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**The Role of the USA in the Palestinian Cause during Trump's
Administration: A Party or A Mediator?**

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Dedication

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Abstract

During the Trump Administration, the United States took a more pro-Israel stance in regard to the Palestinian cause. President Trump and his administration were seen as strongly supportive of “Israel”, and took several steps that were seen as favouring “Israel” over the Palestinians. One of the most notable moves was the recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of “Israel” and the relocation of the US embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. This was viewed as a significant departure from previous US policy and a clear demonstration of the administration's pro-“Israel” stance. Additionally, the Trump Administration cut off aid to the Palestinian Authority, and ended funding for the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), which provides aid to Palestinian refugees. These actions appeared to be an attempt to pressure the Palestinians into making concessions in peace negotiations with “Israel”. While the Trump Administration took a pro-“Israel” stance, it did make attempts at mediating between the Israelis and Palestinians. The administration released a peace plan, known as the "Deal of the Century," which aimed to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. However, the plan was widely criticized by Palestinians and was seen as heavily favouring “Israel”. Overall, during the Trump Administration, the United States was perceived more as a party in support of “Israel” than as an impartial mediator in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

ملخص

خلال إدارة ترامب، اتخذت الولايات المتحدة موقفًا أكثر تأييدًا لإسرائيل فيما يتعلق بالقضية الفلسطينية. كان يُنظر إلى الرئيس ترامب وإدارته على أنهم يدعمون إسرائيل بقوة، واتخذوا عدة خطوات كان يُنظر إليها على أنها تفضيل لإسرائيل على الفلسطينيين. وكان من أبرز التحركات الاعتراف بالقدس عاصمة لإسرائيل ونقل السفارة الأمريكية من تل أبيب إلى القدس. واعتبر هذا خروجًا مهمًا عن السياسة الأمريكية السابقة وإظهارًا واضحًا لموقف الإدارة المؤيد لإسرائيل. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، قطعت إدارة ترامب المساعدات عن السلطة الفلسطينية، وأوقفت تمويل وكالة الأمم المتحدة لإغاثة وتشغيل اللاجئين الفلسطينيين (الأونروا)، التي تقدم المساعدات للاجئين الفلسطينيين. واعتبرت هذه الإجراءات محاولة للضغط على الفلسطينيين لتقديم تنازلات في مفاوضات السلام مع إسرائيل. بينما اتخذت إدارة ترامب موقفًا مؤيدًا لإسرائيل، إلا أنها بذلت محاولات للتوسط بين الإسرائيليين والفلسطينيين. أصدرت الإدارة خطة سلام، عُرفت باسم "صفقة القرن"، تهدف إلى حل الصراع الإسرائيلي الفلسطيني. ومع ذلك، انتقد الفلسطينيون الخطة على نطاق واسع واعتبروا أنها تحابي إسرائيل بشدة. بشكل عام، خلال إدارة ترامب، برزت الولايات المتحدة كطرف يدعم إسرائيل أكثر من كونها وسيطًا محايدًا في الصراع الإسرائيلي الفلسطيني.

Résumé

Sous l'administration du Trump, les États-Unis ont adopté une position plus pro-israélienne en ce qui concerne la cause palestinienne. Le président Trump et son administration étaient considérés comme fortement favorables à Israël et ont pris plusieurs mesures considérées comme favorisant Israël par rapport aux Palestiniens. L'une des mesures les plus notables a été la reconnaissance de Jérusalem comme capitale d'Israël et le transfert de l'ambassade des États-Unis de Tel-Aviv à Jérusalem. Cela a été considéré comme un changement significatif par rapport à la politique américaine précédente et une démonstration claire de la position pro-israélienne de l'administration. De plus, l'administration Trump a interrompu l'aide à l'Autorité palestinienne et a mis fin au financement de l'Office de secours et de travaux des Nations Unies (UNRWA), qui fournit une aide aux réfugiés palestiniens. Ces actions ont été considérées comme une tentative de faire pression sur les Palestiniens pour qu'ils fassent des concessions dans les négociations de paix avec Israël. Alors que l'administration Trump a adopté une position pro-israélienne, elle a fait des tentatives de médiation entre les Israéliens et les Palestiniens. L'administration a publié un plan de paix, connu sous le nom de "Deal of the Century", qui visait à résoudre le conflit israélo-palestinien. Cependant, le plan a été largement critiqué par les Palestiniens et a été considéré comme fortement favorable à Israël. Dans l'ensemble, sous l'administration Trump, les États-Unis étaient davantage perçus comme une partie soutenant Israël que comme un médiateur impartial dans le conflit israélo-palestinien.

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

BDS	Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions
DFLP	Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine
DOP	Declaration of Principles
DOPOISGA	Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements
HAMAS	Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiyya (Islamic Resistance Movement)
IDP	Israel Defence Forces
OPT	Occupied Palestinian Territories
PFLP	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine
PLC	Palestinian Legislative Council
PLO	Palestinian Liberation Organisation
UN	United Nations
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency

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General Introduction

The Palestinian-Israeli conflict has been a long-standing and complex issue, with various stakeholders and factors at play. The United States has played a crucial role in the peace process, acting as both a mediator and a party. However, during the Trump administration, the US's policies towards Palestine shifted significantly, raising questions about its role in the peace process. This dissertation aims to investigate the role of the United States in the Palestinian cause during Trump's administration and whether it acted as a party or a mediator.

