Arabia because of the participation of a number of its citizens in the events, adding to that leader of al-Qaeda organization (Osama bin Laden) was a Saudi, leaving the responsibility on the Saudi policy to clear itself of these events, and worked with the United States to fight terrorism theoretically and practically, that its final action was represented by its leadership of the Islamic alliance in this regard.

The researcher thinks that Saudi Arabia views stability in the region as the best as it does not want the imbalance of powers, which will imbalance security maxims. This, in turn, may pose a future threat to the security of the Kingdom and the Gulf states. So, it has worked against the aspirations of the regional powers, such as Iraq previously and Iran currently. It has also found that its closeness to the United

States and support for many of US policies in the Middle East and adoption of some of them is one of the maxims in the Kingdom's policy to ensure its protection and the protection of the Gulf states.

1. The vision of Egypt:

Egypt has gained a regional distinct status since ancient history. It has had to address all the attacks that have faced Arabism and Islam for being the largest human power in the Arab world and its army is one of the powerful armies in the Middle East ⁽⁷⁾.

The researcher believes that the Egyptian regional recognition after the revolution of July 1952 emerged from several considerations:

First: the leadership of the Arab regional system for being one of the founders of the Arab League, as well as leading the Arab conflict against Israel.

Second: Egypt emerged as a model in Africa and became an African destination to help the newly independent States.

Third: Leadership in the Non-Aligned Movement, which is the second largest gathering after the United Nations, and defend the issues of developing countries. So, Egypt formed an important axis in the Arab regional system by virtue of its demographic significance and its cultural, historical importance and geographical location, and being a cultural and political center of the Arab world, especially after the adoption of Gamal Abdel Nasser of Arab nationality project intended to achieving Arab unity and renaissance ⁽⁸⁾ as well as leading the Arab - Israeli conflict. After the death of Abdel Nasser, the Egyptian regional movement was obstructed completely after Sadat's visit to Jerusalem in 1977, and then the signing of the Camp David agreement with Israel, which led to the exclusion of Egypt from the Arab League, and the imposition of the Arab boycott politically, economically and culturally ⁽⁹⁾. The situation remained the same until 1989 when Egypt has been rejoined the Arab League and reestablished its normal relations with the Arab states. The researcher believes that Egypt has played the role of godfather in the Arab-Israel peace process after the Madrid Conference in 1991 and increased its importance in the US strategy , even if President Bush-the son- described Egypt in his last visit to the region as the cornerstone of this strategy and used as a tool to assist in the elimination of regional powers in the region as in the case of Iraq in 1991 ⁽¹⁰⁾.

When planning its regional strategy, Egypt has attempted to achieve the following objectives ⁽¹¹⁾:

1. Maintaining the Egyptian leading role in the Arab world and its surrounding African, Islamic and Middle Eastern issues.
2. To achieve peace with Israel in accordance with the principle of land for peace.
3. Confront the major powers and prevent any change that would imbalance

the powers in the Middle East.

On the other hand, Egypt suffers a number of internal problems related to the its surrounding regional environment, most important of which are economic difficulties. So, Egypt has worked with all the countries of the Middle East region on the principle of benefit with the Arab Gulf states in order to obtain financial support and attract investment, and with Iran and Turkey in order reach the political stability in the region, and it did not forget the need for its presence in the balances of powers in the Middle East ⁽¹²⁾. Despite the relative decline in its regional position as a result of multiple developments represented by the narrow gap between Egypt and Arab countries, especially in the military and economic fields and areas of social and political organization, which disabled Egypt to undertake the burdens of practicing Arab leadership individually, and then became obliged to accept the transition to participate in some kind of collective leadership of Arab regional system ⁽¹³⁾. As well as its problems at the African regional level, especially those concerning the sharing of the Nile with Ethiopia and the problems with Sudan.

