

REPERCUSSIONS OF US PRESIDENT TRUMP'S STRATEGIES "2017_2021" FOR SETTling THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE

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Abstract:

This study aimed to present the repercussions of Trump's strategy towards settling the Palestinian issue during his first term "2017-2021", which was based on the "Deal of the Century" and the "Abraham Accords", which led to dangerous turns that had negative effects on both the Israeli and Palestinian. It extended to destabilizing the region, accompanied by global demonstrations, and reshaped international alliances far removed from the United States, thus setting the stage for radical changes at the political, diplomatic, and military levels in the Middle East.

The study adopted the descriptive and analytical approach to present and analyze the most important pillars of President Trump's strategies "2017-2021" towards settling the Palestinian issue, as well as the approach of the realist school in its offensive aspect to interpret the repercussions of Trump's strategy for settling the Palestinian issue at the local, regional and international levels.

The study concluded that President Trump's strategy "2017_2021" failed to achieve a peaceful settlement to the Palestinian issue due to the disregard for the Palestinian side and its demands. It also revealed that the US-Israeli regional alliance—the "Deal of the Century" and the "Abraham Accords"—did not bring security and prosperity to either the Palestinian or Israeli sides, but rather led to violence and destruction between them "Operation Al-Aqsa Flood, the Israeli massacre" On the Gaza Strip" and beyond to countries in the Middle East, President Trump's strategy did not achieve its goal of integrating Israel economically and politically with the countries of the Middle East, but rather led to Israel's international isolation, while the Palestinian issue emerged as a fundamental global issue that made most countries of the world recognize the establishment of the State of Palestine on the 1967 borders¹.

The study recommended a set of measures centered on the necessity of Palestinian participation in any attempt to resolve the Palestinian issue, given their status as a principal party to the conflict.

It also recommended the involvement of Arab and Islamic mediation in the Palestinian issue to reach a mutually acceptable solution between the two parties.

Keywords: Deal of the Century, Abraham Accords, Al-Aqsa Flood, Israeli massacre in Gaza.

INTRODUCTION:

President Trump, like his predecessors, reinforced the longstanding American principle of protecting Israel's existence, security, stability, and supremacy in the Middle East. However, he differed from his predecessors in his attempts to resolve the Palestinian issue, adopting a new principle: "peace for peace," whereas his predecessors had embraced the principle of "land for peace" since 1993..

Since 2017, US President Trump's strategy has ignored the principle of the 1993 Oslo Accords, "land for peace," and the idea of a two-state solution, which since 1994 has led to institutional changes in the occupied Palestinian territories. A Palestinian Authority with limited powers was established in the 1967 Palestinian territories, and Israel was able to control key Palestinian resources "energy, water, and electricity", in addition to complete control over Palestinian borders and external Palestinian trade. However, the Oslo Accords faltered and were not completed due to the continuation of thorny and outstanding issues between the two sides of the Palestinian issue

President Trump's strategy towards settling the Palestinian issue was based on two main pillars: the "Deal of the Century" and the "Abraham Accords," which aimed to integrate and accept the Israeli occupation state in the Middle East on a pragmatic and utilitarian basis, marginalize the Palestinian issue, reduce its Arab and Islamic depth, and impose a settlement that abolishes all the original and legitimate Palestinian rights internationally and at the United Nations..

Study Problem:

President Trump began his first term in 2017 with policies and practices hostile to the Palestinian side; starting with preventing funding for the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees "UNRWA" on which a large number of Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank depend, and he also expelled the PLO mission from Washington, as he sought to impose a settlement that conforms solely to Israeli demands. Starting with his declaration of Jerusalem as the unified and eternal capital of the occupying state of "Israel" He then deemed the annexation of West Bank lands to Israel and the establishment of settlements legitimate and not in violation of international law.. not to mention the complete Israeli siege imposed on the Gaza Strip since 2007, following the Palestinian division that led to Hamas assuming power in the Gaza Strip while the Palestinian Authority continued to govern only the West Bank. This same process opened the doors to Arab normalization with the Israeli occupation state, clearly demonstrating the marginalization of the Palestinian cause and the diminishing of its importance on the Arab, Islamic, and international levels. During his presidency, the incursions intensified Israeli incursions into the Al-Aqsa Mosque compound have increased, along with the rate of Israeli annexation of Palestinian land and the expansion of settlements.

The Palestinians sought to convey a message to the region and the international system about the importance of a just and comprehensive settlement of the Palestinian issue and their complete rejection of the "Deal of the Century," while at the same time objecting to the American and Israeli demands to end UNRWA and its work in providing relief to Palestinian refugees., and that is why the 2018 Return Marches began, which worked to create nighttime disruption for the occupation soldiers on the border between the Gaza Strip and the settlements adjacent to it, and led to Palestinians being injured and killed by Israeli weapons.

The complete rejection of the pillars of President Trump's settlement of the Palestinian issue by the Palestinian Authority, all resistance movements, and all Palestinian factions has emerged, suggesting the possibility of profound structural transformations to confront it through negative and unexpected Palestinian reactions, based on the "black swan" theory in international relations, which aims to create unforeseen events leading to radical transformations and changes. A fundamental obstacle hinders the achievement of President Trump's strategic objectives, which are based on the "Deal of the Century" and the Abraham Accords.

From the above, the central problem of this study emerges, requiring research, analysis, interpretation, and foresight. It is crystallized through the main question:

What are the repercussions of US President Trump's strategies "2021 _2017" regarding the settlement of the Palestinian issue?

This necessitates answering the following sub-questions:

1. What are the pillars of Trump's strategy toward resolving the Palestinian issue?
2. What are the repercussions of Trump's strategy toward resolving the Palestinian issue?

Study Objectives:

- 1- To clarify the pillars of Trump's strategy towards resolving the Palestinian issue.
- 2- To reveal the repercussions of Trump's strategy towards resolving the Palestinian issue.