The Palestinian-Israeli conflict dates back to the early 20th century and has been a topic of international concern for decades. The United States has been involved in the peace process as a mediator in the Israeli-Palestinian dispute. One famous instance is the Camp David Accords of 1978, where President Jimmy Carter sponsored talks between Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Egyptian President Anwar Sadat. The Camp David Accords, which resulted in a peace agreement between Egypt and "Israel", was a significant turning point for the area. Followed by Oslo Accords of 1993 providing financial and political support to the Palestinian Authority.

However, during Trump's administration, the US's policies clearly showed its bias towards "Israel", recognizing Jerusalem as "Israel's" capital and cutting funding to the Palestinian Authority. These policies have been criticized by many international actors, raising questions about the US's role in the peace process and the impact of its policies on the Palestinian cause. Therefore, it is essential to investigate the role of the United States in the Palestinian cause during Trump's administration and its impact on the peace process.

The Palestinian cause has been an ongoing issue for several decades, with its roots tracing back to the early 20th century. In 1917, the British government issued the Balfour Declaration, which expressed its support for the establishment of a Jewish national home in

Palestine. This declaration was met with resistance from the Arab population, who saw it as an infringement on their rights to self-determination.

In 1947, the United Nations General Assembly passed Resolution 181, which called for the partition of Palestine into two separate states, one Jewish and one Arab. The partition plan was accepted by the Jewish leadership but rejected by the Arab states, leading to the first Arab-Israeli war in 1948. The war resulted in the displacement of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians, leading to the creation of Palestinian refugee camps in neighbouring Arab countries.

The following decades were marked by several wars and uprisings, including the Six-Day War in 1967, which resulted in “Israel's” occupation of the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip. The Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), led by Yasser Arafat, emerged as the primary political representative of the Palestinian people, advocating for their right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state.

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the peace process between “Israel” and the Palestinians saw several failed attempts at negotiations, including the Oslo Accords in 1993, which aimed to establish a framework for peace between the two sides. However, the peace process stalled, and the second *Intifada*¹ broke out in 2000, leading to renewed violence and a heightened sense of mistrust between the two sides.

In recent years, the Palestinian cause has gained renewed attention on the global stage, with a growing movement for Palestinian rights and the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS)² campaign calling for economic and political pressure on “Israel” to end its occupation of Palestinian territories.

Overall, the history of the Palestinian cause is complex and fraught with conflict, with deep-rooted issues of identity, self-determination, and territorial sovereignty at its core.

A thorough understanding of this history is crucial in evaluating the current situation and potential paths forward towards a lasting peace agreement.

The Palestinian cause is a long-standing issue that has been the subject of much research and discussion in the academic and political spheres. To fully understand the complexities of this issue, it is necessary to examine its historical roots and the various factors that have contributed to its ongoing nature.

This dissertation is divided into three chapters to provide a comprehensive analysis of the Palestinian cause and its implications on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Chapter one serves as an introduction, setting the stage by outlining the purpose and scope of the study, as well as highlighting the importance of understanding the historical context and major conventions and treaties related to the Palestinian cause. The historical overview provides insights into the roots of the conflict, including the rise of Zionism and Arab nationalism, exploring the region prior to the creation of "Israel", the Balfour Declaration, the Great Arab Revolt, the League of Nations mandate and the partition of Palestine, the emergence of the Palestinian national movement, discussing the formation of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), the role of Yasser Arafat, the Palestinian resistance and armed struggle against "Israel", and the Arab-Israeli wars of 1967 and 1973. In Chapter two, attention turns to the attempts at resolving the conflict, examining United Nations resolutions on Palestine, the Oslo Accords, the Camp David Summit, the Annapolis Conference, the Abraham Accords, and the human toll of the Conflict. Finally, chapter three delves into the Israeli-Palestinian conflict under the Trump administration, focusing on key policy changes such as the relocation of the US embassy to Jerusalem and the introduction of the "Deal of the Century" proposal.

One of the key sources on the early beginnings of the Palestinian cause is the book *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* by Ilan Pappé. In this book, Pappé provides a

comprehensive historical account of the events leading up to the 1948 Arab-Israeli war and the subsequent displacement of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians from their homes. He argues that the ethnic cleansing of Palestine was not a one-time event, but rather an ongoing process that continues to this day.

Another important source on the subject is *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples* by Ilan Pappé and Nur Masalha. This book provides a detailed overview of the Palestinian cause from the late 19th century to the present day. It examines the various political, social, and economic factors that have shaped the conflict and contributed to its ongoing nature.

Another valuable source is *The Question of Palestine* by Edward Said. This book provides an in-depth analysis of the Palestinian cause from a cultural and literary perspective. Said argues that the Palestinian struggle is not just a political issue, but a cultural one as well, and that the Palestinian people have been denied their cultural identity and heritage by “Israeli occupation”.

Additionally, *Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid* by Jimmy Carter provides a unique perspective on the Palestinian cause. Carter, who served as the 39th President of the United States, provides a personal account of his involvement in the peace process and his observations on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. He argues that a peaceful solution to the conflict is possible if both sides are willing to make compromises.

Overall, these sources and others provide a comprehensive understanding of the early beginnings of the Palestinian cause and the various factors that have contributed to its ongoing nature. They offer valuable insights into the historical, cultural, and political aspects of the conflict, which are essential for anyone seeking to fully understand the complexities of the issue.