The researcher considers that experiencing significant political transformations in Egypt, namely toppling President Mubarak, the arrival of the Muslim Brotherhood to power, the army's control of the situation, the prohibition of the work of the Muslim Brotherhood, and then election of Sisi as President, has forced the Egyptian policy to focus its attention on the domestic situation more than the regional situation in order to stabilize and secure the difficult economic situation in Egypt. Despite the aspirations of President Sisi to strengthen Egypt's relations with Arab and foreign countries, and his promises to reestablish the leading role of Egypt at the Arabic, Islamic and regional levels, the researcher opines that the return of the Egyptian role to its former status would be difficult under the current circumstances for many reasons, the most important of which are economic difficulties faced by the Egyptian economy, which would perhaps make it more like dependent on regional powers those which assist it and be allied with them against other majors, as in its relation with Saudi Arabia and the United States of America. In the sense that its current vision is very much in line with the Saudi and American vision.

Section Two: Foreign Visions of the Middle East:

This section highlights three foreign visions of the Middle East, namely the Turkish, Iranian and " Israeli " visions.

1. Turkish vision:

Turkey is characterized by having a strategic location distinct from other countries of the world by belonging to various geographical regions including the Middle East, the Balkans, the Caucasus and Central Asia, i.e., it is a state with multiple regional identities and cannot be confined to a single identity. The importance of

this location has increased as it was a contact point between the superpowers of the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War, as well as being a historical, religious and cultural point of contact between the Muslim East and the Christian West ⁽¹⁴⁾. Therefore, its strategic interests are realized in three regional entities imposed on it by its geographical location, namely, the Arab entity, the European entity, and the Central Asia. These entities formed a room for the regional movement of Turkey and its international influence, and obliged it to construct military, political and economic capacities to be able to perform both a European and Islamic role in the Middle East ⁽¹⁵⁾.

Turkey has historical relations with the Arab countries, as these countries have historically been part of the Ottoman Empire. Despite the Turkish perfectionism policy, which distanced it from the Islamic and Eastern roots, it remains the successor to that empire. Currently, it presents itself to the West as a Muslim country with a secular system, and has its importance in the Organization of the Islamic Conference. Indeed, there are some Western countries consider Turkey as an advanced logistics base with an important strategic location close to the operations scene in the Middle East and is able to play an important regional role ⁽¹⁶⁾ and have a significant impact on the regional and international balances ⁽¹⁷⁾.

Nowadays, Turkey returns again to be an important player in the Middle East, after a break in a policy of avoiding involvement in the affairs of the region, and after decades of neglect towards them, Turkey resumes its role as an active and important player in this region ⁽¹⁸⁾, and to become one of the most important forces in them, not only by virtue of its location as mentioned earlier, but also by its increased economic power. The growing Turkish role is based on the theory of strategic depth, which considers that the location and history of Turkey enable it to move positively in different fields and areas, especially with its geographical neighbors, to achieve its interests, and it is able to manage its relations with all countries without being accounted for a party against another party, adding to the attention to its historical and geographical depth represented in the Arab and Islamic entities ⁽¹⁹⁾. Also, it is a central courtyard that attracts both the East and the West. The increased Turkey 's regional Middle East value and importance is due to being a member of NATO and has the largest military base for NATO (Langer Lake Base), which had a great importance in the wars of NATO and the United States against Iraq and against terrorism. With respect to future, this base will remain very important to NATO. Thus, the West has an interest in annexing Turkey to NATO as through Turkey the West can achieve its objectives in the Middle East ⁽²⁰⁾. So, the vision of the West that the presence of Turkey in NATO is an important element for its success because Turkey is very close to the former Soviet Union, and Russia later, and it is the only European state within the Middle East region ⁽²¹⁾.

Thus, this enabled Turkey to ensure roles for the West in the increased conflicts

of the Middle East with preserving its interests in this internationally important region. Also, Turkey can be a barrier state to prevent the arrival of the effects of the Middle East conflicts to the heart of the European Union ⁽²²⁾. Turkey has the largest share of terrorist attacks compared to European countries.

