

**THE US' ROLE TOWARDS ISRAEL AND PALESTINE
CONFLICT: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF OBAMA AND
TRUMP ADMINISTRATIONS**

By

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BS (Hons), Political Science, University of Gujrat, 2015

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTERS OF PHILOSOPHY

International Relations

To

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES



NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF MODERN LANGUAGES, ISLAMABAD

December 2019

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ABSTRACT

Thesis Title: The US Role Towards Israel and Palestine Conflict: A Comparative Analysis of Obama and Trump Administrations

Over past 70 years, Israel-Palestine conflict has been a central point of Middle Eastern politics. Despite religious clash; Israel-Palestine has their differences on power and land distribution. Since 1990s, the two sides have tried to resolve their land dispute and cease the ongoing cycle of bloodshed by International intervention. Therefore, the US played a key role with respect to Israeli-Palestinian conflict and engaged in Middle East affairs because of the US national and strategic interests, but the US has been unable to negotiate a long-lasting deal between both the sides due to the every US administrations national preferences hence, the conflict has remained unresolved. The Barack Obama Administration during his two terms has made many positive steps than any previous administration and developed the bilateral approach to negotiate the peacemaking but despite such efforts there was little progress towards resolving the conflict due to lack of firm and strategic mechanism. On the other side, President Donald Trump has adopted considerably opposite approach than Obama Administration approach. Trump developed unilateral approach and unconditionally supporting Israelis than any previous US administration. Under such circumstances this study comprehensively explores the US role toward Israel-Palestine conflict while comparatively analyses President Obama and President Trump administration approaches to resolve the thorny issues between Israel-Palestine.

Key Words: US, Middle East, Israel-Palestine

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First and foremost, I am thankful to Allah Almighty for granting me with patience and Knowledge to accomplish my research work.

I would also like to offer my sincerest gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Maliha Zeba Khan, who has supported me throughout my thesis with her patience, motivation and knowledge. Her guidance and encouragement have been invaluable because without her supervision and help I would not have been completed my research process.

I would further like to express my gratitude to my parents and family for supporting and helping me throughout studies. Finally, I also thanks to my friends for their continuous support during research work.

ABBREVIATIONS

US	United States
UN	United Nations
USIP	United States Institute of Peace
PRIO	Peace Research Institute Oslo
INCORE	International Conflict Research Institute
IPCS	Institute of peace and Conflict Studies
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
WWI	World War One
UK	United Kingdom
WWII	World War Two
UNSCOP	United Nations Special Committee on Palestine
AHC	Arab Higher Committee
IDF	Israeli Defense Forces
PLO	Palestine Liberation Organization
PNC	Palestine National Council
PFLP	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine
DFLP	Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine
UNRWA	The United Nations Relief and Works Agency
EU	European Union
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
ZOA	Zionist Organization of America

PA	Palestinian Authority
OIC	Organization of Islamic Countries
CAIR	Council on American-Islamic Relations
MPAC	Muslim Public Affairs Council

INTRODUCTION

There are number of regions where conflict is a prevalent element, and such regions are perceived as conflicted regions where individuals have similar lifestyle but have differences over resources, religion, land, and authority. The Middle Eastern region is one of such regions where Israel and Palestinian authorities are conflicting parties since seventy years. The last century witnessed the two World Wars and several regional wars; but since the outset of new millennium, the world has been going through complex waves of terrorism, violence and wars. Simultaneously the urge to resolve conflicts and issues through different approaches short of war would have been taking place. Especially addressing inter-state conflicts through peaceful means has been the most desired approach for states by and large. One such instance of peaceful resolution is the US mediated 1979 Egypt-Israel Peace Treaty, commonly known as Camp David Accords. Israel- Palestine conflict is such an inter-state conflict which is still unresolved and needs world powers' attention for its resolution. Being a superpower, the US considers it an obligation to intervene in world endeavors and clashes through different approaches.¹ Hence, this study deals with the US role toward Israel-Palestine conflict with reference to President Barack Obama and President Donald Trump administration's approaches to resolve the conflict.

Previously, every US administration until President Trump has tried to seek the most competent and qualified member of its administration to work with this complex region seeking the possibilities to resolve it. Nevertheless, the US has been very successful in negotiating with some of the Middle Eastern disputes, but Israel-Palestine conflict is still unsettled due to each administration's national priorities. The US has long been involved in Middle East since end of the Cold War to prevent Soviet Union's influence and to replace Britain as the main security patron of the Persian Gulf states by supporting anti-communist regimes and supporting Israel against Soviet-

¹ Kayode Soremekun, Sheriff Florain, Daniel Gberevbie and Duruji Moses, eds., *Readings in Peace and Conflict Studies* (Nigeria: Covenant University, 2013), 13-25.

sponsored Arab countries. Hence, the US national interests in Middle East has been ensuring the free flow of oil, maintaining the security of Israel, containment of communism, preventing nuclear proliferation, fighting terrorism and promoting democratization. To protect its interests, the US is trying to contain the violence in Iraq and Syria, reenergize its efforts to promote peace between Israel-Palestine and strengthening Israel in order to counter Iran's influence in the region. Therefore, the US maintains a range of security relationships in the Middle East with states of Arabian Peninsula, Egypt, and Israel.²

In order to define the US Middle East interests' American Jewish community plays an influential role by involving politically and in terms of contributions to political campaigns on the domestic, state or national levels. The domestic Jewish influence on larger national interest gives U.S. foreign policy the image of being inextricably connected with pro-Jewish forces. The lobby pursues two broad strategies to promote U.S. support for Israel. First, it wields significant influence in Washington, pressuring both Congress and the Executive Branch to support Israel's activities. Secondly, the lobby strives to ensure that public discourse about Israel portrays it in a positive light. A key pillar of lobby's effectiveness is its influence in the U.S. Congress. There are also Jewish senators and congressmen who work to make U.S. foreign policy support Israel's interests. Pro-Israel congressional staffers are another source of the lobby's power. It is Jewish lobby itself; that forms the core of the lobby's influence in Congress. Basically Israel lobby have managed to tilt U.S. foreign policy in directions they favored, convincing Americans that the US and Israeli interests are essentially identical.³

However, comparatively analyzing President Obama and President Trump administration it can be viewed President Barack Obama held the US Presidency on January 20, 2009 and quickly showed his distinct interest toward Middle Eastern Peace

² Manuel Hassassian, "US National Interests in the middle East", *Palestine-Israel Journal*, Vol.4 No. 3, (1997), 3-11, accessed February 2, 2020, [www.pij.org › articles › us-national-interests-in-the-middle-east](http://www.pij.org/articles/us-national-interests-in-the-middle-east)

³ John J. Mearsheimer, Stephen M. Walt, "The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy", *Middle East Policy Council*, Vol.13 No. 3, (2006), 17-101, accessed February 2, 2020, [mepc.org › israel-lobby-and-us-foreign-policy-0](http://mepc.org/israel-lobby-and-us-foreign-policy-0)

Process. In 2009, his administration began its first diplomatic initiative to restart direct peace talks; President Obama met and demanded Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel to cease the process of expansion of Israeli settlements as a precondition to restart peace talks with Palestine. Then in 2009, the speech of President Obama at Cairo was a landmark effort by Obama Administration to address Israel-Palestine conflict and to develop friendly ties with Muslim states. The Obama Administration's top priority was to attain two-state solution; and he emphasized on this strategy repeatedly during his presidential campaign. In September 2010, direct peace talks were arranged between Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu, Chairman of Palestine Mr. Mahmud Abbas and the US President Obama to discuss ways for peacemaking between both parties.

The second term of President Obama followed a comparative point of reference with his first term but with some new and reformed approaches, and had deteriorated relations with Israeli authority during the second term as compared to the first term. In an effort to resolving Israel-Palestine conflict Obama remained neutral and comparatively to previous US administrations engaged him personally to focus on Palestinian narrative more deeply, but as the US Middle Eastern interests are nationalistic therefore, Obama or even any US administration can not compromise the US interests. Hence, Obama administration tried to indicate the pathways for resolution of the conflict while remaining nationalistic in his approach because the US national interests in Middle East are the top priority of each US administration.⁴

On the other side, enunciation of the new President Donald Trump on January, 2017 in the White House appeared to be very helpful in accordance to Israeli government which affirmed that Middle Eastern concordance was only possible through unilateral strategies and talks between Israel-Palestine political activities. The Trump Administration showed a tilt toward Israel reflecting a total break from approaches of President Obama and President Clinton as well as from every previous administration

⁴ Christian-Peter Hanelt, Maren Qualmann, *Israeli Palestinian Conflict 2010: Obama in Charge* (European Institute of the Mediterranean (IEMed), 2011), 47-50

which desired resolution of conflict between two sides in a very peaceful manner.⁵ Trump's shocking and departed move from that of previous administrations was when he declared of moving the US Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem and recognized Jerusalem as Israeli capital. Trump's decision was not accepted by Muslim majority and particularly by Palestinian authority. Trump Administration's decision to move embassy and similar kind of one-sided activities showed his approach to be pro-Israel.⁶

Statement of the Problem

The research is intended to explore the US role toward Israel-Palestine conflict and comparative analysis of the strategies adopted in that regard by President Obama and President Trump administrations. The US foreign policy has been driven mainly to advance its own perceived strategic interests in Middle Eastern region, especially to advance its strong ties with Israel. Since Israel's birth in May 1948, the US has been a great ally of Israel. On one side the US supports Israel for its strong holdings in Middle East through providing much military aid, support and cooperation to Israel to make it strong, and to combat Russian influence in Middle East; whereas on the other side, the US talks about peace processes to resolve the conflict, but primary objective of the US is to focus on its national interests in Middle East by allying with Israel. The Arab-Israeli conflict can be seen as dominant to the US strategic interests because of geographical location and potential of Middle Eastern region.

This issue is vital and needs thorough analysis of factors due to which it is still unresolved. The US being a superpower considers promoting world peace as its responsibility and has been aimed at resolving Israel-Palestine conflict by working out acceptable solutions for both parties. The US is much concerned about this conflict and hence, this study highlights comparison of basic policies and strategies of President Obama and President Trump's administrations for resolution of Israel-Palestine conflict.

⁵ Raf Sanchez, "Donald Trump says he 'can live' with one-state solution to Israel-Palestine conflict", *The Telegraph: UK*, February 15, 2017, accessed April 7, 2017 <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/News>

⁶ "Trump drops US commitment to 'Two-State' Solution to Israeli-Palestinian Conflict", *Dawn News*, February 16, 2017, accessed April 4, 2017, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1314978>.

Significance of the Study

This study area is highly debated and one of the geopolitical issues that are still unresolved. This research is providing basic understanding of the conflict which is based on religious assertions, territorial disputes, and existential tension matched with conspicuous influence of external world powers, such as the US. Other than primary aim of the research which consists of providing suitable answers to thesis questions, this study highlights particular initiatives taken by the US President Barack Obama, his dealings with both conflicting parties (Israel-Palestine) and reasons due to which Obama's Peace Plans had not worked. This research also analyzes President Obama's successor President Donald Trump Administration approaches to deal with Israel-Palestine conflict during his first year in office (2017-2018).

The undertaken research thoroughly addresses the conflict between Israel-Palestine. Therefore, this study is significant for political, social institutions and international organizations, as it provides foundations for appropriate and proper actions that are to be done in solving the conflict. Further, this research is helpful for Social Sciences researchers; such that they will be able to understand causes behind the failure of Israel-Palestine conflict resolution and be able to render solutions and suggest ways to avoid the previous failed strategies by focusing on new peace processes.

Objectives of the Study

- To understand role of the US with reference to possible solutions and strategies toward Israel-Palestine conflict.
- To analyze and explain policies adopted by President Barack Obama's Administration to resolve Israel-Palestine conflict.
- To examine Trump Administration's policies towards Israel and Palestine conflict since he took office till 2018.

Literature Review

Although a lot of work has been done on Israel-Palestine conflict by focusing on its history, causes, consequences, barriers in conflict resolution, impacts of the conflict and role of great powers, but the undertaken work is different in the sense it focuses on the US role toward Israel-Palestine conflict by comparatively analyzing approaches of President Obama's two term administration and President Donald Trump's first year administration (2017-2018) toward Israel-Palestine conflict resolution. This part reveals the work already done and the specific literature on Israel-Palestine issue.

Mark Tessler in a book *A History of Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* provides detailed study of Israel-Palestine conflict and analysis origin of Jewish-Arab conflict. Tessler provides a constructive framework to examine contemporary progress with regards to the resolution of Jewish-Arab conflict and also assesses projections for future peace processes. Tessler has divided his book into five sections, after outlining consistent origin of modern Zionism and Arab nationalism; he focused on emergence of the conflict from 1948 to 1967, Palestinian War from 1967 to Camp David Accords as well as explains Oslo Accords, and current political situation in Israel, West Bank, and Gaza. Furthermore, Tessler discusses basis for understanding current initiatives and assumes that both Israelis and Palestinians have their absolute and legitimate rights which cannot be understood properly if seen completely and mainly from the point of view of current struggle. He also outlines attitudes, insights, plans and uncertainties regardless that past which is full of violence and creates hurdles to shaping future and peace achievement.⁷

In *Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: A Very Short Introduction*, Martin Bunton explores very clearly history of the conflict. In this book Bunton more deeply examined and explained core modern territorial and one of the geographical conflict through its origin to present. By assuming an inventive approach each chapter of the book cover twenty years cycle which illuminates relations among individuals and severe social events which begun during each phase of the conflict, including 1897 Basel Convention, 1917 Balfour Declaration, British occupation of Palestine, 1947 UN Partition Plan, 1967

⁷ Mark A. Tessler, *A History of Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* 2nd edition (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2009)

Six-Day War and 1987-2007 peace initiatives. Further, Bunton also explores how and why Partition has been so difficult and how much considerations for resolution of the conflict have been effective. Bunton tries to depict the need to restart peace initiatives that continues currently and towards future of the conflict.⁸

Sari Nusseibeh in the book *Once upon a Country: A Palestinian Life* articulates personal experience of the land where Nusseibeh's family had resided for 1,300 years. Nusseibeh's connection between history of three religions and his family's history motivated him to openly express Israel-Palestine conflict. Like most Palestinian families his family suffered pain, displacement and economic concerns after formation of Israel (1948). In this book Nusseibeh intensely opposed Israeli occupation. After Nusseibeh's direct confrontation with Israelis which he drew into the series of open and secret negotiations with them he determined resolution of the Israel-Palestine conflict on basis of a two-state solution. Further, Nusseibeh discusses about his students to think freely about their goals without indulging to opinion of their fathers and leaders.⁹

Jeremy Hammond in a book *Obstacle to Peace: The US Role in Israeli-Palestine Conflict* has taken upon charge of describing in detail the US and Israel's relationship, and how the US abets and aids Jewish State to bear a stranglehold on Palestinians. Peace talks have been attempted various times, however for few causes all have been unsuccessful, and to peacemaking looks more complicated today than ever before. Nowadays, in this fine, precisely explained and known book Hammond takes us through history and explains the reasons. Hammond explains enlargement of Hamas, discusses Operation Cast Lead, the first war on Gaza by then discusses various endeavors at peace plans and shows why these were never intended to succeed. At last, Hammond explains why he is for a two-state solution for this conflict. He considers that if a one-state solution is what is at last required, by then Palestine must have an independent state before it can start peace talks on equivalent terms for sharing one-state.¹⁰

⁸ Martin P. Bunton, *Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: A Very Short Introduction* 1st edition (Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 2013)

⁹ Sari Nusseibeh, *Once upon a Country: A Palestinian Life* 1st edition (London: Picador, 2008)

¹⁰ Jeremy R. Hammond, *Obstacle to Peace: The US Role in Israeli-Palestine Conflict* 1st edition (India: Worldview Publications, 2016)

In *The Case for Israel* Alan Dershowitz stated seemingly endless dual measures related with Israel that solely depend not only on misrepresenting the experiential record but on disregarding faraway continuously terrible infringement exhibited by other states. Dershowitz's main proposition is that Israel's endeavors to defend its residents against terrorist attacks and ambushing Arab military have been no progressively regrettable ethically and genuinely and in different regards basically superior than defensive struggles taken by different governments that have looked far less destructive pressures. Regardless, Israel is singled out, especially since Yasir Arafat left the peace offers of Ehud Barak at Taba and Camp David in 2000-2001. Dershowitz raised that an entire 27% of United Nations state- specific resolutions critical of a state have been heading against it. Then again, no resolution in past of the UN Commission on Human Rights has fated China, Syria, Zimbabwe or Saudi Arabia, which are generally despicable violators of human rights. Israel has an obviously ideal record on human rights than any other country in Middle East and most other countries on the earth. Generally, Dershowitz case for Israel is a standard one. Dershowitz not reflexively legitimize degree to measure of its own citizens exterminated than any nation tied up with a similar war. Actually, he more than once presents his belief in demand of a Palestinian state and signs that Israel Defense Forces have infrequently been susceptible to overreaction.¹¹

Sapir Handelman in the book *Conflict and Peacemaking in Israel-Palestine Theory and Application* claimed that Israeli-Palestinian conflict is viewed as one of the greatest deep-rooted clashes on earth also presenting and assessing collaborative models of peacemaking and phenomenon of stubborn conflict, the book takes an inside and out inspect into interactive models for peacemaking and applies them to situation in Israel-Palestine. The argument based on probability that a multifaceted strategy to oversee peacemaking has best potential to change a conflict into an equally beneficial social interest. Encircling theoretical background, comparative examinations of the conflict resolution processes in comparable conditions around world and policy endorsements, Handelman presents four collaborative models of peacemaking to endorse a broad technique to oversee peacemaking that ambushes the conflict from different edges,

¹¹ Alan Dershowitz, *The Case for Israel* 1st edition (Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc, 2004)

dimensions and ways. Showing general conditions that can change a circumstance of disastrous conflict into a constantly peaceful social order, *Conflict and Peacemaking in Israel-Palestine* incorporates a new point of view to the examination of hazardous social clashes and ought to incite critical conversation among students and professors of peace and conflict studies, conflict resolution and management, Middle Eastern politics.¹²

In a research report titled as *Obama's Middle East approach: Time to Decide* Gregorio Bettiza and Christopher Phillips assesses that President Barack Obama came into office with a wide International concern: settling America's wavering Middle East foreign policy. With two propelling wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, an attacked Middle East, constant dangers of terrorism, baffled allies, stimulated basic opponents and continually struggling Israeli-Palestinian peace talks, this was a mammoth task for President Obama. Beside clashes in Iraq and Afghanistan, the new president's Middle East targets concentrated on: upgrading America's soft power and remaining in region; introducing expediently a more favorable approach to settle conflict between Israel-Palestine; and finally planning a persistently reasonable and pragmatist framework to restrict Iran's atomic desires. But following a year in office, no certified achievement has happened. Iran's nuclear technology issue, Israel-Palestine peace talks and risk of terrorism are still there.¹³

Zaki Laidi's book titled as *Limited Achievements: Obama's Foreign Policy* through an examination of the general doctrine of Obama's foreign policy indicates how Obama has outlined a realist course at individual level in Middle East, in Europe, in peacekeeping and in war. Despite any grand technique, his goal is to guarantee America's super power status and make it agreeable to the rest of world. Laidi never again desires his nation to fill in as world's policeman; regardless, he has no plan for enabling another nation to dislocate the US. Laidi explains about propensities by which Obama's tactic to deal with foreign policy is guided by these contrasting approaches. The book depends upon international relations theory, congressional hearings, press records, and interviews.

¹² Sapir Handelman, *Conflict and Peacemaking in Israel-Palestine Theory and Application* 1st edition (London: Routledge Studies in Middle Eastern Politics, 2014)

¹³ Gregorio Bettiza and Christopher Phillips, "*Obama's Middle East approach: Time to Decide*" (LSE IDEAS Special Report, No. 003, 2010) 11-15

It contains a sensational relative examination between Obama and Bush debates. Laidi explores overall principles of President Obama's foreign policy and opposes those tangible situations to which the policy relates.¹⁴

In a Journal titled as *Obama's Legacy on Israel-Palestine* J. Ruebner claims that regardless of entry in office in 2009 of President Obama who expressed case for Palestinian rights more firmly and expressively than any of his precursors; the US foreign policy in his years skewed excitedly for Israel. While a peacemaking two-state resolution of the conflict among Israel and Palestinians kept being the formal focus of the US, Israel's defiant refusal to stop settlements growth, Obama Presidency introduced activities to induce Israeli special case in overall form, comparable as the US inhabitant's significant allotment of Israeli military machine all guaranteed that no movement could be made on that score. It predicts that with all expectations for an organized two-state resolution eventually shattered and Obama's successor will have to deal with a completely advance model.¹⁵

A Journal *Barack Obama and the Arab-Israeli Conflict* proposes to give a review of President-elect Barack Obama's holdings on Middle East peace plans at start of his Presidency. The starting point for assessing Obama's perspectives might be his failed 2000 race for Congress. Around by then, Obama made announcements seen as pro-Palestinian as they insisted the US to take an "even-handed method" toward Israeli-Palestinian peace process. As an Illinois state senator, Obama had made ties with Chicago's Arab American culture. He won the US Senate seat in 2004 with basic help from Chicago's Lakeside liberals, who included driving Chicago Jewish Democrats. His condition on Arab-Israeli clash remained an issue amidst the 2008 presidential race, and President Obama gave opinion of placing his positions at numerous points throughout

¹⁴ Zaki Laidi, *Limited Achievements: Obama's Foreign Policy* 1st edition (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012)

¹⁵ Josh Ruebner, "Obama's Legacy on Israel-Palestine", *Journal of Palestine Studies*; University of California Press, Vol 46,(November 2016), 1-15, accessed April, 2017, <https://jps.ucpress.edu/content>

movement, rather than his Republican challenger Sen. John McCain, who did not detail his positions.¹⁶

Josh Ruebner's book *Shattered Hopes: Obama's Failure to Broker Israeli-Palestinian Peace* is a strong criticism of President Obama's government on its initiatives which failed in Middle East. This book thoroughly discussed President Barack Obama's first journey abroad in his second term, Israel and Palestinian West Bank, Contrast this troubling assessment with Obama's vision on second day of his first term, when he selected George Mitchell as his extraordinary administrator for Middle East peacemaking, strikingly affirming that his government would "effectively and compellingly seek for a lasting peace between Israel and the Palestinians". Ruebner follows Obama's travel from certainty to dissatisfaction in basic hard-hitting examination concerning why the president unsuccessful to mark any ground on this basic issue, and how his reluctance to challenge Israel lobby has burst desire for peace. Written in a conspicuous and open style, Ruebner's book offers a detailed history of Obama's governmental initiatives and maps out a real way forward for the US to help accomplish peace between Israeli-Palestinian authorities.¹⁷

Research Questions

- How did the policies by President Obama affect the process of resolution of Israel-Palestine conflict?
- How effective is President Trump's policy toward Israel-Palestine conflict since he assumed office till 2018?
- How the peace process between Israel-Palestine during President Trump's first year in the office was different from President Obama's both terms?

¹⁶ Jean-Pierre Filiu, Yuval Ben-Bassat , Lynn Welchman and Randa Farah, "Barack Obama and the Arab-Israeli Conflict", *Journal of Palestine Studies*; University of California Press, Vol 38 No. 2, (2009), accessed, April, 2017, <https://www.palestine-studies.org> > jps

¹⁷ Josh Ruebner, *Shattered Hopes: Obama's Failure to Broker Israeli-Palestinian Peace* Reprint edition (New York: Verso, 2014)

Theoretical Framework

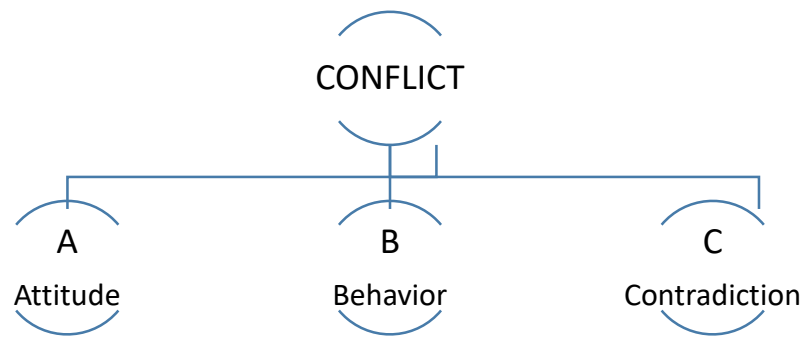
To analyze the US role in framework of policies made by Obama administration and Trump administration to resolve the inter-state Israel-Palestine conflict, the appropriate theory for undertaken research is the “Conflict Transformation Theory” by Johan Galtung. To settle down the post-Cold War conflicts, peacekeeping and conflict transformation has emerged to be important parameters in international community to resolve and transform conflicts through arbitration and mediation by world powers. One of world’s renowned philosophers, Johan Galtung proposes major conflict transformation and peacemaking ideas comprising of Transcend Method, and Dissociative and Associative Methods. Galtung has further proposed types of peace and types of violence such as positive and negative peace, as well as direct violence, structural violence, and cultural violence as issues to be addressed to resolve the issue.¹⁸

Galtung has defined individual and state conflicts as combination of attitudes (hatred), behavior (violence), and contradictory objectives (issues) of opponents. According to Galtung, conflict has its own life span; it appears, extends up to an emotional or fierce level, then diminishes, disappears, and might appear frequently. Johan Galtung terms “transformation” as change in violent attitudes or behavior and exertion of creative ideas to contradictions to mitigate the chances of conflict. Mainly conflicts are transformed gradually, through series of smaller and larger changes as well as introducing specific steps.¹⁹

¹⁸ Hugh Miall “*Conflict transformation: A multi-dimensional task.*” In *Transforming Ethnopolitical Conflict* (Berlin:Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management,2004), 67-89.

¹⁹ Bishnu Pathak, *Johan Galtung’s Conflict Transformation Theory for Peaceful World: Top and Ceiling of Traditional Peacemaking*, (TRANSCEND Media Service, August 29, 2016), 12-22

Figure. 1. Conceptual Structure of Conflict



Source: Evolved from Galtung's Study about Resolving Palestinian Issue²⁰

During the twentieth century, the concept of conflict transformation occurred from political, social, national, and ethnic attempts. This concept is utilized by instructors, peacemakers, religious groups, arbitrators, campaigners, and advocates for social transformation, peacemaking, and justice all around world. More often, it is also defined as a broad idea that considers individual, social, structural, and cultural extents of conflict, utilizing the potential for conflict as an impetus for positive change in conflicted areas. Rather than ignoring the conflict or trying to settle without working on the root causes, the conflict transformation approach provokes, holds, and discovers conflicts to transform them in peace processes. Simply conflict transformation is associated to interrelated notions of diplomacy, conciliation, and peace process and is designed for rehabilitation of the conflicted societies by building relationships, dropping or eradicating violent acts, and increasing democratic norms.²¹

According to Galtung, peace seems to be a general expression of human desires and goals, which is good and ultimately to be pursued. Peace has the advantage of

²⁰ Johan Galtung, "Conflict theory and Palestine Problem," *Journal of Palestine Studies* Vol 2, No. 1 (1972) 34-63, accessed April 9, 2017, http://homepage.univie.ac.at/herbert.preiss/files/Galtung_Conflict_Theory_and_Palestine_Problem.pdf

²¹ Jonathan Shailor, *Conflict Transformation*, (Center for Intercultural Dialogue, No.65, 2015), 1-1

expressing global and collective concerns. For Galtung, there are three diverse concepts of peace, first “peace as a synonym for stability or equilibrium” and second “the absence of organized absolute violence” between basic human social events; especially countries, and also among classes, racial and ethnic social groups.²² The first conception of peace refers to internal state of a human being whereas; he relates the second concept of peace as a negative peace. Moreover, there is a third idea of peace such as, “peace as a synonym for all favorable things in world”, especially cooperation, assistance, affection between human groups, with less attention on absence of violence. Galtung intimates it as positive peace.²³

The first idea of peace is less practical comparatively as it does not focus on major forms of violence. While the second idea (negative peace) is challenging due to the term “violence”, as violence is problematic concept. Mainly Violence seems as biological or physical force or as an effort to harm other human beings. In accordance with peace ideas, he introduces types of violence: direct violence (quick and dramatic human injuries), structural violence (deprivation of basic human needs) and cultural violence (division of cultural values). Evidently the concept of negative peace is highly followed through enforcing peace in the violence and conflict ridden areas in different forms like ceasefire; but the concept of positive peace is the grass root of peace building because peaceful resolution requires both first transformation of behaviors, and second human integration through conciliation and table talks. The theory of conflict transformation by Galtung hinges on his description of peace and violence. Conflict transformation theory stresses upon change in both individual and collective behaviors through peaceful ways without overlooking the causes of violent. Mainly conflict transformation theory aims to transform negative destructive conflict (violent acts) to positive constructive conflict (resolution) and deals with structural and behavioral conflict.²⁴

²² Johan Galtung, *THEORIES OF PEACE: A Synthetic Approach to Peace Thinking* (International Peace Research Institute: Oslo, 1967), 12-249

²³ Miall, Hugh. “*Conflict transformation: A multi-dimensional task.*” In *Transforming Ethnopolitical Conflict* (Berlin: Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, 2004), 67-89.