This dissertation employs a qualitative research design, using a case study approach. The case study focuses on the Trump administration's policies towards Palestine and the role of the United States in the Palestinian cause. The data is collected through a literature review of relevant academic articles, books, and government reports.

The current research tries to provide answers to questions such as: What was the United States' role in the Palestinian cause during Trump's administration? Did the United States act as a party or a mediator during Trump's administration? How did Trump's policies towards Palestine impact the Palestinian people? How did Palestinian perceptions of the United States change during Trump's administration? What were the international reactions to Trump's policies towards Palestine? What is the future of the Palestinian cause, and what role will the United States play in it?

This research aims to provide a comprehensive analysis of the role of the United States in the Palestinian cause during Trump's administration. The expected findings include a detailed examination of the Trump administration's policies towards Palestine, the impact of these policies on the Palestinian people, and Palestinian perceptions of the United States. Additionally, the research analyses international reactions to Trump's policies towards Palestine and their impact on the peace process. Finally, the research provides an overview of potential solutions to the conflict and the future of the Palestinian cause, including the role of the United States.

This research aims to investigate the role of the United States in the Palestinian cause during Trump's administration and its impact on the peace process. The study contributes to the existing literature on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, the role of the United States in the peace process, and the impact of Trump's policies on the Palestinian cause. The findings of this research proposal have significant implications for policymakers, academics, and activists working towards a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

Chapter One

Unravelling the Historical Tapestry: Tracing the Origins of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

Introduction

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict, characterized by territorial disputes, political and religious rivalries, and cultural differences, has been a defining feature of the Middle East for decades. The circumstances surrounding the Palestinian cause have reverberated throughout the region and beyond, influencing geopolitics, international relations, and global perceptions. Understanding the Palestinian struggle necessitates delving into the intricate historical background that has shaped the region's complex challenges.

The origins and reasons behind the Arab-Israeli conflict have been hotly contested. Some have suggested that religion lies at the core of the conflict, viewing the struggle for Palestine as a continuation of the centuries-old religious conflicts over Jerusalem and the Arab-Israeli battles as a continuation of the conflict between Prophet Muhammad and the Medinan Jews. Others have claimed that it was the outcome of Western colonialism, which denied Arabs the right to self-determination while also supporting Zionism as a movement that was fundamentally European colonialism. Others have asserted that intercommunal violence was caused by Zionists or Arabs, or both, acting intransigently and irrationally, if not fanatically (Best et al.115).

All of these arguments have some merit, but this chapter contends that specific historical events in the late 19th and early 20th centuries contributed to the conflict's evolution. These events include European anti-Semitism, the rise of Zionism, the emergence of Arab nationalism, the quest for Arab independence, the Ottoman defeat in the First World War, the British mandate in Palestine, the Second World War, and the Holocaust. Zionism and Arab nationalism inevitably became involved in a bitter struggle for land and self-

determination that came to be known as the Arab-Israeli conflict, which was not caused by religious hostility, fanaticism, or colonial policy, but rather by competing national projects that claimed the same territory and resources (Best et al. 116).

Naturally, the conflict has drawn attention from throughout the world and been at the centre of attempts by foreign powers to exert strategic and economic influence. The Ottoman, European, Superpower, and American eras can still be distinguished as the four main phases of this international affair.

1.1 European Anti-Semitism and the Rise of Zionism

Anti-Semitism in Europe is the term used to describe centuries-old prejudice, animosity, and discrimination against Jews. Persecution has taken many different forms throughout history, including political, economic, and religious persecution, which culminated in the “Holocaust's” atrocities. According to Berenbaum as mentioned in Britannica, anti-Semitism is “hostility toward or discrimination against Jews as a religious or racial group. The term *anti-Semitism* was coined in 1879 by the German agitator Wilhelm Marr to designate the anti-Jewish campaigns underway in central Europe at that time.” According to the Jewish perspective, various factors, such as religious differences, economic competitiveness, political and social upheavals, and the spread of Jewish conspiracy theories and stereotypes, have contributed to anti-Semitism in Europe. In many instances, laws and policies that have marginalised and repressed Jewish populations have institutionalised and encouraged these prejudices.

The idea that the Jews are one people and deserve to have their own state dates back to the second half of the nineteenth century, and modern Zionism is the belief that the Jews are that one people and should have their own state. Thus, in order to understand the competition between Jews and Arabs over Palestine, it is necessary to look more closely at their respective national claims and underlying ideas and ideologies. The early Zionist movement was

motivated by a desire to escape persecution in Europe and establish a national identity for Jews. The movement gained support from European powers, such as Britain and France, which saw the establishment of a Jewish homeland as a means of extending their influence in the region (Best et al. 116).

It was influenced by the secular and rationalistic traditions of the French Revolution and the Enlightenment, ideas of the social contract, principles of equality and citizenship, but more importantly, it was a direct reaction to the persistent anti-Semitism in Eastern and Western European society (Best et al. 116). Zionism as a national movement was the result of a number of thinkers who drew upon various personal experiences and intellectual traditions, as the idea of a Jewish home or state as a solution to the so-called Jewish problem emerged both in the freer Western European environment of legal equality and assimilation and in the more oppressive Eastern European environment of segregation, persecution, and oppression (Best et al. 116).