Research Methodology:

The study employs a descriptive approach to describe its variables and dimensions, as well as an analytical approach necessary to deconstruct and analyze the pillars of Trump's strategy toward resolving the Palestinian issue on a scientific basis, and then to deduce the resulting conclusions and generalizations.

Research Structure:

The study is divided into Two sections:

Section One: President Trump's Pillars in Resolving the Palestinian Issue

Section Two: The Repercussions of Trump's Strategy Regarding the Resolving of the Palestinian Issue

Section One: President Trump's Pillars in Resolving the Palestinian Issue

President Donald Trump's strategy for the Palestinian issue "2017-2021" was based on two main pillars: a plan known as the "Deal of the Century," whose twenty points were presented in 2020, and the second pillar, which is the normalization processes and the Abraham Accords between Israel and a number of Arab countries. The following is a presentation of these two pillars:

First - The Deal of the Century for US President Trump "2017-2020": The term "Deal of the Century" has been used since 1999 by senior Israeli strategists, and emerged in the context of "Ze'ev

Schiff's² proposals to settle the Palestinian issue. It was then updated by Giora Eiland, the former head of the Israeli National Security Council "2004-2006" who emphasized the failure of previous international projects to implement a settlement to the Palestinian issue based on the "two-state solution"³ This is attributed to several important reasons, including the small size of the Palestinian territory located between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea, which is difficult to divide into two states. Furthermore, no Israeli government possesses the political power to remove the settlements established on the Palestinian territories occupied in 1967, under the pretext of their religious, historical, and vital importance to Israelis, in addition to the potential border risks Assuming an Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Palestinian territories in favor of the Palestinian side, not to mention the possibility of Hamas seizing control of vital West Bank areas given Israel's distrust of the existing Palestinian Authority, not to mention the absolute certainty of Palestinian refugees' adherence to the right of return, which is countered by the impossibility of Israel relinquishing control over the Jabal al-Druze region The Temple in Jerusalem, and the "Giora Eiland" deal provided pretexts for rejecting the "two-state solution," and Eiland formulated ideas for other settlements that called for the necessity of regional participation "Jordan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia" and considering them as a guarantor and beneficiary of the proposed solution, and he presented two options and what they carry of his ideas' approach (Eiland, 2008):

The first solution - the Jordanian option: In it, the West Bank, the East Bank "Jordan", and Gaza are united under the name of a "Jordanian-Palestinian" federation or confederation, with each region responsible for its internal security, while Jordan assumes responsibility for foreign and military affairs. However, Jordan considered this solution to be dangerous for it, as "Israel" aims to uproot Jerusalem and the settlements from the West Bank for the benefit of the Israeli side and then hand over security and legal control over the Palestinians to Jordan, which may generate a conflict between Jordan and the Palestinians (Abdul-Moneim, 2018).

It is clear that this solution absolves Israel of any responsibilities towards the Palestinians in the West Bank, even though it continues to seize their land, while assigning full responsibility to Jordan, thus creating a burden on the Jordanian government Not to mention Jordan's custodianship of the holy sites in East Jerusalem, which entails the responsibility of preserving them and confronting any changes to their religious, historical, and legal status.

The second settlement – the regional option: This settlement relied on increasing the number of participants and actors, while raising the bar for the offers available to them, to ensure that the parties involved in the settlement would receive significant and encouraging economic benefits. This regional solution is based on the establishment of a Palestinian state with limited sovereignty and a demilitarized state, through a land swap. The Gaza Strip would be expanded with land ceded by the Egyptian government from the Sinai Peninsula, an area of 600 square kilometers extending from Rafah to El Arish, with a length of 30 kilometers and a width of 20 kilometers. With this area, the Gaza Strip would encompass 12% of the West Bank area claimed by Israel. In return, Egypt would be compensated with land from the occupied Negev along the Sinai border, the size of which would be determined in multilateral negotiations. Egypt would also be permitted to dig a 10-kilometer tunnel north of Eilat, connecting it to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. On the Egyptian side, the tunnel would connect to a railway line, a road network, and an oil pipeline, which would bring economic benefits to Egypt. Palestinians will be resettled in an expanded Gaza Strip, which will also include an international port and airport. Jordan will transfer land along the Jordan River, equivalent to 5% of the West Bank, to Israel. In return, Saudi Arabia will transfer the same area of its land to Jordan. Jordan will also be able to use the Egyptian tunnel to transport European goods to the Gulf States and Iraq. Furthermore, the expanded Gaza Strip will allow Jordan to resettle 70,000 Palestinians currently residing in Gaza. In return, Israel will be able to annex all West Bank settlements and other areas beyond the separation barrier, which constitute 12% of the West Bank.

It has become clear that the "Deal of the Century," according to Eiland's vision, seeks to preserve Israeli national security and secure its expansion into Palestinian territories at the expense of neighboring Palestinian communities. It also disregards the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and the right of return, and blatantly ignores all international and UN resolutions calling for a two-state solution,

² Through his representation of a journalistic analyst in "Israel", and military work in the Israeli newspaper Haaretz.

³ The two-state solution: a negotiated settlement between the parties leading to the establishment of an independent, democratic, and viable Palestinian state, living side by side in peace and security with Israel and its other neighbors. This settlement would resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and end the occupation that began in 1967, based on the principles of the Madrid Conference, the land-for-peace formula, and UN Security Council Resolutions 242, 338, and 1397 The agreements previously reached by the two parties, and the initiative of Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah - endorsed by the Arab League summit in Beirut .

which affirms the right of return for Palestinian refugees. However, it is worth noting that while the “Deal of the Century” proposed by Giora Eiland in 2008 was never officially announced, several key Arab states began taking concrete steps to facilitate its implementation as early as 2014.

