

Clash of Interests and Middle East Security

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Abstract

Abundance of cellar springs, ethnic and religious pluralism and exclusive status on the one hand, political- economic crispy, cultural clashes and confluence of regional and trans-regional powers on the other hand have identified the Middle East as an endless region in the world. In other words, transcendence of power politics, utilitarianist and interest-oriented calculations has shown the Middle East as an area of diverse admixture. In this situation, based upon interest-oriented and national rationality, regional and transregional powers are trying to design the security geometry of the Middle East subsystem. Indeed, the presence of trans-regional actors and regional powers attempting to map the region's security has transformed the Middle East as a pole of the world's security- political exchanges. This paper attempts to probe the security approaches of Iran, the USA and the EU as regional and trans-regional actors towards the Middle East.

Keywords: Middle East, clash of interests, security, Iran, USA, Israel, EU.

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Introduction

The Middle East is known as the world of paradoxical orientations combining the large integration of global interactions and ethno-religious identification. In this regard, despite the concept of 'the end of history', Middle Eastern geopolitics and conflicts are the pretension of stability throughout history or even the return of history. These contradictory propensities alongside the transition towards the globalization era have transfigured the regional security of the Middle East as the main concern of the global system. In other words, trying to achieve the interests by regional and transregional actors on the one hand and political, geopolitical, social and economic shakiness on the other hand, have introduced Middle East as an area exporting insecurity and threats to other segments of the world. Regarding this situation, the Middle East subsystem is accustomed to conflict, crisis and war of geopolitics in academic courts and public spheres which its measure of crisis production and the process of securitization got excavate. These sorts of explanations and analyses are a reminder of the Hobbesian mentality, leviathan world and extension of anarchy and power conflict for some groups (Fawcett 2009: 4). So, vacancy of hegemonic power, lack of clear order, presence of different sub-regional, regional and transregional actors have led to competition of regional and transregional powers to endure their national interests and architect the geometry of the Middle East security according to their platforms. Therefore, the main question of this paper is how are regional and transregional powers trying to manage the Middle East security and by using which

doctrine and method. The main hypothesis of this paper is that regional and transregional powers deal with the geometry of the Middle East's security based on their platforms that are more beneficial for their national interests.

This paper will start by providing a critical review of the accomplishments and the most important lacunae in studying the Middle East security, as well as identifying the most important theoretical and empirical difficulties. In a second step it will seek to (a) discuss ways of refining influential existing models of strategic actors with a focus on the conditions for regional and transregional powers to design the framework of the Middle East security under the impact of endogenous and exogenous plans; (b) instead of the costs of Middle East which bring about for regional and transregional powers, this paper will also assess the benefits of Middle East for internal and external powers alongside different theoretical bases. Infact, it will be asked how regional and transregional powers articulate the security of the Middle East, to which extent do national interests affect the dynamics of regional and transregional powers' engagement in the Middle East and what are the exact elements of security structure of powers planning for the Middle East.

I- Study of Middle East Security: Critical Review

Since the formation of the Middle East until our contemporary period, the structure, security framework and the situations of the Middle East have been analyzed by academic forums, journalist and inside-outside commentators. The earliest attempts at explaining the security structure of the Middle East focused on 'structural attributes' of the relevant political system, inhabitancy of anarchy and the infrastructures. In fact, these kinds of researches have mainly concentrated on the hard or soft dimension of the relevant region. In other words, unidimensional approaches of the early works on the Middle East have ignored other aspects. Some deal with the Middle East security pessimistically while others deal with it optimistically.

Those researchers who analyze the Middle East hopelessly believe that the Middle East structure is built on power and interests, and that most of the regional and transregional actors are trying to function through a military-based perspective for dealing with its structure (Evron 1990: 23-49; Halliday 2000; Gelvin 2005: 157-158; Lynch 2011: 322). On the other hand, some literatures are based on cooperative and supplement institutions to manage Middle East threats. In this perspective, the absence of strategic and cooperative administration which leads to lack of information, deduction of exchange costs and providing dissensus for regional and transregional actors have standardized the Middle East as an area of conflictual politics (Al- Rodhan et al. 2011: 178; Keohane & Martin 1995: 42; Keohane & Nye 1987: 728). Despite its attractions, these kinds of literatures have a number of shortcomings. The most important criticisms of these kinds of literatures are linear approach, exportable and exogenous perspective and unidimensional style in the study of the Middle East atmosphere. Furthermore, they are considering the structures or agents of the Middle East situations and believe that regional states and transregional powers will cause an anarchic situation in the the Middle East by their interference in internal affairs. On the other side, there is a belief that the geopolitical and geostrategic position of the Middle East has ignited the context of competition for regional and transregional actors in the region. In other words, the structural attributes of the region (bounty of underground fountains, most geostrategic crossroad of the world, geopolitical position and etc.,) has given the regional and transregional powers the chance to design the security framework of the region based on their landscapes.

Recent literatures have focused their attention on the other direction and have tried to criticize early researches. These literatures are trying to create an alternative to manage the situation of the Middle East. Idea, discourse, knowledge, technology in one hand and individual groups, sub-regional actors, subsidiary associations on the



other hand will play an important role in the construction of Middle Eastern security. But these kinds of investigations suffer from some criticism. Undermining the role of macrostructures on one hand and its relativeness and instable approach on the other hand are some shortages of this approach. In fact, most literatures about the Middle East security attempt to answer the 'why' and 'what' questions. In this term, researchers try to display the reasons, figures and situations of the Middle East. The missing option among the large literatures of the Middle East is the 'how' question which will be the focus of this paper. In fact, this paper tries to discover the methods, doctrines and styles of regional and transregional powers in determining the geometry of the the Middle East security. The main hypothesis of this paper is that the accumulation of motivations runs the national interests of the relevant actors. In other words, the methods, doctrine, infrastructures and substructures of the powers and regions produce the aptitudes for the actors to invest more of their national interests in the Middle East.

Most theoretical researches related to the security of the Middle East have focused on the national or international level and the security of the relevant region has been clarified as a situation and process which has been left in the historical process of the region, which attempts to measure the size and extend of risks, threats and exogenous and endogenous aggressions. The missing point in the theoretical literatures of analyzing the Middle East is the regional level, which is targeted in this paper. Moreover, most documents on the security of the Middle East system have recruited one dimension of the security and there were little considerations of the various kinds of security, particularly in the new millennium. In this regard, realism approach is centered upon the inflexible basis of the security determined by a militaristic perspective and the belief that the dearth of supreme authority in the international system conducting the order among states and hegemony of anarchy will cause a conflictual coexistence. So, self-help is the main doctrine to be adopted, by

that, the anarchic situation will be the unbreakable sphere on the international level (Glaser 2010: 28-29; Lynn- Jones 2008: 15; Smith 2005: 30). This unidimensional analysis has lasted and also is delegated with an idealist approach. But this theory is observed by cooperative institutions which embed peaceful interactions among states. In fact, this approach believes that peaceful coexistence will be produced due to the presence of cooperative organizations and the participation of the relevant states in these sorts of forums (Bull 1995: 67; Keohane 1986: 5-8). Other studies combine the hard and soft dimensions of security and opine that the admixture of the two ends of a continuum will articulate the security for every political unit. In fact, the main missing point of these theoretical literatures is that they suppose the security as a fixed term, irrespective of its contents and try to provide a particular situation in order to manage the threats and risks and then bring about security. However, security has several substructures and foundations that should be explained separately. Consequently, this paper tries to fill up the gap of recent literatures about the Middle East security by exploiting the various kinds of security and 'international- local' perspectives in order to explain how Iran, Israel, the USA and the EU as regional and transregional powers will manage the security of the Middle East. Thus, the present study seeks to make some headway in trying to address the geometry of Middle East security by recruiting different theoretical and empirical approaches.