In the early 1890s, Theodor Herzl, a journalist in Paris, saw the appeal of anti-Semitism campaigns to French nationalist sentiments and called for the first Zionist Congress on August 29, 1897, in the Swiss town of Basel. Over 200 delegates, most of whom had come from eastern Europe, gathered to discuss Herzl's nationalist call for the establishment of a new state in which Jews would constitute the majority of citizens (Bunton 22). In 1896, he wrote *Der Judenstaat* (The Jewish State), outlining how the establishment of a Jewish state would put an end to the pervasive anti-Semitism of Europe.

The goal itself was not new; earlier calls for a Jewish homeland had been made in the wake of the Russian pogroms of the early 1880s (Bunton 22). However, this experience convinced him that even an assimilated Jew could never be accepted as an equal citizen in Europe. Delegates agreed to create the World Zionist Organization as a permanent administration to lead the Zionist cause, and they defined Zionism as "the creation of a home

for the Jewish people in Palestine." This was the unique accomplishment of Herzl's Basel program (22).

The slogan "a land without a people for a people without a land" is an example of how this transformation of Zionism excluded the native Arab population from the Jewish state-building project. In addition, because land was seen as a necessary condition for redemption by both romantic nationalists and agricultural socialists, the Zionist settlers were forced into a zero-sum struggle with the Palestinian Arab peasants (Best et al. 118).

1.2 Emergence of Arab and Palestinian Nationalism

Parallel to Zionism's birth and development was Arab nationalism, and it was Palestine's territory that these two national movements competed and finally clashed. Two similar but different political philosophies that first appeared in the Arab world in the 20th century were Arab nationalism and Palestinian nationalism.

A political philosophy known as "Arab nationalism" emphasises the unity and shared identity of the Arab people, who speak the same language and have a similar history and culture. It began to take shape in the late 19th century as a reaction to European colonialism and imperialism and was motivated by a desire to fend off foreign rule and attain independence and self-determination (Khouri 8). Arab nationalism was a prominent force in the decolonization movement that swept the Arab world in the middle of the 20th century and played a significant part in the fight against colonialism. However, it struggled with internal conflicts and outside influences, and in the second half of the 20th century, its influence waned.

On the other side, Palestinian nationalism is a political philosophy that places a strong emphasis on the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the creation of a sovereign Palestinian state in the ancient country of Palestine. As a reaction to Jewish immigration to Palestine and the creation of the so-called state of "Israel" in 1948, which

resulted in the eviction and dispossession of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians from their homes, it originated at the beginning of the 20th century. The Middle East's political environment has been significantly influenced by Palestinian nationalism, which has been a primary driving force in the fight for Palestinian rights and statehood (Khalidi, *The Iron Cage* 57).

While Arab nationalism and Palestinian nationalism share certain similar ideals, there have also been tensions and disputes over matters like “Israel's” place in the area, how nationalism and Islam should coexist, and how to strike a balance between national unity and religious and ethnic diversity. The complicated interactions between these two philosophies continue to influence Palestinian-Israeli relations and Arab politics (Khouri 17; Khalidi, *The Iron Cage* 83).

1.3 The Twice-promised Land

The late 19th century saw a rise in Jewish immigration to Palestine, when the Palestinian cause first gained traction. The Jewish immigrants were a part of a larger Zionist movement that aspired to create a Jewish homeland in Palestine at the time, while Palestine was still a part of the Ottoman Empire rule (Best et al., 118). From the early 16th century until the end of World War I, Palestine was a part of the Ottoman Empire, and during this time the territory witnessed enormous changes to its social, economic, and political systems (Khalidi, *The Iron Cage* 32).

During the Ottoman era Palestine was governed by the Vilayet of Beirut, which also comprised modern-day Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan (Khalidi, *The Iron Cage* 32). Muslims, Christians, and Jews made up the region's diversified population. They resided both in metropolitan places like Jerusalem, Jaffa, and Nablus as well as in rural areas (33). The installation of new administrative structures, the adoption of new legislative frameworks, and the development of new infrastructure, including roads and railways, were only a few of the

reforms carried out by the Ottoman authorities in an effort to modernise and centralise the area. These changes, however, also brought about greater taxation, land confiscation, and other types of economic exploitation, which fuelled locals' mounting anger (35).

Palestine became a focal point for rival nationalist movements, such as Arab nationalism and Zionism, in the late Ottoman era (Khalidi, *The Iron Cage* 55). Zionist movement founder Theodor Herzl travelled to Palestine in 1898 and met with Ottoman representatives in an effort to win their support for a Jewish homeland in the area (Best et al. 118). Parallel to this, Palestinian Arab officials started expressing their own nationalist aspirations, urging independence and self-determination (118). During World War I, the Ottoman Empire fought alongside Germany and Austria-Hungary on the side of the Central Powers. The empire, which at the time was already dealing with serious economic and political problems, was severely impacted by the conflict (Khalidi, *The Iron Cage* 80).

Two distinct yet interconnected events resulted from the Ottomans' entry into the war on the side of Germany in November 1914. First, it gave Arabs in the Middle East and Zionists in Palestine the chance to wrest control away from the Ottomans. Second, it pitted Britain against the Ottomans in the Middle East, sparking a British search for allies (Best et al. 118). The most significant such agreement was the 1916 Sykes-Picot Agreement, which mapped out British and French zones of control. This search also resulted in agreements with the Arabs and with the Zionists, notably the Hussein-McMahon correspondence and the Balfour Declaration, regarding the future of the Ottoman territories in the event of an Entente victory (120).