In 2002, the Justice and Development Party has reached the power, led by Recep Tayyip Erdogan. A serious orientation of Turkish policy toward the Middle East has occurred, and Turkey has engaged more in their issues with adopting new approaches in the Turkish move that some of them are daring to establish the Turkish presence as an effective power ⁽²³⁾. The Justice and Development Party has adopted the new Ottoman project or the new Ottomanization to reconcile with Turkey's Islamic and Ottoman heritage using soft power in its foreign policy. Therefore, the new Ottoman represents an important turning point in the traditional Turkish policy represented by perfectionism ideology. The main focus of the new Ottoman is considering Turkey as a major regional power through the involvement of Turkey in the Middle East. At the beginning it aimed at improving relations with neighboring countries including Syria, Iraq and Iran in a way that enables Turkey to become a pivotal state with all countries and enables it to play the alternative Arab regional role equivalent to the importance of Iranian role in the region. By adopting the new Ottomanization, Turkey wanted to show the European Union, which refused its membership request to join it because of its Islamic identity, that there is a vast Islamic world that would meet it extending from Mauritania to Jakarta ⁽²⁴⁾. In this regard, the former Turkish President Abdullah Gul confirms that Turkey cannot remain confined within Anatolia in the light of regional and international serious changes. While Erdogan creates this slogan: Turkey cannot sit in the stands and look at the game, it must be a player on the playground ⁽²⁵⁾.

The Turkish openness to the countries of the region, especially those having conflicts with it, helped it perform the role of mediation, as in the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Syrian crisis and the Iranian nuclear file ...etc. thus, it is serious to be a key player in the region, and to have an opinion in their issues. Turkey in its relations with the countries of the Middle East depends on the principle of clearing differences with all countries of the region. This the vision that the former Prime Minister of Turkey Ahmet Davutoglu has called it the policy of zero problem ⁽²⁶⁾. Turkey differs much from the militarization and escalation countries like Iran and Israel, which are rousing fears because of the letters of threat that they use. Turkey can face these orientations through its good regional relations; so it can play a role that is more important in the redrawing of intellectual and geo-political alliances in the Middle East by establishing relations with all parties on the basis of the bilateral relations and regional integration ⁽²⁷⁾.

Turkey, in its new policy that emerged with the arrival of the Justice and

Development Party to power in 2002, has depended on a set of facts⁽²⁸⁾:

1. Turkey's future is in Asia and the Middle East and not in Europe, which is adopted by the party.
2. The regional variables, the most important of which is the collapse of the Arab regional system, and international ones, the most important of which is the US hegemony and Turkey gains the US support regionally, have an influence that obliged Turkey to look for itself a regional international status.
3. According to (2) mentioned earlier, Turkey should activate the best for its geo-strategic position and build a regional system extending to three regions from the Caucasus to the Balkans and then the Middle East.

On this basis, Turkey can play more than a regional role in the Middle East⁽²⁹⁾.

1. The political costs of Turkey in the region is much less than the political revenue that it earns, on contrary to Iran, whose regional role required much financial and ideological costs in its network of regional alliances.
2. Turkey has no major intersections in the Middle East with major powers, and this helps it in its regional roles.
3. The positive image of Turkey, which has taken root among important segments on the logic and welcome of a Turkish unprecedented regional role, in addition to the charismatic figure of Erdogan in the region.
4. Turkey enjoys Western support as a moderate Muslim model alternative to the radical political Islam as the Iranian model, as it has succeeded as a modern secular system that is market-oriented economy⁽³⁰⁾.

In sum, Turkey is working hard to be a moderate and acceptable party in the Middle East at the public and political levels, and pursuing the moderation approach in its foreign movement, appearing as performing balances in most of its roles, and reformer among the regional parties, and had a hidden project linked to its historical legacy. Therefore, it suggests a regional vision stems from the need to the introduction of geographical neighboring countries (Turkey, Iran, and Israel), and the Arab states and even Pakistan within the framework of a new regional system based on the formation of economic, security and strategic alliance⁽³¹⁾.