II- Security and Interests

The relation between security and interests is evidently complex and sometime possibly circular but in different situations, this relation will be reversed. In spite of conventional procedure which is believed that the lack of conflictual situations in one hand and presence of consensus on the other hand, will bring accumulated benefits and advantages for states, there is another perspective presenting that the existence of unconventional status and disensus situations will

produce some profits for particular actors. This kind of dichotomy in dealing with the relation between security and interests is due to shaky, dynamic and disensus concept of 'security' and 'interests' employing in different context and structures.

Since the mainstream approaches are trying to structure the security and interests based on their monopolized inventions, transition to globalization period, decrease of state sovereignty on one side and disintegration of soviet union, collapse of Berlin wall and other empirical developments on the other side, have translated the concepts of security and interests with alternative approach which is completely inclusive and multifarious. Infact, creation of various kinds of security threats and instabilities coming up from subsidiary actors, subgroups and non-governmental actors alongside the alteration of security structures, new interpretations of international crisis and anarchy have convinced the scholars to consider the various aspects and factors of the security and interests. So, the present paper will focus on regional level and adopt the 'international-local' perspective in order to analyze the Middle East political and security structures.

Inauguration of 'securitization' and 'insecuritization' concepts in international politics' literature has caused to revision of the security concept. Indeed, Copenhagen school played an important role in the expansion of the concept of security and methods of transforming the political phenomenons to security or insecurity issues. Adoption of multilateral and pluralistic approach toward security and investment on "security- survival" rationality, has oriented the concept of security beyond the militaristic affairs (Buzan et al. 1998: 21). Infact, dynamics of each aspects of security will be determined by the actors and referent goals. Security actors are those attempting to introduce some issues as security problem by declaring some phenomenons as the main aims which are targeted by radical threats. These actors could be political leaders, bureaucrats, states, lobbyist and pressure groups but the referent goals are those being threaten

ontologically and has legitimated demands for survival ranging from states (militaristic security), national sovereignty or ideology (political security), national economies (economic security), collective identities (social security), species and ecology (environmental security). So, multilateral approach of Copenhagen school enlarging the concept of security vertically and horizontally will stimulate an important question, how could the extended concept of security be managed protecting the analytical and conceptual affiliation of this concept? In order to manage this possibly problem, new conceptual technologies particular 'securitization- insecurity' model will be deployed in order to have systematic, comparative and integrative analysis.

Two Steps of Securitization. Building on typical continuum designing by Barry Buzan, every issue has the aptitude of being apolitical, political or security problem. So, it's completely context-dependent. Since a phenomenon has produced no problem for the state's action and does not break in to public discourse will identify in the array of apolitical matter. Whereas analyzing a phenomenon based on the syndromes of the political system will set them in the chain of political problem. In this term, it will necessitate the decision of the state and thereafter portfolios allocation and distribution. At the end of this arrow, there are some problems which appeal the instant reaction of the political power structure moving beyond the standard political process of the national government (Emmers 2010: 138). Based on Copenhagen approach, securitization is a movement passing the politics beyond the current conventional roles of game and articulate the issues as special kind of politics or meta-politics. In other words, securitization can be translated as the more radical segment of politicization (Buzan et al. 1998: 23). Whereas insecurity refers to reversed process traversing to conventional bargaining process in the political arena. Infact, securitization actions referred to conditional classification of phenomena, individuals and institutions as ontological threats which need necessary scales. But the process of turning an ontological threats to security one is bilayeral.

The first stage is engaged on screening issues, individuals and particular institutions. The first stage could be conducted by states and even non-governmental actors like as commercial unions or popular movements. But securitization model are increasingly employed by powerful actors benefiting with the elegant status and positions. Moreover, this movement is founded upon the power and influence of securitizing actors which will consequently occur for the state and governmental elites (Collins 2005). But the function of security literatures are not presenting that every topic has propensity to pretend as security challenge mechanically. The second stage of the securitization model will be run successfully whenever the securitizing actors come to an agreement with audiences (public opinions, politicians, officers and other elites) about the ontological threats of referent goals and achievements (Emmers 2010: 139). According to militaristic approach, the end of cold war has led to shifting from security concerns of global level to regional and local levels. Instead of cold war period which most of regional security dynamics have been crippled to make position against the superpowers, transition to globalization period and termination of cold war has conducted the freedom of regional security dynamics initiating by the process of decolonization. There is a reality that the cold war has amplified the procedures and styles of superpowers interference in the third world specially Middle East. Infact, one of the reason of superpowers' interference in the Middle East has deduced from the local states' demands to survive their security in the context of external powers' competitions. In this term, it seems that Middle East is the area of contradictory configuration. Affluence of resources and one of the world's strategic geopolitic on one hand will confluent with political-economic cleavage as a model on the other hand. Furthermore, ethno-religious pluralism as a factor of democracy in the Middle East are disabled with group and class conflicts. Also, this region is labeled as the root of culture and civilization which on the other side has been suffered with identity and legitimacy crisis based on cultural

instabilities. Building upon these dichotomies and paradox, the present paper suggests a mixing constructivist framework for analyzing the link between identity- regionalism in the Middle East. So, instead of the selection of the theory of collective identity or the theory of regional security complex, it will recruit the synthesis of constructivism and regional security complex at uptaking the regionalism in the Middle East. So, by development of positive or negative identity, the theory of collective identity linking to Wendtian approach will fulfill the model of regional security complex which is lacking of the technologies of analyzing the bases of interactions within the regional complex. Based on such admixture, it is claimed that the actors of international arena will develop the negative and positive concepts in their relationships. Also, regional actors will try to construct their identities in relation with others either positively or negatively. So, these figures will determine the quality of regional interdependence influencing not only anarchic-oriented culture but also on the consequences of regional complex which is surrounding the region. In the table below, this mixing model is explained.

Table 1- ‘Self’ And ‘Other’ In Regional Security Complex; Framework Of Analysis

| Identity- building with 'otherness' | Security interdependence among actors | Procedures and process | Anarchy hegemon culture | Consequence of security complex |
|---|---|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Negative | Conflict | Securitization | Hobbesian process | Conflict construction |
| Neutral | Competition | Normalization | Lockian process | Security regime |
| Positive | Friendlyship | Insecuritization | Kantian process | Security community |

(Balamir Coskun 2008: 93)

Due to maneuvering of several threats in the Middle East region, the construction of collective identity (security regime or security communities) has not been conducted. Moreover, two anarchic cultures created coincidently. On one side, Lockian anarchy logic has been come up and on the other side, the unconventional relations between Arabs and Israel created a Hobbesian logic. Infact, continuous actions of ignorance of demands has caused to

production of shared disensus perception. Thus, Israel and Arabic states have structured in a Hobbesian framework. Additionally, whereas Arabic states came to recognition of other neighbor Arabic states' sovereignty based on Lockian logic, has refused to recognize Israel formally for the long period. Although the shared Arabic identity has encouraged the region's states to recognize themselves but this kind of interdependence has not raised the suitable context of security regime or community among Arabic states. One of the reason of unconventional relations in the Middle East is the negative identification of Arabs toward Israel and this matter has advented as a security threat of Arabic identity negating the construction of every kinds of inclusive regional security complex.