The Hussein-McMahon correspondence was a series of letters written in 1915 and 1916 between Sharif Hussein, the leader of the *Hashemites*³ and protector of the holy sites at Mecca and Medina on the Arabian Peninsula, and Sir Henry McMahon, the British high commissioner in Cairo (Best et al. 118). Prior to the start of the war, Sharif Hussein had

requested British military assistance to support the Arabs in driving out the Turks, but his demands had been turned down since the Ottomans were still seen as a friendly state and essential to preserving the balance of power in Europe.

However, after declaring war on Turkey, Britain's interests in Hussein's ambitions shifted. The British now thought Hussein would be able to incite an Arab uprising that would weaken the Turks, use up more of their resources, and divert them from endangering Britain's Suez Canal connection to the rest of its empire. This shift in perspective served as the impetus for the Hussein-McMahon letter, which eventually included the British promise of Arab independence in exchange for their assistance in the fight against the Ottomans. In no way was the Hussein-McMahon correspondence a formal treaty. But the primary issue was not its lack of formality. It was actually the territorial ambiguity and its underlying notion of "Arabness"(Best et al. 118).

Thus, the land to be given to the Arabs included no mention of Palestine or Jerusalem while clearly excluding parts of what would become Lebanon and Syria (Best et al. 118). Therefore, the Arabs felt profoundly misled when the British declared that Palestine had been excluded after the war (Bunton 123). This was particularly true given that Hussein's campaign had made a significant contribution to the British war effort, first by seizing the Red Sea port of Aqaba, which made it possible to attack Ottoman forces in Palestine from the southeast, and then by inspiring the Arab uprising in the northern provinces towards the end of the war. As a result, Hussein thought he had honourably fulfilled his half of the bargain whereas the British had not only broken their end but had also promised Palestine as a home for the Jews (123).

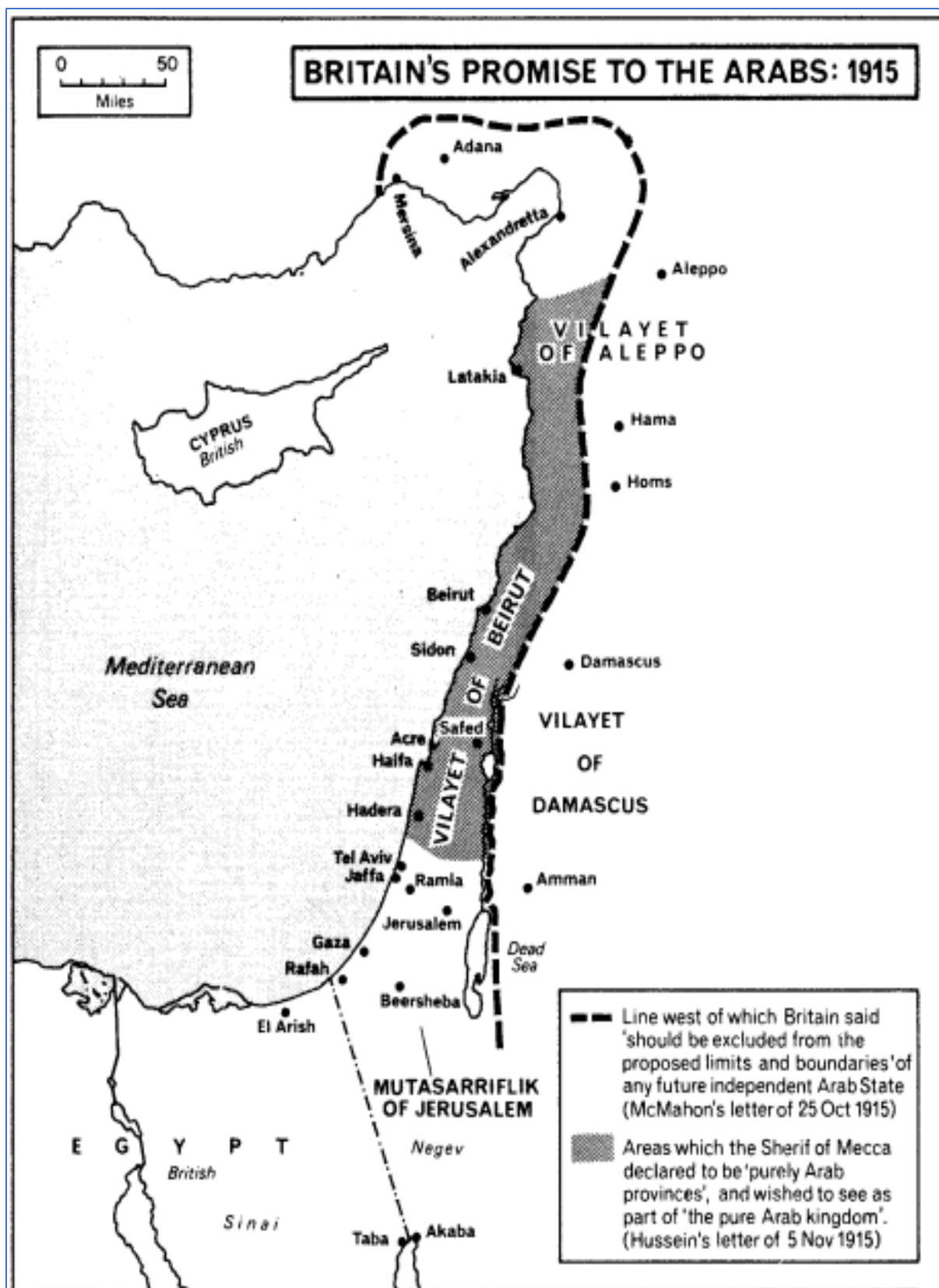


Figure 01: Map representing Britain's Promise to the Arabs in 1915

Source: The Routledge atlas of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