²⁴ Tilahun Temesgen, “Johan Galtung’s Concept of Positive and Negative Peace in the Contemporary Ethiopia: An Appraisal”, *International Journal of Political Science and Development* 3 (2015), 251-258, accessed May 9, 2017, <https://www.academicresearchjournals.org/IJPSD/PDF/2015/June/Tilahun.pdf>

Most of the wars in modern era are intrastate ethnic conflicts. Though, it is important to put solitary conflicts in broader framework, for instance, struggle between great powers, battle over international assets and their supplies, economic conducive circumstances of military, trade complex, authoritative issues and so on. Present peacemaking, peace-building or conflict management structures are not planned to deal with this kind of conflict but one introduced by Johan Galtung transcend method also termed as Conflict Transformation by peaceful means is quite a useful approach. Transcend method of Conflict Transformation muses a strategy that relies upon nonviolence, unique vitality, and sympathy to enable an outcome where two parties proceed afar their specified stance to make a distinct reality in their ties. This signifies a strong dissimilarity between competitive diplomacy and war and helps to apply the methodological theory of conflict transformation to continuing worldwide conflicts where contemporary strategies are deteriorating to transform these conflicts to a peace process.²⁵

Conflict Transformation Theory: Application in Israel-Palestine Conflict

Israel-Palestine conflict can be viewed in terms of direct, structural, and cultural violence; and requires focus on both negative and positive peace to settle the conflict or more particularly to transform the conflict in peaceful ways by arbitration of international community; especially with the US mediation. The US is always interested in the Middle Eastern region due to its strategic location and hence, the US addresses Israel-Palestine conflict for its own national interests and to strengthen ties with its allies in Middle Eastern region. Johan Galtung argues that bringing peace in Middle East means the elimination of direct violence (war, negative correspondence) as well as elimination of structural violence (exploitative correspondence). Galtung associates the conflict between Israel-Palestine with transcend method's formula of creativity and the basic understanding of need to enter a new element, a new dimension and way of thinking. Galtung proposes an idea of a six-state solution for Middle Eastern region, based on the model of European Community formed in 1958. His proposition was the formation of

²⁵ Webel Charles, and Johan Galtung, eds., *Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies* (Abingdon : Routledge, 2007), 14-15

Middle Eastern community including Palestine, Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, Egypt and Israel. These states would then be carried to a collaborative participation and negotiations.²⁶

According to Galtung, the key to peace as part of this conflict based on identical rights and hence, he put forth the plan to have a state of Palestine and East Jerusalem as its capital. Moreover, this leads to the rising of an important concept of peace practice and theory discussed by Galtung based on balanced approach. According to him, the impact of such change must be initiated from mediation of superpower and civil society self-governing movements and organizations initiated by individuals of Israel-Palestine. Johan Galtung further suggests that in all common terms, peace can be formed in Middle East in two ways: dissociatively by having separately zero or minimal attachment between the groups; and associatively, by keeping them organized in the positive interaction. Moreover, negative affiliation or exchange of devastation is kept far from a strategic policy. As well as, peacemaking requires identification of win-win outcomes.²⁷

The appropriate method for conflict resolution between Israel-Palestine with the US mediation is negative peace because the two sides had core clashes and mistrust among them hence, integration by peaceful means is not attainable. Negative peace is defined as a peace without justice and refers to the absence of violence. When, for example, a ceasefire is enacted, a negative peace will ensue. It is negative because something undesirable stopped happening (e.g. the violence stopped, the oppression ended). In Israel-Palestine case, if the two sides cannot satisfy their own ambitions for self-determination via separation, then surely binding the two together in a single state is beyond the realms of possibility. As the US policies are nationalistic therefore, in terms of Israel-Palestine, managing the conflict only serves the interests of the dominant party and fails to address the core injustices aggravating Palestinian resistance.

²⁶ Alice Gavin, "Conflict transformation in Middle East: Dr. Johan Galtung on Confederation in Iraq and a Middle East Community for Israel/Palestine", *Berkeley's Journal of Principled nonviolence and conflict transformation* Vol 2, (2006), 6-7, accessed May 9, 2017, http://calpeacepower.org/0201/galtung_transcend.htm.

²⁷ Johan Galtung, "Conflict theory and Palestine Problem", *Journal of Palestine Studies* Vol 2, No. 1 (1972) 34-63, accessed April 9, 2017, http://homepage.univie.ac.at/herbert.preiss/files/Galtung_Conflict_Theory_and_Palestine_Problem.pdf

The US and Israel have identical interests so Palestinian narrative is always neglected, therefore violent activities and warfare can be stop but achieving an enduring peace in the form of positive peace is undesirable. Such as, Peace does not mean the total absence of any conflict. It means the absence of violence in all forms and the unfolding of conflict in a constructive way. Efforts to achieve negative peace between Israel-Palestine with the US and International community's mediation emphasizes managing interpersonal and regional conflict in order to control, contain, and reduce actual and potential violence, reducing the incidence of war by eliminating the extreme dangers of the war system and limiting war through mediating party's involvement, preventing war through strategic deterrence and arms control. The concept of negative peace addresses immediate symptoms, the conditions of war, and the use and effects of force and weapons.²⁸

Research Methodology

Research methodology is an important part of any research work. The purpose of research methodology is to understand and follow the correct and successful research demand. This study focuses on social science discipline therefore; this study is largely qualitative and analytical. Inductive hypothetical method is being used in research to collect data. After carefully analyzing the collected data the intended research build a general pattern regarding the US role toward Israel-Palestine conflict resolution.

The undertaken research is largely based on comparative analysis and descriptive interpretation of the data, hence provides a comparative analysis of President Obama and President Trump's administration. Such as, Comparative analysis is the method of comparing two or more objects by analyzing their differences and similarities with an aim of exploring something about one or all of the objects being compared. The research is systematically conducted and represents the data for current situation. The data is interpreted as per the change that is seen in Israel-Palestine conflict resolution with the US mediation.

²⁸ Biljet Singh Grewal, *Johan Galtung: Positive and Negative Peace* (Auckland university of Technology, 2003), 1-7

For data collection, the undertaken research use both primary and secondary sources such as, state documents, official statements, books, journals, newspapers, documents review, articles, as well as available websites of archives during the course of research. Also policy analysis and comparison is made between Obama Administration and current Donald Trump's Administration. The study also analyzes reports published by International Organizations and research centers such as the US Institute of Peace (USIP), Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), International Conflict Research Institute (INCORE), Institute of peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS) and UNSC resolution, etc.

Delimitations

The study is conducted to look into the US role toward Israel-Palestine conflict and comparative analysis of President Obama and President Trump's administration. This research work covers initiatives taken by the US Presidencies during 2009-2018 to resolve this longstanding conflict. As this issue is much more debated and much work has been done on different dimensions of this conflict like its background, causes, role of the UN, solutions to resolve the conflict etc., but this paper provides analyses of policies made by President Obama and President Trump governments for sorting out the issue. Further attention is given to understand and investigate the contrast between policies made by President Obama and President Trump's government to determine Israel-Palestine conflict, besides analyzing those factors due to which the conflict is still there and Obama left office without solving Israeli-Palestinian conflict, just like previous US administrations have done.

Chapter Breakdown

The first part of this study is "Introduction" and this part deals with the whole research plan.

The chapter one of this study is "Israel-Palestine Conflict: Historical Background" This Chapter deals with the background of the conflict, causes and brief history of Wars between Israel-Palestine. Furthermore, it explains the US involvement in Middle East conflict, its role and peace initiatives taken by the US

The chapter two of this study is “Role of President Barack Obama toward Israel-Palestine conflict during 2009-2013”. This chapter explains policies made by President Barack Obama Administration to resolve Israel-Palestine conflict during his first term. Furthermore, it analyzes peace talks and the speeches made by President Obama during his Middle Eastern visits.

The chapter three of this study is “Role of President Barack Obama toward Israel-Palestine conflict during 2013-2017”. This Chapter examines President Obama’s second term Policies and also analyzes Obama Administration’s peace talks, speeches and visits made during his second term toward Israel-Palestine.

The chapter four is “Role of President Donald Trump toward Israel-Palestine conflict during Jan. 2017-Dec. 2018”. This chapter focuses on President Trump’s policies during his first year in administration. This chapter also highlights Trump’s Presidential visits and meetings with Israeli and Palestinian authorities. Furthermore, it provides a complete picture of decisions made by Trump during his first year.

The last part of the study is “Conclusion/ Recommendation”. In this section the conclusion and recommendations of study are given at the end.

CHAPTER ONE

ISRAEL-PALESTINE CONFLICT: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Israel-Palestine conflict is a long-standing issue with complex history; therefore, this chapter focuses on historical events and circumstances behind Israel- Palestine conflict. This chapter further discusses the US involvement and role in Middle Eastern region to negotiate with Israel-Palestine for finding some solution. This chapter is divided into Nine Sections: i) Nature of Conflict: Historical Facts, ii) Geographic Facts of Palestine: Glimpse from History, iii) The Balfour Declaration, iv) British Mandate in Palestine, v) UN Partition Plan- Resolution 181 (1947), vi) Middle Eastern Wars and Role of the US, vii) Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), viii) Palestinian Uprisings (Intifada) against Israel, and ix) Peace Processes commenced by the US.

1.1 Nature of Conflict: Historical Facts

Israel-Palestine conflict is a territorial and ethnic in its nature, which is ongoing for 70 years. It is an ideological conflict which is based on Judaism and Islamic ideology between Arabs and Jews for holding territory. Israel-Palestine conflict started with Jewish immigration from Europe between Jews and Arabs in 1880's. Historically, Palestine is a land of three religions i.e. Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. The basic issue between the two parties which arises feeling of antagonism is geographical makeup and borders. The primary interest lies in territory retained by both parties which is evolved after the First World War. Another striking character is social reorganization and identity for which both parties have been struggling. Israelis want the total removal of Arab Muslims and Christians from occupied territories whereas; Palestinians want a separate homeland for both Muslims and Christians. Israel- Palestine conflict is an important issue of contemporary world. This conflict has portrayed the image of Muslim as terrorist and Israel's continuing state terrorism in occupied territories is giving birth to more radicalism in Muslim societies; particularly in Palestine.²⁹

²⁹ Beth Rowen, *Early History of Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (Infoplease, February 28, 2017), 1-5

The US involvement in Middle Eastern region was determined by the US national interests. The US has more actively been involved in Middle Eastern affairs during the Cold War period to access Middle Eastern oil; to overcome Soviet influence which has strong ties with Egypt in Middle East; to strengthen the US and Israel's relationships as well as to prevent Israel's security and economic stability. Israel-Palestine conflict has specific implications to the US because of its strong ties with Israel since its foundation (1948) to counter threats by other states in region. The US-Israel alliance has increased over years because of Israeli political support by Jewish interest groups in the US and its foreign aid in ways of military assistance, trade and economic aid, and technology exchanges. Israel has support of the US and wants to become the hegemonic state. The U.S-Israel relationship is vital for the US in making Israel one its strong allies in Middle East and a main ally abroad for Israel.³⁰

1.2 Geographical Facts of Palestine: Glimpses from History

Geographically Palestinian territory was composed of various parts of modern Israel, West Bank and Gaza strip and is recognized as the Holy land among Muslims, Christians and Jews. Since twentieth century, this controversial territory having conflicting claim of Jews and Arabs and territorial conflict between the two ideologies has turned out as war. The population of Jewish inhabitants in region is mainly of those who took birth in Israel and of those who migrated from Europe since formation of Israeli state; whereas population of Arabs is termed as Arabs who had been living in region for centuries and mainly of those who lived during period of British rule. The basis for national and religious identity for Jewish nationalists is based on Judaism, and Palestinian nationalists referred their national and religious identity mainly as Arab Muslims in region and consist of about eighteen percent of Israeli population, whereas about two percent Christians identify themselves as Arab Christians. Strategically the area is of great importance for rest of world because of its vast oil consumptions, trade routes and geographical location as it contained pathways for main roads from the Mediterranean to Jordan River and from Egypt to Syria. The great powers are extensively interested and

³⁰ Aaron Fast, David Jones, John Hale, Laquadra Ponder and John Tuckers *US Policies and Objectives relating to Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (Atlanta: Georgia State University), 9-28, www2.gsu.edu/~poljds/4460/Israel%20Palestine.doc

have always been indulged into region's internal affairs primarily due to its strategic and economic importance, and secondly to build their influence among other state actors in Middle Eastern region.³¹ (See map: I)

1.2.1 Jewish Migration and Settlements in Palestine

At present between 600,000 to 750,000 Israelis are settled in captured territories, away from internationally accepted borders of Jewish state, on Palestine's territory that occupied by Israel in 1967, containing East Jerusalem and the West Bank and that is correspondent to almost eleven percent of total Israeli Jewish population. Jewish nationalist movement and large number of Israeli Jewish settlers believe that Israeli settlements are legal and all the captured Israeli settlements are belonging to Israel, hence they support and continuing the settlements. Israeli government supported and funded Jewish settlers to live in the occupied territories, donating them housing and inducement for settlements building. Hence, Jewish settlements are still continue similarly to continued Palestinians uprising against Jewish occupation for the return of their territory as removal of Jews from their territories.³²

Historically, present Israeli territories as well as territories of the West Bank and Gaza were Palestinian lands, and Palestinians have been sent into refugee camps in the West Bank and Gaza strip after Jewish settlements in Palestinian territories. Israeli settlements are legacy of time period viewed before creation of Israel in 1948. The community of Palestinian Jews during 1880s, in region was comprised of only 3 percent and identified themselves as *Yishuv*. The Jews recognized themselves as a group of individuals living in displacement, termed it as Jewish *Diaspora*³³ and relate it as cause of Roman occupation of Palestine in the first century. In the late 1800s, Jewish

³¹ Kathleen Mary Kenyon, Peter Marshall Fraser, Walid Ahmed Khalidi, Arnold Hugh Martin Jones, Ian J. Bickerton and Nabih Amin Faris, Palestine, (Encyclopedia Britannica March 28, 2018), 2-60

³² ZenaTahhan, "Israel's settlements: 50 years of land theft explained", *Al-Jazeera Network*, November 21, 2017, accessed April 15, 2019, <https://interactive.aljazeera.com/aje/2017/50-years-illegal-settlements/index.html>

³³ Diaspora is a Greek word which meant dispersion. It can be defined as physical dispersion and aggravation of Jewish communalities throughout world. Diaspora also supports political, religious, theological and philosophical implications as Jewish communities consider special connection between Israeli land and themselves. For detail see, "Diaspora: Judaism", Encyclopaedia Britannica, accessed November, 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Diaspora-Judaism>

settlements and *Diaspora* was motivated by Jewish concept of Political Zionism.³⁴ Political Zionism developed at eastern and central Europe and based on the idea of separate Jewish homeland to live freely in their land. The main objective behind Jewish nationalist movement was complete removal of Palestinians from their land and Jewish sovereignty and control over Palestine. To obtain this ultimate goal political Zionism constantly fought for during the following half century.³⁵

Jews migrated from Europe and England influenced by the concept of Political Zionism initiated *Aliyah* movement (Jewish immigration from *diaspora*) based on five largest Jewish migrations and as a result of such movement Palestinians were expelled from their lands into refugee camps. Since First *Aliyah* during 1882-1903, Jews started migration mainly from Russia and Yemen and made settlements by purchasing Palestinian lands. The first phase of Jewish migration was mainly composed of agriculturist (first stage farmers). Right after the first Phase of migration, Second *Aliyah* (1904-1914) took place; during which Russian Jews migrated due to increased anti-Semitism³⁶. During this phase Jews initiated *kibbutz* (collective Jewish communities traditionally based on agriculture) and strengthened the Hebrew language. Mainly the second phase of Jewish migration was composed of agriculturist, technicians and skilled labors. The Third *Aliyah* took place from 1919 to 1923 again by Russians after emergence of British mandate and the Balfour declaration. This group made agricultural and economic reforms by promoting the *kibbutz* movement.

During Fourth *Aliyah* (1924-1929), Jewish middle class families started migration from Poland and Hungary following prejudice against Jews. The Fourth *Aliyah* migrant

³⁴ Political Zionism emphasized and considered the importance of political activity and the achievement of Jewish political rights in Palestine a precondition for the attainment of Zionism. In 1897, during first Zionist congress at Basle; the political shift to Zionism was given by Theodore Herzl, who regarded Jewish problem a political one that should be resolved in definite way by world powers. He aimed to attain a charter, accepted by the international community and claiming Jews as a distinct nation and have a right to create their independent Jewish state. For detail see, "Zionism: Political Zionism", Jewish Virtual Library, accessed August, 2019, <https://reformjudaism.org/history-Jewish-immigration-Israel-aliyah>,

³⁵ Mark Tessler eds. Jeremy Pressman, *A Brief History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, May, 2005), 1-18

³⁶ Jewish specific perception which could be expressed as hatred or aggression against Jewish community mainly towards Jews religious facilities and institutions by certain ethnic groups is termed as Anti-Semitism. For detail see, "Defining Anti-Semitism", US DEPARTMENT of STATE, accessed November, 2019, <https://www.state.gov/defining-anti-semitism>

Jews were mainly economist and started small businesses to strengthen economy. The Fifth *Aliyah* took place between the years 1929-1939 with rise of Nazism in Germany. Approximately 250,000 immigrants arrived from Eastern and Central Europe, but also from Greece and Yemen. The migrating community of this phase was mainly composed of skilled labors containing large numbers of doctors, professionals, lawyers, architects and musicians. At the same time, tensions between Arabs and Jews grew due to increased Jewish immigration which had reached 450,000 by 1940. In 1939, due to increased tensions Britain issued the White Paper, which strictly restricted Jewish immigration for five years. After issuance of the White Paper; Jewish gradually and slowly continued illegal immigrations mainly by Sea and made settlements in Palestine till the formation of Israel in 1948.³⁷

1.3 The Balfour Declaration

On November 2, 1917, British Foreign Secretary Arthur James Balfour issued a letter to the leader of British Jewish Community, Lord Rothschild with public statement of British support for Jewish homeland in Palestine and termed this statement as “Balfour Declaration”, which revealed British imperialism and support for Jewish national homeland.³⁸ The declaration’s words signified the first public expression of support for Jewish homeland by a major political power. Britain’s political backing for growing Jewish presence in Palestinian land was centered upon geopolitical intentions. In early 1840s, this support was started and led by Lord Palmerston. To control French and Russian influence as a protector of Catholic and Eastern Orthodox communities in Palestine and particularly in Middle Eastern region Britain encouraged Jewish migration to Palestine to expand influence in region. After issuance of the declaration, Britain captured Jerusalem and invaded Palestine with help of Arab forces on December 9, 1917.

A major factor of great importance related to Palestinian rights and statehood was ignored by the Balfour Declaration. The declaration for Palestinians was like a firearm

³⁷ “History of Jewish Immigration to Israel (Aliyah)”, *ReformJudaism.org*, December 14, 2012, accessed August 3, 2019, <https://reformjudaism.org/history-jewish-immigration-israel-aliyah>

³⁸ Geoffrey Wheatcroft, *The Balfour Declaration: The Origins of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (NewStatesman Magazine, August 23, 2010), 1-3

placed straightforwardly towards them, especially in perspective on colonialist feel of mid-20th century. In effect the Balfour Declaration created a declaration of war by Britain on natives of land as a condition it promised to Jews for their statehood. Thus, the declaration began a century-long attack on the people of Palestine intended at establishing and developing Jewish homeland at their expenditure. The Balfour Declaration was mainly a European colonization (establishment of European colonies) and a national movement which had been made to suit Zionist enterprise and to capture Palestinian territories. The Arab majority of Palestinian people were not mentioned by the statement of declaration; the word Arab and Palestine was not used in statement of the declaration, even they were not termed as people.

The Balfour Declaration only provided Palestinians religious and civil rights whereas national and political rights were not offered to Arab majority of Palestinians which was against the basic human rights. Hence, the declaration offered national rights to minority Jewish presence constituting only a small six percent population within region during time of initiation of declaration. Thus, the declaration intended complete expulsion and migration of Arabs which contained majority population and their culture, as well as Jewish control over Palestinian territory by diminishing control of Palestinian Arabs. The issuance of Balfour Declaration marked initiation of a long-standing warfare with great powers engagement in region to foster their national interests while settling the conflict.³⁹

On July 24, 1922, the League of Nations and principle allied powers accepted the Balfour Declaration and was embodied in later British Mandate over Palestine. British government believed that the declaration would meet Jewish aspirations, particularly in the US to the side of Allied Forces against central powers in WWI. They also believed that Jewish settlements in Palestine might secure ways to access Suez Canal in neighboring Egypt, and therefore confirm an essential communication course to British holdings in India. The Arab majority of Palestine revolted against the declaration on basis of Sykes-Picot agreement which was secretly determined by governments of UK, France,

³⁹ Rashid Khalidi, *The Balfour Declaration from the Perspective of the Palestinian People* (United Nations, November, 2017), 1-11

and Russia, which was later described by Balfour as “completely new process” for distributing region.⁴⁰

The impact of the Balfour Declaration on post-war (WWII) proceedings was abrupt: Britain was assigned with temporary Palestinian administration, according to the mandate system. Arabs already existing in region were not mentioned in the declaration. Numerous Arabs in Palestine and around world were annoyed due to failure in obtaining independence and national identity which they believed to gain as a result for their presence in war against Turkey.⁴¹ Jewish population in Palestine increased drastically in years after WWI. Regional instability led Britain to detain a decision on future of Palestinian problem, but in consequences of the WWII , increasing worldwide support for *Zionism* led to formation of Israel in 1948.⁴²

1.4 British Mandate in Palestine

The British Mandate for Palestine was issued by League of Nations on September 9, 1923 in a document form. From 1920 to 1947, Britain maintained this mandate over Palestine. British Mandate assigned Britain the right to rule over parts of region that contained states to the east of the Mediterranean of Levant, (commonly known as Levant), as the League had aimed to obtain authority over parts of former Ottoman Empire. The mandate also formalized Britain with responsibility for the creation of Jewish homeland in occupied Palestinian territories and did not draw specified borders for Jews and Arabs.

British Mandate’s origin could be drawn with the formation of Jewish *Political Zionism* in 1897 and Balfour Declaration in 1917. The regimes of Britain and France were entitled as Mandates. Both of them were the central powers in League of Nations founded in 1920 after the World War I, both colonial powers demanded the League of Nations to grant them control over previous territories of Ottoman Empire. Britain got a mandate

⁴⁰ Adam Augustyn, *Balfour Declaration*, (Encyclopedia Britannica, November, 2017), 1-3

⁴¹ Jeremy R. Hammond, “What Was the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and Why Is It Significant?”, *Foreign Policy Journal*, (Nov, 2017), 13-43, accessed April, 2019, <https://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/.../what-was-the-balfour-declaration-of-1917>

⁴² History.com Editors, *Balfour Declaration* (History, December, 2017), 4-5

over Israel, West Bank, Gaza as well as Jordan and Iraq; Whereas France got mandate over Syria and Lebanon.

All over the region, Arabs opposed British and French colonial powers due to negligence of Arabs right to independence and were annoyed at British failure to accomplish its promise for the creation of Arab statehood. The situation in Palestine was more complex due to Britain's promise to Jews for the creation of their national homeland in Palestinian territories. The Palestinian people and politicians were feared about Jewish presence at their lands because it would lead formation of Jewish state in Palestinian territory, hence Palestinians widely condemned and revolted against European Jewish immigration, land occupation, settlements, and British support behind Jewish settlements. Due to such fear of alienation from their own territories, Palestinians opposed British Mandate which would endanger their position and self-determination in region.⁴³

During 1920-1921, a war was fought between Jews and Arabs in which almost same figures of killings (52 Jews and 52 Arabs) came out from both sides. The major tension between both parties arose when Jewish National Fund captured large territories from the expelled Arab landowners during their absence from their land in 1920. Another conflicting phase between Jews and Arab Muslims began in 1928, when both parties fought for their communal religious rights over the Western Wall in Jerusalem. Jerusalem is sacred for both Jews and Muslims because of the holy sites in that area. The Temple Mount, which is considered Jewish holiest site exists in Jerusalem above the Western Wall; similarly the area is sacred for Muslims too as it contains the Al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock about which Muslims believe to point mark from which the Prophet Muhammad rose to paradise on a winged horse called as *Al-Buraq*, that he tied with the Western Wall. In August 1929, Jewish pre-state organization known as *Betar* Jewish Youth Movement elevated Zionist flag over the Western Wall to demonstrate their control in region. Arabs reacted aggressively because of their fear about losing autonomy over their holy sites. Throughout the communal clash between Jews and Arab

⁴³ Noah Rayman, "Mandatory Palestine: What It Was and Why It Matters", *TIMES Report*, September, 2014, accessed April 7, 2018, <http://time.com/3445003/mandatory-palestine>

Muslims approximately, one hundred and thirty-three Jews and one hundred and fifteen Arabs were killed and injured in Jerusalem, Hebron and Safed.

Britain after devastating Arabs revolt, reviewed their governing rules as a way to retain order during the complicated period. Hence as result of Arab revolt, British government in May, 1939 transformed its policy in a White Paper endorsing a limit of 75,000 more settlers, land purchases and to stop immigration by 1944, if Palestinian Arab residents of region agreed to more migration. The 1939 White Paper pointed at the end of British-Zionist alliance. Jewish settlers criticized British new policy being a move supporting Palestinian Arabs and considered the White Paper as betrayal from Balfour Declaration; therefore, Jewish aggression continued till occurrence of WWII and creation of Israel in 1948. At the same period, exile of Palestinian political leadership and conquest of Arab revolt intended that Palestinians were disorganized politically during the critical era in which future of Palestinians was decided.⁴⁴

1.5 UN Partition Plan - Resolution 181, 1947

The UN General Assembly approved Resolution 181 endorsing the partition of Palestine into distinct Arab Muslims and Jewish states with internationalization of Bethlehem and Jerusalem on November 29, 1947. The idea of ultimately partitioning Palestine into Jewish and Arab states was first originated during the 1937 British Peel Commission's meeting, where the Commission recommended a much smaller area for Jewish state as compared to the UN Partition Plan's larger area for Jewish state. The UN Partition Plan recommended a Jewish state on greater part of Mandate Palestine during the time when Jews covered less than a 3rd of populace and possessed under seven percent of Palestinian land.

Britain officially turned the case of Palestine over to the UN in May 1947. The United Nations established the UN Special Committee on Palestine containing representatives of Canada, Australia, Czechoslovakia, Guatemala, Iran, India, Sweden, Peru, Yugoslavia, Uruguay and Netherlands. The United Nations Special Committee on

⁴⁴ Joel Beinin and Lisa Hajjar, " *Palestine, Israel and the Arab Israeli Conflict: A Primer*", (Middle East Research and Information Project, February, 2014)

Palestine (UNSCOP) adopted a report on September 1947, with list of 11 agreed proposals on general principles; comprising Independence of Palestine while altering mandated Palestinian territory, rights of the religious societies and protection of the holy sites, considering Palestinian case to resolve refugee's problem and led freedom to Palestinian individuals and also conservation of foreign preferences acknowledged by Ottomans. Further, the UNSCOP listed two recommendations planned by two distinct working groups: the first one was a Plan of Partition with Economic Union and the second one was a Federal State Solution. The first plan was supported by Czechoslovakia, Canada, Guatemala, Uruguay, Peru, Sweden, and Netherlands whereas other one was supported by Yugoslavia, Iran, and India.