The following is a summary of these states and their contributions (Abdel Moneim, 2018):

1. The Egyptian state began contributing to the implementation of the "Deal of the Century" plan before Trump's first term in 2017. The land swap clause required the evacuation of a specific area of Sinai. This began with the destruction and evacuation of the historic Egyptian city of Rafah, followed by the city of Sheikh Zuweid. This was done under official government justifications, and then the process extended to the city of El Arish, under the pretext of clearing half of its area to build a 5-kilometer perimeter around El Arish Airport from all directions. (See Figure 1).

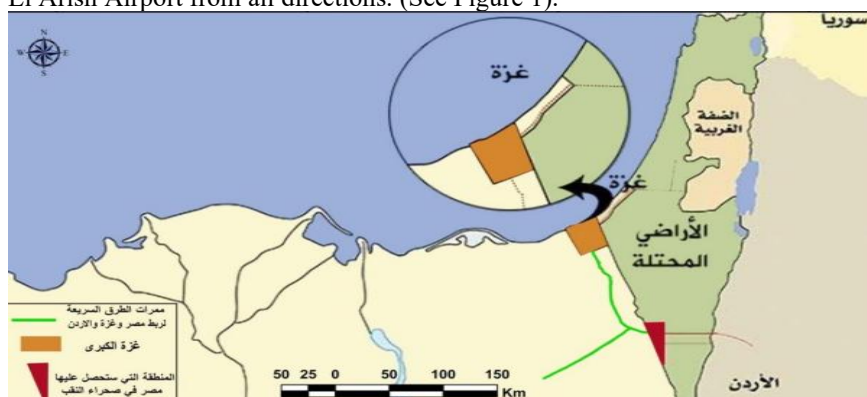


Figure (1): The Gaza Strip according to the "Giora Land" deal

2. As mentioned in the above reference, in 2016 Saudi Arabia purchased the islands of "Tiran and Sanafir", which belong to the Egyptian Sinai Peninsula. They are located at the entrance to the Strait of Tiran in the southern Gulf of Aqaba, which connects the Red Sea to the Arabian (see Figure 3), With that Saudi ownership, the Strait of Tiran became an international waterway after having been purely Egyptian⁴.



Figure 2: Tiran and Sanafir

Saudi Arabia: Saudi money⁵ played a prominent role in facilitating the implementation of the “Eiland,” Deal as the Saudi King, Salman bin Abdul-Aziz, signed 23 cooperation agreements with the Egyptian President, Sisi, in 2016. These included an agreement for Saudi investments in North Sinai, the “Free Zone in North Sinai.” Saudi Arabia also committed to providing the necessary water for that free zone by constructing a wastewater treatment plant. Despite the ambiguity and secrecy surrounding the terms of this agreement, it included a Saudi commitment to several tasks, including the construction of a port and an airport in the designated area resulting from the land swap according to the “Eiland Deal,” the construction of roads in expanded Gaza, and bearing the costs of digging the tunnel connecting Egypt and Jordan, including the land route, railway, and oil pipeline, in addition to committing to digging a canal to transport fresh water from the Nile River to the Israeli occupation state (Abdul Moneim, 2018).

⁴ Selling the islands of Tiran and Sanafir to Saudi Arabia makes the Strait of Tiran an international waterway, allowing all ships and aircraft to pass through without hindrance, after it had been purely Egyptian

⁵ Saudi interest in the "Eiland" deal began after the idea of ceding Saudi land to Jordan was scrapped, - in exchange for Egypt ceding 720 km² of Sinai to an expanded Gaza.

Saudi investments have also extended to the Sharm El Sheikh region in South Sinai, where they were estimated at \$60 million. However, in 2017, Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman stated that all these agreements serve the NEOM project on Saudi lands overlooking the coasts of the Gulf of Aqaba (Bank of Kuwait and Bahrain, 2015) (Figure 3). It can be argued that all these agreements lead to a reduction of Egyptian powers in North and South Sinai, the depletion of Egyptian human resources in Sinai, and the shrinking of the strategic base for defending Egypt from Egyptian Rafah to El Arish.

Second: The pillars of Trump's strategy "2017-2021" towards resolving the Palestinian issue:



Figure3: Neom City

A. The Deal of the Century:

It is noteworthy that the first person to use the term "Deal of the Century" was Egyptian President Abdel Fattah al-Sisi in 2017 during his first meeting with President Trump in the first year of his presidency. Since then, the term has become prominent and frequently used in official American statements.

President Trump approved the Deal of the Century on January 28, 2020, a plan co-authored by "Jared Kushner"⁶ and "Jason Greenblatt"⁷. Although it agreed with the "Eiland" deal in completely excluding the two-state solution in settling the Palestinian issue, and also tried to impose a zero-sum settlement in favor of Israel by completely relinquishing the rights and demands of the Palestinian people, it differed from the "Eiland" deal in formulating a map for the future of Palestine that was completely different from the one drawn by "Eiland." It also included two parts for its implementation, one political and the other economic, which President Trump considered capable of establishing lasting peace between the Israeli and Palestinian sides. Trump described it as the ultimate deal capable of imposing a settlement that would neutralize terrorism and violence resulting from the implementation of the two-state solution, and that its results were guaranteed, considering that it falls within the framework of the American-Israeli-Arab alliance and regional cooperation. The following is a summary of its provisions.

The Deal of the Century stipulated the necessity of mutual recognition between the two states, Israel and Palestine, with Israel as a Jewish state with full sovereignty over its territory and its unified capital, Jerusalem, referred to as "Jerusalem," while the State of Palestine would have limited sovereignty and be completely demilitarized. Its capital would be Abu Dis and other Palestinian neighborhoods, which The deal also stipulated .the Palestinians could call whatever they wished, "Jerusalem" or something else. a land swap between the two states at a ratio of 2:1 in favor of Israel, enabling Israel to control 30% of the West Bank, including the Jordan Valley The settlements, settlement blocs, and transit routes," and in return, Israel would relinquish two separate enclaves in the western Negev (see Figure 4).