2. Iranian vision:

Iran is characterized by a very important strategic location because of overlooking more than one water surfaces (the Arabian Gulf, the Caspian Sea and the Arabian Sea), and has the longest coastline on the Arabian Gulf, giving it a significant geographical advantage in the natural and human sources, making it the greatest regional power dominating the Gulf, according to description of former US President (Richard Nixon)⁽³²⁾. The increased importance of Iran is that during the Cold War Iran was an isolation zone between the Arab and foreign countries, and its adjacency to Turkey and nearness to Europe, and thus formed a barrier zone between the Soviet and American influence in their struggle to warm water⁽³³⁾.

Moreover, the importance of Iran lies in its mediated geographical location for the international transport on land and sea between India to the east, the Arabian Gulf and the Indian Ocean to the south, the Middle East and Southwest Asia to the west, Russia and Europe to the north⁽³⁴⁾. In the sense that Iran is a geographical and historical bridge linking between the West and the East⁽³⁵⁾. In the Middle East, Iran has a rooted history and complex social, cultural, demographic and economic extensions, which has helped it to perform different regional roles⁽³⁶⁾. In addition to possessing the elements of a great and deep strategy, enabling it to a considerable strategic regional performance as a comprehensive power and involved in the drafting of the security and political regional balances efficiently and effectively. This makes the Middle East a prepared area to impose its will to advance its national project, assisted by the variables of the regional environment after the occupation of Iraq in 2003, as well as the sectarian factor as a factor of attraction⁽³⁷⁾.

In the same vein, Iran sought previously and since the nineties of the last century to move towards Islamic countries and develop its relations with them, and support issues concerning the Islamic world, enhancing the activation of its regional role to create a prominent and influential position in the region and eliminating the international isolation imposed on it by the United States of America⁽³⁸⁾. Iran's neighborhood to the Arab region and sharing borders with influential state in the region, such as Iraq, contributed to the formation of awareness of each party to the other as religion and doctrine deemed to be the first focus in the formation of the relationship between Iran and the Arabs⁽³⁹⁾. The Iranian performance in the region is characterized with efficiency, whether negatively or positively, as the aspiration of Iranian politicians is a great desire to play the main active role in the neighboring Arab countries, which is in conformity with the principle of the export of revolution⁽⁴⁰⁾.

After the revolution in 1979, and the Islamic party has taken rule in Iran, the new political system vision to their state continued as the largest state in the Arabian Gulf, and has to play the role of leader. So, in the eighties of the twentieth century, it presented a project of national strategy (the theory of Umm al-Qura), which gives an area of sanctity to Iran in the world "considering it as Umm al-Qura and that the duty to defend it is above any other interest. This strategy emphasizes the three pillars of the Chairperson: the preservation of the Islamic confirms three characteristics of the Iranian regime: maintaining the Islamic nature of Iran regime, position of Iran in Muslim world and then to defend Iran's security, and regional expansion⁽⁴¹⁾.

The researcher opines that despite Iran 's policy conflict with US policy, on the one hand, and Arab, on the other hand, and despite the losses incurred by Iran during the eight years' war with Iraq (1980-1988), it remained a regional state

eager to improve its regional position and performance, for having the economic and geographic privileges, human and military capabilities, can play a greater role than it is. This is what has been achieved after the occupation of Iraq by US forces in 2003, as Iran has filled the political and security space in Iraq in one way or another. Then,