The United Nations General Assembly made abruptly a committee which was joined by officials of Jewish Agency and Arab Higher Committee (AHC) to reconsider report of the UN Special Committee on Palestine in September 23, 1947. The UNSCOP's devised recommendations by both working groups were dropped by AHC, disagreeing any resolution that favored Jewish demand to Palestine was contradictory with charter of the United Nations. In August, 1946 Jewish Agency already submitted their peculiar plan for partition while ageing upon the UN Partition Plan. However, it emphasized upon Jerusalem as part of Jewish homeland. The abruptly arranged committee of the UN General Assembly made number of reconsiderations to report of the UNSCOP and passed the Plan of partition for a vote to the UN General Assembly. According to the Partition Plan Jewish state comprised 57 percent of Mandated Palestine and 9 districts were allocated to Jewish, from 16 districts of Mandate Palestine with only one district having majority of Jews. The land allocated to Arabs in partition proposal comprised about 43 percent of Mandatory Palestine. Jewish allotted land was better as compared to Arabs allotted land. Finally, Partition Plan was accepted with thirty-three votes in favor, thirteen votes against and with nonparticipations of ten.⁴⁵ (See map: III)

The approval of the United Nations Partition Plan and inception of Israel was not accepted by Arabs of Palestine, appealing that it violated the principles of national self-

⁴⁵ The Palestinian museum, *Palestinian journey's: timeline*, (Institute for Palestine Studies: New York Columbia)
<https://www.paljourneys.org/en/timeline/highlight/159/un-partition-plan-19>

determination in the United Nations Charter. As a result, Palestinians turned to protests and strikes in Jerusalem against decision of the United Nations Partition Plan. On the other side, Jewish agencies attacked Arab villages and residential quarters and started mangling fear among Arab Palestine to enforcing them to move away from Jewish area and killed a number of Palestinians. Such riots and killings were turned into a civil war after the UN proposed partition plan; and 1947–49 phase of war between Arabs and Jews was ended in 1948 with the foundation of Jewish state. (See map: II)

The militaries of Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Trans-Jordan, and Yemen launched armed attacks on Israeli army but were defeated. Though, Jewish nationals were succeeded in establishing their state; however, there was no state for Palestinians and the status of Jerusalem was also not mentioned. Approximately 750,000 Palestinians were expelled by Jewish agencies from their lands and were relocated to Egypt, Lebanon and Jordon into refugee camps. Many Jews migrated to newly establish Israeli land and built their properties by seizing Palestinian lands. After capturing Palestinian territory and inception of state of Israel, Jewish agencies started a movement to get Israel recognized by other nations. Hence, the US not just acknowledged United Nations Partition Plan; it also supported it among other UN member states.

The US President Harry Truman was aware about the adversity and situation of displaced Jewish people. Hence, President Truman announced Jewish settlements building in Palestine as only remedy for the survival of immigrated European Jews. The US President Harry Truman's decision to recognize creation of Israel was formed against exhortation of the majority of state and foreign policy representatives, who were worried about the US relationships with Arab states and mainly about the Soviet influence in Middle East. President Truman's decision to recognize Jewish homeland was also supported by his cabinet, friends and staff members.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Anup Shah, *Middle East Conflict—A Brief Background* (Global Issues web site, July 30, 2006),5-13

1.6 Middle Eastern Wars and Role of the US

After the foundation of Israeli State, to enhance Jewish controlled territory three major Arab-Israeli wars causing tens of thousands of casualties were fought in 1956, 1967 and 1973 before any movement toward a meaningful peace began.

1.6.1 The 1956 Suez Crisis

The President of Egypt Jamal Abdul Nasser proclaimed nationalization of Suez Canal Company on July 26, 1956. The Suez Canal Company had shareholding by British and French enterprises which had purchased and controlled Suez Canal Company since beginning in 1896. Jamal Abdul Nasser's proclamation was derived during the subsequent period of rising political strains between Britain, France and Egypt. Though Jamal Abdul Nasser offered sufficient economic compensation for Suez Canal Company, the governments of Britain and France were offended by the Company's nationalization, because both were apprehensive of opposition by Jamal Abdul Nasser to continuance of their influence in Middle East. Britain and France considered Nasser's presence as a threat to its influence and security. Hence, British and French governments held secret military discussions with Israeli government and planned to initiate a joint plan to coup Nasser's presidency and to occupy Egypt. On 29, October 1956, to accomplish the joint plan Israeli forces launched military attacks to move ahead within ten miles of Suez Canal across Egypt's Sinai Peninsula (populated desert region between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean Sea). Later, a couple of days the armies of Britain and France landed their own troops to defend the canal from both parties (Israel-Egypt) engaged in a war.

Under such circumstances, the US presidency of Dwight D. Eisenhower worried about disassociating the US from European expansionism particularly in light of its harsh criticism of intervention by Soviet Union in Hungary and that Soviet would mediate to help Nasser. On 30, October the UN Security council held an emergency meeting on demand of the US. It was not adopted because of British and French intervention. Then the matter was moved to the UN General Assembly which called for a ceasefire and the withdrawal of armed forces on 1, November. Hence, the US forced Britain and France to accept the UN call for ceasefire on 6th of November. Furthermore, the US favored

formation of the United Nations force for peace process and voted for United Nations resolutions widely criticizing Egypt's invasion. In January, 1957 the US supported dismissal of Anthony Eden, British Prime Minister. Simultaneously, the US concerned about sustainability of European military and political power in the Middle Eastern region. The outcome of Suez crisis caused the formation of the Eisenhower Doctrine, which provided the government more power in such a way to offer assistance to various states in Middle East. However, under British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan the US and Britain bilateral relations had improved in March, 1957.⁴⁷

Basically, the aftermath of 1956 Suez Crisis undermined the stability of Middle Eastern region and transformed the balance of power. The 1956 Suez Crisis resulted in military pacts between Syria, Saudi Arabia and Egypt and the 1950's Tripartite Agreement made between the US, UK and France was supported by Britain and France. The 1956 crisis galvanized as an Egypt's military downfall, however Jamal Abdul Nasser's position and excellence more profoundly evolved as the protector of Arab nationalism in Arab world. The United Nations played a greater role by upholding a peacemaking force in Sinai. Israeli forces departed from areas (Sinai Peninsula) of Egypt which it captured during war but attained approach to straits of Tiran. Consequently, French and British governments withdrew from the Canal area and lost their influence while facing humiliation in region. Moreover, Suez crisis challenged the US relations with Britain and France; the two major allies of cold war whereas, contrary to this Suez crisis grew Soviet influence in region, particularly in Syria where it started to supply weapons and assistance to Syrian army. Hence, the US inclusion in Suez Canal Crisis not just brought about in success of Soviet however, it as well affirmed that the US was able of making of an alliance with Egyptian President Jamal Abdul Nasser as a way to access in Middle Eastern region.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Milestones, "The Suez Crisis, 1956 " *Office of the Historian*, 1969-1976, accessed April 8, 2019, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1969-1976/arab-israeli-war-1956>

⁴⁸ "Suez Crises, 1956", *Bureau of Public Affairs*, December 20, 2007, accessed Feb5, 2018, <https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/lw/97179.htm>

1.6.2 Six-Day War

In June, 1967 a short-term but most violent warfare in Middle East took place between Israel and Arab states of Syria, Jordan and Egypt. As a reason behind initiation of 1967 war; Soviet Union provided imprecise intelligence to Egypt that Israel was stirring armed forces to Egypt's northern border along Syria and planned to completely invade. Though the intelligence was inaccurate but it galvanized Egypt's president to answer Israeli plans. Egyptian president Jamal Abdul Nasser demonstrated support for Syria and ordered to move Egypt's armed force into Sinai Peninsula, particularly equipped with Soviet vehicles and weaponry. Jamal Abdul Nasser also ordered to remove the UN peacekeeping force, which the United Nations for a long time held for defending the border with Israel. Jamal Abdul Nasser prohibited Israeli transportation from Straits of Tiran, (narrow sea routes between the Sinai and Arabian Peninsula which separate the Gulf of Aqaba from the Red Sea) on May, 22. After few days, Nasser closed a defense agreement with Jordan's King Hussein. The US president Lyndon B. Johnson warned Israeli and Egyptian sides against initiation of conflict first from each side and endeavored to gather support for an international maritime operation to return to Straits of Tiran, as tensions in Middle East were extremely high.⁴⁹

However, Israeli Defense Force (IDF) increased its planning for offensive actions on June 5, 1967 and initiated *Operation Moked* (Focus).⁵⁰ After focusing on Egyptian bases, Israeli Air Force sent its airplanes to attack Jordanian, Syrian and Iraqi bases. By the end of day Israeli Air Force domination of the skies helped Israeli Defense Force defeat numerous Arab armies and take complete Sinai Peninsula within few of days, held victory by forming Israeli air dominance.⁵¹

The next phase of the six-day war began with Jordan's responding to rumors of an Egyptian success. Israeli forces reacted violently and launched devastating attacks on the

⁴⁹ History.com Editors, *Six-Day War* (History, May, 2018), 2-6

⁵⁰ Operation Moked also termed as Operation Focus is Israeli Air Force (IAF) operation and one of the most successful air strike planned to completely destroy Egypt including destruction of Egyptian airfields and anti-aircraft defenses. For detail see, Seth Marshall, "The Israeli Air Force & Operation Moked" accessed November, 28, <https://military-historian.squarespace.com › blog › the-Israeli-air-force>

⁵¹ Israeli air dominance, "Six-Day War", 2-6

West Bank and East Jerusalem in which Israel captured old city of Jerusalem on June, 7. The last front of the war opened beside Israeli northeastern border with Syria on 9, June. Israeli troops progressed on an intensely defended Syrian region known as Golan Heights, by following an extreme airstrike. On next day the UN called for ceasefire for Six-day warfare and the war ended abruptly on June 10, in which Israel captured the West Bank and East Jerusalem from Jordan, Golan Heights from Syria and Gaza Strip from Egypt. Generally, during the war, Israeli forces destroyed 452 Arab aircrafts while losing only 46, approximately 20,000 Arabs and 800 Israelis had died.

However, Israel's occupation of the West Bank, East Jerusalem and Gaza strip challenged Middle East regional stability and affected Palestinian lives. The abrupt end of the war was not only shocking for region but also for masses of Palestinians surviving in Israeli captured territories. Palestinians were prohibited totally from travelling, trade and communication as well as had no longer access to airports and marketplaces of Gaza and the West Bank. Palestinians were come under Israeli control. In Six- Day war Israel took more than 1 million Palestinians under Israeli dominance in territories of East Jerusalem, Gaza Strip and the West Bank and nearly 430,000 Palestinians were expelled from their lands. Even though the 1967 war was fought between Arab countries and Israel; those who were affected most were Palestinians. As the outcome of the Six-Day war Israel turned into state with largest Palestine's population and seized completely Jerusalem especially, Palestinian lives.⁵² (See map: IV)

Whereas the Six-Day war on the side of Great powers inclusion, signed failure of Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson governments' struggles to avoid emergence of another Israeli and Arab Conflict following Suez Crisis. Lyndon Johnson's government pressed Israelis for its withdrawal from occupied territories in return to restart peace talks and settlements with Arab countries and refused Israeli demands except some degree of defensive weaponries. President Eisenhower pressed Israeli forces to withdraw from Sharm el- sheikh (Egyptian city between the Sinai Peninsula and the Red Sea). The UN made the United Nations Emergency Force existence to operate during tensed situation

⁵² Zena Tahhan, *1967 War, How Israel occupied the whole of Palestine* (Al Jazeera Center for Studies, December 6, 2017), 2-24

between Egypt and Israel; the US supported the UN Emergency Force established by UN resolution. Instead militarily involvement, the US called for diplomatic resolution and pursued global reaction to challenge Egypt's restriction of transportation on Israel in Straits of Tiran, but eventually failed.⁵³

1.6.3 Yom Kippur War

On October 1973, the *Yom Kippur war* was fought against Israel by a coalition of Middle East states led by Egypt and Syria. Both Egypt and Syria went into war desiring to win back land taken by Israel during the 1967 War. The war began on Oct 6, 1973 when Egypt and Syria launched a surprise attack on Israeli forces in Golan and Sinai. Both the forces of Egypt and Syria crossed ceasefire lines to access Sinai Peninsula and Golan Heights. Correspondingly, Israeli forces militarized and stopped Egyptian attack, resulting in a military impasse. The Syrians planned their attack on Golan Heights to join Egypt and primarily made aggressive gains into Israeli's held territory. Within three days, though, Israeli armed forces had moved back Syrians to pre-war ceasefire lines. Israeli forces then begun counter-attack into Syrian and the Egyptian armies, into Egypt crossed Suez Canal and began gradually moving southward and westward towards Suez, caused heavy losses on both sides. The 1973 Arab-Israel war to some extent led offensive between two nuclear superpowers, the US and Soviet Union to support their respective allies.

American Secretary of State and National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger, was hopeful that Israel in spite of initial hindrances would win rapidly. Kissinger was worried that defeat of Arabs could constrain Soviets to arbitrate, while influencing their position in Arab world hence, from the US and Soviet Union he recommended end to the war and return to the ceasefire line arranged in the 1967 war. The Soviet Union was agreed but Egypt refused American proposal for ceasefire. Hence, Soviet Union wanting to refrain Arab World's setback and military intervention, it started to resupply weapons to Egypt and Syria. Israelis demanded the same from the US; and the US not wanting to

⁵³ Milestones, "The 1967 Arab Israeli War", *Office of the Historian*, October 31, 2013, accessed April 6, 2019, www.nicap.org/reports/1967_arab-israeli_war.pdf

view Israel set backed hence, Nixon presidency agreed, and resupply weapons to Israel. The US and Soviet Union proposal for ceasefire was adopted by the United Nations Security Council on October 22, termed as Resolution 338. However, Israelis rejected to accept the resolution. Israelis had enhanced their positions significantly and accomplished their hold on city of Suez and Egyptian forces, by October 24. Later, Kissinger traveled to Tel-Aviv where he stated that the US would not mind if Israeli forces kept on continuing, this advancement led to tensions between the US and Soviet Union. Then he traveled back to Washington and agreed to Soviet Union's demand for another UN resolution for ceasefire hence, the second ceasefire was imposed supportively to end the war and withdrawal of forces on October, 25. At that time Israel accepted the resolution 340. Thus, on October 25, 1973 the *Yom Kippur war* ended with Israeli military victory and Egyptian occupation on the eastern cost of Suez Canal.⁵⁴

The war had extensive economic and social inferences. The 1973 war transformed regional balance of power, with Egyptian President, Anwar Sadat attaining influence desirable to start peace dealings with Israelis. The war also meant a major shift for Arab world in the more extensive conflict fought in Middle East region, as it altered the image of Arab states worldwide. The war also led oil embargo and crisis for those states involved in regional conflict. The Arab oil generating countries restricted oil production by five percent, during oil embargo resulted at end of the 1973 war. In payback for the US military support to Israel Arabs rejected export to the US and other Western countries, causing worldwide economic turmoil. For the US the 1973 oil embargo had enormous implications on the US economy, affecting American more and more dependency on oil imported from Arab states. Further, oil embargo changed interests from Western world more particularly among the Great powers. The Arab states economic power resulted as a consequence to pressured Israel to return to the pre-1967 border lines and signaled agreeing to Arab world demands.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Milestones, "The 1973 Arab-Israeli War" *Office of the Historian*, 1969-1976, accessed April 8, 2019, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1969-1976/arab-israeli-war-1973>

⁵⁵ Arlette Regan, "The Consequences of the Yom Kippur War" *Dickson College: CLIO Journal*, edition 2, (2010), 2-9, accessed Feb 12, 2018, <http://cliojournal.wikispaces.com/The+Consequences+of+the+Yom+Kippur+War>

1.7 Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)

On May 29, 1964, at a conference of Palestine National Congress in Jerusalem Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was established as a national representative for Palestinians. Generally, Palestine Liberation Organization held administrative control in the West Bank. From 1968- 2004 PLO's first Chairman was Yasser Arafat who administered organization till his death. During an Arab League conference in January 1964 in Cairo, the framework for PLO was formed by Arab states particularly by Syria, Jordan, Iraq and Egypt with primary objective of Israeli destruction and its replacement with Palestinian state and return of refugees at their occupied territory. Publicly, Arab countries asserted solidarity with Palestinians desire for regain of Israeli occupied territories. However, Arab states supported and militarized Palestine Liberation Organization as a source to force Palestinian militancy to advance its relations with Western states particularly, normalize its relations with Israel during 1980's-1990s. By 1974, PLO was officially recognized as a sole representative of Palestinians.⁵⁶

Rapidly, Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) turned into the grounds as a Palestinian nationalist movement, aiming Palestinian freedom and return of nearly 700,000 Palestinian refugees. Further, PLO was largely aimed at accomplishing liberation from Arab authorities' political activity. Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) was greatly influenced by Egypt during initial years of its creation, as a lawyer Ahmad Shuqayri PLO's first leader; was a close supporter of Jamal Abdul Nasser. At battle of al-Karama on March, 1968 between Jordan and Israel, PLO's soldiers fought against Israel along Jordan; while Israelis seriously deteriorated and for the first time in any Arab and Israel conflict Israel asked for a ceasefire. In 1974, sole representative of Palestinians PLO besides with the UN Security Council resolutions, called for a two-state solution moving away from its initial objective of entirely Palestinian liberation. This move was accomplished with Palestine National Council's (PNC) 19th meeting with declaration of Palestinian state and with resolutions in 1988 and firmly represented PLO's basic aim, the notion of a Palestinian statehood in East Jerusalem, West Bank and

⁵⁶ Pierre Tristam, "An Overview of Palestine Liberation Organization", *ThoughtCo*, May 2017, accessed April 7, <https://www.thoughtco.com › Humanities › Issues › Middle East>

Gaza Strip. The PNC of PLO recognized a Palestinian Declaration of Independence in Tunisia and Algiers, in 1988.⁵⁷

PLO's political activity turned to form several factions into organization, adhering implications for Middle East following the 1967 Arab-Israel war. PLO's three major factions such as, *Al Fatah*, Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) and Palestine's People Party developed from PLO in the middle of 1967 and 1989 to seek their own political and factional objectives. PLO's most dominant faction *Al Fatah* was founded in 1959 and functioned as Yasser Arafat's authority base in Palestine Liberation Organization and within President Mahmud Abbas government endures to control great political activity in lands. *Al Fatah* is a Palestinian nationalist political party. The motive behind *Al Fatah*'s creation was supporting Palestinian liberation and sanctioned political ferocity against Israel, until the 1990's and proclaims that *Al Fatah* bolsters commitment in a political resolution with Israel.

The second largest faction of PLO, Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine is a secular and revolutionary socialist Palestinian organization founded in 1967 by George Habash. PFLP is a member of a Damascus based division that is politically linked with Syria and granted its contribution in Palestine Liberation Organization after the 1993 Oslo Accord (a plan proposed to the settlement of Israel- Palestine conflict). The PFLP had strongly participated for Palestinian national aspirations, PFLP does not accept Israeli state, it opposes talks with government of Israel, and favor's a two-state solution to Israel and Palestinian conflict. In the late 1980s and 1990s, PFLP allied and developed relations with Islamist groups due to which the US, and European Union have labeled PFLP as a terrorist organization, as it sought to emphasis largely on militant activities and less on politics. Another major faction split from PFLP is a Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), is a secular political and militant organization. DFLP is an ideological Marxist-Maoist organization and was founded in 1969 by Yasser Abed Rabbo, currently controlled by Nayif Hawatmeh. DFLP actively engaged in bolstering

⁵⁷ Glenn E. Robinson, *Palestine Liberation Organization*, (The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Islamic World. Oxford Islamic Studies, February 7, 2018), 2-5

the notion of a two-state solution with equal rights on Palestine Liberation Organization's political agenda.⁵⁸

1.8 Palestinian Uprisings (Intifada) against Israel

Palestinian Uprising or *Intifada* is derived from an Arabic word that basically means “shaking off” or also as “insurrection” and according to Palestinian reference it can be termed as a civilian uprising. Palestinian militants launched the *first Intifada* in December 1987 in Gaza and the *Second Intifada* occurred on September, 2000 in old city of Jerusalem.

1.8.1 First Palestinian Intifada

The popular Palestinian Uprising against Israeli occupation was erupted in Jabalia refugee Camp in Gaza during December 9, 1987 after an Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) truck collided with two public vans carrying Palestinian workers; while killing four Palestinians. This incident appeared as an impetus, starting uprisings all over Palestinian territories captured by Israel. Palestinian individuals and PLO was not responsible for the eruption of *Intifada*, generally it occurred due to Israeli cause and Palestinians exhaust of Israeli oppressive strategies in Palestinian occupied territories. In the wake of Israeli occupation and killings, initially *Intifada* was reinforced by Palestinian youth and was conducted by National Leadership of the Uprising union of Palestinian political groups, committed to Palestinian liberation, while eliminating occupation of Israel on the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem. Moreover, *Intifada* encouraged international community to pursuit settlement of Arab-Israel conflict. In general, *first Intifada* was not vicious in nature; instead the Uprising was only civil disobedience against Israeli occupation. Palestinian youth frustrated of Israeli occupation involved in a number of civil disobedience, comprising: protests, general strikes, refusal to pay taxes, and an economic boycotts of Israeli products. Israel reacted harshly, deploying almost eighty thousand fighters, closing schools for Palestinians, making Palestinian mass arrests, imposing

⁵⁸ Aaron D. Pina, “*Palestinian Factions*”, (CRS Report for Congress, June, 2005)

curfew, shutting down protests with Israeli harsh militant force and killed a large number of Palestinians.⁵⁹

During *Intifada* period, approximately 300 Palestinian peoples were killed, almost 5,500 were imprisoned by Israel 20,000 had been injured according to the UNRWA report. During similar period, by Palestinians almost Nineteen Israeli citizens and 6 militants of Israel Defense Forces were killed. The UN passed the Resolution 605, condemning large number of Palestinian killings and injuries by Israelis and recommended end to Israeli hostilities made during Intifada period. Though Palestinian Uprising did not make Palestinian liberation and ended till 1993 but, it brought consideration of world to Palestinian right and revealed the freedom and national ideals of Palestinian peoples to international community. In the wake of grassroots *Intifada* worldwide media and world administrations viewed Israel-Palestine conflict in an alternate point of view which flourished aspirations for persecuted and deprived Palestinians and opened new doors for future peace talks with international political powers arbitration between Israel-Palestine to settle the conflict.⁶⁰

1.8.2 Second/ Al-Aqsa Intifada

The second Palestinian Uprising generally known as *Second Intifada* or *Al- Aqsa Intifada* was much more brutal in nature as compared to first Uprising. *Al-Aqsa Intifada* occurred in 2000 due to continued Israeli occupation, humiliation of innocent Palestinian peoples and violation of International Law. The attempt which paved *Second Intifada* was Israeli opposition Leader Ariel Sharon's visit to Temple Mount and his appearance at *Al-Aqsa* Mosque on September 28, 2000; seen as highly provocative by Palestinians. To aggravate Palestinians Ariel Sharon once again repeated the slogan that "Temple Mount is in Israel's hands", previously emerged during the Six- Day war when Israel occupied East Jerusalem. Palestinian demonstrators very quickly responded angrily to the threat to its third holiest site in Islam; *Al-Aqsa* Mosque. Israeli Forces launched a series of sweeping military offensives and administrative policies, designed to collectively punish

⁵⁹ Ma'an News, "THE FIRST INTIFADA", *If American's Knew*, August 2009, accessed April, 2019, <https://ifamericaknew.org/history/firstintifada.ht>

⁶⁰ Hanaa Hasan, *Remembering the First Intifada* (Middle East Monitor, December 9, 2017), 2-5

Palestinians for the uprising. To disperse Palestinians, Israeli forces during the Uprising intended advanced administrative strategies and extensive military attacks to harm Palestinians collectively for *Intifada*.

In the wake of *Second Intifada*, nearly 4,973 Palestinian civilians were killed, and thirty-two civilians were injured, according to Palestinian Center for Human Rights report, resulted due to air airstrikes and terrestrial attacks against highly inhabited areas in the West Bank, Gaza strip and refugee camps. Immediately, the UN passed Resolution 1322 referring to Israeli offensives and use of extreme force against Palestinians. Over the course of *Intifada* and under United Nations condemnation against Israeli vicious Israelis implemented violent attack on Palestinians. At first, Israel put serious limitations on Palestinians transportation and imposed curfew to forbidden Palestinians from outside to their homes. Israel added another limitation by started constructing the Apartheid Wall (Israel-West Bank barrier), on June 2002. A large part of the Wall was constructed on Palestinian land, letting Israelis to seize the area that place between the wall and Palestine during 1948. In 2004, International Court of Justice ordered Israel to halt illegal construction, claiming that the wall construction is a violation of international law. Israel has nevertheless to abide by the decision.⁶¹

The ending time of *Second Intifada* is contradictory; as there was no certain incidence that brought Intifada to an end. The general view is that it ended in February 2005, when Ariel Sharon and Palestinian President Mahmud Abbas announced a ceasefire at a summit in Sharm El-Sheikh; gathering of leaders from Israel, Palestine, Egypt and Jordan in an effort to end the second Intifada. While, as a result of *Intifada* Palestinians got some material advances, after ceasefire hostility of Israelis strengthened and human rights violations increased. As Israel intensely contradicted a two-state solution, seeing intifada as a response to the substantial agreement they had purportedly presented at Camp David to Palestinians hence, the peace negotiations was slowed down

⁶¹ “The Second Intifada – Introduction”, *American Muslims for Palestine*, 2012, accessed April, 2019, <https://www.ampalestine.org/palestine-101/.../intifadas/second-intifada-introduction>

for a long time. Similarly, Israeli settlements have also been increased as a response to *Intifada*, with support of government for settlements.⁶²

1.9 Peace Processes Commenced by the US

This section provides the history of peace process initiated by the US before President Barack Obama came into power to deal with Israel-Palestine conflict.

1.9.1 Camp David Accords 1978- 2000

In bringing about peace in Middle East an effort was made in 1978 between Israel and Egypt in Camp David which was abridged by America. The US President Jimmy Carter benefitted by the new tendency and invited President Sadat and Israeli PM Menachem Start in Washington for talks at the presidential retreat at Camp David. The discourses continued for 12 days and achieved two accords. The first was entitled “A Framework for Peace in Middle East”. It set down models for peace, and set out strategy for settling what it called “Palestinian issue”. The framework proposed to set up a “self-governing authority” in the West Bank and Gaza, provoking inescapable “final status” talks; but Palestinians were not part of the contract. The second accord was “The Camp David framework for peace treaty between Egypt and Israel”. This followed in 1979, after an Israeli withdrawal from Sinai. This was the key affirmation of Israel as a state by a Middle Eastern country. The negotiations likely stayed as best courses of action in the whole agreement process. The accord has largely strengthened Israel’s position. In any case, the congruity among Egypt and Israel has not been warm. President Sadat was later murdered.

The second round of Camp David occurred in 2000, Camp David Summit was convened by the US President Bill Clinton on July 11, 2000 to bring together Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak and Palestinian Authority Chairman Arafat at Camp David for intensive negotiations for a final status agreement. Camp David 2000 was also failed with each side blaming the other and no agreement had been reached. The four basic

⁶² The ending time of Second Intifada ,“Remembering the Second Intifada”, 1-5

obstacles to agreement were: Status of Jerusalem, territory, Temple Mount and refugees.⁶³

1.9.2 Madrid Peace Conference October, 1991

The conference of Madrid was held on October 30, 1991 and remained for three days. The conference was sponsored by America and it was the peace conference between Arab state and Israel. Madrid propelled a multilateral procedure that carried Israeli negotiators into direct contact with representatives of Arab states. The objective of the Madrid was to promote peace in both regions for the stability of countries as well as their people. The mediators of Israel contact with the administration of Arab state. George Bush of America initiated Madrid conference in which the emphasis is given on negotiation between the parties because only through negotiation both parties can achieve peace and stability that give benefits to every state. The agreements have been made between Arab and Israel states for different development plans such as financial, social, political aspects to promote peace in every sector.⁶⁴

The main focus of conference was to solve the issues of Israel, Palestine and states of Arab by executing the elements of peace through negotiation of their ambassadors. The conference also included the empowering of Israel by protecting its citizens and peaceful relations of Israel with Palestine through table talks. The participated states agreed to implement the peaceful means in regions as it was the final solution left for these countries to protect their citizens as well as their sovereignty. At the end of Madrid conference all participating countries seemed hopeful that the conference had resulted in a future road-map for settlement and finally, the conference paved way for the Oslo Accord.⁶⁵

⁶³ “History of Mid- East Peace talks”, *BBC News*, July 29, 2013, accessed September 25, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-11103745>

⁶⁴ Eytan Bentsur, *Europe and Israel: Peace Process* (Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, February 15, 2002), 2-7

⁶⁵ The Oslo Accord, “History of Mid- East Peace talks”, 1-2

1.9.3 Oslo Agreement, 1993

The Oslo Agreement which is also known as Declaration of Principles (DOP) was held in the year 1993 and it arose after absence of development of Madrid conference. The accord was signed between Israel-Palestine on August 20, 1993 in Oslo Norway and it was the milestone in history of Israel-Palestine relations. The president of the US Bill Clinton served as witness of both states and the agreement emphasized to promote peace in the countries for the betterment of their economic, political and social conditions. Oslo agreement was an attempt to set up a framework that would lead to the settlement of conflict between Israel and PLO. Though, Oslo agreement had its own failings. In spite of this, they were vastly significant; not because of their imperfections, but because of their core settlement framework. The main objective of Oslo agreement was to bring Palestinian and Israeli people together to end their conflicts by the strategies of territorial concerns and to give the authority to Palestine.⁶⁶

The Oslo agreement postulated that withdrawal of Israeli troops from the West Bank and Gaza, that an independent Palestinian state would be set up for a 5-year interim period; provoking a permanent settlement. The permanent settlement was not defined. Hence, the interim period ended without attainment a broad peace agreement on May 4, 1999. Hamas and other rejectionist groups from Palestinian did not accept Oslo. Likewise, there was repression inside Israel from settler's community. Hence, Oslo was partly implemented.⁶⁷

1.9.4 Taba Summit, 2001

The Taba Summit is also called as Taba talks were held on 21 January, 2001 between Israel-Palestine; the authorities of both countries talked with each other for the settlement of peace in their states. The Summit focused on four main subjects: refugees, borders, security, status of Jerusalem. Like previous talks such as Madrid conference and Oslo accord, this summit also aimed to bring peace and stability in regions through

⁶⁶ ShibleyTelhami, *The History of the Arab- Israeli Peace Process* (FPRI Butcher History Institute, December 30, 2014), 5-6

⁶⁷ The Oslo agreement, "History of Mid- East Peace talks", 1-2

negotiation and table talks and also Highlighted that Israel-Palestine conflict must be resolved by taking effective and peaceful steps that secures lives and economy of both states by settling their issues.