According to interpretations of security analysts, security environments are not supposed irrespective to members' characteristics and the regional security is calculated upon political might and integration of regional states. So, the presence of weak states in the subsystem of Middle East and lack of central authority in the region producing the context of anarchistic system will instable the situation of security in the relevant region. In this term, according to Buzan's perspective, security environment of the Middle East is conflictual and disensus. Understanding the structures of Middle East's anarchy will necessitate the consideration of triple model.

First Model; Middle East is a Region with Several Conflictual Axes

According to this model, each actor has to calculate the costs, benefits and reflections of their decisions and behaviors and basically does not expect the coordination of competent actors.

Second Model; More Securitization, Less Socio-Political

Securitization of the phenomena in the Middle East are due to the perceptions of elites who are at the survival stage and based on various reasons, suppose the country under the exposure of extreme risks and the thinking about deterrence strategy. Hereby, those actors

who are concerning on survival logic usually deconsider the zeneath and socio-political dimension of issues.

Third Model; Regional Context of Security

According to Copenhagen perspective, Middle East is the conflictual region and the forum of eternal skirmishes among powers and aggressive groups. Such complex will produce the appropriate context for other powers in order to transfer the conflict ground to the Middle East.

Based on this triple security model, regional politicians and security elites' discourses are founded upon 'inclusive- exclusive' stimuli and most of the communities identify themselves according to the sample of 'self' against 'other'. Thus, positive or negative identifications will influence on the quality of security complex. So, the subsystem of Middle East is one of the most important geopolitics of third world which increasingly is at the vacancy of regionalism so far as this region has been introduced as region without regionalism in the international and regional security literatures (Aarts 1999: 911). In term of comparative perspective, this region owns the lowest measure of regional integration in contemporary world. Irrespective to stable conflict between Arabs and Israel which made the inclusive regionalism impossible, Arabic countries has not established any strategic regional unions.

VI- Securitization of Middle East Subsystem

Securitization of the relevant region is affected by various variables such as political- economic, socio- cultural and supra-national powers which will be discussed below.

Role of Political- Economic Variable. Middle eastern countries are located in the weak spectrum of socio-political integration. Scarcity of democracy, prevalence of despotism and recruitment of repression are the current figures of the region's political life. The strong affiliation between authoritarian regimes, oil

resources, international wealth and alliance with great powers have led the rentier states to employ the broad internal powers to repress and quell the societies and making fracture from civil society. So, there is a reality that although regionalism strategy is an economic plan but based on some reasons is a political scheme. First, the states are considering the regionalism in term of developmentalist strategy and as the instruments of achieving the developmental goals. Second, regionalism is the semblance of state's power on one hand and refusal of negative sequence of globalization on the other hand. Third, regionalism needs some preliminary order handling by the states. Rudimentary preparation such as resources mobilization, organizational and economic valency, mobilization of technological infrastructures necessitate the state engagement. In this circumstance, the lack of liberal system and the existence of authoritarian states are computed as key variables at confinement of human, social and economic capacities in the Middle East. The economy of Middle Eastern countries are dependent to governmental economy and although transition to globalization era has caused to push the Middle Eastern economies toward liberal economies but this action was not full- blown and infact quasi- liberal economy has been formed in the Middle East region.

Role of Socio-Cultural Variables. Due to irrespection of social classification and political arrangements, psychological approaches are searching the security developments in the area of political decision of individuals. This approach prefers the well-known individuals than public and consider the leaders as the actor of security processes. The missing point of this approach is evading of new face of power, the new capital of civil associations and informal unions. Infact, this approach is the method of interpretative security which possesses hermeneutic approach to social beliefs and believes the collective behaviors. So, many of Middle East's problems are derived from cultural backgrounds and hegemonic beliefs of the leaders.

Role of Foreign Powers. Growth of USA presence in the Middle East has pushed the regional security model of the relevant area under the international specifications. Due to assimilation of intraregional arrangements of the Middle East, determination of a clear model of great powers' interference in the region is really difficult. This fact that states' systems are the production of the already colonial powers and were calculated as knowledgeable movement for deflection of Arabic union has hardened the legitimacy of new states. Nevertheless, inspite of the egression of colonial powers, western companies are still related to local political economy. Thus, transnational powers are trying to order the Middle East region according to their architectures but divergence of great powers' regional establishment with the local geopolitics and contexts not only has not prepared the regional security but also has stretched sever threats and vulnerabilities in the relevant region running till today. Indeed, international system is a set of regional subsystems which every establishment has its own figures in dealing with the security of the Middle East. In this situation, there will be bilateral features. On one layer, when the importance of securitizing factors get priority, the security situation of the relevant region will be benefited with transparency, stability and predictability. And on the other layer, lack of such circumstances are leading to vagueness, instability and unpredictability. Based on the later situation, transregional actors will inflict proxy order on the region irrespective to its dissimilarities to local structure and political systems will carry ethnic and religious cleavages and consequently, transition from political problem to security challenge.

Since the existence of such situations in the Middle East, availability to hegemony is the best alternative of either regional or transregional actors. But due to regional competitions refusing the hegemony of local actors, this alternative will not be conducted. The other path of raising regional security order is reproduction of interdependence politics between regional units via the extension of

economic exchanges. But the negative point of this approach is the lack of complementary and productive economy. Other way of regional order is conducting a security model based on democratic features which the multi social, political, economic and cultural cleavages are its main problems. Because gaining a democratic political structure needs cultural convergence which is the most important lacunae of the Middle East due to imperfection of nation building periods. According to the situation of the region, the establishment of balance of power will be functional. So, pluralistic and multilateral management, great powers concert and balance of power are three kinds of regional security which are supposed in the Middle East. In the next section, this paper will focus upon the typical strategies and tactics, technologies and methods adopting by regional power like as Iran and Israel on one hand and transregional powers such as USA and European Union on the other hand.