the opportunity is available again to Iran to prove its regional presence in the Syrian crisis as the main supporter of the Syrian regime, and a third time in the Yemeni crisis as the main supporter of the Houthis. This Iranian presence prompted many researchers, especially the Arabs, to consider the Iranian project as a nationalistic empire covered by Shiite Islam. It is a project based on political wisdom, propaganda, media, soft and hard power. While others called it the Shiite Crescent, which is according to the first president of Iran Islamic republic (Abu al-Hassan Bani Sadr) the vision of (Ayatollah Khomeini) who wanted to establish a Shiite line to control the region. This line consists of Iran, Iraq, Syria and Lebanon⁽⁴²⁾. Observers of current movement of the Iran in the region find that this vision is realized on the ground. Iran today exists with a political, military and economical power in Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Yemen, as well as its influence in the Arab Gulf states. The most importantly is the military presence, leading the fights in the region, and the formation of armed factions fighting with one flag under Iranian leadership by relying on the recruitment of local forces from different regions in the Middle East (Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Yemen, etc.). The role of Iran was limited to supervision, training, financing and arming⁽⁴³⁾.

Iran's interest in focusing on the regional role is due to several reasons, the most important are⁽⁴⁴⁾:

1. Iran aims at prominence regionally and globally, as it feels it deserves prominence because it is often present in the most files (nuclear file, Gulf security, crises successive). Because the Arab region in general and the Arabian Gulf in particular has a great strategic importance on the global level, the incursion into this region serves Iran's goal of emerging regionally and internationally.
2. The importance of Iran economically, making it a global economic power, and because this region economically linked to the world dramatically, whether through oil or passages, trade, import and export. The control or influence in this region, enables Iran to a regional and global movement, thereby strengthening its economic position on both levels.
3. Increasing its political importance globally as the engagement with this region and the permanent presence in it and in their issues makes Iran an essential partner with superpowers to sit at the negotiating table, (Iran and US, Iran and Turkey, Iran and European Union) and this raises the issue of Iran at the international level.

4. Defend Iran beyond its borders, the regional role is an advanced defense line for Iran and its political system, and thus Iran can control the region.

The researcher believes that there are opportunities to Iran could help it to exploit them to complete its regional project, including ⁽⁴⁵⁾:

1. Iran has been able to demonstrate its good faith regarding the nuclear crisis and the Syrian crisis and fighting terrorism. Firstly, it was able to reach agreement on its nuclear program under the auspices of the Security Council Member States (5 + 1), while secondly, it is part of the global war against terrorism through its great role in Iraq and Syria, without any international objection.
2. Reaching the nuclear agreement, according to the point of view of many analysts forms a positive point for Europeans despite US abandonment of the agreement, and that it could help Iran to alleviate international isolation and it could be a big opportunity for major international companies to enter the Iranian market, and perhaps give Iran a chance to play a role in the region's future interactions.
3. Iran enjoys wide support from its supporters in the region, whether governments or politicians as well as a wide spectrum of the region's masses as the defender of Shiites in the world, which was found in the leadership of pro-military groups, which have been mentioned earlier.

The Iranian vision of the Middle East is a major regional power that is unsatisfied, and because of its potential, it wants to change in terms of playing bigger roles in the Middle East to reach the edge of contact with the world major powers to decide the future of the region and to share drawing its map.

3. Israeli Vision:

Israel is still living in spatial distress since its existence in the Middle East, and is still seen as a stranger to the region in history and culture. Israel's vision of the Middle East will be addressed in accordance with its famous Middle East project or the new Middle East developed by former Israeli president Shimon Peres. The Middle East was presented before the launch of the Arab-Israeli peace process, but the project was presented practically through the book "The New Middle East" by former Israeli President Shimon Peres, which represents an Israeli vision of the Middle East; in form it is regional economic and political cooperation and security, but the real aim is to impose Israeli hegemony on the region.

In sum, this vision stems from the Arabs cannot defeat (Israel), and that the latter cannot dictate its terms to the Arabs in the field of war, and the Palestinian problem is no longer the only one in the Middle East as there are other problems related to development, poverty and unemployment have led to the emergence of extremism. Peres believes that the countries of the region must tend to cooperate in addressing these problems, and to propose the establishment of a regional area

for cooperation grouping countries in the region away from nationalism, and the creation of a regional system for control and monitoring framed in a regional political coalition able to impose its prestige that peace is a way to maintain security, and to achieve that is subject to establishing shared projects⁽⁴⁶⁾.