Figure4: Future Palestine

Jared Kushner is a young American businessman who amassed his fortune in real estate. He is the son-in-law of US President-elect Donald Trump, who appointed him as a senior White House advisor. A real estate lawyer, appointed by US President Donald Trump to a newly created position within the US administration, that of "Special Representative for International Negotiations," where he will focus on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Israel would also be responsible for supreme security in the future Palestinian state, “its land, sea, and air.” Despite the claim that this geographical area constitutes the State of Palestine, it stipulated that the rate of Palestinian entry into it should not exceed what would increase security threats and risks to the Jewish state. The number of Palestinians should also not exceed the capacity of its economy and infrastructure. The deal also demanded the abolition of the right of return, which would lead to the abolition of the status of Palestinian refugees, Palestinian camps, and UNRWA. According to the deal, “Israel” would control the territorial waters, which are considered a vital factor for the stability of its security. The terms of the deal also stipulated the necessity of placing Israeli security controls and requirements on the roads connecting the parts of the established Palestinian state—pre-fragmented. It is noteworthy that the deal stipulates that Israel will not bear the cost of any developments or improvements in the fragmented Palestinian state (Dekel, Kurz, Shusterman, 2020: 2_7).

The economic component of President Trump's "Deal of the Century" was presented in Bahrain under the title "Peace to Prosperity: A New Vision for the Palestinian People." It purported to support the Palestinian economy, government, and people, promising \$50 billion in investments over 10 years. However, the deal also accused Palestinian educational curricula of promoting hatred and violence toward neighboring countries, necessitating changes to these curricula. Furthermore, the deal called for expanding economic relations between Israel and its neighbors, particularly given their need to reduce reliance on fossil fuels and shift toward economies based on advanced technology and infrastructure. It also emphasized opposition to boycott movements against Israel, deeming them destructive to peace, and stressed the importance of preventing any questioning of the authentic Jewish roots of the State of Israel. Finally, it underscored the importance of strengthening Israeli-Gulf relations to counter Iranian expansionism (The White House, 2020).

It became clear that the Deal of the Century abolished the two-state solution principle, which recognizes a Palestinian state on the 1967 borders. It claimed that there would be a future Palestinian state, but a weak, disarmed one confined to enclaves surrounded by a powerful Jewish state that controls all its land, sea, and air access points. Moreover, the alleged Palestinian state is fragmented and geographically disjointed—comprising what remains of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and two separate areas in the Negev desert. This fragmented state would need to establish a road network to connect its parts, which would reduce the possibility of easy movement under Israeli control and the restrictions on Palestinian movement, as is currently the case when traveling between West Bank cities. Moreover, recognizing the Jewishness of the state deprives Palestinians living in the Triangle area⁸ of their citizenship rights after stripping them of their Israeli nationality, which they cling to not out of love, but to maintain their presence on their land and prevent their displacement from their homes to a fragmented, weak, and non-sovereign alleged state. It also deprives Palestinian refugees of their rights as stipulated by international and humanitarian law and UN Decisions.

It is noteworthy that a clause on page 38 of the White House's "Deal of the Century" plan stipulates that no existing structures in the West Bank will be demolished as of the deal's release date of January 1, 2020. This excludes illegal construction and punitive demolitions as determined by Israel (The White House, 2020: 38). This clause also affirms the inviolability of all holy sites in the Jerusalem Governorate, which are considered religious sites for all followers of the Abrahamic faiths, making them a center of religious tourism and reinforcing the economic importance of Jerusalem.

To highlight the economic importance of Jerusalem, we can compare it to the economic importance of the holy cities in Saudi Arabia. The Saudi revenue, estimated at 13 billion US dollars according to (Qanawi, 2019: 193), was recorded from Hajj and Umrah in one year, 2017 AD. This reinforces the idea that the annual revenue from religious tourism to the city of Jerusalem - not to mention the other holy sites in Palestine - is at least equal to this figure or exceeds it, considering the religious importance of Jerusalem to all followers of the Abrahamic religions in the world. This makes the Jewish idea that they plan to build the Temple of Solomon “according to their claim” on the Temple Mount, where the Al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock are located, illogical compared to its significant economic importance in increasing the strength of the State of Israel, enhancing its stability and its ability to face most regional challenges, as well as increasing its potential in developing infrastructure and supporting industries and advanced technology.

In that deal, the American-Israeli regional role in liquidating the Palestinian cause and creating geographically dispersed Palestinian communities deprived of all their inherent rights and living in a large prison surrounded by Israeli influence and ruled by the Israeli military force, which decides when to punish or reward the Palestinian people after it abolished their right of return, deprived them of the right of sovereignty and self-determination, seized their holy sites, and controlled all their borders with the state of Egypt, which has been linked to “Israel” by peace agreements since 1979.

Second: The Abraham Accords (Normalization) 2020:

- Those parts of the large Palestinian geographical triangle, which includes the cities of Nablus, ⁸ Tulkarm and Jenin in the northern West Bank, remained under Israeli control after the Nakba

President Trump's strategy adopted the principle of "peace for peace" in the Israeli normalization agreements with some Arab states. It is noteworthy that these agreements were made between Israel and countries with which it had never been involved in conflicts or military operations; rather, the dispute stemmed from the Arab dimension of the Palestinian issue.

However, reality shows that the American strategy has always relied on intimidation⁹ to impose its influence and control over weak states seeking security and protection. This strategy was evident in President Trump's speech during his visit to Saudi Arabia in May 2017, when he stated that resolving the problems of the Middle East was linked to combating Islamic extremism, strengthening the security of the Gulf states through arms purchases, and indicating the necessity of integrating Israel into the Middle East security system in order to contain and isolate Iran (Abu Rashid, 2020: 3).

Based on the "intimidation" strategy, the "Abraham Accords" were concluded, which were based on two principles: the first is the unity of the Iranian enemy and the fear of the armed Palestinian resistance, who were labeled as "terrorist groups." The second principle is the unity of the American and Israeli goal to convince Arab countries to agree and make a deal with the State of "Israel" to establish peace in the Middle East (Abbas, Abdul Aziz, 2024).