V- Iran and Middle East Security

Middle East subsystem has the brilliant status in the strategic goals of Iran. Tension with US and Israel and stable competition with Arabic neighbors specially Saudi Arabia has transformed the region as the primary goal of Iran in order to influences on the relevant region and production of deterrence politics against other rivals. Today Iran is described as nationalist country trying to be a regional power. After the 1979 revolution, trying to make mutual and multilateral relations with regional countries have shifted the foreign policy from ideologic rationality to realistic logic which is attempting to operationalize the deterrent policy against US and possibly invasions of other powers based on 'Forward Defense' politics. Retrospectively after WWII, the power has been divided among Saudi Arabia, Iraq, US, Iran and USSR, whereas in recent years the power dynamics have been faced with radical turn. With collapsing of Iraq regime as a strategic balance mechanism against Iran, the contexts of Iran's activity and engagement has been covered the whole region. By formation of

triangle alliance and resistance axis (Syria, Hamas and Hizbollah), Iran sought for providing its security and interests in the region. Thus, it is argued that termination of Israel and Arabs conflicts need different approaches of EU and US toward Iran. Moreover, Iran uses different mechanisms and methods like as 'Looking toward East' and 'Establishment of Resistance Axis' in dealing with Middle East security. Infact, confluence and admixture of some variables like US challenges in Afghanistan and Iraq, relative turning down of global powers and Middle East instability due to recent Arab spring have outstretched the leverages of resistance bloc in the relevant region. This paper argues that Iran's preference is to change the international system and establishing a hierarchical system based on national mights and propensities. Not only this kind of order will reform the international system but also producing some developments on the anarchic nature of international system, reforming westphalian order and constituting an Islamic global society. Some argue that Iran's goals and interests are creating and expanding a political- economic order and system (either regional or global) which not only feel security but also managing the political, economic and cultural actions and reactions peacefully (Nueuchterlein 1979: 76-77). In the next step, establishment of Islamic international society is the second priority of Iran and this kind of system is not necessarily conducted to rejection of Westphalian order and nation- state structure. Rather, the actions and responsibilities of Islamic nation-states are moving beyond the national interests and will surround the Islamic and human values (Philpott 2002: 86). The grand strategy of Iran are embellished toward the regional and international status diplomatically. The most important aspect of this grand strategy is gradual dynamic of soft power and creating proxy unions and resonance of hard and soft capabilities have been identified as a part of Iran's security politics (Leverett & Leverett 2013: 62-63). During the decades after Islamic revolution, Iran could run the relations with neighbors and other Middle Eastern countries as one of its factors of foreign policy and

national security strategy which by empowering the religious and islamic values aiming to influence on the regional affairs and employing the deterrence strategy against other competitors based on interconnected security.

Regional Security in Iran's Perspective. Emplacement of Iran on the strategic and vulnerable region relieves vast influences on regional security of Persian Gulf, Caucasus, Middle East and south of Asia. Defense policy of Iran is not offensive, revisionist and conflictual but risk-averse (Chubin 2002: 36). Infact, Iran's defense doctrine is admixture of fear, available resources and islamic values. Iran is witnessed a paradigmatic change from romantic concentration on 'Defense in Depth' and 'the Nation of Arms' coming up from ideologic and revolutionary rationality to training, hierarchy, organization and technologies. Indeed, Iran gives more preference to deterrence and defence policy in recent years. Moreover, Iran is intending to accede the developmental technologies as warranty policy by emphasizing upon self-sufficient programe. Infact, Iran's militaristic dexterity and adroitness are employing for increasing preparation, mobility, intelligency and delivering a political expression about its deterrence policy. In other words, although Iran has several concerns but is not imposed of ontological threats, instead is suffered with cultural menace. So, based on this mentality, Iran's political elites are translating the relevant country as stable island according to suitable strategic position which most of its concerns are micro-level aggressions locating around the geopolitic border of Iran. Therefore, Iran will observe the defence mobility as an instrument for securing national security and more influences on the regional and global affairs. According to this fact, Iran's defence policies are recruited with triple original goals. First, deterrence policy against Iraq, Israel, US and other potential threats. Second, as symbolic politics displaying Iran's transcendence as a regional power. Third, balancing and moderating politics of militaristic presence of US in the Persian Gulf and potentially on Caspian sea (Chubin 2002: 66).

Iran's Regional Strategies. Regional strategies of Iran are locating around three axes which are, deterrence, support of non-state islamic groups and attraction of Middle Eastern public opinions. In term of Iranian strategist perspectives, deterrence policy will not only construct militaristic doctrine of the country but also will include the greater political- militaristic strategy. So, militaristic factors of deterrence policy are capability of internal enrichment, potential nuclear energy, benefiting militaristic equipments and public mobilization. Although this kind of strategy is attempting for hegemony in terms of western observers' perspectives but Tehran is expounding the deterrence policy as multilateral options of strategic defense which not only extending to strategic depth of enemy but also is combining various kinds of political, militaristic and economic outfits. These kinds of actions are explained based on the conception of 'strategic ambiguity' which Iranian military authorities will declare by the time of the concealment of new system of armament. Also, islamic republic of Iran is referring to 'strategic patience' as the other aspect of deterrence doctrine, a belief pretending that indoctrination of powerful morals is needful for more stable weaponry (Wahrey et al. 2009: 33). In general perspective, Iran is carrying out a quadruple strategy. First, emphasis on militarist rigs and intelligence service for securing and firming the internal stability and protecting islamic values including the sovereignty and political power of regime. Second, by camouflaging and covering its mights is trying to prevent the rivals' invasion. Third, at the time of being attacked, Iran's military system will exploit 'offensive strategy with devastating effects'. Fourth, striving for deepening its influence over the region militarily. In spite of expanded emphasis on independence, Tehran accents on cooperation and coordination with regional and supra-regional states drastically to increase its strategic interests. Therewith, Iran considers the pragmatic dimension in its treatment with immediate neighbors and international partners and most of politicians replicate that national interests will be survived by making a rational relations with

neighbors' states and mosaic societies like as Iraq and founding connections with subsidiary bands (Perthes 2010: 98). As well as near neighbors, Iran has underscored on relations with foreigner powers like Russia and China as garrison against western pressures and also trying to conducting suitable relations with growing powers of India, Brazil on one hand and other countries such as North Korea, Sudan and Venezuela on other hand to improve its prestige in the international society and bring about some opportunities for economic and industry sections. In addition, Iran has functioned these engagements to internationalize its stable enmities with western powers on nuclear programe. In this regard, regional relations of Iran are more circulated around strategic concerns, confrontation with Israel and US interests in the relevant region and overtaking the regional leverages of Suadi Arabia and demoralizing the security establishments of Washington in the Middle East (Habibi 2012: 2-3). Beyond this affairs, Iran's close relations with Syria and sub-state actors like Lebanese Hizbollah, Hamas and shia groups in Iraq as 'union politics' has been kept on as strategic force against regional and transregional competitors.

So, pretension of Iran's nuclear programe as a threat and US reaction against Iran and lack of conventional relations between Israel and Iran has hardened the Middle East security. But based on Iran's perspective, the methods of building Middle East security are bilateral. First, value and ideologic approach displaying the attitudes which need to be exported. Second, national interests approach trying to institutionalize the security and achieving the regional hegemony.