The summit finished without any bearable result and the main issues were remained unsettled between the conflicting parties.⁶⁸

1.9.5 Roadmap for Peace, 2003

The Roadmap for peace was held in 2003, and it was the peace plan to solve the conflict of Israel-Palestine like other conferences. The Roadmap was proposed by the US, EU, UN and Russia with Israeli and Palestinian debate that looks for a two-state resolution for the conflict. The Foreign Service officer of the US Donald Blome made basic principles of the peace Plan which was first drew by George Bush in his speech where he urged independent state for Palestine in the West bank and Gaza strip beside Israel on June 24, 2002. The plan suggested that the peaceful measures must be followed by authorities of both the states and their conflicts should be resolved through talks not for applying violent means in regions.⁶⁹

The Roadmap to peace was based on three-phase process, The Phase I was to end viciousness related with the *Second Intifada*, reappearance of the *pre-Intifada* territorial standard, a rebuilding of Palestinian societies and a halt on Israeli settlements, Phase II included establishment of a Palestinian state with provincial borders, and Stage III was to be committed to invariable status negotiations. In Sharm el-Sheikh Summit on February 2005, Israelis and Palestinians reconfirmed their commitment to the Roadmap. With the end of George Bush administration in January 2009, Roadmap for Peace fell into the background.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ “Taba Summit Concludes”, *Centre for Israel Education (CIE)*, January 27, 2018, accessed March 19, 2018, <https://israeled.org> › Blog

⁶⁹ Simon Jeffery, “The Road Map to Peace”, *The Guardian*, Jun 4, 2003, accessed March 19, 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/jun/04/israel.qanda>

⁷⁰ Sharon Otterman, “MIDDLE EAST: The Road Map to Peace” *Council on Foreign Relations(CFR)*, February 7, 2005, accessed March 19, 2003, <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/middle-east-road-map-peace>

1.9.6 Annapolis Conference, 2007

The Annapolis Conference was held by Bush Administration on November 27, 2007 at naval academy of the US in Annapolis, Maryland. Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert and President Mahmud Abbas came to a “Joint Understanding”, where both of them agreed to introduce mutual discussions with to end up a peace plan before the finish of 2008 and to execute the Roadmap for peace properly.⁷¹ The negotiations were made between authorities of both states to ensure that either state is implementing the true sense of peace and security or not. The Annapolis conference was basically organized by officials of the US for the implementation of peace strategies. The conference aimed to restart negotiations and to end the conflict between Israel-Palestine by engaging international diplomats to support both countries and to insist them to choose only peaceful policies as it is the only option to end their conflict. At the conference Palestinian authority urged for the settlement of four core issues: including end to settlements at East Jerusalem and Syrian Golan Heights, Jerusalem’s status and refugees right of return.

The Annapolis conference ended with the issuing of a joint statement from all parties, reported the implementation of Roadmap for Peace. The talks were continued After Annapolis Conference. After Sharm el- Sheikh Summit both parties again expressed their commitment to the Roadmap at Annapolis. Even though intensive negotiations, both parties did not reach an agreement and the negotiations ended without any result in 2008.⁷²

To sum up, the history of Israel-Palestine conflict is a very complex, and despite international community’s intervention the conflict is still unresolved. The primary factor behind the emergence of Israel-Palestine conflict are Jewish expulsion from Europe and their forceful settlements at Palestinian lands and the other main factor is removal of Palestinians from their own territories to refugee’s camps by snatching and purchasing

⁷¹ Carol Migdalovitz, “*Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process: The Annapolis Conference*” (Specialist in Middle Eastern Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division, December 7, 2007)

⁷² “Annapolis Conference”, *Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre (JMCC)*, March 1, 2011, accessed Sep 25, 2018, www.jmcc.org/fastfactspag.aspx?tname=62

Palestinian lands. Great powers (Britain, France, USSR and the US) always intervened in Middle East region to settle the conflict; the US always intervened in region due to its strategic location, greater oil consumptions and to strengthen the U.S-Israel alliance. United Nations also played a major role in presenting a partition plan for Jews and Arabs. Israel-Palestine is still in a warfare condition, but historically they fought three major wars. In response to wars Palestinians formed their major faction termed as PLO and raised two Intifada's. On the other side, the US administrations tried to secure peace for this complex region and initiated a number of peace process for direct peace talks, but despite such peace efforts no US administration has succeeded in achieving a lasting peace, due to its domestic politics and poor strategies.

CHAPTER TWO

ROLE OF PRESIDENT BARACK OBAMA TOWARD ISRAEL- PALESTINE CONFLICT DURING 2009-2013

President Barack Obama was 44th, though the first African-American President of the US. President Obama's foreign policy was based on change and reengagement approach in national and international affairs, and intended to alter the US isolated position from rest of world which had rather been evident during Bush Administration. For that reason, Obama engaged himself in Middle East by originating the idea of expectation and change, initiating his campaign slogan "Change has come".⁷³ President Obama's foreign policy approach was liberal nationalist approach, extensively dissimilar to former Bush Administration's neo-conservative foreign policy approach.

This chapter aims at providing a description of the US President Barack Obama's approach toward Israel-Palestine peacemaking when he assumed the office during his first term of presidency. Furthermore, this chapter elaborates meetings, direct peace talks and analyses President Obama's speeches on Middle Eastern region. This chapter is divided into Five Sections: i) Reflection of President Obama's Approach: First Formal Interview to "Al-Arabiya" Channel, ii) President Obama's Meeting with Netanyahu for Settlements Freeze in 2009, iii) President Obama's June 2009-Speech to Muslim World, iv) Direct Peace Talks between the US and Israel-Palestine in 2010, and v) President Obama's Speech for Middle East Reforms May, 2011, vi) Analysis of President Obama's First Term Middle Eastern Approach.

⁷³ Josh Ruebner, "Obama's legacy on Israel_ Palestine", *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 46, No. 1, (2016-2017), 50-64, accessed Sep 23, 2018, <https://www.palestine-studies.org/jps/issue/181>

2.1 Reflection of President Obama's Approach: First Formal Interview to "Al-Arabiya" Channel

President Obama delivered his first formal interview to Arab based "Al-Arabiya" Channel, amid his first week in office. With regards to Middle East; President Obama's interview highlighted dealings with Israel-Palestine conflict by engagement through peace- building and secondly appointment of George Mitchell for this purpose. Since being elected as President, interview to Arab channel was the first one which Obama had acknowledged. The Interview appeared to indicate an effective and supportive approach in Middle East and showed modified goals of Obama Administration to advance the US relations with Muslim world. President Obama's attitude was respectful and appealing toward Muslim world and he revealed his willingness to commence a distinct assistance with Muslims based on mutual respect and interests and talked about his strategies to address Muslim- majority states. He emphasized that the US had a stake in prosperity of Muslim world. The US was not "enemy" of Muslims had been the key element of Obama's *Al-Arabiya* interview. President Obama's demand for renewing Israeli-Palestinian peace negotiations indicated a blunt difference to Bush Administration and an active engagement in region by Obama since the commencement of his administration. President Obama emphasized at interview to announce George Mitchell as his Special Envoy toward Israel-Palestine peace talks by inspiring his Northern Ireland experience.⁷⁴

The word Obama had expressed during interview showed that interview itself was widely signaled to Muslim world. President Obama proclaimed his biographical and family connects to Muslims. A significant part of the interview was spent characterizing the US new dimensions in Arab-Israel conflict: commitment over militarism, authoritative control and consideration over partition. Concerning the conflict between Israelis and Arabs; Obama reaffirmed exclusive ties of the US with Jewish state, however rejected to say that such a relationship in region restrict the possibility for peace.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Hisham Melhem, *Obama's Tarnished Legacy in Middle East*, (The Cairo review of Global affairs, 2016.), 2-15

⁷⁵ Sam Stein, "Obama on Al-Arabiya: First Formal Interview As President With Arab TV Network", *Huffington Post*, December 2017, accessed April 1, 2019, https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/al-arabiya-obama-does-fir_n_161087.html

President Obama expressed his administration's commitment in concluding Israel-Palestine conflict by listening rather than dictating. While discussing Palestinian cause Obama revealed Palestinian right to have their own state; that permits for the better life of their individuals by opportunities for the formation of business, free movement and trade with other states. President Obama in addition expressed that security of Israel is vital for the US, on the other hand specified that it ought to be set up to make expenses under precise conditions.⁷⁶

From January 2009 to May 2011, Obama's Special Envoy George Mitchell had served much more toward Israel-Palestine peace process. Before appointment for Israel-Palestine peacemaking George Mitchell had a great social career. He was elected to the senate in 1982, serving from 1989 to 1995 as Senate majority leader. A commission appointed by prior American President Bill Clinton to achieve the means to end the conflict between Israel-Palestine was directed by George Mitchell. During George W. Bush presidency his 2001 report termed for Palestine to contour militant attacks and sentence those who commit them, and for Israel to stop settlements building and hostility toward Arab activists.⁷⁷ In planning to halt extermination at Ireland, Mitchell was succeeded incredibly, which emitted an impression of being so persistent at the time, and showed only a few years later; ancient history. In Ireland to control one of the toughest hostility on earth Mitchell was capable to utilize his political influences, and has a basis set aside by advancing toward all groups in Middle East to make privileges for concordance, which indicates well for his capacity to be a sensible and appropriate representative. Mitchell aimed to apply the experience he got from Ireland issue to the tough, intense and challenging Middle East conflict between Israel-Palestine.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ *Suddeutsche Zeitung, Die Welt, Allgemeine Zeitun, and Die Tageszeitung*, "World from Berlin: Obama's Open Hand to Muslims" *Spiegel Online: Germany*, January 28, 2009, accessed April 13, 2019, www.spiegel.de › English Site › World › Middle East

⁷⁷ "Obama names Mitchell as Special Envoy to Middle East", *The Irish Times*, January, 2009, accessed April 1, 2019, <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/obama-names-mitchell-as-special-envoy-to-middle-east-1.834723>

⁷⁸ Asaf Romirowsky, "Mitchell got it all wrong", *Ynet News*, May 17, 2011, accessed Sep 25, 2018, <https://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-4070248,00.html>

In January, George Mitchell traveled Israel, the West Bank, Egypt, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia; with an objective to examine perspectives on Israeli-Palestinian resolution by leaders of such regions. On three ways Mitchell had revealed progress, Security, Political exchanges, Palestine's organizational building and economic development. Mitchell clarified that foundation of a Palestinian state and Israeli security are mutually based, Palestinians won't get a state until Israel has a sound attitude towards security and Israelis are not going to get manageable security until there is a Palestinian state. During another visit to region at the same month Mitchell had endured the approach based on two dimensions, firstly, to introduce such approaches to achieve a agreement on all continuing status matters urged both sides and secondly, to enable Palestinians to form institutions and enhance economy that will be fundamental when a state of Palestine is establish.⁷⁹

Though, Mitchell's achievement at Northern Ireland issue did not provide him with advantage to negotiate Middle East conflict. The constancy Mitchell used in Northern Ireland case proved ineffective in Israel-Palestine conflict because any consideration and resemblance between these two cases was confusedly and deficiently determined. Hence, Obama's Special Envoy has resigned due to failure to make any advancement in settling Israel-Palestine conflict, but the US claimed Mitchell's departure did not mean an end to Obama Administration approaches toward Israel-Palestine conflict resolution.⁸⁰

2.1.1 Responses to Barack Obama's Arab Channel Interview

President Obama's interview to Arab channel revealed a strong intent along with motivating and even new perspectives to keep up the peacemaking between Israel-Palestine. Obama's first interview to Arab channel which showed a clear gap with Bush Administration polices was reacted positively by Arab world. Whereas across Middle East President Obama's interview revealed mixed reactions. Marc Lynch, an expert on

⁷⁹ Palestine is establish, "Israeli-Arab Negotiations: Background, Conflicts, and US Policy", 1-58

⁸⁰ Ewen Mac Askill, , "George Mitchell resigns as US Middle East peace envoy", *The Guardian: UK*, May, 2011, accessed April 1, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/may/13/george-mitchell-resigns-us-peace-envoy-middle-east>

Arab media, perceived President Obama's interview as positive. According to him Obama's interview signified a major shift in style from George W. Bush to engage and connect to Muslims.⁸¹

The German officials said to settle Israel-Palestine conflict Obama would include Hamas efforts otherwise nothing will be achieved. Another German official said it's the right time to make changes and it's difficult to assume that Obama will change his approach according to Muslim world's opinion. The American state department spokesman said Obama's objective to move and engagement in Muslim region pursued the similar approach.⁸²

Obama's advanced approach in Muslim world was welcomed by senior Arab officials. Editor of Saudi newspaper (*Al-Watan*) Jamal Khashoggi, showed positive reaction to Obama's interview and said it was prominent by Obama's statements that he considered himself as an arbitrator between the US and Muslims, Obama's engagement in Muslim world went more than he had during the election campaign.⁸³

In Lebanon, a journalist and publisher Jamil Mroue revealed, President Obama's words signaled a surprised change which we have seen with that of previous administrations. Also Mary *Al-Arabiya* channel commentator said, after seeing the US President's promise for independent state of Palestine and peacemaking in Muslim world, we will surely know to love the US through its conduct.⁸⁴

Governor Haji Din Mohammed, in Afghanistan, applauded President Obama's interview and showed hope for an advanced and dissimilar American approach than that of George W. Bush Administration's approach.

Chief Minister of Kashmir, Omar Abdullah, said that Muslims entirely considers the US as more supportive to Israel and similarly Israel do not take actions without

⁸¹ R.S. Zaharna, Obama, *US Public Diplomacy and the Islamic World*, (World Politics Review, March 2009), 7-10

⁸² The German officials, "World from Berlin: Obama's Open Hand to Muslims", 1-5

⁸³ Edward Luce and Roula Khalaf, "Arabs respond warmly to Obama", *Financial Times*, January 28, 2009, accessed April 13, 2019, <https://www.ft.com/content/da3578a2-eca4-11dd-a534-0000779fd2ac>

⁸⁴ Alan Cowell, "On Arab TV Network, Obama Urges Dialogue" *The New York Times*, January 27, 2009, accessed April 13, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2009/01/28/world/middleeast/28arabiya.html>

American support. But Obama's words to Muslims at the beginning of his term; which usually American Presidents showed at the end of their term are significant and showed difference with that of Bush Administration.

Former senior officer in Pakistan's intelligence service ISI, Khalid Khawaja said, Obama's approach would not be judged through his kind words to Muslims, but by Obama's actions. Otherwise these words signaled the previous US administration's war on terror policy.⁸⁵

2.2 President Obama's Meeting with Netanyahu for Settlements Freeze in 2009

During Knesset elections at Israel in February 2009, Obama desired for the success of Israeli centrist party *Kadima* because Obama realized it would be more cooperative to Obama's Middle East peace plan. However, the party's head Tzipi Livni, did not secured much strength to establish a coalition government and hence, her opponent Benjamin Netanyahu formed the right-wing coalition government. Both Obama and Netanyahu have adverse political thoughts, and both have established adequate materialism to identify their perimeters of beliefs at beginning of their terms. President Obama's policies at beginning revealed a breakthrough from previous administrations policies while limiting the Strong U.S-Israel alliance and pursued an apparent hostility between them.⁸⁶

During May 2009, Netanyahu's visit to Washington, both Obama and Benjamin Netanyahu had their first face to face meeting to halt Israeli illegal settlements expansion at the West Bank and Gaza. Palestinians had to see real advancement before entering the talks instead of only promise of real advancement was the logic of Obama, a promise frequently not understood. Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu was disagreed with President Obama, merely agreed to ten-month temporary settlements halt and rejected to discuss status of Jerusalem, refugees and borders issue. In March 2010, during

⁸⁵ John Campanelli, "Reaction to Obama's al-Arabiya Interview", *Kos Media, LLC*, January 28, 2009, accessed April 13, 2019, Reaction to Obama's al-Arabiya Interview (UPDATE) - Daily Kos <https://m.dailykos.com/stories/2009/1/27/131215/079>

⁸⁶ Eytan Giloba, "Obama and Israel: A Preliminary Assessment", *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs*, Vol 3, (January 2009), 51-58, accessed Sep 28, 2018, https://www.researchgate.net/.../237609751_Obama_and_Israel_A_Preliminary_Assess...

vice President Joe Biden travel, Netanyahu's eagerness to reject pleas of the US President was further demonstrated when Israel declared to increase in size of present settlements in East Jerusalem. The US administration responded angrily to Israel's announcement and restated Palestinian right of independent state.⁸⁷ Hence, when the US administration reiterated to support Palestine then Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu agreed to restart peace negotiations with Palestinians but refused to return to two-state solution. While Obama Administration pledged to stay for peace negotiations and two-state solution for both the authorities.⁸⁸

President Obama's move for two-state solution and Israel's settlements freeze was harshly reacted by Jews and right-wing Christians in America and especially in Israel. Israeli government refused to accept Obama's demand and claimed that complete settlements stop will worsen political and normal life of Israelis. The logic of Israeli government was that the presence of these settlement buildings recalls Palestinians of Israel's occupation, and their growth not simply fortifies that difficult disgrace and sensation, yet proposes that Israel is committed on continuing the occupation forever. The way that Netanyahu has declined up to this point to acknowledge the possibility of a two-state solution further reinforces Palestinian belief that Israel has no plan to left the territories captured by Israel and to stop their expansion. While Obama Administration continuously called for Israel to stop settlement expansion as the precondition to restart the talks between Israel-Palestine.⁸⁹

The US administration tried for both sides to discuss their issues on borders, security, two-state solution and freeze of settlement building but due to Israeli refusal to accept and discuss such issues the 2009 talks consistently neared on the illogical. At the end of 2010 Israel's temporary settlement freeze when came to an end and Palestinians rejected to restart talks at the end of partial settlements stop then the US administration once again demanded Netanyahu's government to completely stop or extend the time of

⁸⁷ David Jervis, *Obama and Middle East* (Maria Curie Sklodowska University, Lublin,2017), 37-59

⁸⁸ Daniel Nasaw, *Obama restates support for Palestinian state during Netanyahu visit* (Washington, May 18, 2009), 1-2

⁸⁹ Alon Ben Meir, *The Settlements: Obama's Demands and Netanyahu's Options* (Huffington post, May 25, 2011), 1-5

settlements freeze. But once again the US administration was rejected by Netanyahu's government. As such President Obama's strategy of opposition to Israeli settlements was failed due to lack of seriousness to apply pressure and Israeli Partial settlements concession did not have the proposed impact. Palestinian President Mahmud Abbas rejected to continue the talks even with settlements stop, saying President Obama's promise to complete settlements freeze was not fulfilled which the US administration had assured him at the restarting of negotiations. Palestinian President's exploitation of Obama Administration's strong effort to engage both rivals at peace negotiations was viewed as disappointment by the US administration. As the US administration had more than once advised Netanyahu for settlements building hence, Obama Administration also declined to reprimand Abbas in public for declining to talks. By rejecting to negotiate with Netanyahu government, Mahmud Abbas breached one of the most significant pledges his predecessor Yasir Arafat made at the beginning of Oslo peace process, which comprised this promise on 9 September, 1993 to then-Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin.

Such as no settlements between Israel and Arab states has been accomplished without direct US mediation therefore, in setting the settlements issue soundly in foreground of affiliation between the two parties no US administration has gone in this way before Obama. President Obama and his cabinet, on somewhere around thirteen consequent events, criticized and showed opposition to settlements expansion policy of the government of Israel, even mostly at the presence of Netanyahu. Even no President has realized Palestinians the risks of settlements expansion and halt on settlements as the precondition to start the peace negotiations. Never before Obama were peace talks held up by putting first the desire for a settlements halt. Hence the 2009, peace talks held by Obama Administration were ended without any favorable outcome at beginning of the 2010 giving way for another peace negotiation to be held between both the rivals for further discussions on the core issues between them.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ Peter Beinart, "The President sacrificed his ideals and misplayed his hand. How Bibi got the better of Barack", In *The Crisis of Zionism*, (Times Books, March 12, 2012) 4-9

2.3 President Obama's Speech at Cairo to Muslim World

The US President delivered his landmark speech to Muslim world at Cairo on June, 2009. President Obama's speech emphasized on seven core issues resistant to Middle East peace process based on, religious freedom, violent extremism, Israel-Palestine conflict resolution, women's rights, economic growth and opportunity, and nuclear weapons in Middle East democracy. President Obama's speech content included almost seventy-five paragraphs in which Obama discussed his own life story as somebody with Muslim roots, and of the assurance of prospects that the US believes for everyone. President Obama welcomed Muslim world with generally known Islamic Salutation *As Salam-o- Alaikum* at the start of his speech. To bond with Muslims gathering in this way was an extraordinary path for a non-Muslim President. President Obama widely recognized number of strains between the Western and Muslim world due to extremist activities by Islamist groups. However, Obama appropriately concedes that just a little minority of Muslims participates in violent radical actions, not all Muslims are extremists. Obama mentioned such minority radical groups as violent extremists neither as Islamic militants. Obama told about his biographic and family concerns with Muslims and the contributions Muslims have made during many difficult times. President Obama promised to stand for eliminating negative standard made about Muslims; no previous US President has talked about Muslims in such a persuasive tone. Obama said there are approximately seven million Muslim statistics and twelve hundred mosques in America. He said Muslims position in the US must solace to those individuals who don't have right idea about Muslim world and demanded for friendly ties between the Western world and Muslim world.⁹¹

The second key source of tension between the West and Muslims are the hostile situation between Israelis and Palestinians. During mentioning Arab-Israeli case Obama emphasized on the expulsion of Jews and the painful situations that Palestinians faced since past. Both groups have their own different objectives and these can only be met by

⁹¹ Western world and Muslim world, "The President sacrificed his ideals and misplayed his hand. How Bibi got the better of Barack",4-9

two-state solution. The US President showed support for Palestine statehood in a positive tone by declaring the US will not move back on Palestinian aspirations for self-respect, opportunity and statehood. As Israelis have right to have their own state, Palestinians also have this right to form their independent state and he assured Muslims that he personally deals with this hostility. Obama further illustrated that the teachings of Islam gave the message of peace will be helpful to cope this conflict. While referring Israelis, Obama appealed to Israel for settlements freeze and to left illegal captured Palestinian territories which Obama had appealed many times before the Cairo speech. Obama by marking a different approach from Bush Administration mentioned that such settlement buildings as an obstacle to peace and damages the preceding peace efforts, to achieve an enduring peace between both sides it is compulsory to stop settlements building and to bring both the parties at peace talks.⁹²

Among all the previous US administrations Obama was only one who widely and bravely emphasized Palestinian statehood as main objective of the US foreign policy. Obama Administration's pledge for construction of Palestinian state and for Israelis to admit Palestinian right of existence was a change and positive start towards Muslims especially towards Middle East. The term Palestine was used many times by Obama during his speech because Obama desired Palestinians to reject violence which is self-defeating while, on the other side Palestine admit political reality to accept Israel as a state; similarly Israelis also recognize formation of state of Palestine. President Obama's defined policy represent a complete change from Bush Administration. His predecessor mentioned settlements expansion as an unhelpful in peacemaking whereas; Obama Administration completely rejected the continuation of settlements building. By starting to violate the humankind and adversity of Palestinian individuals, Obama made numerous Americans unfavorably consider their biases against Palestine. Hence the Cairo speech by Obama was landmark and made good intentions between the US and Arab relations for the first time under favorable circumstances.⁹³

⁹² Ian Black and Mark Tran, "Barack Obama pledges new beginning between US and Muslims", *The Guardian: UK*, June, 2009, accessed April 13, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/jun/04/barack-obama-speech-cairo-israel>

⁹³ Fawaz A. Gerges, *The Meaning of Obama's Speech in Egypt* (Al- Jazeera Centre for Studies, June7, 2009), 2-8

2.3.1 Responses to President Obama's Cairo Speech

The Cairo speech delivered by the US President Obama was listed all around world by individuals of all beliefs. World held its breath from Muslim states to Western world, as President Obama delivered his noteworthy speech to Islamic world. Though, the responses were applauded for a new start in relationship between Islam and the US to criticism about setting the assurances made during the speech into firm process. In Middle East Palestinians positively appreciated Obama's speech, as reopening of new prospects while Israelis were not happy with the speech.

The chief advisor to Palestinian Authority President Mahmud Abbas, Saeb Erekat was upbeat and showed hope for the new US President's policies of engagement, change and implementation of two-state solution. He also praised Obama's description of Palestinians violence and miseries.

Aliza Herbst, Israeli settler at the West Bank criticized Obama's speech, as the US President missed Israeli plight that Israelis are facing in world and said Cairo speech will not hold peace without realizing Israeli plight.⁹⁴

The council of Jewish settlements in the West Bank, *Yesha* Council's members were not happy with President Obama's Middle East plans and was upset with President Obama's called for the immediate stop of Israeli settlements. They said Obama Administration's such initiatives will create problems rather than to bring peace. While the President of Israel Shimon Peres, applauded the speech and called the words of President Obama as encouraging and prudent.

The advisor of Palestinian President Mahmud Abbas, Abu Rudeineh said Obama's speech was courageous and new start which revealed the different US foreign policy towards Muslim world.

Ahmed Yousef, a Hamas official much-admired President Obama's speech and said President Obama's words to emphasize the contributions of Muslims, Islamic

⁹⁴ "World Reaction Mixed on Obama's Cairo Speech", *VOA News*, November 02, 2009, accessed April 13, 2019, <https://www.voanews.com/a/a-13-2009-06-05-voa1-68788002/411183.html>

teachings and civilization all were applauded. Similarly, Ahmed Salem Jerusalem's resident was also happy that the US President Obama used the term occupation by Israel while explaining miseries of Palestinians.⁹⁵

Similarly, the speech across world also depicted mixed responses ranging from positive to negative reactions. In Iraq, government official praised the speech as positive significant and historic. He said Iraqi government is happy with President's promises and the use of Quranic verses by President showed the support for Arab-Israel conflict resolution and Palestinian plight, but the people of Palestine are waiting for implementation of President Obama's assurances to halt Israeli settlements.

In western world, Javier Solana, Chief of EU foreign policy, reacted admirably towards the speech and said the atmosphere created by the speech was positive and all the peoples who watched the speech perceived it as a positive. The member of Council on American Islamic Relations, in Washington, Khadija Athman was critical of Bush Administration and praised the speech. She said that she never has been more pleased with President currently, she was happy.

Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, of the UN, President Obama's words were a vital step in connecting the rivals and advancing intercultural understanding; as the UN's major goal. His message reaffirms the UN's shared promise to rehearse patience and live respectively in peace with each other as great friends.⁹⁶

The Pakistani writers and publishers said that the speech was yet proof that America has put behind it the roughest limits of Bush years. Pakistanis applauded the speech because no previous American administration had referred Muslim world in the way that Barack Obama has.