Indeed, as reported (U.S. Department of State "gov", 2020), Israeli normalization agreements with several Arab states began with the United Arab Emirates¹⁰ on September 15, 2020, followed by Bahrain, and then Sudan on October 23, 2020 (Yaari, 2020). Normalization with Morocco followed on December 10, 2020, and Kushner's repeated statements that Saudi normalization was inevitable cannot be ignored. The normalizing countries (the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Sudan, and Morocco) must be seeking to achieve geostrategic interests, which are represented in many economic, security, military, or political interests, or all of them, each according to its own assessment. But what is certain is that these normalization processes seek to form a new Middle East in which the Israeli occupation state represents an allied power integrated with the countries of the region, while making the Palestinians the obstacle that prevents them from achieving their interests with an acceptable ally that is militarily and technologically advanced. Moreover, the Abraham Accords for normalization, which adopted the principle of "peace for peace," marginalized the decisions of the Arab League, the Arab Peace Initiative, and the UN resolutions that approved the principle of "land for peace," and even ignored Palestinian rights and the two-state solution that stipulates the withdrawal of the occupation from the Palestinian territories of 1967.

Section Two: Repercussions of Trump's Strategy for Resolving the Palestinian Issue:

Numerous repercussions have emerged in response to Trump's strategy and its pillars for resolving the Palestinian issue. These will be presented as follows:

First: (Human Rights Watch, 2022) report that Israeli violations against Palestinians in all their forms escalated between 2018 and 2020, demonstrating the extent of the negative impact of the "Deal of the Century" and normalization agreements on the Palestinians and the Palestinian cause.

Second: Several studies have concluded that the Palestinian Authority in the West Bank, led by Mahmoud Abbas, declared its complete rejection of Trump's deal and his plan for resolving the Palestinian issue, despite its shortcomings in confronting that deal. It failed to strategically and effectively utilize its political, popular, and security capabilities to counter and thwart the deal (Al-Agha & Sawan: 2021).

Third: The results of the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research survey showed that 94% of the Palestinian public rejects President Trump's "Deal of the Century" and demands an end to the Palestinian division, the withdrawal of recognition of the legitimacy of the State of Israel, a halt to security coordination between the Palestinian Authority and the Israelis, and reliance on armed resistance to confront the Israeli occupation. Eighty percent of the survey participants considered the conflict existential for the Palestinians and supported Palestinian President Abbas's declaration rejecting the deal (Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research, 2020).

Fourth: The Palestinian Authority and Hamas are in complete agreement on rejecting the "Deal of the Century", while emphasizing that resistance would continue until the liberation and return of the Palestinian people is achieved (Al-Saffari, 2021: 8). Soon after, the Great March of Return began, rejecting any compromise on the right of return, to demonstrate the Palestinians' unwavering stance on

^{9 9}- The strategy of intimidation aims to achieve interests by finding justifications and pretexts to impose the guardianship of the other, to silence opponents, and then all efforts are combined to justify any possible aggression against the opponent and to legitimize wars (Khalouq, 2021: 230).
the only binding agreement among the normalization agreements with Israel 'Legally speaking-¹⁰ given that it included the 'during the first Trump administration is the Israeli-Emirati peace agreement which gives it 'in addition to its registration with the United Nations,' making it binding,'term "must official binding status. The other agreements with Bahrain, Morocco, and Sudan lack any binding wording and instead contain vague terms such as "seek," which allows for amendments and political .changes (Winkler, 2025)

their right to return and self-determination, and to preempt any American, Israeli, or regional attempts to pass the "Deal of the Century" (Hamas, 2019: 1).

The Great March of Return sought to send messages and warnings to the Arab, Islamic, and Middle Eastern world and expressed the position of the Palestinians and the Hamas movement regarding the deal, in the hope that international and regional parties would take their demands into account, especially in light of the suffocating siege imposed on Gaza by the Israeli and Egyptian governments since 2007, with the decline in the level of Arab and Islamic interest in participating in imposing a just and comprehensive settlement to the issue under an American administration that is aligned with all Israeli demands. However, these marches did not achieve the desired results, which led to their cessation in 2019. But the Hamas movement feared the continuation of Arab-Israeli normalization processes, especially with the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, which has strategic weight in the Middle East, which would encourage other Arab and Islamic countries to follow suit, so normalization processes would continue according to the principles of the domino theory¹¹

Fifth_ Operation Al-Aqsa Flood:

The "Black Swan" theory, which brought with it fundamental and profound structural changes, was realized on the morning of Saturday, October 7, 2023, when the Palestinian Islamic resistance movements, led by the "Hamas" movement, launched a series of consistent attacks "by land, sea and air" with primitive military tools on the Israeli settlements adjacent to the Gaza Strip. It was announced by "Mohammed Deif"¹² and nicknamed it the Al-Aqsa Flood operation.

(Hamas Media Office, 2024: 6, 14, 16) issued a report entitled "This Is Our Narrative: Why the Al-Aqsa Flood?" The report concluded that "Operation Al-Aqsa Flood on October 7th was an important step and a necessary response to confront all Israeli plans aimed at liquidating the Palestinian cause, imposing complete Israeli control over Palestinian lands and Judaizing them, and resisting the imposition of Israeli sovereignty over the Al-Aqsa Mosque and the holy sites in Jerusalem." The report called for standing against attempts at forced displacement of Palestinians inside Israel¹³, emphasizing that there would be no migration to Sinai, Jordan, or anywhere else. It also considered Operation Al-Aqsa Flood an important Palestinian step and a necessary response to end the unjust siege of Gaza imposed since 2007, and to strive to end the occupation and achieve the establishment of a Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital. The report further noted that the United States has dealt with Israel since its inception as if it were above the law, and considered the United States complicit and a full partner in the continued destruction of the possibility of establishing a Palestinian state due to its approval of the expansion of settlements in the West Bank, especially East Jerusalem, and its pursuit of... To Judaize it, he also affirmed that resistance to the occupation is legitimate by all possible means, including armed resistance, and has been sanctioned by all heavenly religions, and approved by international laws and United Nations resolutions, including Resolution 3236 issued in November 1974, which affirmed the right of return and self-determination for the Palestinian people.