In 1915, in an attempt to win Arab support in the war against Turkey, Britain began negotiations with Hussein, Sherif of Mecca. On 25 Oct 1915 the British High Commissioner in Cairo, Sir H. McMahon, informed Hussein that Britain was 'prepared to recognize and support the independence of the Arabs...' But, he added, the Eastern Mediterranean littoral would have to be entirely excluded from any future Arab State. In his reply on 5 Nov 1915, Hussein insisted on the inclusion of the Vilayet of Beirut, but made no mention of the Mutasarriflik of Jerusalem. But on 14 Dec 1915 McMahon replied that any such inclusion 'will require careful consideration'. On 1 Jan 1916 Hussein warned McMahon: 'the people of Beirut will decidedly never accept such isolations'. At no point in the correspondence was any mention made of southern Palestine, Jerusalem or the Jews (Gilbert 5).

Weizmann, a Russian-born British citizen and an articulate Zionist advocate, had already interacted with and lobbied several British leaders prior to the war, including Arthur Balfour, whom he had first met during the 1906 general election campaign. Weizmann's advocacy for a Jewish state gained traction among British politicians as a result of his significance as a scientist who worked on the synthesis of acetone, which was necessary for creating explosives. Through his diplomatic prowess and personal connections, Weizmann was able to secure from the British what Herzl had failed to secure from the Ottomans in all his years of fruitless diplomacy: an international assurance, for a Jewish home in Palestine (Bunton 42). This commitment, which is also known as the Balfour Declaration, was included in a letter that Balfour wrote to prominent British Zionist Lord Rothschild.

In 1917, Britain issued the Balfour Declaration, which declared its support for the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. This declaration further exacerbated tensions between Jews and Arabs, as the Arab population saw it as a betrayal by the British, who had promised to support Arab independence in exchange for their support in World War I (Bunton 42).

Throughout the conflict, the Ottoman Empire lost a number of significant military battles, such as the Battle of Gallipoli and the Siege of Kut. The empire also encountered difficulties on its eastern front, when it was at war with Russia (Bunton 78). The Sykes-Picot Agreement, which was signed by Britain and France in 1916, divided the Middle East into areas of influence for the two countries. The Ottoman Empire suffered a great loss as a result of this agreement because its territorial integrity was under danger. In 1917, General Edmund Allenby led British troops in a war to seize Palestine, which was then a part of the Ottoman Empire. In December of that year, Allenby's forces conquered Jerusalem, shifting the tide of the war after a string of engagements and sieges (78).

The history and purpose of the Balfour Declaration remain controversial subjects. At heart, the aligning of British interests with those of Zionism was underpinned by two racialized beliefs. One was the conception that Jews constituted a nation. A second fundamental precept of British policy was that Palestine's Arab inhabitants themselves did not merit attention beyond an idealized consideration of the improvements European colonization brought to backward areas. These cultural preconceptions are boldly captured in Lord Balfour's own famous justification of his declaration: 'Zionism, be it right or wrong, good or bad,' he wrote in 1922, was 'rooted in age-long traditions, in present needs and future hopes of far profounder import than the desires and prejudices of the 700,000 Arabs who now inhabit that ancient land.' (Bunton 102).

With the signing of the Armistice of Mudros on October 30, 1918, the Ottoman Empire finally submitted to the Allied armies. Following the dissolution of the empire, the victorious powers divided up its lands. Following the Ottoman Empire's loss in World War I, Palestine was given to the British as part of the League of Nations Mandate system, ending the period of Ottoman control (Best et al. 134). In Palestine and the rest of the Middle East,

the effects of Ottoman authority are still noticeable, having shaped the political, social, and cultural landscape in ways that are still being investigated and discussed today.

As Jewish immigration to Palestine increased, tensions began to rise between Jews and the indigenous Arab population. The Arab population saw Jewish immigration as a threat to their land and way of life, and tensions between the two groups continued to escalate. The Middle East, including the Zionist entity “Israel”, the West Bank, and Gaza, was significantly impacted by the war's aftermath. The foundation of new political entities, like the British Mandate for Palestine, which would ultimately influence the trajectory of the region's history for decades to come, was made possible by the fall of the Ottoman Empire (Best et al. 142).

1.4 The Great Arab Revolt: Catalyst for Arab Nationalism

The Great Arab Revolt also known as the Arab Revolt or the Arab uprising stands as a defining moment in the history of the Arab world, reflecting a collective uprising against Ottoman rule and the emergence of Arab nationalism. It was a major revolt against the Ottoman Empire that took place during World War I.

The Great Arab Revolt unfolded amidst the backdrop of World War I and the decline of the Ottoman Empire. The Arab lands, encompassing present-day Jordan, Syria, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia, were under Ottoman control. Arab nationalists, frustrated with Ottoman policies, sought greater autonomy and aspirations for independence. Economic hardships, political marginalization, and cultural grievances fuelled the discontent among the Arab population (Hourani 86; Rogan, *The Arabs: A History* 112).