⁹⁵ Kevin Flower, Paula Hancocks, Mike Schwartz and Kareem Khadder, "Obama's speech draws mixed reviews in Middle East", *CNN Politics*, June 4, 2009, accessed April 13, 2019, www.cnn.com/2009/POLITICS/06/04/obama.mideast.reactions/index.html

⁹⁶ Paul Reynolds, "Reaction: Obama's Cairo speech", *BBC News:UK*, June, 2009, accessed April 14, 2019, news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/8083171.stm

Iran's Vice President Mohammad Ali Abtahi, praised the speech and called it as recompense to the hostile situation made for Palestinians during Bush Administration.⁹⁷

2.4 Direct Peace Talks between the US and Israel-Palestine in 2010

After failure of the 2009 peace talks, the second round of peace talks initiated by Obama Administration was started during September, 2010. At that time Israel-Palestine accepted an invitation by the US along with other major powers to restart the peace negotiations on more advanced levels. On September 2, 2010 the peace negotiations were restarted by the US, Russia, UN, and EU with a new step toward shaping the deal within one year for creation of state of Palestine and to resolve the most hostile and ancient conflict of world. The President of Egypt Hosni Mubarak and king of Jordan, King Abdullah also accepted the proposal of invitation by the US before officially restarting direct peace talks, On September 1st, Israel's Prime Minister Netanyahu and Palestine's President Mahmud Abbas met with President Obama at Washington D.C State Department. Then after Israeli-Palestinian meeting at the West Bank with representatives of both the parties, after mistrust and serious of failed table talks they agreed for direct peace talks. The 2010, peace talks showed deep incentives of Obama Administration to cope Israel-Palestine conflict, who continually said that resolution of Israel-Palestine conflict is top priority of his Middle East policy.⁹⁸

President Obama cleared that the task would be very difficult to settle due to the number of failed peace talks and mutual suspicion between both the sides, but Obama said he will not move away from this task. President Obama described the peace talks as direct negotiations and their purpose is clear to settle the core issues between Israel-Palestine. Further, Obama said the main objective behind the talks are to resolve the conflict and to finish Israeli occupation that began in 1967, and to create an independent Palestinian state along Israel where people of Palestine can live their life freely, securely and peacefully. Obama called all the participating states at peace talks to stand along the demand for peaceful resolution of the conflict as it's in the national interest of all the

⁹⁷ during Bush Administration, "Barack Obama pledges new beginning between US and Muslims", 1-5

⁹⁸ Andrew Quinn and Douglas Hamilton, "Israel and Palestinians agree to direct peace talks" *Reuters (World News)*, August 20, 2010, accessed Oct 2, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/...palestinians-israel-talks/israel-and-palestinians-agree-to-dire>.

participating states. But Obama made it clear neither the US nor any other state can enforce the result other than Israel-Palestine did for their independence. Hence, Obama pledged both the sides to come together to direct negotiate the final issues and recognize each other's independence.⁹⁹

Arab league acknowledged the condition that the talks would not be proceed further if the final status of Jerusalem and border had not been outlined within 4 months. Therefore, Obama declared; for the final achievement Israel must stop settlement building to continue the talks, otherwise talks would not proceed. Obama placed Netanyahu government in a politically crucial point by announcing settlements stop as a pre-condition to continue the peace talks. Benjamin Netanyahu's right-wing Administration was not agreed to completely halt settlements expansion and the subsequent impasse demonstrated hazardous for Palestinian authority. After several months of calling for full settlements halt, when Israel refused to do this than Obama Administration announced to restrain settlement building for the period of talks, rather than completely end. Hence, this action slowed down the peace process.¹⁰⁰

After that, both Israeli and Palestinian authorities stated their goals to resolve their core issues and to achieve the peace. Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu expressed Palestinians as a partner in peacemaking and wants an enduring settlement for both the sides, but Netanyahu admonished that; any agreement threatening to Israel's security would not be acceptable. Then, for his turn, Palestine's President Mahmud Abbas said, he would drive hard in spite, the challenges Palestinians are going to confront tomorrow and endorse center point of talks referring to Netanyahu to halt settlements building in the West Bank, otherwise no possible result will be achieve and the talks will not continue. Hence, during the period of talks both the sides rejected to accept each other's specified demands and to reach on a similar point and just like the previous peace talks 2010 peace

⁹⁹ Chris McGreal, *Obama warns Middle East leaders chance may not come again soon* (Washington, September 2, 2010), 2-4

¹⁰⁰ Ben Campbell, "Obama and Arab-Israeli Conflict" *International Policy Digest (World News)*, June 12, 2012, accessed Oct 8, 2018, <https://intpolicydigest.org/2012/06/12/obama-and-the-arab-israeli-conflict>

talks were also failed; implementing results of protests and uprisings around world and especially in Palestine.¹⁰¹

President Obama's initiative was applauded by Muslims and Obama Administration officials that restraining settlement building should have improved the chance for talks and reduced the mistrust of Palestinian on Israeli intents. While Obama's move was criticized by Israelis even by the US enhanced military support for Israel, especially for the Iron Dome anti-missile system, to bring them return for the peace talks, but Israelis were skeptical and continually rejected the framework of peace negotiations. Obama was annoyed with Israelis and claimed failure of talks as the inconstancy in Middle East, the US Administration's weakness and hence, threats the national security of the US. The Obama Administration peace talks had laid down the impression that these negotiations might be the last opportunity to attain a two-state solution and to stop settlements before any tendency of continued violence and hostile expansion of settlements at occupied territories make it difficult. The 2010 peace talks can be viewed as examination of Israeli and Palestinian claims that they are prepared to make concessions and to end the conflict; on the other side the talks represented Obama Administration's willingness to initiate the new moves and to bring both the sides on a peaceful agreement.¹⁰²

2.5 President Obama's Speech for Middle East Reforms May, 2011

During final years of President Obama's first term he gave a speech at Washington State Department, for Middle East reforms on 19th of May. President Obama was world's best leader and most skilled in the speechmaking, especially when it comes to motivate deep human endeavors. Obama's speech for Middle East reforms contained new plans and relief for Middle East region by the US. Before Obama British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan delivered a speech in 1960, called as the "Wind of Change", to warn south African Administration to left its discriminated policies and waving British

¹⁰¹ Helene Cooper and Mark Landler, "Leaders Call for Peace as Mideast Talks Begin", *New York Times*, September 1, 2010, accessed Oct 8, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2010/09/02/world/middleeast/02diplo.html>

¹⁰² President Obama's initiative, "Obama warns Middle East leaders' chance may not come again soon", 2-4

decolonization of its African territories. Then in 2011, President Obama while dubbing Harold Macmillan speech titled as winds of change, referred to the tensions arose during Arab world uprisings delivered his speech calling it as the “Middle East Reforms Speech”.¹⁰³

The speech for reforms in Middle East was the US Obama’s first comprehensive retort to revolts across Arab world. Obama reassured during his speech the support to Arab spring protestors for democratic reforms and condemned the use of force against protestors. Obama clearly expressed that America stands firmly to bring political and economic reforms in Middle East region on the side of ordinary people to meet their aspirations, promotes human rights and aggression against violence by some governments. Obama mentioned four desired pillars essential to bring the change in Middle East region were: economic stability and management, economic modernization, trade investment and trade integration. Barack Obama's speech was an attempt to convince his American audience that the future of Middle Eastern states is worth the money and effort; even at home during challenging economic periods and future of the US was destined to Middle East fate, security, economics and historical forces. Obama desired to highlight his audience that America stands firmly behind pursuing the universal rights.¹⁰⁴

The larger part of Obama’s speech was dedicated to underline the major Israel-Palestine conflict in Middle East. The most significant announcement was that the permanent Israeli-Palestinian borders would be built on the 1967 border lines with mutually agreed swaps, and said it was up to Israelis and Palestinians to make a move because no peace can be forced upon them, nor can perpetual postpone make the conflict to settle however, the US and whole world wants an enduring peace based on a two-state solution for both the sides. Obama additionally said the ejection of demands for further prospects in Arab world to open doors for slowed down peace talks between Israel-Palestine could be utilized. The US in the past years has informally stand behind the two-state solution for Israel-Palestine based on 1967 border lines set up preceding the war

¹⁰³ Joseph Massad, *Emperor Obama vs the Arab people* (Al Jazeera, May 21,2011), 2-8

¹⁰⁴ Paul Adams and Jeremy Bowen, “Barack Obama presses for Middle East reform” *BBC News Washington*, May 2011, accessed Oct 8, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-1345048>

forty-four years back in which Israel caught the West Bank, Golan Heights and Sinai Peninsula and Gaza Strip, but Obama was the only one who officially authorized the policy with permanent borders based on the 1967 lines for Israel-Palestine and recommend the need to bring reforms through peace talks, he further assured full withdrawal of Israeli forces from the West Bank as a condition to bring changes, security, and Jewish and Palestinian democratic states. President Obama represented a major shift in the US Middle East policy by formulating a move to recompense for conflicting territories based on the 1967 borders with mutually land swaps as the basis for peace process.¹⁰⁵

Israeli officials angrily condemned the US President's announcement and started protesting against Obama's initiative, even before Obama's speech Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu made a call to the US officials and demanded to cut Obama's mention of the 1967 border lines and continually contacted the US administration till right before Obama started the speech. President Obama condemned Arab governments and without promising any alterations in Middle East policy to confront oppresses more forcefully pursued to support protestors that they were directly allied with the US democratic ideals in region where the US strategic interests have routinely bested its ideals. US that shift, moved a bit nearer to the situation of Palestinians, and was seen as significant to them and implied that the US stands behind halting new Israeli settlements expansion as the compensation in talks over borders issue for independent state of Palestine. Hence, Obama's speech for Middle East reforms was greatly pro-Palestinian delivered by any US administration in that way was more profound for Palestinians and Muslim world. Obama took eagerly the task to realize Palestinians that their quest for statehood would be fulfill through the US. No pressure for an Independent Palestinian state was shown by any previous US administration than Obama Administration did till the end of his first term to cope Israel-Palestine conflict on mutually agreed basis.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Alan Silverleib and Tom Cohen, "Obama announces 'new chapter' in US Mideast diplomacy", *CNN News Washington*, May 2011, accessed Oct8, 2018, www.cnn.com/2011/POLITICS/05/19/obama.mideast/index.html

¹⁰⁶ Mark Landler and Steven Lee Myers, "Obama Sees '67 Borders as Starting Point for Peace Deal", *The New York Times*, May 19, 2011, accessed Oct 8, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2011/05/20/world/middleeast/20speech>.

2. 5.1 Responses to President Obama's May, 2011 Speech

President Obama's May, 2011, speech drew mixed reaction around Middle East and across world. Israelis deeply criticized President Obama's speech and called his Middle East objectives as unrealistic. The Chairman of Israel's *Yesha Council*, Danny Dayan, while criticizing President Obama said that Obama cannot pledge Israel's security and support a return to the 1967 border lines. He further disagreed with President Obama, for calling Israeli settlements building as an obstacle to bring peace and he blamed Palestine is responsible for not reaching the final agreement.

Secretary-general of Israeli NGO Peace Now, Yariv Oppenheimer, said Obama's idea to return to the 1967 borders was not optimistic and reveals that he had no policy of what way to restart and bring both the parties at negotiating tables for peacemaking, there is nothing new in Obama's address everyone knows the 1967 borders.

Dahlia Scheindlin, Israeli Media analyst, said President's speech was positive and introduced different ideals which were not ever introduced by International community that still both the sides can come back to the peace talks.

In Palestine, Palestinians were wary about the speech. Jihad Abu Znaid, *Fatah* official said the US administration must depict the real image of Palestinian statehood if not, then in Arab world the US will lose their influence.

Faisal Shawa, an engineer and entrepreneur in Gaza assumed, if the US demands their nobility in Middle East and across world then it should also recognize Palestinians self-esteem in occupied territories, and force Israelis to leave the occupied territories and give liberation to Palestinians. He further said, Israel continually occupying the West Bank and Gaza territories, if we retain negotiating in the same way and Israel continually occupying territories then after some time no land is left for Palestinians.¹⁰⁷

American writer, Robert Satloff, drew consideration away from Obama's call for peaceful reforms and said he infused the seeds of a main diversion from that by exploring

¹⁰⁷ Daniella Cheslow and Annasofie Flamand, "People in Middle East and North Africa react to Obama speech", 5-15

in as completely and provocative means as he did in the conflict between Israel-Palestine.¹⁰⁸

Muslim world widely applauded the speech and drew positive reactions. In Damascus, Radwan Ziadeh was upbeat and said Obama's speech was outstanding and indicates possibilities.

In Syria, a Kurdish militant Juan Youssef, said President Obama's speech was optimistic and different from previous policies of helping authoritarians in Middle East because at this time the US is recognizing dignity of peoples.¹⁰⁹

In Saudi Arabia, Mohammed Al Qahtani, Human rights activist said Obama's speech was expressive but lacked the roadmap for Israeli-Palestinian peacemaking. He was wary about Obama's plans whether they will be transformed into policy or not.

In Morocco, Aly Horma, Marrakesh entrepreneur was upbeat and said President Obama's speech represent a major change with that of Bush Administration, no President ever discusses the reforms for Middle East in this way than Obama did. President Obama rightly expressed the need for reforms, such as to introduce the democratic reforms must bring economic reforms first, and it's not an easy task.¹¹⁰

Senior fellow for Middle East studies at the Council on Foreign Relations; Robert Danin liked the speech and said it was meaningful that for the first time any US administration mentioned territorial basis to resolve the borders issue between both the parties. Such intention revealed position of Palestinians on borders and to balance this

¹⁰⁸ Meredith Buel, "Middle East Analysts Praise, Express Concern about Obama Speech", *VOA News*, May 19, 2011, accessed April 14, 2019, <https://www.voanews.com/.../middle-east-analysts-praise-express-concern-about-obama>

¹⁰⁹recognizing dignity of peoples, "People in Middle East and North Africa react to Obama speech", 8-15

¹¹⁰ Caryle Murphy, Aida Alami and Aamir Latif, "People in Middle East and North Africa react to Obama speech", 7-15

President also mentioned Israeli position on security measures, thus it's significant for region.¹¹¹

In Pakistan, former chairman of the IR department at the University of Karachi, Shamin Akhtar, said it's nothing new, the US Middle East policies have at all times built on dual standards as they are still. She further said Palestinian case is the basis of terrorism and violence in world together with Afghanistan and Pakistan. To stop emerging the extremist organizations and for the removal of violent acts it is necessary to settle this major issue and the US administration do further to recognize and protect Palestinian peoples. She further said if Israel-Palestine issue will settle the approximately seventy-five percent of extremism would be excluded from world.¹¹²

2.6 Analysis of President Obama's First Term Middle Eastern Approach

President Barack Obama entered into administration with legitimate international priority; setting faltering foreign policy for Middle East. President Obama had special focused on: staying in Middle East by reshaping the US soft power, resolving the conflict between Israel-Palestine, and finally discouraging nuclear aspiration of Iran by developing detective method.

With exceptional perceptive on deplorable narrative of Palestinians no US President at any point got the administration or more profoundly pledged than Obama to enable Palestinians to realize self-determination. President Obama directly addressed Palestinian narrative in contrast to previous administrations. Obama held his administration with an advanced and unwavering foreign policy and positioned more extensive Middle East at the highest point of his foreign policy agenda. To achieve a lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians; President Obama vowed to adequately and vigorously deal with the conflict.

President Obama by his style had addressed a particular preferred standpoint in Islamic world for the US foreign policy and engaged himself personally to deal Israel-

¹¹¹ Edmund Blair, "Instant View - Middle East reaction to Obama's speech", *Reuters News Agency: UK*, May 19, 2011, accessed April 14, 2019, <https://www.reuters.com/...obama-mideast-reaction/instant-view-middle-east-reaction-t>

¹¹²In Pakistan, former chairman, "People in Middle East and North Africa react to Obama speech", 14-15

Palestine conflict. The previous US administrations of Bill Clinton, Ronald Reagan, and either Bush had not addressed Israel-Palestine conflict in such a profound way than Obama did. Obama Administration always favored Palestinian rights and statehood therefore; Obama and Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu had worse relations.

As such Obama opposed Netanyahu's demands (settlements expansion and recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital), because Netanyahu showed over and over that he is more intrigued by land than in peace by his activities; if not generally by his words. Mainly Obama Administration was viewed largely as anti-Israel because of its apparent unfriendliness towards Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu.

To cover up, the first African-American President Barack Obama played a great role in securing peace between Israel-Palestine and to boost relationships with Muslim world by initiating a policy of change and engagement. No previous American President had addressed Israel-Palestine conflict in such a way as Obama dealt with Israel-Palestine conflict. Obama delivered his speeches and gave interviews in a more profound ways and spoke openly for Palestinian narrative throughout his first term. President Obama initiated direct peace talks between both the parties to settle their issues and always called on Israel to halt settlements construction. The next chapter further elaborates the role of Obama Administration during his second term.

CHAPTER THREE

ROLE OF PRESIDENT BARACK OBAMA TOWARD ISRAEL-PALESTINE CONFLICT DURING 2013-2017

President Obama's re-election in 2013 pursued patterns of his previous four years administration, while introducing some change and advancement. During the second term President Obama was heavily involved in trying to settle Israel-Palestine conflict in addition to his involvement in resolution of the conflict during his first term administration and correspondingly the first term, during the second term President Obama placed Israeli Palestinian conflict at the top priority of his foreign policy agenda. On the contrary, the US-Israel relations sharply more deteriorated during Obama's second term.

This chapter elaborates President Obama's role and approaches he introduced towards the resolution of Israel-Palestine conflict when he was re-elected as the US President during his second term administration. This chapter is divided into Six Sections: i) Obama's Approach during his Second Presidential Term, ii) President Barack Obama's Speech at Jerusalem in May, 2013, iii) Direct Peace Talks between the US and Israel-Palestine, 2013-2014, iv) Obama Administration's abstention to veto the UNSC Resolution 2334, v) President Obama's Last Hours Release of Aid Package to PA, vi) Analysis of President Obama's Second Term Middle Eastern Approach and vii) Critical Analysis of Obama's Two Presidential Terms Regarding Israel-Palestine Conflict.

3.1 Obama's Approach during his Second Presidential Term

Since 2009, as regions of Middle East were intensely transformed and the US economy was strengthened, but a number of challenges that President Obama confronted during first term were remained at the top of Obama's foreign policy with dealing China, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan and the wider Israel-Palestine conflict. Middle East region has caused a plenty of challenges, each demanding an alternate approach to fix the

challenge.¹¹³ In the beginning of Obama's second term, settling Israel-Palestine conflict was utmost to the hearts and-brains strategy in Middle East which he was attempting to combine with his hard power commitment to demolish conspicuous militant activists in region. President Obama more likely committed an effort to reestablishing a strategy that stimulates Israelis and Palestinians to resume negotiations. Such as Obama begun his second term, there begun a wide range of discussions about America's Middle East policy, especially concerning Israel-Palestine peace talks, such discussions around world gained impetus when Senator John Kerry stated that Obama placed Israel-Palestine peace process at the top of his Middle East agenda. President Obama nominated John Kerry, to be secretary of state, due to Kerry's particular understanding of the US role in world and particularly within Middle East region.¹¹⁴

At Obama's second term inaugural address there was a sense of realism from Obama's side, as compared to his previous term's inaugural address. President Obama highlighted aspiring and mainly advanced agenda for his next four years' Presidential campaign in front of approximately 1.8 million listeners. Similar to first term, Obama's second term Middle East doctrine reflected parameters for hope and change, but at time the situation was much more challenging and complex to cope with the crisis within region. Obama's primary goal was to restart peace efforts for Israeli-Palestinian peace process and with such efforts to reestablish relationships with Muslim states. Except to establish the agenda, Obama has mostly found himself forced to act in response to Middle East issues. Obama planned to remove new military predicaments overseas and to focus on rebuilding the US ties by removing obstacles in his way. Hence, during the second term main policy agenda of Obama Administration was to restart another round of peace talks, and to achieve a lasting peace agreement between Israel-Palestine.¹¹⁵

¹¹³ Xenia Dormandy, "The Next Chapter: President Obama's Second-Term Foreign Policy" (Senior Fellow at Chatham House London, January 2013)

¹¹⁴ Mohamed Elshinnawi, "US Middle East Policy in Obama's Second Term" (*Voice of America*) VOA News, January 26, 2013, accessed Oct 14, 2018, <https://www.voanews.com/.../us-middle-east-policy-in-obamas-second-term>

¹¹⁵ Tony Karon, "What Should Middle East Expect from Obama's Second Term?", *TIME Magazine*, November 7, 2012, accessed July 28, 2019, world.time.com/2012/.../what-should-the-middle-east-expect-from-obamas-second-ter..

3.1.1 President Obama's First Visit to Jerusalem and the West Bank in March, 2013

After holding administration since President Obama's first term, he traveled to world's most complex region, whose political issues are most intricate and layered. This was Obama's first foreign visit of his second term. Obama's visit characterized the two-term legacy of President in Middle East. During Obama's visit he discussed core conflicting issues between Israel-Palestine. The main objective of Obama's meeting was to discuss and settling his unfriendly relationship with Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu, Syrian possible use of chemical arms, Iran's rising nuclear threat, and the prospects for peace negotiations between Israel-Palestine.¹¹⁶ President Obama's Middle East tour comprised of visiting, Israel Museum, Israel's Holocaust memorial *Yad Vashem*, and graves of Israel's Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Theodor Herzl. Obama delivered his major speech of the visit at International Convention Centre in Jerusalem to the students of Israel's university. Furthermore, Obama made a trip to territories of Palestine to visit Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. Regardless of the absence of personal warmth between Obama and Netanyahu both faced each other 10th time since taking office in 2008 and hold the meeting for four hours.¹¹⁷

During second term, prime concern of Obama was the resolution of Middle East conflict, as situation was not got too worse hence, Obama proclaimed the possibility of peace deal between Israel-Palestine. Israel's Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu seemed very satisfied by Obama's public expression of happiness exposed during their meetings; which were appeared negative over the previous four-year meetings. During meeting the atmosphere was greatly improved than in the entirety of their meetings held before, as Netanyahu appeared to restart the negotiations. Obama's Middle East visit raised expectations that the complex conflict over a long time between Israel-Palestine was closer to resolution. Instead of appealing Israeli leaders, Obama directly addressed ordinary peoples to push for change. Obama promised that secretary of state, John Kerry,

¹¹⁶ Michael Martinez, *5 things to know about Obama's first Presidential visit to Israel* (CNN Politics, March 21, 2013), 1-3

¹¹⁷ Harriet Sherwood, *Barack Obama visits Israel in effort to boost relations with Netanyahu* (The Guardian UK, March 20, 2013) 2-4

would offer energy and much time to Israel-Palestine issue, and similarly the first term Obama continuously called Israeli Settlements construction as an obstacle to peace.¹¹⁸

Before moving Israeli occupied territories of the West Bank, Obama asked Palestinians to come back to negotiating table regardless of whether Israel did not fulfill their condition of ending Israeli settlements building in territories of Palestine that Obama demanded during his first term administration; however which had just a partial, temporary effect. President Obama's visit was a struggle to push the two adverse heads, with Palestinian President, Mahmud Abbas, and Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu pursuing his vision of Middle East peace. Obama urged if both the sides want to resolve the conflict, then they will have to think in a new way and to get rid of old formulas which blocked advancement for so long but, Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu refused Obama's peace proposal. Whereas, Palestinian President Mahmud Abbas reiterated demand of Palestinians that Israel halt settlements building but he did not mention it as a pre-condition to start talks, which signed that Abbas was ready to return to direct peace negotiations with Israel. Likewise, Obama repeatedly condemned Israeli settlement construction, mainly in the strategically complex part of the West Bank known as E1. President Obama said if Israelis continued settlements in this area, then it would be very difficult to achieve the two-state solution therefore, Israelis must stop settlements construction; as Israeli West Bank settlements imposed a shocking social cost. On the other hand, Obama also urged Israelis, that looking for peacemaking was not just in Israeli traditions, it was likewise in self-regard of Israelis with a flourishing economy that could transform itself into a powerhouse if Israel came out from isolation that has occasioned from years due to conflict between both the sides.¹¹⁹

President Barack Obama traveled to Ramallah on the West Bank to meet Palestinian President Mahmud Abbas, on the second day of his Middle East trip. The main objective of Obama's visit to the West Bank territories was meeting with

¹¹⁸ Crispian Balmer, "Analysis: Obama scores unexpected successes on Middle East trip", *Reuters World News*, March 22, 2013, accessed Oct 19, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/.../us-israel-palestinians-obama-result-idUSBRE92LOTJ20130>

¹¹⁹ Mark Landler, *Obama Urges Young Israelis to Lead the Push for Peace* (The New York Times, March 21, 2013), 2-7

Palestinian President Mahmud Abbas and promising Palestinians that still the US is committed and favored the two-state solution. At first, Obama and Palestinian authority President Mahmud Abbas enjoyed a working lunch, trailed by a meeting, and then Obama visited a youth Centre in Ramallah. On the same day, in Gaza Strip Hamas militants fired two rockets and strike southern Israel; Barack Obama condemned the attacks, and said he came to Middle East only to listen to both the sides about how to restart the stopped peace negotiations from approximately three years. Further President Obama explored that he decided against coming armed with an inclusive plan for peace that might not be appropriate for present political circumstances. President Obama's new approach was dissimilar to his first term's initial approach. Obama admitted that he made few mistakes in his first term foreign policy concerning Middle East, but said during his second term he will develop a better presidency as compared to his first term.¹²⁰

Distinctly Palestinian protestors established a protest camp on the West Bank land East of Jerusalem where Israel has proclaimed contentious plans to build thousands of new settlements. As a result of new Israeli settlements building, international community reacted angrily and condemned the settlements; as such settlements could eradicate hopes for the creation of independent state of Palestine. Palestinians demanded free up of \$700 million in blocked American aid and discharge of more than one thousand prisoners detained by Israel; hoped for Obama's Palestinian help to cope these issues.¹²¹ During meeting, Obama and Palestinian President Mahmud Abbas most profoundly addressed Israel's settlements construction and problem of Palestinian detainees. President Obama clearly mentioned that Palestinian peoples deserve an end to Israeli hostage and occupation; he added Palestinians also deserve their own future independent state. Furthermore, Obama called for excluding old strategies and formulas for resuming the future peace negotiations between both the sides, he said the core issues are attaining security for Israel and independence for Palestinians and these issues could be resolve through peace deal. Obama pressured both the sides to solve internal and

¹²⁰ Don Dahler, "Obama Meets with Abbas, Says US Still Committed to A 2-State Solution", *CBS 2 New York*, March 21, 2013, accessed Oct 19, 2018, <https://newyork.cbslocal.com/2013/.../21/obama-meets-with-abbas-says-u-s-still-com>.

¹²¹ Agence France-Presse, *Gaza militants fire rockets as Barack Obama meets Abbas in Ramallah* (The telegraph UK, March 21, 2013), 1-3

external hindrances and assemble together for the foundation of a peace agreement; if both the sides desire peace.

For his part, Palestinian President Mahmud Abbas reiterated Israeli settlements construction as an obstacle to peacemaking and called them as illegal. Simultaneously, Mahmud Abbas added Palestinians desires peace and consider it as necessary and inevitable therefore, peace should not be achieved through occupation, violence, renunciation of refugee rights and settlements expansion. Furthermore, Palestinian President Mahmud Abbas proposed future Palestinian state based on the 1967 borders with Jerusalem as capital and insisted Israelis to realize troubles of Palestinians. Palestinian President further added, just like Israelis Palestinians have right to form their independent state, neither occupation nor exclusion is the solution. In view of such arguments, Obama called Arab states for normalization of relations with Israel, Palestinians recognition of Israel as a Jewish state; similarly, Israel must stop settlements building and draw real borders for Palestine while recognizing independent Palestinian state.¹²²

3.2 President Barack Obama's Speech at Jerusalem in May, 2013

On 21 May, 2013 President Barack Obama delivered his speech to almost Six-hundred university students of Jerusalem, which was broadcast across country via TV and radio. The main objective of Obama's speech was to bring change to Middle East, to motivate Israeli students to formulate and agree to a future peace deal with Palestinians and also demanded for the two-state solution. Obama generally addressed three topics in his speech: security, peace and peace talks. The Obama Administration's Jerusalem speech was highly welcomed by audience and international community.¹²³ Obama started his speech by calling Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu as "my friend Bibi" to soften his relations with Netanyahu and at the same time, Obama urged Israelis to take a gander at world through eyes of Palestinians, yet in addition said foes of Israel must

¹²² Tom Cohen. John King and Jessica Yellin, *Obama: 'Peace is possible', but see the world as Palestinians do* (CNN Politics, March 21, 2013), 2-7

¹²³ "President Barack Obama Addresses Israeli People", *Centre for Israel Education (CIE)*, March 21, 2018, accessed Oct 24, 2018, <https://israeled.org> > Blog

change their expressions and strategies to reflect contemporary reality. Further, to normalize American ties with Israel Obama assured Israelis that are not alone and has the support of the US and reminded the audience that Israel is one of the strongest countries in Middle East region therefore, no peace with Palestinians could be obtained without listening Israeli demands. At the same time Obama stated Israeli security must be at the focal point of any settlement.¹²⁴

On the other hand, a large part of President Obama's speech was based on addressing Palestinians dilemma. President Barack Obama condemned the presence of Israeli forces in Palestinian territory to restrict Palestinians movement, Palestinian humiliation and violence, their displacement from their homes and continued Israeli settlements expansion. Obama knew the difficulty in solving Israel -Palestine conflict, but insisted Israelis that peace is possible between both the sides as there's an opportunity, in addition just as Israelis deserve their own state, so do Palestinians. Obama promised American opposition to unilateral efforts to omit dialogues through the UN. Obama also called for recognition of Palestinian right to justice. President Obama made it clear that peace is necessary; not only because it benefits Israeli people but also because Palestinian people deserve to live in a healthier condition. While discussing Palestinian plight, Obama reminded Israelis of Ariel Sharon's quote that Israel will lose it all, if Israelis pursuists control of all of Israeli land. In addition, given demographics west of Jordon River, Obama said, for Israelis the only way to endure and flourish as a Jewish democratic state is through recognition of Palestine as an independent and a viable state, President Obama hoped for Israeli listeners to pressure their leaders for peacemaking. Most Israeli moderates were critical to President Obama's demands. Contrasting Obama's first term, he opposed preconditions to resume peace talks and argued the only path for Israeli security is to end the conflict and stop violence.¹²⁵

During the speech, Obama admired Palestinian authority as good partner which was interrupted by young Israelis when Obama mentioned name of Palestinian President

¹²⁴ President Obama started his speech, "Obama: 'Peace is possible', but see the world as Palestinians do" , 3-7

¹²⁵ Matti Friedman, *From Obama, an embrace and a push in Jerusalem speech* (The Times of Israel, March 21, 2013), 3-6

Mahmud Abbas and Prime Minister Salam Fayyad. Furthermore, Obama stated Israeli young listeners that they are the generation who can secure their Zionist dream by avoiding the war. Throughout his speech Obama more deeply emphasized Palestinian troubles, two-state solution, return to 1967 border lines and halt to Israeli settlements expansion. Obama's Jerusalem speech was a major speech that reflected the mutual dreams rather than complex explanations, which stopped the peace talks for a long time. The Jerusalem speech signaled Obama's preparation to renew the U.S-led peace initiative, and assured to bring change in region. As President termed for a new bond between the US and Muslims, many related his speech to Obama's 2009 Cairo speech. Hence, several Israelis conceived Obama's speech as he tried to apart himself from Israel. In spite Obama's landmark speech pointed new demands and conditions but it lacked strategic frameworks and specific initiatives.¹²⁶

3. 2.1 Responses to President Obama's Speech at Jerusalem, 2013

Israeli leadership skeptically responded to Obama's speech at Jerusalem, showed mixed reactions. While, right wing Israeli political class condemned the speech. Israeli negotiator Tzipi Livni, viewed Obama's speech as vital and inspirational. Chairman of Yesha Council and supporter of Israeli settlements group, Dani Dayan termed President Obama's vision of two-state resolution as "utopian".