The "Al-Aqsa Flood" resulted in the deaths of a number of Israeli soldiers and settlers, in addition to the capture of several Palestinians.

251 Israeli hostages (Israeli Government Press Office, 2024). The flood also revealed the extent of the failure of President Trump's strategy and the collapse of his deal, which did not achieve its objectives or bring peace to Israel.

Sixth_ The Israeli massacre in the Gaza Strip ("Iron Swords" and "Gideon Chariots 1 & 2"):

Israel responded with a more extreme military offensive against the Gaza Strip on October 8, 2023 Israel pursued a policy of scorched earth, starvation, and extermination, exceeding any reaction. (United Nations, 2025) report that Israel responded with a military operation called "Iron Swords," adopting two declared objectives: to eliminate Hamas and to recover the Israeli hostages. However, as John Mearsheimer confirmed¹⁴, These two objectives were surpassed by Israel's perpetration of genocide in the Gaza Strip, with the intent of partially or completely destroying the territory. Indeed, the objective of the Israeli military aggression against Gaza is genocide and ethnic cleansing (Mearsheimer, 2024).

UN Human Rights Office (2025) considered the military aggression against Gaza and the targeting of civilians in various locations, such as hospitals, buildings, and tents, to be tantamount to genocide.

The Israeli aggression expanded under the names "Operation Gideon 1 and 2" with the aim of ending Hamas rule and imposing Israeli military control over the Gaza Strip (TRATEGIECS THINK TANK, 2025).

Seventh_ Israeli military aggression against countries outside the Gaza Strip:

- If an entity succeeds in destabilizing the existing order among a group of adjacent and organized ¹¹ entities, a wave of instability will quickly engulf all elements of the system

Commander-in-Chief of the military wing of Hamas- ¹²

Palestinians of 1948, the Gaza Strip, and the West Bank- ¹³

¹⁴ A researcher at the Brookings Institution, a postdoctoral fellow at the Institute of International Affairs at Harvard University, and a professor of political science at the University of Chicago.

The Israeli military campaign in the Gaza Strip has had repercussions that extend beyond its borders, with Iranian proxies supporting resistance movements in Gaza—the Houthis in Yemen, Hezbollah in Lebanon, and the Popular Mobilization Forces in Iraq—by launching missiles and drones against US forces in the Middle East and against Israeli settlements on the Lebanese border, as well as targeting ships bound for Israel through the Red Sea (Khattab, 2024: 20). This has led to:

a. Israel launched an open war against Hezbollah, culminating in Operation Northern Arrows in southern Lebanon, followed by a ground invasion. Hezbollah suffered heavy blows, the most severe being the assassination of its Secretary-General, Hassan Nasrallah. The military operation lasted for 33 days until an agreement was reached between Israel and Lebanon to cease fire on November 27, 2024, in accordance with a return to Security Council Resolution 1701¹⁵ of 2006 (Metri, 2024: 7).

b. Attribution for resistance factions in Iraq ceased due to political pressures, especially after a number of armed resistance factions became involved in the official structure of the Iraqi government headed by Mohammed Shia al-Sudani, who devotes his attention to getting rid of the American sanctions (Abbas, 2024: 4).

c. While the Houthis “Ansar Allah” in Yemen continued to effectively and commendably support the Gaza Strip, they carried out military operations to disrupt and paralyze shipping lanes heading to the Israeli occupation state via the Red Sea, in addition to launching ballistic missiles and drones towards the occupied Palestinian territories, which led to American, British, and Israeli airstrikes against Yemen. But it did not deter the Houthis, who continued to support Gaza (Aboudiak, 2025: 13), despite the announcement of a ceasefire between the Houthis and the Americans on May 6, 2025, without Israel being included in that agreement (International Institute for Iranian Studies, 2025).

d. The Syrian territories were not spared from Israeli attacks, but rather they escalated after the fall of Bashar al-Assad and his regime on December 8, 2014, as hundreds of air raids and missile bombardments were launched with the aim of eliminating Syrian military capabilities. It also proceeded to occupy new Syrian territories after occupying the Syrian Golan Heights since 1967, as it seized the “Mount Hermon” area. The Syrian, considering it a necessity to monitor near and far dangers, and controlled a number of water dams in Quneitra located in the buffer zone. Netanyahu also seeks to impose a demilitarized Syrian zone that includes all of southern Syria, in addition to attempts to fragment the Syrian state on ethnic and sectarian grounds (Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, 2025: 1).

e. Israeli arrogance was further demonstrated when it bombed the Hamas office in Qatar, the mediating state, on September 9, 2015, in a failed attempt to assassinate Hamas leaders. This led to unanimous agreement in the Security Council to issue a statement condemning the attack and emphasizing the importance of Qatar's mediation role (Al Jazeera Center for Studies, 2015).