The Great Arab Revolt was led by prominent figures who played instrumental roles in uniting Arab tribes, formulating strategies, and advocating for Arab independence. Sharif Hussein bin Ali, the Hashemite leader, emerged as a symbol of Arab nationalism and spearheaded the revolt. Thomas Edward Lawrence, famously known as Lawrence of Arabia⁴, provided critical support and expertise in coordinating the Arab forces. Emir Faisal, Sharif

Hussein's son, became a charismatic leader and instrumental in forging alliances with regional powers and Western governments (Fromkin 92; Kedourie 75).

The revolt aimed to liberate Arab lands from Ottoman control and establish an independent Arab state. Arab nationalists sought to reclaim their cultural and political identity, asserting their right to self-determination. The Arab forces adopted various strategies, including guerrilla warfare, sabotage, and hit-and-run tactics to disrupt Ottoman control. Tribal alliances were formed to consolidate military strength, and diplomatic efforts were made to secure support from external powers such as Britain (Khoury, 105; Wilson 63). The Great Arab Revolt had profound and enduring impacts on the Arab world. It ignited a sense of Arab identity and nationalism, challenging Ottoman authority and paving the way for future independence movements.

The revolt inspired aspirations for self-rule and statehood among Arab populations and laid the foundation for the Arab awakening and subsequent nationalist movements in the region. The revolt also played a significant role in shaping the territorial boundaries and political landscape of the Middle East, particularly through the post-war Sykes-Picot Agreement and the subsequent Treaty of Versailles (Hourani 115; Rogan, *The Arabs: A History* 142). The Great Arab Revolt captured international attention and influenced the geopolitical dynamics of the Middle East. The revolt intersected with the interests and strategies of the Allied Powers during World War I, particularly Britain. The Arab nationalists entered into negotiations and agreements with the British, seeking their support for an independent Arab state. However, the post-war geopolitical landscape and conflicting interests of the great powers complicated the realization of Arab aspirations (Fromkin 128; Kedourie 91).

The Great Arab Revolt continues to be subject to historical interpretation and debate. Historiography surrounding the revolt has evolved over time, reflecting changing perspectives

and access to new sources. Some scholars emphasize the role of the revolt as a genuine expression of Arab nationalism, while others analyse it as a tool used by external powers to advance their own interests. Historians also debate the extent to which the revolt contributed to the ultimate success of the Arab nationalist movement (Khouri, 128; Wilson 92).

1.4.1 Impact of the Great Arab Revolt on Arab Aspirations

The Great Arab Revolt stands as a significant episode in the history of the Arab world, marked by a collective struggle for independence and liberation from Ottoman rule during World War I. One of the primary ways in which the Arabs were deceived during the Great Arab Revolt was through diplomatic maneuverings by Western powers. The McMahon-Hussein Correspondence of 1915-1916 is a notable example. In these letters, British High Commissioner Sir Henry McMahon assured Sharif Hussein that the British government would support Arab independence in exchange for their assistance against the Ottoman Empire (Fromkin 215).

However, the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916 between Britain and France, which aimed to divide the Arab territories into spheres of influence, directly contradicted the promises made to the Arabs. This clandestine agreement demonstrated how the Arabs were deceived by the very powers they believed would aid their cause (Fromkin 213; Gelvin, *The Arab Uprisings* 47). Another method of deception used against the Arabs was the manipulation of nationalist sentiments. The British, in particular, exploited Arab aspirations for independence to serve their own strategic interests. T.E. Lawrence played a pivotal role in this manipulation. Lawrence fostered close relationships with Arab leaders, promising them an independent Arab state and a place at the negotiating table (Smith 22).

However, the reality was far from the promises made. The Sykes-Picot Agreement had already decided the fate of the Arab territories, and the Balfour Declaration of 1917 pledged British support for the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. These

actions revealed the extent of deception, as the Arabs were ultimately denied the independence, they had been led to believe was within reach (Fromkin 213; Gelvin, *The Arab Uprisings* 54).

Betrayal and division among Arab factions further undermined their collective efforts during the Great Arab Revolt. The promises of independence made to the Arabs by the British encouraged them to rise against the Ottoman Empire. However, as the war progressed, it became apparent that British and French intentions did not align with the aspirations of the Arab people. The signing of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 and subsequent peace negotiations further exposed the deception. The Arab delegation, led by Faisal Hussein, sought independence for Arab territories. However, their demands were overshadowed and disregarded in favour of colonial powers' interests (Rogan, *The Fall of the Ottomans* 294). This betrayal and division sowed seeds of disillusionment and frustration among the Arabs, undermining their unity and hindering their struggle for independence (Fromkin 214; Rogan, *The Fall of the Ottomans* 294).

The Great Arab Revolt was marked by a series of deceptions that profoundly impacted the Arab aspirations for independence. From diplomatic maneuverings to the manipulation of nationalist sentiments and subsequent betrayals, the Arabs were consistently misled and denied the independence they sought. The McMahon-Hussein Correspondence, the Sykes-Picot Agreement, and the Balfour Declaration stand as stark examples of the deception faced by the Arab people during this critical period. As we reflect on the Great Arab Revolt, we must acknowledge the challenges faced by the Arabs and strive to promote justice and self-determination for all peoples.