IV- Amercia and Middle East Security

Since the early presence up to recent period, USA Middle Eastern policies has been transformed. Retrospectively, by transition from isolationist politics (Monroe) and entrance to active and engaging one in the relevant region specially after WWII has been produced typical reputation and influx for America in the eye of Middle Eastern

societies which not only underwrote the legitimacy of US interferences and engagements as superpower in the relevant subsystem but has justified the typical threat such as communism, oil supply and establishment of Israel at the heart of Middle East. Such declarative and functional politics of Washington in the region has burdened the period of impeccability and sanctity for US lasting till before the new millennium. Thus, symbolic policies of America serving to its strategic goals in the Middle East has got justify with striving to supply the regional security. Infact, this traditional diplomacy were employed against the communism, oil supply and Israel security. Following to political- security fluctuation in Washington's security policy and passing forward the new era, regional security has produced theoretic and empirical great slot in US foreign policy before 11/9. Moreover, Middle East problem has instigated extended internal reactions in Washington foreign policy. But the important issue is that these sorts of contradictions has neither initiated in Bush administration nor terminated but it has been inaugurated from Harry Truman till Ronald Reagan who were balancing between indogenous preferences and international regimes. Following the cold war till 2001, the main threats were covered and after the collapsing of twin towers and Pentagon challenges, unpredictable tensions and aggressions have been studied. Indeed, imperialistic nature of US foreign policy on two decades has poorly provided the context of dealing with new threats like as Taliban and Ben Laden (Miller 2009: 200-201). Managing the conflict between Israel and Arabs has been stated as an instrument of providing Middle East security before moving toward new century and coming up of Bush by the 2001 whereas new century has manufactured typical commutation at US conceptions accentuating upon the stability of the Middle East, are endangered due to existence of conflictual states (Iraq, Iran, Syria) and consequently, threatening America's security. Thus, national security strategy of Washington has put its punctuation on preemptive action.

United States of America and Middle East; whither Security. Following 11 September 2001, Bush administration has issued the paper of national security strategy trying to manage the world in 21st century based on mission state doctrine. In fact, US global leadership is expressing the pan-Americanism policy acting based on balance of power and liberty. This strategy consists of three priorities. First, in order to defend the global peace against terrorism and outlaw regimes aiming to attain the offensive status, US is trying to lead the world. Second, going to peacemaking diplomatically. Third, US has to provide globally peace by expansion of liberty and development alongside of free trade (US State Department 2002). Infact, Washington's new strategy by the Bush administration had three different bases comparing to last national strategy which are; concentration on preemption policy, preeminence demands and unilateralism (Dunn 2009:182-184). Fundamentally, United States' foreign policy is recognized as national interests of America and this fact will rise up from flexible and nebular nature of this concept (George & Keohane 1980: 217-218). According to this reality, Washington's foreign policy comes up from four goals; power, peace, prosperity and principles placing as the national interests of US.

Table 2- The Main Goals of US Foreign Policy

| Vital goal of NI | IR theory | IS concept | Main politics |
|------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------|
| Power | Realism | Rivalry for power | Coercion |
| Peace | International institutionalism | Global order | Diplomatic |
| Prosperity | Economism, imperialism | Global capitalism | Economic |
| Principles | Democratic idealism | Global extension of democracy | political |

(Jentelson 2014: 8-18)

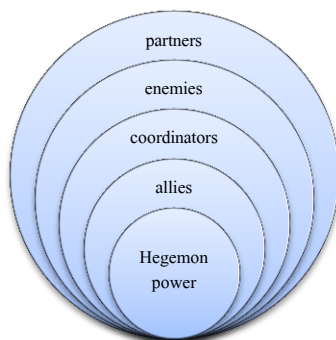
Mechanisms of Preparation of Middle East Security (Washington Perspective). Since the cold war, United States is employing various policies to survive its security.

Terroristic Deterrence. In fact, part of preemptive logic was this belief that deterrence politics is not carried the operationalization

proficiency against terrorism. According to this belief, traditional concept of deterrence could not stand out against the terrorism functioning vast deconstruction and targeting unhumanistic goals as its practical tactic (Schmitt & Shanker 2012: 14). But the new deterrence strategy is combining the engagement of deterring terrorist actors and applying MDW. Indeed, USA is using different devices for providing its security based on threat and fear logic which are; offensive strategy, power shift, great stick diplomacy, recruitment of Domino theory, paper enemy, trade sanction (Snyder 2009: 43-49). Infact, United States of America in a gradual scheme is targeted 'supermax strategy' which in this structure, 'absolute hegemony', 'absolute security' and 'absolute invulnerability' are introduced as the main bases of national interests strategy of US on the Conservatives era. Therefore, the main goals of political and militarist guidelines of US after cold war are; prevention of new rival, production of deterrence in the unmilitaristic area withholding political and economic disorder, managing threat- builder actors for preventing their regional and global influence based on management mechanisms.

Second; Nuclear Deterrence. This kind of deterrence was the main axis of Washington's foreign policy in the cold war lasting until current period. In this term, nuclear deterrence had symbolic and political- economic resonances for Middle East subsystem in order to provide the context of influences for Washington in the region. To summarize the US strategies in the Middle East, the picture below is explaining the regional foreign policy. Picture.

Picture 1- Washington Security Scenario



The above picture is showing that one of the most important challenge of US in today's world is various kinds of actors in the region and existence of vast informations challenging the style of management. Inspite of these tensions in the relevant region for US, there is contradictory fact expressing the non-historical hegemony of America in the Middle East. But American politicians observe this region as an important challenge and menace for national security because they believe that Middle East is paving the context of terroristical upheavals acting against the supra-national interests of United States.

IIV- Israel and Middle East

Basically, the concept of security in the literatures of Israel is built on some political foundations specially independence war of 1948-1949 and its interpretations of postwar geopolitical environment which are;

Lack of Alternative. The initial proposition which Israel's security is based upon that hypothesis is living in the conflictual and disensus environment. Based on the conventional perspective in Israel, the reason of stable conflict between Israel and Arabs is the uncompromising antagonism of Arabic states toward Israel. Some are assigning these kinds of conflictual attitudes to anti-Jewish politics and some of Israeli scholars confess that Israel is a strange, divergent

and artificial political unit in the relevant region. In this term, these scholars argue that rejection of Israel by regional Arabic states is due to ordinary and legitimate nature of Middle East rising from political and spatial conflicts which is derived from inequality and unbalancing sense.

Shortage of Material Resources. The second perception of Israel security is that it has to deal with the shortages of material and human capital on one side and limited spatial depth on the other side. According to this situation, Israel is resorting to several strategies. (a) trying to empower the economic and popular springs. (b) mobilizing objective and available resources to not only attain the quantitative balance with regional states but even could be able to produce regional hegemony in the human and weaponry resources. (c) materialist cleavage between Israel and regional states get moderation with achieving to militarist, organizational and warfare doctrines.

Lack of Strategic Victory by Militarist Apparatus. Other dimension of Israel security at the early years of its establishment was this belief that the relevant political unit has neither ample resources nor liberty of international action for gaining strategic victory and thereafter indoctrinate its own peace plan to regional states. As far as inability of political goals in order to shift toward militaristic dimension directly, Israel has not justification of setting up the new war. Thus, Israel security policy was necessarily defensive based on strategic point of view. When security policy could serve the political goal of peace and coexistence that Israel militaristic supremacy would have proficiency of producing deterrence against Arabic states. If the deterrence policy is sufficiently expanded, Arabic states will be forced to leave the war gradually as a choice. So, interpretation of Ben-Gurionist security in the military structure and doctrine displaying that Israel needs to produce and furnish some resources to survive its security. This kind of policy will be run based on internal consensus building upon trust in political leaders. Ben Gurion's legacy has led to establishment of 'Ben- Gurion complex' operationalizing according to

his security doctrine. But Israel security consensus has been placed on the legitimacy of militaristic establishments, social mobilization, security attempts and the relevant hegemonic beliefs and norms.