The head of Jewish group, Naftali Bennett called Obama's speech as friendly to Israelis and claimed for the adoption of advance strategies for the resolution, further said only considering Palestinian cause is not the right idea.¹²⁷

Member of Likud Yisrael Beiteinu, Miri Regev, called Obama's speech as aggressive to Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu. He was shocked by President Obama's words about Palestinian national building, as Obama didn't, mention Jerusalem's status. Further he condemned Obama's statement, that 'Leaders must promote peacemaking,' as if Netanyahu leadership doesn't aspire peace.

¹²⁶ Edmund Sanders and Christi Parsons, *Obama, in speech, tells Israel its future depends on a Palestinian state* (Los Angeles Times, March 21, 2013), 1-3

¹²⁷ Gregg Carlstrom, "Obama urges Israeli-Palestinian peace talks", *Al Jazeera News*, March 22, 2013, accessed, June 23, 2019, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2013/03/201332118157590429.html>

American Jewish group condemned President Obama's speech and stated Obama delivered his speech in front of carefully selected Israeli students instead of Israeli leadership, because the students would not respond critically to Obama's call. The Zionist Organization of America further argued that President Obama urged the students to pressure Israeli leadership for an agreement and recognition of Palestinian state. President Obama praised Palestinian leadership and reiterated for Palestinian statehood. The Zionist Organization of America (ZOA) additionally exposed that President Obama mostly during his speeches criticized Israeli leadership policies instead of criticizing Palestinian authority and increased 500 million in aid to Palestinians. In such situation the previous US presidencies always supported Israelis whereas, Obama has done shocking and alternate actions.¹²⁸

Palestinians were not very happy with Obama's words, as President Obama during years of tension with Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu first time addressed him friendly and urged for Israeli security and strong U.S-Israel alliance. President Obama only addressed Israeli students in Jerusalem neither Palestinians in the West Bank. In Ramallah, PLO's senior official, Hanan Ashrawi called President Obama's speech revealed his concerns for Israeli security, American backing and normalization of their relations while supporting American-Israeli strong ties.¹²⁹

Ziad Asali, President of American Task Force on Palestine, in Washington, said President Obama's Jerusalem speech revealed the US political will and Obama's intentions in Middle Eastern region.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ "ZOA: Obama's Jerusalem Speech Supports/Praises Palestinians; Blames Israel for No Peace", *Zionist Organization of America(ZOA) News Press*, March 22, 2013, accessed, June 23, 2019, <https://zoa.org/.../10195161-zoa-obamas-jerusalem-speech-supportspraises-palestinian>

¹²⁹ Crispian Balmer and Steve Holland, "After Israeli backslapping, Obama faces Palestinian discontent", *Reuters World News:UK*, March 20, 2013, accessed Oct, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/...israel-palestinians-obama/after-israeli-backslapping-obama>

¹³⁰ Obama's intentions in Middle Eastern region, "Obama, in speech, tells Israel its future depends on a Palestinian state", 1-3

3.3 Direct Peace Talks between the US and Israel-Palestine, 2013-2014

During 2013-2014, once again during President Obama's second term, he called for the second longer and direct peace talks between Israel-Palestine led by the US under Secretary of State John Kerry. The second US peace efforts also called as the Kerry talks were to some extent a final attempt to keep alive the negotiating process. The 2013-2014 peace talks provided Israel-Palestine a pathway where both the sides independently negotiate the US to introduce their specific concerns. During several months of direct Israel-Palestine peace talks, core issues including Jerusalem's Internationalization, Israeli security, settlements expansion and refugees problem were more broadly and intensely discussed for the first time between Israel-Palestine.¹³¹

Obama after moving back from his Middle East visit authorized Secretary of State John Kerry to organize the second final status negotiating process as an effort to control worsening situation between Israel-Palestine. The US Secretary of State John Kerry traveled five times to Israel and the West Bank to meet regional authorities and to try to bring them close at negotiating tables for resuming the peace talks. Palestinians were skeptical about second round of negotiating efforts; considered it as another plan for stalling peacemaking therefore, Palestinian President Mahmud Abbas set pre-conditions to restart the second round of peace talks. Palestinian pre-conditions were composed of: borders based on the 1967 lines, halt to settlements expansion in the West Bank and East Jerusalem and release of one hundred and four remaining pre-Oslo Palestinians hostages. Both Israeli and Palestinian authorities took extremely abhor steps for agreeing to restart peace talks, Palestinian President set pre-conditions for returning to negotiations, similarly Israeli Prime Minister demanded for its security arrangements, Israeli military presence in any final agreement in the West Bank and agreed to release Palestinian prisoners in 4 rounds over the negotiating period. The first releasing round of Palestinian

¹³¹ Jeremy Pressman, *Obama and Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (E-International Relations (E-IR), 14 July 2016), 2-4

security prisoners was started during August 2013, the second in October 2013, the third in December 2013, and the final round was started at the end of March 2014.¹³²

Palestinians opposes any Israeli military presence at the final agenda of peace agreement and on the other side, both the parties have more deteriorating situation on the status of Jerusalem. Israeli leaders called for formal recognition of Israel as Jewish national to restart negotiations and as a pre-condition to end the conflict and to stop Israeli future nationalist demands. Palestinians rejected to agree on condition of recognition of Israel as a Jewish state because they were feared about abuse of their national rights. At the same time, John Kerry issued a letter of guarantees to Israel-Palestine on the basis of agreement to restart negotiations, in which Kerry declared that America favored future Palestinian state based on the 1967 border lines. Similarly, Kerry sent another letter of guarantees to Israel claiming the US position was that the borders of Palestinian state would not be drawn to the 1967 lines; borders would be drawn in resemblance with reality on the basis involving recognition of the Sharon-Bush letter concerning the huge settlement blocs. Hence both the sides, Israel-Palestine were ready for resuming the peace negotiations for the period of 9 months on 19 July, 2013.

Israeli and Palestinian negotiators along with their negotiating teams met with the US President Barack Obama, John Kerry and other US diplomats to formally start the peace talks in Washington D.C. on 31st July and 1st August 2013. During the peace talks Israeli decision to release the twenty-Six pre-Oslo Palestinian prisoners, was highly condemned by Israelis, which evident the difficulties of initial agreement. Simultaneously, Israel announced of planning settlements construction proposals of around three- thousand new settlement; caused widely opposition from Palestinians and undermined political advantages from release of the security prisoners to President Mahmud Abbas. During the second and the third round of release of Palestinian prisoners same bitter situation was occurred, undermined trust between negotiators and prompted a contradictory impression in both the sides. However, the peace talks continued regardless of these difficulties, and the peace process was started more properly between the

¹³² Ilan Goldenberg, *Lessons from the 2013–2014 Israeli-Palestinian Final Status Negotiations* (Senior Fellow and Director of Middle East Security Program at the Center for New American Security(CNAS) Washington, March 2, 2015)

conflicting parties with the US mediation during August and November, 2013. President Obama's special diplomats joined negotiations and after attending joint meetings they met with both the sides to discuss core issues and to present specific solutions to cope the complexities. Similarly, on a consistent basis to talk over core issues, Secretary of State John Kerry met separately with leadership of both the parties.¹³³

After six months of resuming peace talks, in December, 2013 both the sides admitted that a final peace agreement would not be achievable by end of the specified period of nine months for peace talks therefore, instead of that both the parties pursued a Framework agreement which laid out basic considerations required for attaining the final peace agreement and agreed to implied the task for Framework agreement on the US to present it in documented form obligatory on both the sides. The US negotiating team met and discussed more seriously with both the parties; especially on a draft with Israelis during the months of January and mid-February, 2014. On the other hand, during mid-February, John Kerry met with Palestinian President Mahmud Abbas and his team in Paris to demonstrate parameters for peace agreement. Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu met with Obama to reconsider the status of peace negotiations in Washington On March, 3. The most significant step during the peace talks was occurred when Palestinian President Mahmud Abbas made a visit to Washington and met President Obama on 17 March, 2014. During meeting, President Obama presented some advance ideas as a basis for the attainment of probable Framework peace agreement. However, Palestinian President Mahmud Abbas was not reacted to the US proposed parameters and he declared to ready for further talks on the basis of new parameters if at the end of March Israel releases the fourth group of prisoners.

On the other hand, Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu was not ready to release the fourth group of prisoners as Palestinian President Mahmud Abbas discarded a month later when the deadline for negotiations expired, and declared to ready for the release of fourth round of prisoners under the condition of extension for negotiations period. Throughout

¹³³ Amira Schiff, *Lessons from the Kerry Peace Initiative and the Need for a Constructive Approach* (Peace and Conflict Studies: Vol. 22: No. 2, Article 4, October 2015),163-175

the month of March both the parties with the US mediation tried to sort out the complexities occurred within negotiations; to attain an agreement as a result of release of fourth group of prisoners for the extension of negotiations but, they failed to do so and the deadline for Framework agreement came and expired without any possible result on March, 29. After that, both the parties tried to resume the talks for possible extension during the month of April, but due to lack of trust both the sides failed to do so. Palestinian militant forces *Al-Fatah* and Hamas proclaimed a new agreement on 23, April, to initiate ways for holding of elections in the West Bank and Gaza and to make a technocratic government of independents. Israel departed from negotiations and declared it formally hence, at the end of April, 2014, the peace talks were ended, and both the sides walked away from the point of extension and continuation of peace negotiations. After the collapse of negotiations once again more deteriorated situation occurred on both the sides and as a result of 2 months war in Gaza almost 2,000 Palestinians and seventy Israelis were killed and Palestinian individuals joined International Criminal Court for war charges.¹³⁴

When the two-month war in Gaza ended in October, 2014, once again Palestinians unilaterally tried for extension of negotiations through the United Nations Security Council. Similarly, the US Secretary of State John Kerry tried to indorse an advance diplomatic initiative as a result to Palestinians unilateral actions at UNS.C. The US Secretary of State John Kerry proposed extension of negotiations on mutually agreed basis of Palestinian borders based on the 1967 lines with land swaps. At first, Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu agreed, but then due to the common causalities between both the sides this latest round of talks collapsed the same way as the previous peace efforts were collapsed. These peace efforts by Obama Administration signified that Israelis and Palestinians sat down for comprehensive peace talks to more openly discuss the complexes that remained between both the parties on core issues.¹³⁵

¹³⁴International Criminal Court for war charges, “Lessons from the 2013–2014 Israeli-Palestinian Final Status Negotiations”, 1-31

¹³⁵ Parties on core issues, “Lessons from the Kerry Peace Initiative and the Need for a Constructive Approach”, 165-175

3.4 Obama Administration's Abstention to Veto the UNSC Resolution 2334

The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) passed a Resolution 2334 on December 23, 2016 concerning Israeli settlements since 1967 in occupied Palestinian territories in the West Bank and East Jerusalem. The 23, December UN Security Council resolution was initially proposed by Egypt but, under pressure after 22, December telephonic meeting between Egyptian President and the US incoming President Donald Trump, Egypt withdrew from its original proposal and the resolution was re-offered by Senegal, New Zealand, Venezuela and Malaysia. The UN Security Council Resolution condemned Israeli settlements construction with a demand to immediately halt them completely as such settlements construction have no legal validity; expressed Israeli settlements expansion as a hurdle in way to resolve the conflict. The UN Security Council Resolution 2334 further condemned violent Israeli acts, and called upon both the sides to act on the basis of International law and set new ways for resuming of peace negotiations. The Resolution 2334 also called on all states to propose their appropriate ideals concerning the territory of state of Israel since the 1967 occupied territories. The UNSC Resolution 2334 was approved with 14-0 votes in favor by member states of the UN Security Council and with one abstention of the US.

While speaking at the UN Security Council, US ambassador Samantha Power said the UN Security Council Resolution pointed the established Security Council position concerning Israeli settlements have no legitimacy, and asserted American position was completely in accordance with bipartisan history of how American presidencies for years have engaged to resolution of the conflict. Therefore, she said America did not agree with every word of the resolution and hence not voted in Resolution's favor, but the US cannot hamper the resolution. Further, she stated, settlements construction issue has more deteriorated because of threatening the resolution hence, each side needs to make decision between separation and settlements. She likewise said the vote did not abate the US pledge to Israeli security. Similarly, various Obama's precursors had permitted parallel actions to approve. Former Presidents Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford all allowed the United Nations General Assembly or the Security Council to approve resolutions opposed of Jewish statehood Ronald Reagan allegedly viewed 21

such actions through international body whereas, George H.W. Bush permitted 9, Bill Clinton 3, and 6 by George W. Bush.¹³⁶

President Obama said his administration abstained from voting in favor of the UN Security Council Resolution 2334 because Israeli settlements expansion had accelerated and increased rapidly. Obama termed Israeli settlements expansion as skyrocketed and said under such increased settlements construction the formation of Palestinian state would not be possible, living in peace and security both the parties would direct negotiate on the negotiating tables and address more openly their complex issues in the way to move towards the two-state solution. Further, Obama said voting against the resolution damaged the US credibility on human rights affirmation only when it's appropriate, not when it has to do with Americans and its supporters. Obama cleared it the US abstention to veto the Resolution 2334 was in direct reaction to decisions made by Netanyahu on settlements construction. Additionally, over his Middle East foreign policy agenda, the resolution served as a warning to the newly formed US President Donald Trump by nominating pro-settler David Friedman to be the US ambassador to Israel.¹³⁷

Barack Obama during his final press conference delivered strict warning to Israelis and Palestinians to take some serious and advanced steps for accomplishment of the two-state solution otherwise chances for two separate states for two peoples could soon fade away. While, referring to his decision to abstain from vetoing the resolution 2334, Obama envisioned to send a wakeup call to both the sides, such that the chance for the two-state solution may be gone, as simply the aim of advancing the resolution means settlements expansion, and settlements expansion is making impossible the opportunity for a democratic Israeli state and an independent Palestinian state. The adoption of the resolution could generate a consideration inside both the parties that won't resolve instantaneously in peace, but at least will help to a more serious analysis of the desired initiatives for the resolution. Further, Obama said it's up to both the parties to make

¹³⁶ Eric Cortellessa, "Choosing not to veto, Obama lets anti-settlement resolution pass at UN Security Council", *The Times of Israel*, December 23, 2016, accessed Oct 27, 2018, www.timesofisrael.com/choosing-not-to-veto-obama-lets-anti-settlement-resolution-pass

¹³⁷ TOI staff, "Obama: 'Skyrocketing' settlement means Palestinian state 'almost impossible'" *The Times of Israel*, January 26, 2018, accessed Oct 27, 2018, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/obama-used-to-joke-with-staff-that-hes-basically-a-libe>.

favorable moves otherwise the situation for Israelis and Palestinians will be unbreakable and difficult to achieve their goals and practically at the end there would be one state in which large number of people will be exclude and treat as second-class inhabitants or even lacked citizenship. Additionally Obama came to office to do everything to arrange sober peace negotiations between Israel-Palestine and he invested a lot of energy, effort and time from his first year until his last year in office. President Obama made it clear that the US can provide stage, assist and motivate the parties neither the US can pressure or enforce the resolution to both parties.¹³⁸

President Obama addressed the incoming President-elect Donald Trump, as President –elect will have his foreign policy, have their privileges, sharply contrasting to Obama’s policies and future will determine his policies outcome. Obama’s such final public address on Israel-Palestine conflict resolution made it clear to President-elect Donald Trump the necessity to more seriously negotiate and understand the issue and paved the way for its resolution while taking different moves. Donald Trump quickly and sharply criticized Obama Administration’s move and showed his sympathies with Israel by calling Israel as great friend of the US in response to Obama Administration’s decision to abstention from vetoing the resolution, the incoming US President Donald Trump issued a statement to condemned Obama’s decision. Donald Trump called Obama Administration’s decision was unfair, it should must veto the UN Security Council resolution. The US always maintained peace and Israeli-Palestinian conflict could be resolve through dialogues rather than imposition of the UN moves. The United Nations decision put Israelis in a very poor negotiating condition and it’s unjust with Israelis.¹³⁹

3.4.1 Responses to the US decision on UNSC Resolution 2334

The UN Security Council Resolution 2334 concerning Israeli settlements construction drew highly skeptical reactions. Palestinian leadership hailed adoption of the resolution, as an assertion to Palestinian demands by international community and the

¹³⁸ resolution to both parties, “In final remarks, Obama says chance for two-state solution passing by”, 1-8

¹³⁹ Peter Beaumont, *Trump intervenes to sideline Obama over Israeli settlements* (The Guardian UK, December 23, 2016), 3-4

US. Entirely Palestinians supported passage of the resolution, viewed the resolution as an appropriate means to bolster their claims against Israel and considered the resolution as a victory for international law and a dismissal of the policies of Israeli government. Whereas, passage of the resolution was highly condemned by Israeli leadership and Israelis responded furiously. Israel regarded the resolution as an impediment to slightly possible return to the peace talks. Israel considered adoption of the resolution as a provision of political inducements by international community to those unfriendly to Israeli leadership, caused threatening to aid cut and international support.¹⁴⁰ Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu called the resolution as a distorted and disgraceful move by the UN Security Council. Therefore, Israelis openly stated of its expectation of working more closely with the US incoming President Donald Trump and blamed Obama Administration of secretly supporting Palestinians from behind, to oppose Israeli settlements construction via adoption of the resolution. Israeli followers in the US claimed that the ongoing US President Obama has clearly revealed it that he's an anti-Semite and Jewish hatred.¹⁴¹

International community supported and welcomed the adoption of the resolution regarding Israeli settlements, as it reflected the shared international community's aspirations. The international community condemned Israeli settlements and called the resolution as an important and historic move by the states proposed the resolution. The US Secretary of State John Kerry stated that in abstention to veto the resolution, Obama Administration was merely agreeing to the long-standing US policy in favor of resolving Israel-Palestine conflict through two-state solution and the US condemnation of Israeli settlements construction in Palestinian territories. Further, Kerry called Israeli settlements agenda as driven by extreme features, and said the Security Council resolution reiterates similar irresistible consensus of international interpretation on settlements, missing advancements and core issues. Kerry additionally said, if the US had vetoed this

¹⁴⁰ Amb. Alan Baker, *The Dangers of UN Security Council Resolution 2334 (2016)* (Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, December 26, 2016), 1-3

¹⁴¹ Peter Beaumont, *Israel rejects 'shameful' UN resolution amid criticism of Netanyahu* (The Guardian UK, December 24, 2016), 1-4

resolution, the US would have been assuring to further unfettered settlement construction that the US mainly resist.¹⁴²

3.5 President Obama's Last Hours Release of Aid Package to PA

On January 2017, the day when President Donald Trump held his office, President Barack Obama empowered the US State Department to deliver aid package of \$221 million for Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza. The aid package of \$221 million was sent for West Bank and Gaza relief projects, including rehabilitation, political and security reforms, rule of law, sustainable power source, civil society, municipal governance, maintenance of East Jerusalem's hospitals and improved humanitarian necessities for Palestinians. Obama's release of funds to Palestinians appeared as he ended his administration with a censorious impression towards Israeli leadership. The US State Department also delivered \$4 million to the Palestinian Authority for climate change projects and \$1.25 million for organizations of the U. N., utilized as international assistance to the UN Peace building programs. The State Department sent aid to the Palestinian Authority for improvement of future territories of the Palestinian state.¹⁴³

Congress had authorized aid for 2015-2016 but Republican politicians had held the release of funds over the moves of the PA had sought membership in international organizations. The disapproval of Republican politicians was not legitimately authoritative therefore; the funding was continued hours before President Trump was inaugurated. The funding to Palestinians signaled opposition from President Trump as he has promised to be a strong supporter of Israeli leadership. Also, Israelis perceived Obama's funding to Palestinians as part of his tense relations with Israeli Prime Minister throughout his administration.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² Joseph S. Spoerl, *Understanding Resolution 2334: Did Obama Administration Betray Israel at the UN?* (Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, March 14, 2017), 1-

¹⁴³ Alex Lockie, "The \$221 million Obama quietly sent to Palestine in his last hours in office went through", *BI:UK News Website*, April 27, 2017, accessed July 24, 2019, <https://www.businessinsider.com/obama-221-million-palestine-israel-foreign-aid-2017->

¹⁴⁴ Jack Moore, "US GAVE PALESTINIANS \$221 MILLION ON OBAMA'S LAST DAY IN OFFICE", *Newsweek Magazine*, January 24, 2017, accessed July 24, 2019, <https://www.newsweek.com> › ... › Jerusalem › Barack Obama › Trump › Netanyahu

Trump Administration has halted the release of \$221 million funding by Obama Administration to Palestinian Authority. A week before Obama's authorization of funding, Prime Minister Rami Hamdallah was informed by the Trump's Administration not to presume the \$220 million aid funding. The State Department reviewed donations and made changes parallel to Trump Administration's priorities. Whereas Congress has approved previous payments to Palestinian Authority, and apart from the \$221 million aid, received P.A. got \$250 million in aid from the US government in 2016 for funding hospitals, purchasing fuel from Israel and humanitarian necessities. The decision of Donald Trump to review Obama's release of aid package appeared due to President Trump's strong pro-Israel policy plan and President Trump took oppressive line against Palestinian Authority after holding the office; relating Palestinian funding as utilization for terrorist activities. However, aid package released by Obama, was later approved by Trump Administration in order to normalize the situation and to get Palestinians attention by promoting stability in Middle East.¹⁴⁵

Before Obama's aid package, in previous years the US aid to Palestinian Authority has been in news several times. Many times the US has stop and eventually released the financial aid to Palestinians. When Palestinian Authority unilaterally applied to seek membership in International Court of Justice (ICJ), Obama presidency reviewed its annual \$440 million funding to Palestinian Authority due to Palestinian decision and was immediately stopped by Republican lawmaker in form of bill. In 2011, aid package of \$192 million was halted by congress, but Obama sidestepped congress decision to halt aid package and Obama signed a contract by calling it important for the US security interests and authorized congress to release aid package.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵ Will Worley, "Donald Trump freezes Barack Obama's last minute \$221m aid package to Palestinian Authority", *The Independent Newspaper*, January 26, 2017, accessed July 24, 2019, <https://www.independent.co.uk › News › World › Middle East>

¹⁴⁶ Elad Benari, "Obama released millions to PA hours before leaving office" *Arutz Sheva*, January 23, 2017, accessed July 24, 2019, www.israelnationalnews.com › All News › Middle East

3.6 Analysis of President Obama's Second Term Middle Eastern Approach

Similarly, Obama's first term administration during his second term he was heavily involved in trying to settle the Israel-Palestine conflict but always remained nationalist in his approach. Since 2009, as the regions of Middle East were intensely transformed and the US economy was strengthened, but a number of challenges that President Obama confronted during first term were remained at the top of Obama's foreign policy during second term.

The Middle East region has caused a plenty of challenges, each demanding an alternate approach to fix the challenge. During second term administration, President Obama was more likely committed an effort to reestablishing a strategy that stimulates Israelis-Palestinians to resume negotiations.

Similar to first term, President Obama's second term Middle Eastern doctrine reflected parameters for hope and change, but at that time the situation was much more challenging and complex to cope with the crisis within region. Mr. Obama's primary goal was restart peace efforts for Israeli-Palestinian peace process and with such efforts to reestablish relationships with the Muslim states.

President Obama established Middle East agenda and forced himself to act in response to Middle East issues. Mr. Obama planned to remove new military predicaments overseas and to focus on rebuilding U.S ties by removing obstacles in his way. Hence, the main policy agenda of Obama administration was to restart another round of peace talks, and to achieve a lasting peace agreement between both sides.

3.7 Critical Analysis of Obama's Two Presidential Terms Regarding Israel-Palestine Conflict

President Obama entered into Middle Eastern politics by introducing his foreign policy agenda as re-engagement and change in the region. As Galtung's conflict transformation is based on change in behaviors and attitude both at individual and state level to bring change, President Obama during his two terms focused to change the relations with Middle Eastern states and more particularly with Muslim world to

normalize the hostile situation within Middle East. As President Barack Obama was a great supporter of Palestinian rights and statehood therefore, he emphasized to take collaborative and balanced approach throughout his two terms. President Obama's such ideals favored the formulation of positive peace through mediating, balancing and transforming interests, relationships and violent behaviors.

Every previous US administration had emphasized on the formulation of negative peace supporting strategies; but Israel-Palestine conflict is a more challenging conflict, largely demanding the formulation of positive peace comparatively to negative peace. Obama administration was the only one which more profoundly and openly elaborates the need for cooperation and integration in Middle East. Hence, the bilateral talks with Obama's mediation have not arranged ever in a more intense way than Obama administration efforts for gathering both sides on negotiating tables for settlement of their core issues.

President Obama during his two terms showed hatred and always opposed Israeli illegal settlements building at the West Bank and Gaza and mentioned such settlements as an obstacle to peace. Hence, Obama desired first to stop violence as per Galtung's concept of negative peace based on the absence of war and then introduce positive peace approach because, Israeli settlements building made the situation more harsh and increased direct and structural violence in the region. Due to Obama's condemnation for Israeli settlements increase Obama had worse relations with Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu as Israeli administration was not seriously engaged in peace efforts. Therefore, Obama administration can be termed as Pro-Palestinian because he always talked about Palestinian cause during his two term administration.

As Johan Galtung propose dissociative method and associative method for Middle East peace, requiring zero attachment or collaboration which favors both the two-state solution or one-state solution. Likewise, Galtung's idea of six-state solution for Middle East based on Palestinian statehood along other independent Middle Eastern states; President Obama called for associative method while suggesting the two-state solution for both parties to achieve Middle East peace.

Further Johan Galtung suggest elimination of violence and formulation of transcend method, introducing new and advanced strategies to achieve the final agreement between Israel-Palestine conflict. Though, President Barack Obama's policies were more advanced and supported Galtung's ideals of conflict transformation but, the major drawback of Obama's policies was that he had not implemented his Middle East policy plans forcefully and also lacked firm strategy.

As compared to his predecessors President Obama was the only one who not only stressed on negative peace but always pressured for bilateral talks with his administration's mediation. Though, President Obama more deeply dealt the conflict to bring the change but, another weakness of his administration was that he was unsure to set up all its resources in foreign policy towards Middle East conflict as Israel-Palestine conflict is most challenging conflict. Despite Obama's balanced and positive peace efforts his administration lacked success due to lack of procedural mechanism and tactics.