Perez continues to promote the idea of the Middle East on other occasions as he puts a vision for the future of the region by calling for a new structure in which the Egyptian manpower is united with Gulf money with the Syrian trade skill, while the Israelis are at the top of the Middle East pyramid as being creative minds and masterminds of the requirements of high technology world⁽⁴⁷⁾.

The researcher believes that this Israeli proposal coupled with the investment of the large American presence in the region and the superiority of the Israeli military supported by the nuclear deterrent, as well as the investment of the variables that have continued to destroy the region, including the elimination of Iraqi capabilities after the US occupation of Iraq in 2003, and the chaos experienced today that many Arab countries are able to achieve the real objectives of the project of the Middle East which is focused mostly on the security aspect and they are many, among them⁽⁴⁸⁾:

Clearing the Middle East from weapons of mass destruction, and the control of long range missiles, as happened with Iraq.

Preventing the regional projects of any Arab and foreign rapprochement, and to foil any security effort where (Israel) does not exist, to prevent the emergence of any regional power trying to control the Middle East area, which has actually happened with Iraq in 1991, and is currently working with Iran.

Working on devoting (Israel) an important member state and dominant in the region and making it the major regional by virtue of its supremacy in all fields.

Establishing shared economic projects, as in the Qualified Industrial Zone Convention between Egypt, Israel and Jordan, and the involvement of (Israel) in the economic conferences held in more than one Arab capital.

Working to feed differences between regional powers in the region.

Following the policy of flexible borders, which allows (Israel) a policy of penetration in the region, to eliminate its territorial isolation. This has already been achieved either through the settlement process or through the arrangement of new relations with some Arab countries, especially the Gulf.

Working to link Israel with military and security agreements with neighboring foreign countries India, Pakistan, China, and the Central Asian Republics.

Therefore, the basis of Israel's vision is based on the idea of integrating Israel into its Mediterranean region, which is the most powerful and advanced nuclear state in its backward regional environment.

The researcher thinks that Israel followed two paths together to achieve its regional objective, **the first**: early planning for its project, and monitoring

capabilities to complete it for being a strategic long- term target, thus it worked, for example, on the fragmentation of policy in the region, especially the nearby Arab state; **the second**: to proceed the peaceful settlement process. It has actually succeeded in signing of the two peace agreements: Camp David with Egypt and Wadi Araba with Jordan, thus securing its borders on two important fronts, but did not leave the aim of fragmentation and fuel the instability in the countries that are hostile to its existence and to American hegemony in the region, and continued by inciting the United States against their regimes, as was the case with Iraq that it was actively involved in the incitement and planning for occupation by US forces ⁽⁴⁹⁾. The case in Iraq after the destruction of its potentials and capabilities has arrived to civil war between "Shiites and Sunnis," in a state of chaos created by the United States and is part of the state of creative chaos considered by Condoleezza Rice, Former United States Secretary of State. This motivated a lot of American researchers to put forward the idea of dividing the country according to the foundations desired by Israel. It is worth mentioning here Henry Kissinger's call in an interview with the network of (CNN) that any ethnic group shall form its government, as it is not in the interest of the United States to keep Iraq united ⁽⁵⁰⁾. Soon, these calls turned into a non - binding resolution ⁽⁵¹⁾ of the US Senate issued on 25/9/2007, dividing Iraq into three provinces, Shiite, Sunni and Kurdish ⁽⁵²⁾. The matter does not differ much in Syria, and in weaker cases, what is happening in it worsens the country after the destruction of its destiny and infrastructure, without forming a real threat to Israel. As for Egypt, it remains among Israel's targets in the instability and fragmentation of the security concern that Israel has experienced fearing of the arrival of national or Islamic rule in Egypt. Iran also was not away from the Israeli plan, as the scenario prepared for Iran, according to the opinion of the researcher, looks like to a large extent the scenario prepared for Iraq previously, especially as Iran is composed of several nationalities.