On the other hand, 'Moshe Sharet' has emphasized on diplomacy and convergent with political concerns of Arabs, respect to cultural rights and sensitivities rather than preemptive and revenging employment of military forces. In fact, this kind of perspective was not willing to full- fledge acceptance of the concept of 'lack of alternative' as a basis of Israel national security. But this approach has been marginalized in the security literatures of Tel- Aviv and Ben- Gurionistic concept of security came to power which were believed that the peace processes are depended on inclining to status quo. In fact, this interpretation of security is meaning deterrence based on militaristic power irrespective to any attempts for making compromise (Mandelbaum 1988: 358). But this kind of interpretation has been altered due to some developments on external and internal transformations particularly after 1967. On ideological level, Ben- Gurionistic concept of security amplifying ethno- national thoughts and 'Shartistic' approach and emphasizing on subnational identities and human rights on social level has been challenged. These developments has produced several political- social slots in political power structure of Israel.

Political Dissensus. Challenging on national security has rose up with deterrence policy after 1967. According to this model, blurring of traditional concept of security is the fruit of exogenous threatening atmosphere which brought about the growth of ethnic nationalism. As the result of ethnic nationalism, war in Lebanon and intifada has challenged the traditional security consensus respecting to military. Such alterations have generated typical reaction which has been displayed by the form of peace demonstrations remaindering Shartistic approach. Consequently, Ben- Gurionistic concept of security has faced with political challenges (Heller 2000: 40).

Retrospectively, the history of Israel are determined with

bilateral facets of; influences of ideology and emergency of security since the establishment of Israel in 1948. In fact, the main goal of recruitment of military forces are; underwriting the political- national existence of Israel, production of Israeli security and vital interests, and trying to achieve its political goals. In this respect, Israeli leaders believe that military capability is an important factor and the only warranty of Israel security and have consensus on this belief that Israel is faced with ontological threats raising more from Arabic neighbors. In this term, the belief of lacking external ally is caused to disengagement of security with political arrangements. So, trying to preventing the invasions of Arabic states by increasing military proficiencies. Such arguments are showing that most propensities of Israel military forces are offensive and functioning the doctrine of war on the enemy's ground. Thus, the offensive nature of military forces of Israel is considered on two dimensions. First, in spite of this fact which Israel is positioned on the defensive status strategically in order to support the status quo, but Israel defensive forces is benefiting offensive doctrine. Second, this doctrine has been continued since the establishment of Israel. Interim developments and uprisings in Israel and regional- international systems have created minor changes in the military doctrine (Levite 1989: 7). In reaction to these ontological threats, architects of Israel security have confirmed on two hypotheses. First, needless of trust in any country to protect the survival of Israel. Second, disability of resolving the tensions with Arabs militarily. In strategic perspective, three factors will uphold the power of Israel in the relevant region. (a) Stability of peaceful relations with main rivals and enemies like as Egypt. (b) Nuclear deterrence. (c) Disintegration of Soviet Union leading to deduction of Arabs' efficiencies to threat the Israel (Isacoff 2002: 43-44). On the other hand, hegemony of US on the world politics and decrease of Arabic states' power in regional and global level has empowered the peace processes of Arabs and Israel. Further, systemic changes of regional dynamics of power balancing has also strengthened the

international status of Israel causing to some improvements in its relations with Russia, China, India and other states rose up of collapsing USSR. The decision of international actors for expanding their relations with Israel were due to several reasons. First, changing at the processes of the energy resources of political economy which modified the political leverage of Arabic states bloc specially producers of oil. Second, reopening the processes of peace among Arabs and Israel after 1991 by US which has marginalized the regional rivals of Israel. Following to Madrid conference by 1991, the expansion of the relations between Arabs and Israel has become as one of the most important issue of the post-cold war era upholding the relationship of Washington- Tel Aviv (Inbar 2009:227-228). In fact, six decades after the establishment, the relation between Israel and US has considerably altered and disguised from the responsible of security in 1948 to security ally of US in 2007. In other words, revision on Israel Middle Eastern security politics are showing that Middle East security in Israel perspective is explained symbolically and materialistically. According to symbolic approach, Israel is trying to provide its legitimacy and improving its prestige in the region and normalize the relationship with regional countries. Whereas based on materialist logic and utilitarianistic rationality is not only the main protector and provider of Washington's interests in the relevant region but demanding to operationalize the power politics in the region to finally achieve the regional hegemony. Availability of these goals have produced the context of acting for Israel in regional and international level.

VIII- European Union and Middle East

European union's policy in the Middle East is affected by geographical proximity, energy security and historical legacy. These factors have caused that providing the regional security and stability became as the main strategy of EU. In fact, Middle East stability is not only bolstering the European security and will prevent the illegal

immigrations to Europe but also will insure the process of energy transportation at European consuming marketplaces and develop the economic relations of EU with regional states. So, the roots of EU's integrations policies toward the Middle East are classified in two areas.

External Factors; Foreign Pressures. EU's policy toward the Middle East is derived from the international pressures coming up with the expansion of EU's leverages as a global actor and consequently, the vast existence of expectations for playing an important role in the region. The presence of these pressures will agitate the indigenous demands for common foreign and security policy (CFSP) and seek for more activity and decision making in the foreign policy. In term of external perspective, UN pressures on EU has broad influence on this union for participation in the Middle East. Such gravities are acting as a tool of balancing against the US unilateralism.

Internal Factors; Regional Actors. According to this dimension, the reality of some compressions on behalf of regional main actors will cater the standard spheres of EU's regional interferences. Since the establishment of European political cooperation, Arabic states were trying to attract Europe in the peace processes of Arabs and Israel and were believe that EU would be able to make the power balance against United States orienting toward Israel interests. Following the oil crisis in 1973, these gravities were operationalized on EU's oil dependency to Middle East and not only produced considerable turn in European countries' policies about the situation of Arabic peace but even brought about typical rivalry among the member countries for insuring the fulfillment of oil industry. After this crisis period, the European wisdom over their oil dependency to Middle Eastern importation has stimulated to performance of some inventions for institutionalizing the regional relations combining global Mediterranean policy, European- Arabic negotiations, European- Persian Gulf negotiations, Barcelona peace process,

common Mediterranean strategy and European neighborhood policy. On the other hand, European Union were under the extreme pressures of Washington and Tel- Aviv as far as EU has been condemning for its non-resistance against the rising difficulties of Arabic states trying to shrinking the trade obstacles with political adaptations and moderations. Recently, EU has changed its attitudes toward formal attendance in the peace process (Musu 2007:116). This new orientation is reminding 'Powell' expression by 2002 which informing the construction process of a 'Middle East quartet' combining with US, EU, UN and Russia. The focus of this approach has been based on searching for 'two states' strategy on Palestine-Israel conflicts both with active participation of external actors.