Eighth_ The emergence of unconditional American support for Israel:

Successive US administrations have consistently provided material support to Israel to ensure the achievement of their shared geostrategic objectives in the Middle East. However, US financial and military support for Israel increased significantly during the Israeli military operation “Iron Swords” in the Gaza Strip. Despite the explicit and unequivocal US support outlined in the 2016 Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the US and Israeli governments, concerning military aid to Israel for a ten-year period covering fiscal years 2019-2028, in which the US pledged \$38 billion in military assistance, contingent upon congressional approval (\$33 billion as a military grant and \$5 billion allocated for missile defense), Congress exceeded the terms of the MOU and provided Israel with emergency military aid. This included exceeding the funding allocated in the MOU to support the joint Israeli-American missile program. Furthermore, Congress passed Act 50-118, allocating supplemental emergency aid to Israel for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2024. This aid included \$3.5 billion in foreign military financing and \$5.2 billion in missile defense allocations. The Iron Beam laser¹⁶ defense system was also mentioned. Then, Congress passed Act 119-4, authorizing continued aid to Israel for fiscal year 2025, based on fiscal year 2024, amounting to \$3.3 billion. However, the law included provisions and regulations specific to Israel, granting it \$450.3 million for foreign purchases and authorizing loan guarantees until 2030. Congress also approved an annual cash limit of \$500 million for Israel's Strategic Reserve program, requiring an expedited expenditure and operating plan for fiscal year 2025. Subsequently, the Department of Defense issued a “Reprogramming Action Base” report in the spring of 2025, allocating \$500 million to Israel for missile defense, \$47.5 million for a tunnel countermeasures program¹⁷, \$55 million for a drone countermeasures program, and \$20 million for cooperation in emerging technologies. All of this was followed by a proposal for a U.S.-Israel Defense Partnership, which would allow for further U.S. funding to Israel and provide it with an opportunity for

¹⁵ The Israeli and Lebanese sides called for a cessation of hostilities as a prelude to a ceasefire, but did not specify a date for its implementation, not to mention the many clauses that leave ample room for interpretation.

Iron Beam is an air defense system designed to intercept a wide range of threats, including drones, - ¹⁶ .which can be achieved from a distance of a few hundred meters to several kilometers.

.- Given that the resistance movements in Gaza rely on tunnels in their confrontation with Israel ¹⁷

advancement. To the technological, industrial and American bases, and the US Congress has acknowledged that Israel is the largest recipient of US foreign aid since World War II (Congressional Research Service, 2025: 2).

Ninth: Trump's 2025 plan to end the military aggression against the Gaza Strip:

Since the beginning of his second presidential term in 2025, President Trump has encouraged Netanyahu to work on displacing the people of Gaza and asked Egypt and Jordan to receive the Gazans. He described the Gaza Strip as the best area on earth and said he would make it the "Riviera of the East." However, Israel was unable to resolve its military aggression in Gaza, Hamas did not surrender, and global demonstrations against the war of extermination in Gaza intensified. Egypt, Jordan, and other countries refused to receive the Gazans, each country having its own justifications.

President Trump backed down from the idea of displacing Gaza and replaced it with a new plan on September 29, 2025, which did not deviate much from Israeli demands. He considered it a comprehensive plan for a ceasefire in Gaza, and it included 20 points, the most important of which were Hamas's immediate release of the hostages, a gradual Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip, and the condition that Hamas or any other Palestinian organizations would not participate in the government after the ceasefire. It also included the administrative and organizational arrangements for the post-aggression phase, in addition to political, security, and economic arrangements, as well as the reconstruction of Gaza. It is worth noting that the plan included a point that clarified the mechanisms of governance, as it stipulated that Gaza would be subject to a transitional government by a non-political Palestinian committee concerned with civil affairs under the supervision of an international body, the "Peace Council," headed by Trump and with the participation of a number of former heads of state, as well as former British Minister Tony Blair (Palestinian Research Center, 2025).

The plan received Israeli approval and the approval of Hamas on October 4, 2025. A ceasefire was declared at 2:05 PM on October 9, 2025, according to President Trump's plan. The whole world is waiting to see what will be achieved from the provisions of that plan in light of the many complications that may hinder its implementation (STRATEGIECS THINK TAN, 2025).

Ninth- Arab Strategic Hedging:

In light of Trump's troubling strategies, imbued with his personal style, most Middle Eastern countries have adopted a strategy of strategic hedging¹⁸. The Middle East has adopted a policy of "strategic hedging" towards the United States, whose military protection has lost value after its failure to repel Houthi attacks. The Houthis have gained control of maritime traffic in the Red Sea, and imports of essential American weapons face restrictions, obstacles, re-export bans, and the possibility of deal cancellations. Moreover, American F-35 fighter jets and air defense systems are not the desired performance was achieved compared to its high and exorbitant costs. It is noteworthy that China tops the list of countries exporting to the Gulf states, given the near absence of Gulf exports to the United States, which reduces Gulf-American trade. Meanwhile, the Gulf states' dealings with China have been strengthened by joining the BRICS group and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, and they have also shifted to selling oil in Chinese currency, The renminbi¹⁹ boosted investments in China's Belt and Road Initiative (Abdurrahman, 2025).

Not to mention China's strategic partnerships with 8 Middle Eastern countries, including US allies such as Saudi Arabia and the UAE, as well as with Iran, the US's biggest enemy (Fudan University and the Global Institute for Government Research, 2023: 11).

Saudi Arabia also strengthened its diplomatic ties with its rivals, Turkey and Qatar, and brokered an agreement to restore diplomatic relations with Iran in 2023, with Chinese mediation. The weakening of US security guarantees and the radical shift in the security and defense doctrine of the Gulf states remained significant factors (Sons, 2025).

It is worth noting that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia concluded a "Joint Strategic Defense" agreement 2025 with the nuclear state of Pakistan to enhance its international standing, establish a balance of deterrence, and increase its power to establish peace And to confront the Israeli threats seeking expansion and the realization of the Greater Israel dream, which includes Arab and Gulf states (International Institute for Iranian Studies, 2025).

The Middle East also witnessed a Turkish-Pakistani alliance, with the two countries signing 24 cooperation agreements across various fields, including military cooperation (Oglu, 2025).