To conclude, Similar to President Obama's first term during second term of his Presidency President Obama spend too much time or political capital on Israel-Palestine Peace process. President Obama wanted an Israeli-Palestinian agreement for the best reasons in world; he wanted an end to hatred and violence and to bring peace, prosperity and justice to both sides in the region. He dealt with Israel-Palestine conflict rationally in order to achieve a final peace agreement. President Obama throughout his administration pressured Israeli government and tried to bring both parties on negotiating tables to normalize the hostile situation. President Obama's visits, meetings, speeches and statements always had shown his commitment to halt the conflict, in such a way both the parties living in peace with each other.

CHAPTER FOUR

ROLE OF PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP TOWARD ISRAEL- PALESTINE CONFLICT DURING JAN. 2017-DEC. 2018

The US President Donald Trump is a new occurrence in international political affairs. Since Dwight D. Eisenhower, Donald Trump is the only American President who comes into administration without any past political familiarity. Therefore, contrastingly President Obama's Administration, the Trump Administration is not much experienced about Middle East complexities hence, he little knows Israel-Palestine conflict complexities. President Donald Trump realized during his initial days after coming into power, that some issues are more challenging to deal, than he supposed them and Israel-Palestine conflict is one of those issues. In contrast to former President Barack Obama, Donald Trump Administration made insufficient distinct changes in his Middle East foreign policy while destabilizing region. President Donald Trump initiated his campaign slogan as "First America". Donald Trump's Middle East foreign policy agenda comprises of four objectives: including removal of ISIS and violent Islamist radicalism, normalizing and establishing strong ties with Israel, demolishing the Iran nuclear deal and resolving Israel-Palestine conflict.¹⁴⁷

This chapter discusses the basic initiatives taken by the US President Donald Trump during first year of his administration after coming into power. Further, this chapter provides comparative analysis of President Obama and President Trump administration's approaches toward Israel-Palestine conflict. This chapter is divided into Seven Sections: i) First Meeting between President Donald Trump and Netanyahu, February, 2017, ii) President Mahmud Abbas Meeting with President Donald Trump, May 3, 2017, iii) President Donald Trump's visit to Israel and Bethlehem, May 2017, iv) The US Delegation's Travel to Middle East, August 2017, v) Donald Trump's decision on the status of Jerusalem and shift of the US Embassy, December 2017, vi) Analysis of

¹⁴⁷ Raphael Cohen-Almagor, *President Trump and Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (E-International Relations, March 10, 2017), 3-11

President Trump's First Year Middle Eastern Approach, vii) Critical Analysis of Trump's Approach regarding Israel-Palestine Conflict, viii) Comparative Analysis of Obama and Trump's Middle Eastern Approach.

4.1 First Meeting between President Donald Trump and Netanyahu February, 2017

The US President Donald Trump Administration's Middle East policy made it more difficult for Palestinian Authority to participate in American initiated peace efforts, similarly damaging American Gulf allies' regional credibility and peace process. As compared to Iranian nuclear deal and Islamic radicalism, Trump takes comprehensive resolution of Israel –Palestine conflict as a challenge to explore his credibility as the best negotiator to deal Middle Eastern affairs. Donald Trump termed himself as the best chance than any previous US administration to arbitrate Israeli-Palestinian conflict and made it clear to personally deal Middle East conflict. Therefore, Trump appointed his son-in-law Jared Kushner for Middle East peace task.¹⁴⁸ Departing from Obama Administration's U.S-Israel policy, Trump till beginning of his administration behaved towards Israelis in a completely dissimilar way. Donald Trump called Israel as the US great and true friend, and the only democracy in Middle East region. Further, Trump condemned the previous administration was not much supportive and friendly to Israelis, hence he revealed the Strong U.S-Israel relationship during his administration. Donald Trump appreciated Israeli military forces and called them as a very important asset for the US security plan. The basic concern of President Donald Trump is Israeli military strength in Middle East region.¹⁴⁹

Throughout initiation of administration; Trump seems to have strong friendly ties with Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, who had deteriorated relations with President Obama Presidency. President Trump called Israel-Palestine conflict as an ultimate deal for him to resolve, but presently it focuses more on fostering Trump's

¹⁴⁸ Gerald M. Feierstein, *Trump's Middle East policy at one year* (Middle East Institute, March 27, 2018), 1-14

¹⁴⁹ Diego Pagliarulo, *Donald Trump, Middle East, and American Foreign Policy Conflict* (E-International Relations, January 3, 2017), 3-5

diplomatic interests rather than taking positive steps toward Israel-Palestine conflict resolution. Trump's Cabinet and Ambassadors to Israel are consisted mostly of those who are strong supporters of Israeli West Bank settlements. Trump Administration is promoting pro-Israeli activities, such as Trump's son-in-law and special advisor to Israel is pro-Israeli and highly supports Israeli settlements with his family's foundation contributing to numerous settlements expansion in the West Bank.¹⁵⁰

Immediately after the US President Trump's inauguration; he welcomed Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu to the White House for discussing their primary and common interests, as for years both the leaders have friendly relationships. For first time in his 4 terms as Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu looked hopeful due to facing Israeli partner from Republican Party of the US, and comparatively to Obama Presidency he expected more support from Trump's Presidency. Netanyahu pointed out normalization and new start in American-Israeli relations, which were tensed during the previous Obama Administration.¹⁵¹ The US President Donald Trump and Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu have their first face-to-face meeting on February 15, 2017, during which both the leaders discussed main issues. The meeting's nature was friendly and admiring, which was contentious during Benjamin Netanyahu's meetings with President Obama. Hence, in a friendlier tone both the leaders discussed the following main issues: comprising Syria, ISIS, Iran, and Israel-Palestine conflict. During the meeting President Trump clarified as both the leaders know each other for a long time and as Netanyahu is a smart and a good negotiator thus, American-Israeli strong relationships provide him a favorable position which the previous US presidencies do not have when it came to attempting prickly issues with respect to the conflict between Israel-Palestine.¹⁵²

On February, 15 Donald Trump departed from the US long standing policy by announcing that America would never again demand the formation of a Palestinian

¹⁵⁰ Neri Zilber, "Israel Plays its Trump Card", *FP magazine*, January 20, 2017, accessed Nov 9, 2018, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/01/.../israel-plays-its-trump-card-palestine-peace-politi...>

¹⁵¹ Peter Baker and Mark Landler, "Trump, Meeting with Netanyahu, Backs Away from Palestinian State" *The New York Times*, February 15, 2017 accessed Nov 11, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/15/world/.../benjamin-netanyahu-israel-trump.html>

¹⁵² Michael Wilner and Tovah Lazaroff, "Trump tells Israel to 'hold back on settlements during first meet'" *The Jerusalem Post*, February 15, 2017, accessed Nov 11, 2018, <https://www.jpost.com/.../Watch-Netanyahu-and-Trump-meet-for-first-time-in-Washington...>

statehood as a major aspect of any future peace agreement between Israel-Palestine. President Trump also promised to make efforts to bring both the sides close to each other, proposing regional exertion from Arab states but, at the same time he clarified that he is not bound to follow the previous procedures. Further Trump announced, he is visualizing one-state and a two-state solution, and revealed he is happy and like that one (decision), both the sides like for themselves, but also underlined that; in future peace negotiations Israel would not be restricted and enjoy flexibility of talks to make successful outcomes. President Trump's attitude towards the two-state solution disposed of a strategy that has strengthen American position in Middle East peace process since Bill Clinton government and brought up skepticism. Palestinians are extremely far-fetched to acknowledge anything less than independent Palestinian state, and a solitary Israeli state including Palestinians would moreover place Palestinians as a minority or second class citizens, while increasing their Jewish population.¹⁵³

President Trump's statements during the meeting demolished one of primary concern of the US towards Middle East peace policy, which planned the foundation of an independent Palestinian state beside Jewish homeland. He promised to encourage both the sides for peacemaking and to establishing a final peace agreement, but he condemned Palestinians for training their youngsters to dislike Israelis. Furthermore, opposing to Palestinians plea, President Trump promised Israelis to shift the US embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem and would accomplish their demand during his Presidential campaign. Additionally, the two heads addressed the expectation that Arab countries support could be acquired to resolve Israel-Palestine conflict, proposing that those Arab states were highly friendly and cooperative to Israel on account of a mutual battle against Iranian impact and Islamic radicalism. However, neither Trump nor Netanyahu discussed the future essential consequences to attain the two-state solution for Jews and Arabs, which suggest hope of an independent state of Palestine.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³ Increasing their Jewish population, "Trump, Meeting with Netanyahu, Backs Away from Palestinian State", 1-8

¹⁵⁴ Julian Borger and Peter Beaumont, *Donald Trump says US not committed to two-state Israel-Palestine solution* (The Guardian UK, February 16, 2017), 2-5

Trump reiterated Israeli demand, and called Palestinians to recognize Israel as a Jewish state, though it's resistant to Palestinian demands, but Trump expressed it as a chance to attain an enduring agreement. On the other hand, during discussing the settlements expansion Trump surprised Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu by calling him to refrain from settlements growth for period of few months. Israelis were surprised as Trump is moving away from his campaign promise to shift the US embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. Netanyahu echoed settlements are not the main cause of the conflict and publicized hope to reach an agreement on settlements issue with Trump Administration. In view of Trump's call on settlements, Palestinian President Mahmud Abbas forcibly took hold on President Trump's comments, seemed his words as demolishing Palestinian demand for an independent state and recalled Palestinian demand for a two-state solution.¹⁵⁵

Israeli settlements expansion emerged out by a strong combination of economic incentives, security concerns and religious nationalism, is always viewed one of core reasons of the conflict. Israeli settlement construction has long been an irritant in American. -Israeli relations and previous administrations opposed it. Chief Palestinian diplomat Saeb Erekat, cautioned that Trump's comments spoiling a long-standing policy was quite serious and told those who wants to demolish and wreck the two-state solution that an actual option in contrast to a Palestinian state alongside Israel based on the 1967 lines is a democratic and secular state where both parties can live respectively.¹⁵⁶ Under Palestinian response to Trump's call on settlements he changed his attitude by calling settlements will not be helpful in solving the historical and complex conflict between Israel-Palestine and showed interest in negotiating the challenging Israeli-Palestinian peace process.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ Luke Baker, Matt Spetalnick, "Meeting Israel's Netanyahu, Trump backs away from commitment to Palestinian state", *Reuters World News*, February 15, 2017, accessed Nov 11, 2018, <https://www.reuters.com/...trump-israel/meeting-israels-netanyahu-trump-backs-away>

¹⁵⁶ Israeli settlements expansion, "Donald Trump says US not committed to two-state Israel-Palestine solution", 2-5

¹⁵⁷ Noga Tarnopolsky, "Netanyahu, Trump meeting to set tone for US-Israeli ties", *USA Today*, February 15, 2017, accessed Nov 11, 2018, <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/...netanyahu-israel...trump/97859198>

4.2 President Mahmud Abbas Meeting with President Donald Trump May 03, 2017

On 3rd May, 2107, Palestinian President Mahmud Abbas traveled at the White House and met with Pro-Israeli American President. During first face to face meeting between American President Donald Trump and Palestinian President Mahmud Abbas, Trump guaranteed to support Palestinian leader who present himself to the ultimate peace deal that propose security, stability, prosperity to both regional people, promised to accomplish stalled Israeli and Palestinian peace agreement, and showed both the parties are committed to make a final peace deal, which cannot be imposed by other states; both the parties must work together to achieve an enduring peace agreement for their peoples respectively. Palestinian President on his turn, demanded for the two-state solution, comprising sovereign Palestinian state based on the 1967 border lines with Jerusalem as Palestinian capital, as Palestinians are the only peoples who are still occupied whereas, desired liberty, national homeland, and self-respect. Further, Mahmud Abbas expressed that Palestinians totally trust on God then on him (President Trump) and promised to make a final peace deal, Palestinians showed hope with Trump Administration.¹⁵⁸

American senior officials and foreign policy advisers also joined Trump during discussions with Palestinian leader, including Trump's son-in-law and special Middle East advisor Jared Kushner, Vice President Mike Pence, Secretary of State Rex Tillerson, National Security Adviser Herbert Raymond McMaster and Jason Greenblatt along the White House Chief of Staff Reince Priebus and Chief Strategist Steve Bannon. During meeting President Donald Trump promised to work as a negotiator, mediator and facilitator to make a peace deal between both the parties and reiterated the need for face-to-face peace talks, President Trump called Palestinian President Abbas to communicate in a unified tone against increased ferocity and animosity. Moreover, Trump also stated his desire to have Israeli and Palestinians draw on the 1993, Oslo Agreements and showed hope to Palestinian leader would soon sign a final peace agreement. But, neither Israeli West Bank settlements construction which Trump Administration demanded to

¹⁵⁸ "Mahmud Abbas meets Donald Trump in key US visit", *Al Jazeera*, May 3, 2017, accessed Nov 12, 2018, <https://www.aljazeera.com/.../Mahmud-abbas-meets-donald-trump-key-visit-170503>

stop temporarily, were expressed during his meeting with Palestinian leader, nor addressed Gaza dominant Palestinian militant group Hamas terrorist activities.¹⁵⁹

On other hand, Palestinian President Mahmud Abbas openly stated Palestinian refugees' issue to Trump and stated about possibilities of resolving refugees and prisoner's problem under prescribed conditions by international law, also point out the right of return of refugees. Furthermore, Mahmud Abbas expressed to end Israeli occupation on the captured Palestinian West Bank territories and additionally, mentioned the suffering of Palestinians. When Palestinian President was on his White House visit, a large number of Palestinians started protests and assembled in support of approximately 1,500 Palestinian prisoners in Israeli jails, who were on seventeen days' hunger strike. The prisoners demanded improved visitation rights and basic human rights, comprising better medical treatment, freedom of movement, and an end to Israeli policy of administrative detention. The protest was ended after 40 days as Israel offered a compromise deal to meet some of the protestors' demands. Palestinian President Mahmud Abbas hoped that Trump can only pressure Israel into concessions which Mahmud Abbas believed are necessary to make true the two-state solution to Israeli-Palestinian conflict, but Trump challenged the legitimacy of Palestinian demands for an independent state and discarded the US promise to a two-state solution.¹⁶⁰

Trump's another action revealed his pro-Israeli tone, when American officials expressed that during meeting instead of concessions President Trump pressed Mahmud Abbas to halt support or payments to families of Palestinians imprisoned in Israel because Israel seemed Palestinian prisoners as terrorist and violence inciters. While Palestinians considered the payments as welfare expenses for Palestinians suffering by Israeli hostility and increased violence. Furthermore, Trump directly implored Mahmud Abbas to stop all those activities which the US and Israelis considers as anti-Israel, and there can be no peace agreement till Palestinian leadership stop hatred against Israel or speak in a cohesive tone against violence. In answer, Mahmud Abbas replied Palestinians are not

¹⁵⁹ Jeremy Diamond, "Trump vows to work as 'mediator' for Israeli-Palestinian peace", *CNN News Washington*, May 3, 2017, accessed Nov 12, 2018, <https://edition.cnn.com/2017/05/03/politics/abbas-trump-white-house.../index.html>

¹⁶⁰ the US promise to a two-state solution, "Mahmud Abbas meets Donald Trump in key US visit", 1-4

promoting hatred against Israel and reaffirmed his hope with Trump Administration to consider Palestinian demands along Israeli demands. That issue was sensitive and more serious because Israel viewed such payments to prisoner's families as recompense to terrorists. Whereas ending the payments appeared unacceptable to Mahmud Abbas, particularly during that time when Palestinians strongly supported hunger strike in favor of Palestinian prisoners in Israeli jails. Hence, throughout the meeting Palestinian leadership reiterated Trump about Palestinian demands and complaints whereas, Trump was remained biased and finally, Abbas returned back without reaching or advancing any possibility.¹⁶¹

4.3 President Donald Trump's Visit to Israel and Bethlehem during May, 2017

On 19, May the US President Trump left the White House for his first foreign tour, and traveled to Israel and Bethlehem in an effort to present his Middle East policy agenda. The American First Lady Melania Trump, Trump's daughter Ivanka and son-in-law Jared Kushner also joined Trump for his 8 days' foreign trip. Before visiting Jerusalem and Bethlehem, Trump first stopped in Saudi Arabia, home of Islamic holy sites. The main objective of Trump's first visit to Middle East countries was to rebuild American relations with Middle East countries such as Israel and Saudi Arabia, with whom the US relations were tensed during Obama's Presidency. Trump stated his trip primarily helps to improve old friendly ties and secondly look for new friends. Israeli public stated that President Trump's trip indirectly proclaimed Israeli entitlement to the site. President Trump became the first American President to visit the old city of Jerusalem, and along American First Lady Melania Trump, he visited Jewish Holy sites, including Church of the Holy Sepulchre also Known as church of Resurrection, the site where Jesus' was crucified, buried and resurrected, and Western Wall, known in Islam as *Buraq Wall*, is an ancient limestone wall in Old City of Jerusalem, considered holy due to

¹⁶¹ Matthew Lee, "We will get it done,' says Trump of Mideast peace in meeting with Palestinian leader", *Chicago Tribune*, May 3, 2017, accessed Nov 12, 2018, <https://www.chicagotribune.com/.../nation/world/ct-trump-abbas-israel-peace-2017050>

its connection to the Temple Mount. The Western Wall's old city located in East Jerusalem was taken by Israel in 1967 Arab-Israel from Jordan.¹⁶²

When the US President Trump arrived in Jerusalem Israeli leadership welcomed President Donald Trump and applauded him for making his first trip to Israel. Later, in a joint press conference Trump and Netanyahu praised each other, and revealed their joint plans, as both leaderships know each other very well, Netanyahu also thanked him for presence of American leadership in Israel. No former US administration has traveled to Israel during initiation of his term. Bill Clinton visited in his second year in Administration, Jimmy Carter in his third, whereas Richard M. Nixon, George W. Bush and Barack Obama all made a trip to Israel during their second term.¹⁶³

For a long time, Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu looked to improve relations with Sunni Arab countries in a joint effort to counter Iran based Shiite and dominating Palestinians as second class citizens. Hence, Trump's meeting with Saudi Arabian leadership before meeting with Netanyahu revealed him that American leadership and Arab states want to reach a final peace deal with Palestinians as an essential and new regional entity. Trump's visit to Israel opened a new chapter in Middle East peace process, as on one side he urged to resolve the conflict on agreeable basis, but on the other hand, he favored and showed strong friendly ties with Israeli leadership; concerned more with Israeli side. The strong friendly ties between Trump and Netanyahu were shown when both the leaders shared dinner along their wives and during their private gestures called each other with their nicknames as Donald and Bibi. While appreciating American President Netanyahu said, in his life for the first time he sees a real hope for change, along Arab leaders help.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶² Tara John, "Here's the Itinerary for President Trump's First Trip Abroad", *Time Magazine*, May 18, 2017, accessed Nov 14, 2018, time.com › World › Donald Trump

¹⁶³ Mark Katkov, "In A Historic First, Trump Visits Old City of Jerusalem", *NPR News*, May 22, 2017, accessed Nov 14, 2018, <https://www.npr.org/2017/05/22/.../in-a-historic-first-trump-visits-old-city-of-jerusalem>

¹⁶⁴ Peter Baker and Ian Fisher, "Trump Comes to Israel Citing a Palestinian Deal as Crucial", *The New York Times*, May 22, 2017, accessed Nov 14, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/22/world/middleeast/trump-israel-visit.html>

Then, after visiting Western Wall, Israel Museum and Church of the Holy Sepulchre, both the leaders exchanged their remarks, Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu thanked Trump for visiting Western wall and admired President Trump's sound pledge to Israeli security, its future and prosperity. While Trump showed his desire for Israeli safety and peace, and spoke about how Israel and the US have friendly relationships and mutual liking for independence and self-respect. Trump Moreover delivered a speech to Israeli audience present at Israel Museum. Trump's speech was so friendly and covered Israeli aspirations, termed as referring only Jewish narrative. Trump assured Israelis that his administration will always stands with Israelis. During the speech more than 6 times Trump addressed the possibilities about peacemaking but, at the same time he refrained to explore Palestinian independence and the two- state solution. Trump's speech missed addressing core issues of borders, settlements expansion, Palestinian sufferings and complex history between both the parties, which were the main focused points during President Obama's Middle East speeches. President Trump only revealed his hope and expectations about the U.S-Israeli alliance and pressured Israelis to strengthen its relations with Sunni Arab countries. Palestinians and Muslim majority countries deeply criticized Trump's remarks during the speech, while Israelis applauded Trump's speech.¹⁶⁵

Subsequently, President Trump left Israeli lands and moved to the West Bank city of Bethlehem on the 3rd day of his Middle East trip. Palestinian leader Mahmud Abbas welcomed American President and reaffirmed Trump's promise about peacemaking for Muslims, Jews and Christians living on the same land. Both the leaders exchanged their remarks during a press conference at Palestinian leader's Presidential palace; Trump mentioned he came with hope to Bethlehem for peace building for all. Palestinian President Mahmud Abbas reiterated Palestinian commitment to work together with Americans and Israel for achieving peace, so that both the sides can live safely and happily in future, additionally Mahmud Abbas called for Palestinian independence as the key to achieve peacemaking. Furthermore, during elaborating the issue of Palestinian

¹⁶⁵ Ian Fisher, Peter Baker and Isabel Kershner, "Trump Leaves Israel with Hope for Peace, but No Plan for It", *The New York Times*, May 23, 2017, accessed Nov 14, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/23/world/.../trump-abbas-bethlehem-palestine.html>

demonstrations against continued Israeli settlements in the West Bank, Mr. Abbas also explained issue of hunger strikers in favor of Palestinian prisoners in Israeli jails and called on Israelis to meet their demands. During the meeting, Palestinian President Abbas expressed the basic problem is with Israeli settlements building neither between two religions because such continued settlements are the main obstacle to peace. Palestinian President Abbas was the first who explored his plea for long-term American policy of the two-state solution during the meeting, though Trump refrained to discuss the two-state solution.¹⁶⁶

Trump concluded his Israeli-Palestinian 2- day trip, after his meeting with Palestinian Authority leadership and issued the same statement, as previous administrations stated at the end of their visits to reassured his support and help for Jews and Palestinians and to made new and better strategies than that of failed previous Presidential policies. Basically Trump's trip do nothing new except focusing on strengthening American-Israeli alliance and bringing Arab countries together against defeating Iran nuclear project and the increased Islamist extremism. Trump during his two-day trip did not present any road map for peace or warned Israelis to halt settlements construction, as previous President Obama always done regarding Middle East peace effort. In short, Trump's trip lacked discussing core conflicting Israel-Palestine issues and used his tour to urge Arab countries to stand against Islamic terrorism.¹⁶⁷

4.4 The US Delegation's Travel to Middle East, August 2017

President Trump's son-in-law and senior advisor, Jared Kushner made a visit to Middle East with an aim to establish a peace deal between Israel-Palestine. Mainly major diplomatic efforts are assigned to Secretary of State in previous presidencies, but due to President Trump's friendly relationships with Israeli Prime Minister he assigned this task to his son-in-law. The US Executive Vice President and Chief Legal Officer to Trump and his advisor on Israel, Jason Greenblatt, and the US Deputy National Security Advisor

¹⁶⁶ Yasmeen Serhan, "Trump's Visit to Bethlehem", *The Atlantic Magazine*, May 23, 2017, accessed Nov 15, 2018, <https://www.theatlantic.com/news/archive/2017/05/trumps-visit-to-bethlehem/527742/>

¹⁶⁷ S.A. Miller and Dave Boyer, "Trump, Abbas say peace deal with Israel is possible", *The Washington Times*, May 23, 2017, accessed Nov 15, 2018, <https://www.washingtontimes.com/.../donald-trump-Mahmud-abbas-say-peace-deal->

for Strategy to Trump, Dina Powell also traveled with President Trump's son-in-law Jared Kushner. The three senior American officials met and have their meetings with the leaderships from Egypt, Israel, Palestine, the United Arab Emirates, Jordan, Qatar, and Saudi Arabia. The meetings were held to discuss weaknesses or hurdles in way of peacemaking between Israel-Palestine and confronting Islamic extremism.¹⁶⁸ Jared Kushner and Jason Greenblatt were also accompanied Trump during his first overseas trip to Middle East to negotiate peace deal. Trump send delegation to Middle East as an attempt to utilize the time of little normalization after brutal conflicts over Israeli security issue at the Jerusalem shrine, sacred to Jews and Muslims. Trump was hopeful his son-in-law helped him to fix the long-standing conflict, as Jared Kushner is also a close friend of Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu.¹⁶⁹

Before Trump Administration intended to send American senior officials delegation to Middle East, Arab Countries Minister of Foreign Affairs, including Mr. Ayman Safadi, from Jordan, Samih Shukri from Egypt and Riyad al-Maliki from Palestinian Authority, arranged a trilateral meeting to called on International community to increase its efforts to achieve a peace agreement based on two-state solution and an end to Israeli occupation. Furthermore, Arab Ministers of Foreign Affairs insisted other countries to join them, and work together to restart direct peace negotiations compatible to United Nations resolutions. Similarly, before meeting with the US delegation PLO demanded Trump Administration for a two-state solution based on the 1967 border lines and complete stop of Israeli settlements building. Whereas, in contrast to previous Obama Administration, Trump Administration hold back from taking into account the two-state solution and halt to Israeli settlements construction.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ Gardiner Harris, "Kushner to Meet with Mideast Leaders in Latest Attempt at Peace Deal", *The New York Times*, August 11, 2017, accessed Nov 26, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/.../middleeast/jared-kushner-israeli-palestinian-peace-deal.html>

¹⁶⁹ Zachary Cohen and Jeremy Diamond, "Jared Kushner heads to Middle East", *CNN News Washington*, August 22, 2017, accessed Nov 26, 2018, <https://edition.cnn.com/2017/08/22/politics/jared-kushner-middle-east-trip/index.html>

¹⁷⁰ Adam Rasgon, "PA, Egyptian and Jordanian FMS meet in Cairo ahead of US Mideast visit", *The Jerusalem Post*, August 20, 2017, accessed Nov 15, 2018, <https://www.jpost.com/.../PA-Egyptian-and-Jordanian-FMs-meet-in-Cairo-ahead-of-U>

The expectations with the US delegation for a new start in peacemaking were low mainly due to American strong support towards Israelis and its biased behavior towards Palestinians. Whereas, the other affecting factor was Israeli and Palestinian leaderships domestic unpopularity. In Israel Prime Minister Netanyahu was tackling a corruption scandal; left him unpopular and unable to make concessions in his right-wing government. On the other hand, Palestinian Authority leader was remained unpopular due to long-standing fragmentation between his leadership in the West Bank and Hamas leaders in Gaza. Hence at that time, both the leaders were focusing on their political and national survival. Such atmosphere made little hopes for prelaunch of peace talks because both the leaders were focusing on their domestic and political issues and were not in a position to make any peace deal. Further complicated the expectations for improvement were the failed previous American led peace talks, both the parties were split under continued acts of violence and war between Israel and Hamas including tensions over Muslim and Jewish holy sites in Jerusalem. Therefore, Israel started focusing on making regional deal with Arab states, rather than concentrating only on Palestinian issue.¹⁷¹

Palestinian leadership's aspirations were little about possibilities during the US delegation's visit. Hence, Mahmud Abbas termed whether, the situation is more complicated and difficult to resolve it but nothing is impossible in front of strong and well strategic peace efforts and called Trump Administration is affecting the peace efforts because his administration is in turmoil. Palestinian President revealed in front of Members of Parliament from the Meretz party that, since Trump hold his presidency Mahmud Abbas met with Trump Administration officials more than twenty times, but he was not clear about their plans for peace negotiations. Whereas, Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu revealed; he and Trump's so-in-law discussed positively for future possibilities regarding peace, security and prosperity within region. Netanyahu was hopeful because he along Kushner will approach all these demands. In response, Jared Kushner exposed Trump's commitment to bring peace and security in region and

¹⁷¹ Loveday Morris and Ruth Eglash, "Kushner already had his work cut out in Middle East. But it just got harder", *The Washington Post*, August 23, 2017, accessed Nov 26, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/.../middle_east/kushner-already-had-his-work-cut-out-

resolution of the conflict between both the sides, but Kushner refrained to outline new ways and progress for peacemaking.¹⁷²

4.5 Donald Trump's decision on the status of Jerusalem and shift of the US Embassy, December 2017

In a shocking departure from the long-standing American foreign policy, President Donald Trump declared to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital and also ordered to shift American Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem on December 6, 2017. Trump's such move increased tensions in the region and across world, threatening the hopes for Israel-Palestine peacemaking, regional stability and security. Trump stated after years of tension Israel and Palestinians are close to achieve a final peace deal, and to repeat the same previous strategies would be foolishness in order to obtain an improved and different outcome, hence his administration finally recognized Jerusalem as Israeli capital. Trump's decision overturned 7 decades of American foreign policy, which opposed to accomplish Jerusalem as Israel's capital before the resolution of Israel-Palestine conflict. The previous US presidencies had very carefully acted towards this matter, as the US Congress passed Jerusalem Embassy's Act to shift American Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem in 1995. Though, Trump's precursors delayed the decision every 6- months due to their strategic factors correspondingly the act. In contrast to this, Trump's decision signaled a shift in the US Middle East policy.¹⁷³