So, the relations of EU and Middle East could be explained according to interregional logic. This relation is apted to be calculated matching to strategic interests (ally, threat, etc.). In this regard, regional analyses are showing that there are short mounts of regional powers that are benefited to create strategic action in relation with Europe. Potentially, EU has the vast efficiencies and proficiencies to set strategic action with Middle East. Practically, political- security relations of EU with the relevant region date back to 70s which the main axis of these approaches has been rose up following the war of Israel- Arabs but various kinds of internal reactions within the European community flashing the unwillingness and inability of member states for collective action against external skirmishes (Noor 2004: 27). This mentality dates back to the huge amount of challenges after the cold war which are; the emergence of radicalism and terrorism, rising ethnic nationalism, factionalism, human immigrations and territorialism. On the other perspective, since the 1967 EU has been trying to influence on regional policies due to exogenous urgency and indigenous opportunity. Based on the early reason, geographical proximity and oil dependency have caused to EU's attempts for preparation of Middle East security whereas according to later one, trial for accession to political penetration in the region

affected by European countries' commitment for gaining an allied, integrated and convergent approach on foreign policy. In other words, EU is trying to attain an influencing action. In fact, following the Camp David negotiations schemed by US, European Union has reached as alternative western unit for those Arabic countries that were in opposition of peace process. But in spite of the emphasis of 'Venice Declaration' and stressing on EU's 'Special Role', European Union had no enough ability for competition with US in political and diplomatic areas. So, they tried to gain their political aims via economic and trade relations (Miller 2012: 17-18). In this regard, the function of economic mechanisms have represented EU as 'Civilian Power', 'Soft Power', and 'Normative Power' carrying normative goals such as; providing peace and security, proliferation of democracy, liberty and rule of law (Colombo & Voltolini 2012: 69). So, due to EU concerns on Middle Eastern threats, European Union is trying to proliferate the good governance in the Middle East (ESS 2003: 8).

Thus, EU's declarative goals in the Middle East are built upon two factors which have been the plummet of this regional union especially over Arab- Israel conflict. This basis stresses on Israel security and Palestine in order to gain their autonomy and political independence. Historically, European Union has recognized the Israel's right for constructing its sovereignty, peaceful coexistence with neighbors and its determined borders on international level. Moreover, European position toward Palestine sovereignty has been articulated at different decades including from advocacy of Palestine autonomy according to 'Venice Declaration' in 1980s up to expanded support for establishment of Palestinian state at the end of 'Oslo peace' pact in 1999. Uprising of second intifada in 2000 has caused to extreme attempts of European Union in order to operationalize the peace perspective based on 'two state in peace with international recognized borders'. Other basis of EU's goals emphasize on respecting to human rights, democratic values and international law.

According to this pretext, most of EU's declarations have not only decried the Palestinian terroristic actions until 1970s which was refraction of international law but also has identified the settlements of Israel as fracture of 4th Convention of Geneva. In fact, human rights, democracy and international laws are as integrated security strategy and interests of EU in the Middle East which are written in the document of European security strategy (EU Council of Ministers 2008). Further, political mechanisms of EU for providing security and strategic interests in the Middle East subsystem are; diplomacy, capacity building and contractual relations. Whereas diplomacy and capacity- building are more prominent in EU foreign policy, but contractual relations are the other functional factor of EU. According to this, EU's diplomatic policy is displaying on the ground of 'common foreign and security policy' (CFSP). In fact, diplomatic role of EU in the Middle East is containing unilateral and multilateral inventions and attempts. From 1970s to the early years of 1990s, the status of European countries toward the security of Middle East has been founded on two main cornerstones. (a) Diplomacy. (b) Recognition of Palestinians' rights. The main important goal of European community has been the insurance of Palestine participation in international negotiations regarding the conflict and providing security and promotion of economic and diplomatic rights of Palestinians for expressing their national identity. Thus, the alternative of 'two state' has been introduced as the main factor of EU's policy toward Israel- Arabs conflict (European Council 1999). This sort of policy has been stressed at the end of 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012 meetings of EU's foreign relations council. In fact, EU is increasingly supporting the independence and sovereignty of Palestine

unfolding transition toward social and economic development of “C region”¹ (European Commission 2013). In other words, EU’s engagements for constructing the Palestinian state are reflecting the idea of ‘peace as governance’ which came to one of the main style of international state- building politics by the end of cold war (Richmond 2007). Thus, by institutionalist approach, EU is supporting the Palestinians attempts to establish the state and assimilate the peace with functional institutions aiming to increase the ability of Palestine for controlling and managing the social, political and economic affairs.

Middle Eastern Security of EU; Atlantic Integration or Transatlantic Disintegration? EU’s approaches and its member state toward Middle East could be explained by divergent and dissimulation politics. Some of these divergent approaches come up from this belief that EU has to participate in the Middle East to survive union’s national interests. Whereas inspite of the recognition of distributive processes, some other approaches are suspecting the nature and features of EU as an actor of foreign policy. In other words, their dubiety is that whether EU has to play as diplomatic actor or civil power, whether has to concentrate upon economic mechanisms of its collective militaristic propensity (Edwards 2008: 50-51). Also, terrorism has enabled some of Arabic states to special ability to use the security situation of post 11/9 as an instrument for negotiation with EU specially receiving financial aids (Boubekeur & Amghar 2006: 22). In this regard, Amre Hamzawy has invented the concept of ‘reverse conditionality’ to call these states who are trying to attract financial supports of European countries on one side and

1 . Refers to some regions of western borders of Palestine which are under the civil and security control of Israel based on the division of Palestinians territories to three sections of A, B, C according to Oslo II treaty (Tocci 2007).

resistance against reformations and developments on the other side (Hamzawy 2005: 134). There were not shared approaches in EU about the regional security until the Hague summit by the 1969. The main prominent sample of the lack of security strategy could be seen during the six days war (1967) between Israel, Syria, Egypt and Jordan. Following this period of uncommon approach, the members of EU have acted the 242 resolution of Security Council of UN which provision of perpetual peace in the region necessitates the retreatment of Israel's military forces. During 1970s, the relations between EU and Middle East were based on mutual trade agreement. This relation has kept on with global Mediterranean policy (1972) and Euro- Arab negotiations (1974) (Isleyen 2014: 7-8). Following the October war and international oil recession, European countries has issued common statement as 'November Proclamation' which was the first European consensus about the recognition of Palestinians' rights. By the 1980, 'Venice Declaration' has been published as the most comprehensive manifest about the Middle East security. But this statement has not clarified the position of EU about the Middle East conflict and security (Pardo & Peters 2011). But Madrid conference in 1991 has shifted the status of EU and its multilateral trade participation with region increased. In 1995, EU has opened up Euro-Mediterranean partnership as multilateral framework for intensifying the political, economic and social relations of EU and southern Mediterranean countries¹ following the Barcelona statement. This Euro- Mediterranean partnership has three axes which are, political-security, economic and socio- cultural. This strategy has been functioned for strengthening the civil society and peace process of Middle East by 2002. In 2003 European Neighborhood Policy (ENP)

1 . Algeria, Cyprus, Egypt, Jordan, Israel, Lebanon, Malta, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey, morocco.

formed which EU has expressed the mutual action plan with Israel and Palestine on political, economic- technical negotiations, civil society and scientific cooperation (Del Sarto 2007). So, transatlantic relation of EU particularly with US has more importance in such a period of transition from geopolitical to global politics era in Washington's foreign policy (Daalder & Lindsay 2003: 91). According to this relations, US stresses on the nexus of terrorism and MDW whereas EU embeds on Israel- Palestine peace process (Clawson 2003: 127).