Israel's final aim is the fragmentation of the region into entities. In the framework of Israel's plan for its future in 2020, an Israeli research team, in its future project, believes that the only guarantee for Israel's existence will not be achieved only through Israel find a security gap around it to be filled by its military force, and this necessarily requires the establishment of sectarian entities controlled by the status of the brothers-enemies relationship so that the concerns of its leaders be confined to conflict among themselves, then the weakest entities asks for Israel's assistance, which will remain at the same distance from all ⁽⁵³⁾.

Conclusion:

Each of the regional Middle Eastern main powers had designed their vision of the regional movement, which is the hypothesis has to be proved in this research. At a time when the common Arab shared vision is absent from the whole of what is happening in the Middle East, there are Arab visions united in the Beirut

conference in 2002 through the Arab initiative, which was presented by Saudi Arabia to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict. As for the Saudi regional vision, the events proved its effectiveness and at the Arab and Islamic levels in order to maintain the stability of the region through initiatives and mediation, as well as standing firm against major regional powers that work to impose their hegemony over the region, and this is what we saw in particular in standing against the Iranian aspirations, which corresponds to the US vision in reducing the activity of Iran's Middle East activity, even the Saudi movement has become not free to play the role imposed in the US strategy. On the other hand, the Egyptian movement was not the same as it was before. Although it seeks to have a regional role, its internal political and economic situation requires it to give priority to the Egyptian interior, but the Egyptian regional importance remains very important within the international and regional alliances and alignments. While Turkey is trying, through the successes achieved under the government of development and justice, to revive the Ottoman Empire with a modern vision known as the new Ottomanization based on the Strategic depth in geography and history. According to the Turkish vision, it can move positively regionally in managing regional involvements. This is supported by a great Western support as a member of NATO, so that Turkey can play a role in confronting the instability in the region through its good relations with all parties, and its role in resolving the Middle East crises. So, it presented a project to form an economic, security and strategic alliance that brings together the Middle East countries, contributing to the stability of the region to a large extent. As for Iran, it remains an important regional power, desires, since the Iranian revolution, to be a key player in the region. The good conditions were made available for it to achieve this after the occupation of Iraq. The development that took place on the side of Iran's overall power, especially its military, and its roots in the region because of its social, cultural and religious expansion, helped it to move towards the application of the theory of Umm Al-Qura. It succeeded in the principle of regional expansion by extending its influence in Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Yemen and to some extent it succeeded in the Arabian gulf and succeeded when it added to its struggle with the other regional powers the sectarian character as being the first defender of the "Shiites". The result was the volunteering of different factions and different nationalities to fight and defend it. Iran's political skill in exploiting the circumstances has led to an Iranian success in shaping the Shiite crescent, and is seeking to complete it with a Shiite edifice extending from Iran to Iraq, then Sham down to the Arabian Gulf. Israel, being the only entity that is alien to the region because of its abnormal growth, has been forced by the spatial issue to take a completely different direction from the rest of the other regional powers. It has worked in two directions: First, developing its capabilities in various directions, focusing on military capabilities backed by nuclear deterrent, ensuring superiority

equivalent to the Arab in quantity and quality, and the second: preventing the regional powers from having forces, and then work to fragment the major powers on the basis of ethnic, religious and sectarian. This result gives according to the Israeli vision the right of Jews to live in the region, Christians, Kurds, Baloch, Persians, etc., helped by US support in planning and implementation.

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- a. The American objection to Iran's policy in the region, particularly that emerged clearly with the arrival of a Republican administration in the White House led by Trump as it eliminated the nuclear deal and worked on tightening sanctions against it.
- b. Collision with regional major powers in the Middle East (Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Egypt, and Israel), and these powers worked on limiting the Iranian expansion in Iraq, Syria and Lebanon and Yemen which led to Arab and Islamic regional alliances.
- c. Iran is still charged as a State sponsors terrorism, and the use of this paper now and then against it, this is probably a paper of pressure on the Iranian Government.

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