Whereas, the White House officials stressed that Trump's announcement doesn't represent a shift in the US policy on future borders of Jerusalem. Day before his announcement, President Trump made a series of telephonic calls to various regional leaders in order to get their ideas about his decision. The leaders from Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Palestine warned him about dangers of the decision except Israeli

¹⁷² Mohammed Daraghme, "Kushner's Mideast peace push met with Palestinian skepticism", *AP News*, August 24, 2017, accessed Nov 20, 2018, <https://apnews.com/c096b21b244c4acc83ac15068981f4f8>

¹⁷³ Jeremy Diamond and Elise Labott, "Trump recognizes Jerusalem as Israel's capital", *CNN News Washington*, Dec 6, 2017, accessed Nov 30, 2018, <https://edition.cnn.com/2017/12/06/politics/President...trump-jerusalem/index.html>

leader who admired Trump's decision.¹⁷⁴ Trump's such a shocking step; generally for Muslim world and more particularly for Palestinians was improbable to form a positive or any powerful impression in Middle East region. Along its implications within region, Trump's unilateral move brought larger international behavioral ramifications on the US foreign policy. Trump's move derived impression on the US allies especially on Europe that the US foreign policy had drawn on its unilateral domestic or party needs or more truly Republican priorities rather than by the concerns of American allies or international community. More probably, Trump's decision showed that such a move was driven by the need to improve his Evangelical Christian base as historically Trump faced more challenging Presidential first year.¹⁷⁵

4.5.1 Israeli-Palestinian Responses

Trump's decision was immediately disapproved and condemned by the leaders within Arab and Muslim worlds, and from international community; warned risks of the decision and its unjust outcomes. Israeli officials applauded the move and termed it as destined, Netanyahu called the decision as historically milestone and courageous one. In Israel the move was warmly welcomed by Knesset members of left, right and center parties and Likud. Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu applauded Trump Administration's stunning decision and excitedly agreed with President Trump's announcement. Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu wanted to take advantage of the time and opportunity therefore, he called on other states to accept and join the US decision. Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu called Trump's decision as a vital move towards peacemaking, because without recognizing Jerusalem as Israeli capital there would be no possibility for peacemaking.¹⁷⁶

Whereas, Palestinian Authority leader Mahmud Abbas was not contented with Trump's announcement therefore, he refused to accept Trump Administration's decision and largely condemned it. Palestinian President Mahmud Abbas criticized the

¹⁷⁴ Julian Borger and Peter Beaumont, *Donald Trump to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital and move US embassy* (The Guardian UK, December 6, 2017), 3-5

¹⁷⁵ Jonathan Sciarcon, *Trump's Jerusalem Decision: A US Policy Perspective* (E-International Relations, January 15, 2018), 3-17

¹⁷⁶ no possibility for peacemaking, "Trump recognizes Jerusalem as Israel's capital", 1-8

announcement during on-screen public discourse and stated such type of actions supports and assist extremist organizations for religious warfare's which would badly affect region and would take Palestinians in a war which will never end; Which Palestinians always opposed. Additionally, Mahmud Abbas stated, the US pushed against the international and bilateral agreements by attempting such a move and narrated Muslims and Christians history in disputed city hence, Mahmud Abbas termed the city as Palestinian Arabs, Muslims, and a Christian city and condemned the decision as an action to change Arabs history.¹⁷⁷ Instantaneously, in Palestinian territories reaction against the move included civil disobedience and violent protests and likewise the protests extended to Muslim countries within region and all around world. Palestinian Islamist movements also demonstrated against the move, leader of Gaza based Hamas called for another *Intifada*, which would be more violent than the previous two uprisings and termed the decision as declaration of war against Palestinians. Whereas, *Al-Fatah* along Hamas called for three days' protest and PLO called to cut off security cooperation with Israel and rejected to accept Jerusalem as Israel's capital. PLO's senior official Saeb Erekat, called; the US by favoring such type of move will disqualify American role as a mediator in achieving any future enduring peace agreement.¹⁷⁸

4.5.2 Muslim World Responses

Trump's move on Jerusalem's status isolated the US on one of the most complex international issue and was universally condemned by Muslim leaders. Within Arab World Trump's decision generated great criticism and was unaccepted by Arab leaders'. Within Arab world a large number of protesters gathered to protest Trump's decision. Many of these Arab states are American partners and few of them have relationships with Israel. A large number of people took to the streets to condemn Israel and the US, and to express solidarity with Palestinians. Turkish government

¹⁷⁷ Michael Wilner, "Trump announces US moving Embassy to Jerusalem", *The Jerusalem Post*, December 6, 2017, accessed Nov 30, 2018, <https://www.jpost.com/.../WATCH-LIVE-Trump-delivers-much-anticipated-announce>

¹⁷⁸ Zachary Laub, *What's At Stake with the US Recognition of Jerusalem* (CFR New York, December 6, 2017), 2-8

rejected the decision and warned Israel to withdraw from Trump's decision otherwise Turkey will end its relations with Israel, while Jordan stated Trump's decision will stop possibility of any American-led future peace agreement. Saudi Arabia and Egypt also warned Trump Administration about risks of the decision within region and all around world. Saudi King Salman, termed the move as unfair and irresponsible while, Egyptian President Abdul Fattah al-Sisi, stated; Trump's decision will complicate the situation in region and will also damage the future peace process.¹⁷⁹

The Emir of Qatar also told American President about the worst consequences of his decision to recognize Jerusalem as Israeli capital. Furthermore, Qatar's Foreign Minister termed the move as death sentence of those who desire peacemaking. Muslim Asian countries, including Pakistan and Afghanistan also joined Muslim community to condemn the US move. The government of Pakistan issued a statement; it is so painful that petitions of states over world not to change the historical and legal status of Jerusalem has been disregarded, formulated the US decision on basis of preference rather than requirement. While the government of Afghanistan called the US decision as hurtful to sentiments of Muslim world and it would jeopardize Middle East peacemaking.¹⁸⁰

Arab League termed the move would have serious implications within Middle East and it would have also looked into American role as mediator in future peace efforts. The Foreign Ministry of Iran called Trump's decision as violation of international law and ventured a new intifada or uprising within region, furthermore, the Parliament of Iran called Muslim states to cut off economic ties with the US. While King Abdullah of Jordan also called the decision as violation of international resolutions and United Nations charter and appealed other countries to work together to overcome risks of the decision. The President of Lebanon, Michel Aoun stated;

¹⁷⁹ the future peace process, "What's At Stake with the US Recognition of Jerusalem" , 2-8

¹⁸⁰ "Saudi Arabia regrets Trump's irresponsible decision on Jerusalem as Israeli capital", *DAWN News*, December 7, 2017, accessed Nov 28, 2018, <https://www.dawn.com> › World › Middle East

under such circumstances for decades the peace process would be difficult to achieve.¹⁸¹

4.5.3 OIC Member States Meeting

On 13, December Turkish leader Tayyip Erdogan held an emergency meeting of the Organization of Islamic Countries (OIC) in order to present each member state's opinion. All the OIC member states revealed their opinion and condemned the move according to their own perspective during the meeting. The core point of all the OIC members' statements was rejection of Trump's move, and the fifty-seven OIC member states individually prepared their own draft declaration to oppose recognition of Jerusalem as Israeli capital as the move indicates the end to American mediation in any future peace agreement in Middle East. Furthermore, the OIC member states openly condemned Trump Administration's plans to shift the US Embassy from Tel-Aviv to Jerusalem and recalled the OIC member states joint commitment for peace agreement via two-state solution.¹⁸²

The OIC emergency meeting was attended by twenty-two heads of Muslim states, including King Abdullah of Jordan, Palestinian Authority leader Mahmud Abbas, Azerbaijan's President Ilham Aliyev, President Abdul Hamid of Bangladesh and Iran's President Hassan Rouhani. Saudi Arabia and Egypt sent their lower-level delegations along with twenty-three other delegations of the OIC member states. Palestinian President strongly criticized recognition of Jerusalem as Israeli capital by the US and termed it as crime in his opinion, Palestinians would not accept the US role as mediator in future peace agreement. Palestinian leader called the UN to take over the peace process and mentioned Jerusalem as capital of Palestine.¹⁸³ The statement of Palestinian leader was later covered in the OIC's official closing statement with declaration of East Jerusalem as the capital of Palestinian state and invited

¹⁸¹ "Jerusalem: Trump move prompts negative world reaction", *BBC News*, December 7, 2017, accessed, July 16, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-42250340>

¹⁸² Yvonne Ridley, *Has Trump just delivered Middle East unity?* (Middle East Monitor, December 14, 2017), 3-5

¹⁸³ Dorian Jones, "Turkey Summit Blasts Trump Decision on Jerusalem", *VOA News*, December 13, 2017, accessed Nov 30, 2018, <https://www.voanews.com/a/islamic-world-meeting...trump-jerusalem.../4161688.html>

International community along Muslim world to recognize Palestinian state and East Jerusalem as occupied capital of Palestine.¹⁸⁴

4.5.4 International Community's Responses

The US President Trump's top officials including Defense Secretary James Mattis, Secretary of State Rex Tillerson and CIA Director Mike Pompeo opposed the decision and worried about its outcomes. The US Muslim civil advocacy groups, including the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) and Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC) rejected Trump's decision and protested outside the White House. Whereas, American Vice President Mike Pence, The US Ambassador to Israel David Friedman, UN Ambassador Nikki Haley, special Middle East Envoy Jason Greenblatt and son-in-law Jared Kushner were in favor of Trump's decision and supported the recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital.¹⁸⁵

UN Secretary General Mr. Guterres condemned President Trump's decision as President Trump's decision would reduce the chances for peacemaking between Israel-Palestine and Jerusalem's status must be settled through direct peace talks by taking into consideration both sides privileges.¹⁸⁶ On 7, December the UN Security Council called an emergency meeting, where except the US fourteen out of fifteen participated member states including Britain, France, Sweden, Italy and Japan rejected and criticized Trump's decision.¹⁸⁷ The United Nations with one hundred-twenty nine vote against the decision termed it as null and void; not acceptable by international community. Approximately 35 countries, mainly from Latin America and Africa abstained from vote against the decision, largely resulted due to Trump Administration's threat to stop supporting and funding to such countries. In retaliation to those countries who openly voted against the decision, Trump

¹⁸⁴ Peter Beaumont, *Palestinians no longer accept US as mediator, Abbas tells summit* (The Guardian UK, December 13, 2017) 2-4

¹⁸⁵ Jerusalem as Israel's capital, "Trump recognizes Jerusalem as Israel's capital", 1-7

¹⁸⁶both sides privileges, "Jerusalem: Trump move prompts negative world reaction", 1-4

¹⁸⁷ Mark Landler, "Trump Recognizes Jerusalem as Israel's Capital and Orders US Embassy to Move", *The New York Times*, December 6, 2017, accessed Nov 28, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/06/world/.../trump-jerusalem-israel-capital.html>

Administration declared to halt economic and humanitarian funding for the United Nations Works and Relief Agency.¹⁸⁸

European states also condemned the move and stated Trump's unilateral decision will slow down the possibility for a two-state solution. European Union (EU) called for restarting of a significant procedure towards peacemaking and final status of Jerusalem through peace talks. Federica Mogherini, EU's Foreign Policy chief termed President Trump's decision as disturbing impression within region, move region towards backward darker times and will increase tensions not only in Middle East region but also in whole world.

Also Russia and china both states generated criticism toward Trump Administration's most shocking move. Russian President Vladimir made a one-day visit after Trump's announcement to meet Turkish President for condemning Trump's move and to discuss its dangers within region and the entire world. French administration termed Trump's move as disappointing and unacceptable. German Administration also rejected to support Trump's decision because Jerusalem's status can only be resolved within the context of a two-state solution through peace talks. British Prime Minister Theresa May, stated her administration is not agreed with President Trump's announcement, Jerusalem is shared capital of both the sides and its status should be resolved through direct talks and with resemblance to the UN Security Council resolutions, Britain look for East Jerusalem as part of occupied Palestine.¹⁸⁹

In January, American President Trump in aftermath to a series of Palestinian and across world protests substantially cut off its aid funding to the United Nations agency for Palestinian refugees known as UNRWA. After President Trump's decision, the US and Palestinian Authority relations turned worse. Palestinians for calling

¹⁸⁸ Mythili Sampath kumar, "Donald Trump says recognizing Jerusalem as Israel's capital 'was a wonderful thing'", *The Independent News:UK*, March 5, 2018, accessed July, 2018, <https://www.independent.co.uk › News › World › Americas › US politics>

¹⁸⁹Jerusalem as part of occupied Palestine, "Jerusalem: Trump move prompts negative world reaction", 1-4

President Trump as being “anti-peace, the US administration stops more than \$200m in aid for Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.”¹⁹⁰

4.6 Analysis of President Trump’s First Year Middle Eastern Approach

President Trump’s Administration showed a complete departure with that of Obama Administration’s Middle Eastern approach. The US president Donald Trump Administration’s Middle East policy made it more difficult for Palestinian Authority to participate in America initiated peace efforts, similarly damaging the American Gulf allies’ regional credibility and peace process. As compared to Iranian nuclear deal and Islamic radicalism, Trump takes the comprehensive resolution of Israel-Palestine conflict as a challenge to explore his credibility as the best negotiator to deal Middle Eastern affairs.

Donald Trump termed himself as the best chance than any previous US administration to arbitrate Israeli-Palestinian. President Trump appointed his son-in-law Jared Kushner for Middle East task, who is the great supporter of Israeli settlements expansion. Departing from Obama administration’s US-Israel policy, Trump till the beginning of his administration behaved toward Israelis in a completely dissimilar way.

President Trump’s first year decisions and actions were heavily in Israel’s favor and made Palestinians improbable to take part in peace process. President Trump called Israel as the US great and true friend, and the only democracy in Middle East region, condemned Obama Administration for being not much supportive and unfriendly to Israelis; hence he revealed the Strong US-Israel relationship during his administration. President Trump appreciated Israeli military forces and called them as a very important asset for the US security plan. The basic concern of Trump Administration is Israeli military strength in the Middle East region.

Throughout initiation of administration Trump seems to have strong friendly ties with Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, who had worse relations with the

¹⁹⁰ Agence France-Presse, *Donald Trump cuts more than \$200m in aid to Palestinians* (The Guardian UK, August 25, 2018), 3-4

Obama presidency. President Trump called dealing Israel-Palestine conflict as an ultimate deal, but his administration focuses more on fostering Trump's diplomatic interests rather than taking positive steps towards Israel-Palestine conflict resolution.

Trump's cabinet and ambassadors to Israel are consisting mostly of those who are strong supporters of Israeli West Bank settlements. Trump administration is promoting pro-Israeli activities, such as Trump's son-in-law and special advisor to Israel is pro-Israeli and highly supports Israeli settlements with his family's foundation contributing to numerous settlements expansion in the West Bank.

4.7 Critical Analysis of Trump's Approach regarding Israel-Palestine Conflict

President Trump policies show a complete departure relatively to conflict transformation peacemaking ideals because Galtung's peacemaking ideals are based on balanced approach. Apparently President Trump's approach toward Israel-Palestine suggests two-state solution but, his actions are indicating one-state solution, dominating Israelis and leaving Palestinians under Israeli control. Further, two-state or one-state solution has not meant for him and he laid this charge to both parties to decide for them.

While examining Galtung's conflict transformation ideals it can be perceived that President Trump discusses Palestinian rights, elimination of violence and initiation of bilateral talks between both parties but, attempts taken by President Trump reveals that his administration is only rhetorically favoring the conflict transformation ideals. As Galtung suggests the differences between parties can be eliminated by transcending the contradiction, by compromising and by associating or dissociating the conflicted parties. However, the major drawback of Trump Administration was deciding the status of Jerusalem as Israeli capital; his decision eliminated any chances for compromising, balancing and achievement of peace agreement.

Further Galtung suggests relationships between parties can be transformed through a shift from unbalanced to balanced relationships achieved through a process of mediation, negotiation and development. President Trump's foreign policy is based on unilateral and sided-approach but, Israeli-Palestine conflict resolution demanded bilateral

approach, Trump mainly understands Israeli narrative more than Palestinian due to his strong relations with Israeli government, basically Trump Administration is trying to strengthen Israel for the US national interests and isolating Muslim world.

Mainly conflict transformation requires reframing of both parties positions and recognition of win-win outcome but, President Trump's recent actions and statements are win-lose defining approach, while favoring Israelis and ignoring Palestinians. The major weakness of Trump Administration is only considering and discussing negative peace or elimination of violence but, he paid no attention towards positive peace, as such Israel-Palestine conflict is highly demanding a comprehensive and wide-range approach.

Trump's actions are strengthening anti-Islamism and can be viewed as completely Pro-Israeli because his administration is a supporter of Israeli settlements building, which are increasing tensions between both sides rather than normalizing the situation. Basically Trump administration has no specific policies for Middle Eastern region's peacemaking because his administration is concerning its own national interests. Galtung's conflict transformation approach desires neutral behavior for the mediating party to transform the conflict. Whereas, Trump's mediation in Israel-Palestine conflict resolution is suspicious.

4.8 Comparative Analysis of Obama and Trump's Middle Eastern Approach

President Obama during his administration desired to end Middle East contradictory issues. Therefore, Obama's Middle East policies were proposed to withdraw American military forces from Middle East; forging Iran's nuclear project, normalizing relations with Muslim world and provide platform for the restart of peace talks between Israel-Palestine and his commitment to two-state solution.

Contrasting to Obama, Trump administration does not have a grand or else Middle East policy. Particularly, Trump is trying to strengthen Israel and Saudi Arabia in region in order to isolate Iran. President Trump's Middle East foreign policy is significantly contradictory to that of previous Obama Administration's Middle East foreign policy. Trump seemingly desires to distinct his Middle East policies from that of President Obama's policies. Trump inclines to go whatever Obama signified during his

presidency. More profoundly it can be said, Trump's doctrine for Middle East is basically being anti-Obama.

President Barack Obama framed his Middle East policy with an aim to fix all the casualties done by previous Bush Administration. Obama aimed to replace the US military power with its soft power and to reconsider the long-standing Middle East issues he emphasized the need to develop political space. Obama introduced his policy of engagement and change to rebuild relations with Muslims and to negotiate Israel-Palestine conflict along parameters recommended by international community, including final peace agreement, two-state solution, halting Israeli settlements expansion and Jerusalem's status. Obama abstained from favoring one-sided policies and introduced democratic reforms although, incompatibly and with little success.

On the other hand, Trump Administration represented a sharp difference from previous administration's Middle East policies. Comparatively to Obama Administration, Trump Administration has improved relations with Israeli and Saudi Arabian leadership. On the contrary, Obama Administration's tensed relations with Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu have also improved. Unexpectedly by standards of past American presidencies who enjoyed good relations with Israel as the US close ally, Trump Administration has appeared to unconditional support and favor towards Israel in order to please Israeli Prime Minister and to strengthen their relationship. Trump Administration has shown no attention in endorsing political reform or encouraging democratic standards.

President Barack Obama strove as a moderator, which was accepted by Americans along international community. Obama's policies were formulated in such a way to reestablish confidence of Muslims and international community in the US. On one side Barack Obama wanted to improve ties with the US allies, and on the other side he wanted to restart negotiations with adversaries.

Whereas, Trump Administration's policies are based on isolationism thus, during his inaugural address he introduced his campaign slogan as "America First". President Obama strove to improve American image within international community and more

particularly within Muslim world whereas, Trump's approach appears to be limiting global confidence on the US as symbol of hope and great power.

American negative image within Arab world due to its unconditional backing to Israel began to change in entire world with the start of Obama Presidency. Obama Presidency called for change was based on International laws and policy of engagement. Obama's policies were applauded by whole world except Israel, because Israel was the only country showed disappointment and was not pleased with Obama's Middle East policies.

Trump Administration's one-sided and offensive militarist policies within Middle East region, as well as his plans to destroy Obama's accomplishments has brought new conflicts in region and even made the situation more complex thus, his approaches shattered hopes for peacemaking in future. Trump Administration has no past political experience and the best examples of his misconduct are appointment of his son-in-law as middle advisor with no understanding and experience about Middle East region and then his departed decision to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital has brought hatred all around Muslim world and more particularly among Palestinians.

Obama emphasized the significance of peace talks over the use of force to resolve Israel-Palestine conflict. Barack Obama introduced those approaches that truly contemplated the US interests in resolving core issues within Middle East. Barack Obama Administration emphasized the adoption of past American presidencies peace efforts in order to achieve an enduring peace agreement and a two-state solution in Middle East region. Therefore, during his both terms Obama tried to halt Israeli settlements expansion in Palestinian territories to bring both the sides in direct peace talks.

President Trump is strengthening ties with Israeli Prime Minister and by violating International laws for construction of new Israeli settlements Trump has hampered Obama's peace efforts. Unlike to Obama's policy of change, President Trump's policy of engagement in Middle East shown its support for economically rich countries in region, as well as his strong opposition to Iran. Due to Trump's this policy of engagement the

core Middle Eastern issues are neglected, especially Palestinian narrative do not get serious consideration.

In the near future Trump's isolationist, one-sided policies and increased regional complexities will have made it difficult to achieve peace deal as well as, it will have damaged American image as partner in international agreements. Contemporary except Israelis, entire world states has shown disappointment towards his policies and he has done nothing to normalize the situation in region but has strengthened radical forces in region and has made it difficult for number of years to resolve Israel-Palestine conflict.

In conclusion, President Trump's approach to Israel-Palestine conflict is one-sided, pro-Israeli approach. During his first year in administration he tried to strengthen ties with Israeli Prime Minister and largely focused on Israeli perspective. President Trump's cabinet has favored Israeli settlements expansion and paid no attention toward aspirations of Palestinian peoples. Regardless of normalizing the situation, President Trump Administration adopted policies made the situation more complex than ever before. President Trump's strong opposition and his administration's hostility to Muslims play well with Israelis who felt Obama was weak, hesitant to confront aggressors in Middle East, and keen to embrace Islamists.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The conflict between Israel-Palestine is diversified in nature as it has been encompassing territorial, religious, and power distribution issues at inter-state level for seventy years. As the US is only great power which can play a decisive role; therefore this study has highlighted the US role to resolve such a complex issue with detailed description of President Barack Obama and President Donald Trump's Middle Eastern foreign policy agenda to broker a peace deal between both sides. All over the study, obstacles and causes behind the conflict, America's inevitable mediator role, US initiated peace process and especially Obama's two terms and Trump's first year Presidential campaign promises have been discussed and evaluated critically.

As President Obama had political narrative, he entered into Middle Eastern affairs by introducing his own strategy to re-engage in region and to change the relations with Middle Eastern states and Muslim world. Therefore, he acknowledged the complexities in region. During his two term Presidential campaigns, Obama repeatedly forced both sides to engage in a two-state solution. To some extent President Obama's policies were Pro-Palestine; as he considered that Israeli administration would not seriously engage in peacemaking. Nevertheless President Obama throughout his administration spoke for Palestinian cause, as Israeli's have right to have their own state same Palestinians have; the only solution for both sides to live in a prosperity is two states for two sides.

The reopening of bilateral direct peace talks between Israel-Palestine had not been arranged more greatly than Obama. Obama Administration arranged direct peace talks during his both terms where he personally met with authorities of both parties and negotiated on the border issues, status of East Jerusalem and settlements issues. Negotiating a peace deal between Israel-Palestine was the top priority of Obama Administration. Thus, he condemned Israel's settlements building and asked Israeli's to halt settlements building because these settlements are the main obstacle in peacemaking and pleaded Israeli's that the future Palestinian state would be based on 1967 borders line. But, Israeli Administration rejected these conditions.

Obama Administration and Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu had worst relationships between them of any previous US administration. Many criticized Obama Administration for leaning too hard on Israel. Due to Obama's affection toward Muslims and extremists hatred, both Obama and Netanyahu had serious clashes on the core Israeli-Palestinian issues however, despite of these clashes the US-Israel alliance remained same.

Despite many positive steps which President Obama had sought to resolve the conflict, lack of success was mainly because of the lack of procedural mechanism and President Obama had not rightly assess the US ability to inflict its power on both Israeli and Palestinian sides. Though Obama's speeches were more arguable and reality based but disconnect between Obama's speeches and his strategies can be viewed as, his speeches were not transformed into such procedures where from good ideas can be achieved as tactics. Thoroughly observing President Obama's approaches one can be said that, Obama's Middle East policies were based on disconnected strategy rather than, as failed approach and he was ambivalent to deal with conflict because of their national preferences.

Donald Trump is a new in politics, which came into politics without any experience hence, to deal with Middle Eastern issues are challenging for him. All previous US presidencies were pro-Israeli because of American national and security concerns in Middle East but they also worked to consider and to realize Palestinian needs but Trump's Presidency is more deeply pro-Israeli and supportive to Israeli narrative. President Trump's senior advisors are also known for their pro-Israeli engagement, through supporting and donating for some of Middle East settlements. President Trump has adopted a nationalistic and unilateral strategy to enter in Middle Eastern affairs.

President Trump's Middle Eastern policy intentions are to remove Obama's peace framework and signifies a vibrant change from that Obama Administration approaches. To isolate Muslim countries and to secure the US security plan President Trump has pursued to encourage Israeli's in region. President Trump has represented a reactively and instinctively one-sided approach while giving little attention towards Palestinian

concerns; although, his Palestine policy has made Palestinians improbable to take part in the US initiated peace process. President Trump's two-state solution has evenly suspicious, because he has not personally and actively elaborated this idea and has laid charge on both the sides to decide for themselves a two-state or a one-state solution, because it has not meant for him.

Another major factor of Trump's Middle East policy has to rebuild and improve relations with Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, which were complexed during Obama Administration. Both President Trump and Netanyahu have developed close friendly relations between them of any previous American administration and this closeness between the US and Israel has raised strong ties in Israel. Trump's actions have also exposed hatred towards Islam and raised anti-Islamism. Israel is one of few countries in Middle East that appreciates and happy with President Trump's decisions for Israel more probably, Jerusalem recognition, increase in aid, shifting of the US Embassy, fund cancelling to Palestinians and strong criticism on Islam.

Though every US Administration has tried to resolve this conflict but they failed and Israel-Palestine conflict is extending and still unresolved because of their national and strategic issues, that's why Obama Administration has done the same but, introduced few positive approaches and hope whereas, Trump's first year policies were pro-Israeli while, his future policies are questionable.

Recommendations:

- There should be firm and practical strategic peace initiatives and agreements by the US administration to achieve an enduring peace between both sides.
- There should be observed and analyzed previous weaknesses and avoid them in future peace process and to develop new ideas.
- To resolve the major issues between Israel-Palestine there should be need to develop a deep thought and flexibility in approach of the arbitrating American Presidency.
- There should be neutral and bilateral approach rather than unilateral approach to achieve peace.

- There should be involvement of international community and organizations along the US administration to modify the best ways to strictly approach the conflict.
- Both conflicting sides need to set on an acceptable agreement and it should be possible only by two-state solution with equally recognition of both parties.
- There should be an effective use of soft power by the US to maintain its supremacy and credibility around world.
- The US should not further accept illegal Israeli settlements and equally recognize both sides' aspirations for peaceful resolutions.

To sum up, the undertaken research covers comparatively Obama and Trump administration's approach toward the conflict resolution between Israel-Palestine in the framework of Johan Galtung's conflict transformation approach. The study is important in its nature and scope as it provides description of world's only super power the US presidential role as a mediating power to deal the unresolved conflict between Israel-Palestine. Further, the study will be useful in future, as it provides for national and international institutions the basics for appropriate and proper actions that are to be done in future for resolving the conflict. The study also suggests current and the future US presidencies along benefitting the researchers of social science to understand Israeli-Palestinian core issues and causes behind the failure of Israel-Palestine conflict resolution, while enabling to render the possible solutions and suggests ways to avoid the previous failed strategies by focusing on Galtung's ideals for peacemaking and conflict transformation.

APPENDICES

Appendix-I: Palestine After 1948



Sources: https://www.edmaps.com/html/israel_and_palestine.html

Appendix-II: Israel After 1948



Sources: <https://israelipalestinian.procon.org/view.resource.php?resourceID=000637>

Appendix-III: UN Partition Plan, 1947



Sources: https://www.edmaps.com/html/israel_and_palestine.html

Appendix-IV: Israel-Palestine 1967 borders



Sources: <https://taosangha-na.com/giving/international-aid-projects/ongoing-water-crisis-gaza/attachment/israel-palestine-map-1967/>

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