This divergent perspective (tactical agreement and strategic difference) are seen specially on the peace process of Israel- Palestine, Iraq reconstruction, nuclear programme of Iran and reforms politics in the Arab world. There are several scenarios in this regard displaying the strategic difference of EU and US. First, most of US authorities are known the peace process of Israel- Palestine as the construction of suitable atmosphere which enable two sides for resolving the challenges with negotiations. In contrast, EU's leaders stress that peace process is searching for an alternative for mutual conflict. Moreover, EU stresses upon the consequent of Israel- Palestine conflict whereas US considers the increasing and accumulated dimension of mutual conflict and trying to emphasize on mutual confidence and introduces the lack of social capital as the reason of negotiation failure. Other aspect of US and EU different perspective is that EU is believed that Israel has no security challenge and there is no justification for accepting of Jewish state's legitimacy. Whereas US underscores the Palestine unwillingness for approbation of the responsibilities of its attempts and argues that the alternative is not internationalization of conflict but unilateral separation (Clawson 2003: 130-132).

EU Middle Eastern Security in the New Era. Since the 1950s, Europe has considered the second hand roles on Middle East security and conflict management for itself. In fact, most of EU's relations with Middle East are running in economic and

developmental supports. so that more than half of Middle East's trade are conducting with EU. According to this fact, the most important mechanisms of this relation are enlargement of security governance, establishment of Euro- Mediterranean security cooperation organization and European neighborhood policy.

Security Governance Policy. Since 1990s, security governance policy has become as determinant factor in national and international strategy. Based on 'New Defensive Diplomacy', European governments tried to increase the civil, militaristic and democratic relations with central and eastern post- communist Europe such as multilateral security institutions (Cottey & Forster 2004: 31-40). But security governance is a new concept which not only containing the concepts of security and governance but also display that how it is conceptualizing. According to institutionalist perspective, security-democratic governance are including; legal and conditional context, civil observation and management of security, parliamentary supervision and control on security sector, judicial surveillance, public stewardship with the presence of security society. In 2003, European security strategy has changed and not only combining the different aspects of security but also links the security to prosperity and democratic governance. In new security strategy, 'security is precondition of development' and the best method of providing security is the world with democratic governance. In fact, following the European divergence on Iraq crisis, the new draft of security strategy has been written by the 2003 combining 'security sphere', 'strategic goals' and 'political implication' (Koops 2011: 234-235). According to this document, lack of economic development will produce the situations of the proliferation of original international threats. On the other side, EU has two strategic goals of 'providing the neighbors' security' and 'construction of global order based on effective multilateralism'. Whereas the first goal has been designed for political and economic progress and stabilizing influences of alliance expansion but the second goals is as global strategy. So, although

Middle East is not producing direct threats for EU and European countries, but Middle East has changed as an 'other' in the western discourse positioning as the main spring of insecurity (Pace 2004: 293). Thus, security discourse decollates the victim of insecurity (Europe) and producer of insecurity (Mediterranean) on EU perspective. In this regard, EU is trying to pretend itself as a tridimensional normative actor in global affairs; (a) Intercessor of international conflicts. (b) Agent of development and prosperity in undeveloped countries. (c) Supporter of human rights (Barros- Garcia 2007: 7). The second normative basis of foreign policy is functional instruments consisting satisfaction, reward, punishment and force (Holsti 1995). Infact, EU's method of surviving the regional security is the admixture of contradictions (Soft and Hard) and combining classical threats and new threats.

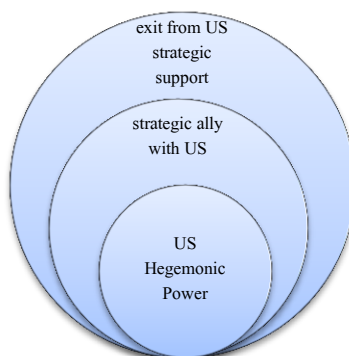
Euro- Mediterranean Cooperation. Based on Barcelona conference (1995), the main programs of Euro- Mediterranean partnership are;

- Political negotiations aiming to constructing a region based on peace and stability according to common attempt for human rights and democracy.
- Economic relations with the aim of establishment of free trade region until 2020.
- Cooperation on social and cultural affairs aiming at interaction and intercultural negotiation.

European Neighborhood Policy. This politics which came up in 2004 is part of recent attempts in EU's foreign policy. The main goal of this new framework is the stability and solidarity of its security frontage toward the neighbors. In today's world, no country is military threat. This policy is combining those countries which are located near the immediate environment of European Union. Thus, in multipolar world and changing of American ideological period, alternative powers have been rose up and EU came up as new power trying to redefinition of international security especially regional

security. In fact according to European scenario, international securities in general and Middle Eastern security in particular are different with American security logic which is shown below.

Picture 2- Structure of International Security Based on European Scenario



Therefore, in the period of the existence of security concept which on one side has been identified with the emergence of transnational crimes, terrorism and explosion of population and on the other hand, has been altered based on the extension of demands and the interests of different actors and socio- political balancing of power, EU moved from common security which were supported by the members of UN and organization for security and cooperation in Europe (OSCE) to collective security (Iancu 2012: 64). In fact, such transformation has caused to transition toward pluralistic and multilateral security. But, following the drafting of strategic document of NATO 2010, the security has been constructed with conflict management on EU perspective which necessitated the strategy of 'Active Engagement, Modern Defense' (Olariu 2012: 67-68) and introduced the security, consultation and defense as the basic commitments.

Conclusion

Vacancy of power in the Middle East has caused to production of different perspectives trying to prepare the security of Middle East

subsystem which often affected by their strategic interests and goals. The architecture of regional security system is combining only one aspect of extended concept of security. In other words, transregional actors are explaining the security of Middle East according to political-militaristic approach. As strategic ally of US in the region, Israel analyzes the security of the Middle East realistically. Infact, based on transatlantic perspective, USA and Israel consider the syndromes and features instead of its roots and treat the rising threats of Middle East as internal and local problems. So, the typical perspective of Washington and Tel- Aviv for institutionalizing the regional security is hierarchical and top- down, whereas EU designs the regional security with software mechanisms. So that economic and cultural cooperations are bearing the suitable capacities for providing the regional security. on the other side, Iran treats the threats of Middle East as external and imported challenges which not only thwarted the preparation chances of region's security but has brought about anonymous threats which engaged the regional countries for several decades. In this term, the presences of foreign powers in the region have produced various threats for region. Thus, irrespective to priori and determined mentality, providing the arrangement of regional security needs integrative security mechanism which necessitates the cooperation of regional and transregional powers.

Finally, the main challenge of different researches on probing the regional security is that still introducing conflict and tension as the cornerstone of their analyses. Thus, Middle Eastern politics are still investigating with orientalist perspective. The main important challenge of both approaches is that conflictual identity and tensions are displayed in research programs about the identity and conflict in the Middle East subsystem. To summarize, most of political, scientific and social discourses are dependent to gradual conflicts of Middle East politics pretending as the logic of context- dependent of contradictory identities and conflicts which operationalize on local, regional and global levels.

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