The Egyptian government, headed by "Sisi", announced its complete rejection of President Trump's request to accept refugees from the Gaza Strip, considering their displacement a threat to Egyptian

The hedging state cooperates with the source of the threat to its national security to avoid threats or - ¹⁸ entering into unequal conflicts (what is called "soft balancing"). At the same time, it adopts elements of "hard" balancing in the face of the threatening state, such as engaging in alliances with the latter's rival powers

¹⁹ This means that the Gulf states are free from the petrodollar agreement, which stipulates that oil be sold in dollars.

national security. This comes despite its previous efforts to implement the "Eiland" deal. However, this rejection can be attributed to the radical amendments President Trump introduced to the "Eiland" deal, specifically the elimination of the land swap principle. This effectively ended all the economic benefits Egypt had hoped to gain from the "Eiland" deal, which ultimately faded away and was replaced by Trump's "Deal of the Century".

Furthermore, Saudi control over the islands of Tiran and Sanafir, Saudi investments in North and South Sinai, and the NEOM project on the coast of the Gulf of Aqaba overlooking eastern Sinai, all contribute to reducing Egyptian control over the Gulf of Aqaba and the Egyptian Sinai. This is especially true since the completion of these Saudi projects and investments requires improved Saudi-Israeli relations, creating a source of tension and concern for Egypt. Egyptian distrust in Trump's strategy for settling the Palestinian issue has also increased in light of leaks about the Ben Gurion Canal project (Figure 5), which connects the Red Sea and the Mediterranean and is located under Israeli control in the occupied Negev. This highlights the extent of the threats and strategic challenges that Egypt may face if this new canal is dug, given that it is equipped with high-tech features and can be considered an alternative to the Suez Canal (Tawfiq, 2024: 7).

President Trump's amendments can be attributed to several reasons, foremost among them ensuring Israel's qualitative military edge over all other countries in the region. This is something the "Eiland" deal fails to achieve, as it enhances Egypt and Jordan's ability to control Middle Eastern trade and boosts their economic capabilities. This deprives the United States of its leverage through economic aid, which it has long brandished at Israel's neighbors, Egypt and Jordan, given its lack of necessity. Furthermore, the future Ben Gurion Canal project grants Israel control over the Middle East region and increases its economic power, thus reinforcing its dominance, especially after marginalizing the Suez Canal and excluding Egypt's role in Middle Eastern affairs, particularly the Palestinian issue.



Furthermore, American economic and political aid to Egypt represents a tool of American pressure wielded against the Egyptian government to impose an American-Israeli settlement on the Palestinian issue (Hassan, 2025).

Tenth – Arab and Islamic Unity: This alliance was evident at the 2025 Doha Emergency Summit following the Israeli attack on Qatari sovereignty. The leaders unanimously rejected the Israeli aggression against Gaza and stressed the need to stop it. The summit also demonstrated Arab and Islamic awareness of the issues uniting them.

Eleven - Deterioration of Israel's International Relations:

Not to mention the arrest warrants issued by the International Criminal Court against Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and former Defense Minister Yoav Gallant for war crimes, crimes against humanity, starvation, murder, persecution, and other inhumane acts (UN, 2024).

Israel has also become a pariah state²⁰, as evidenced by the growing popular sentiment to brand it an aggressor state that must be held accountable. American public opinion is also divided on the issue, with polls showing that a majority of American adults hold a negative view of Israel, with a clear decline in attitudes among Democrats and young people over the past three years. Europe has also witnessed a

The term pariah state is used in political literature to refer to a state that is politically, - ²⁰
diplomatically, economically, and morally isolated by a wide range of actors in the international community, including states, international organizations, parties, unions, popular movements, for-profit companies, and others.

radical shift in its stance toward Israel at both the official and popular levels, not to mention the deterioration of diplomatic relations between a number of countries and Israel (Habas, 2025).

The global rift with Israel culminated in the recognition of the State of Palestine, as adopted in the "New York Declaration" on September 12, 2025, by the UN General Assembly with 142 votes in favor, 10 against, and 9 abstentions. The declaration called for the implementation of the two-state solution through Clear, tangible steps within a specific timeframe, including condemning the Hamas attack, demanding the release of the hostages, ending the war on Gaza, and transferring security responsibility there to the Palestinian Authority (UN News, 2025).

RESULTS:

A. The failure of President Trump's settlement of the Palestinian issue, which was based on the complete disregard for the Palestinian side and relied on the American-Israeli-Arab alliance.

B. The failure of President Trump's "Deal of the Century" objectives, which led not to peace or prosperity but to violence and destruction.

C. The failure of the "peace for peace" principle to impose a settlement on the Palestinian issue.

D. Trump's strategy during his first term led to the Al-Aqsa flood operation, expressing the complete rejection of the marginalization of the Palestinian issue and attempts to disregard the rights of the Palestinian side.

E. The failure of the Abraham Accords, which sought to integrate Israel into the Middle East and make it a partner with the countries of the region. Instead, Israel has become an aggressor state, an enemy, and a threat to stability in the Middle East, given its ambition for a Greater Israel.

F. Israel has become a pariah state, and its popularity has declined at the popular and official levels in the Arab world, the region, and internationally.

G. The collapse of the Israeli security doctrine and the exposure of the fragility of its security system, which is based on intelligence, espionage, early warning, and deterrence. H. The United States has emerged as a partner of Israel in the Palestinian issue, rather than a mediator seeking a solution.

I. Israel has become the primary threat to stability in the Middle East, fueled by the dream of a Greater Israel.

J. Under the Trump administration, the United States has emerged as a strategic partner supporting Israeli military expansion in the Middle East.

Recommendations:

Due to the limited findings, the study recommends the following:

1. The necessity of including the Palestinian side in any settlement of the Palestinian issue, as it is a principal party to it.
2. The necessity of settling the issue in a just and comprehensive manner and implementing the UN resolutions that recognized the two-state solution based on the 1967 borders.
3. The necessity of Arab and Islamic cooperation to form a joint defense alliance that enhances their strength and ability to protect their natural and human resources and their full sovereignty over their countries.
4. The necessity of Arab and Islamic mediation in settling the Palestinian issue to reach a consensual solution between the two parties.
5. The study recommends that major powers adopt strategies that promote international stability and security and act as impartial mediators to maintain their global acceptance, while ensuring the avoidance of double standards.

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