1.5 T.E. Lawrence and the Deception of the Arabs

T.E. Lawrence, popularly known as Lawrence of Arabia, played a pivotal role in the Arab Revolt against the Ottoman Empire during World War I. While Lawrence's involvement

is often romanticized, it is crucial to examine how the Arabs were deceived during this period. During the Arab Revolt, Lawrence and the British exploited Arab nationalist sentiments to further their own strategic objectives (Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity* 32). The British, led by Lawrence, promised the Arabs support for their independence and the establishment of an Arab nation (Abu-Lughod 48). However, the British had conflicting commitments with France and other colonial powers, which compromised their ability to fulfil these promises.

Lawrence engaged in secret negotiations and agreements with various Arab leaders, promising them significant territorial gains and autonomy (Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity* 32). However, unbeknownst to the Arab forces, the British had already planned the Sykes-Picot Agreement, which aimed to divide the region into zones of influence between Britain and France (Abu-Lughod 48). This double-dealing led to disillusionment among the Arabs and undermined their trust in Lawrence and the British. While Lawrence presented himself as an ally of the Arab forces, he maintained control over military operations and decision-making processes (Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity* 32). This allowed the British to exert significant influence and manipulation over the Arab Revolt. Lawrence strategically guided the Arab forces to serve British interests and objectives, often diverting attention from the larger Arab nationalist aspirations.

The ultimate betrayal occurred at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, where the promises made to the Arabs were largely disregarded (Abu-Lughod 48). The Sykes-Picot Agreement and the subsequent Balfour Declaration, which expressed British support for a Jewish homeland in Palestine, contradicted the earlier commitments to Arab independence. This betrayal left a lasting impact on Arab-British relations and contributed to the deep-seated grievances that persist to this day. T.E. Lawrence's involvement in the Arab Revolt was marked by deception and manipulation of Arab aspirations. The promises made to the Arabs for independence and self-determination were undermined by secret agreements, conflicting

commitments, and the ultimate betrayal at the Paris Peace Conference. By examining these deceitful practices, a more nuanced understanding of Lawrence of Arabia's role and the challenges faced by the Arab forces during the Arab Revolt is being gained.

1.6 The Hejaz Railway: Linking the Arabian Peninsula

During World War I, the Hejaz Railway played a significant role in the Middle Eastern theatre. Built by the Ottoman Empire, the railway served as a vital supply line connecting Damascus in present-day Syria to Medina in present-day Saudi Arabia (Rogan, *The Arabs: A History* 125). The strategic importance of the Hejaz Railway stemmed from its potential to facilitate the movement of troops, supplies, and communication across vast distances, which proved crucial for the Ottoman war effort in the region. The construction of the Hejaz Railway began in 1900, with the aim of bolstering Ottoman control over the Arabian Peninsula and facilitating the pilgrimage to Mecca (Fromkin 78).



Figure 02: Map of the Route of the Hijaz Railway

Source: The Hejaz Railway and the Ottoman Empire Modernity, Industrialisation and Ottoman Decline.

However, with the outbreak of World War I in 1914, the railway's significance shifted dramatically. It became a crucial military asset for the Ottomans, enabling them to transport troops and supplies swiftly to various fronts in the Middle East, including the Sinai Peninsula, Palestine, and Mesopotamia (Gelvin, *The Arab Uprisings* 93). Recognizing the railway's strategic importance, the Allies, particularly the Arab rebels led by Sherif Hussein of Mecca, sought to disrupt and sabotage its operations (101). The destruction of the Hejaz Railway was considered a vital objective in their efforts to undermine Ottoman control and weaken their military capabilities.

Lawrence of Arabia, T.E. Lawrence, played a pivotal role in organizing and leading guerrilla attacks on the Hejaz Railway. These attacks, carried out by Arab irregular forces, sought to destroy bridges, derail trains, and disrupt Ottoman supply lines (Lawrence 158). Lawrence and his Arab allies effectively employed hit-and-run tactics, ambushing Ottoman troops and sabotaging the railway infrastructure. The attacks on the Hejaz Railway not only hindered Ottoman military movements but also inflicted economic damage on the empire. The disruption of the railway impacted Ottoman supply chains, making it difficult for them to maintain control over distant regions.

Additionally, the attacks contributed to a sense of insecurity and instability among Ottoman forces, as they had to divert resources and troops to protect the railway (Gelvin, *The Arab Uprisings* 109). The destruction of the Hejaz Railway played a symbolic role as well, as it represented a tangible symbol of Ottoman authority in the Arabian Peninsula. By targeting this infrastructure, the Arab rebels aimed to undermine Ottoman legitimacy and demonstrate their resistance to imperial control.

In conclusion, the Hejaz Railway played a significant role during World War I in the Middle Eastern theatre. Its construction aimed to strengthen Ottoman control and facilitate the pilgrimage to Mecca (Fromkin 84). However, the railway's strategic importance shifted

during the war, becoming a crucial military asset for the Ottomans. Conversely, the destruction of the Hejaz Railway became a key objective for the Arab rebels and their Allied supporters. The attacks on the railway, led by figures like Lawrence of Arabia, not only disrupted Ottoman military operations but also symbolized resistance to imperial control (Lawrence 180). The Hejaz Railway thus became an important battleground in the struggle for independence and self-determination in the Middle East during World War I.

Following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the Hejaz Railway gradually fell into disuse and disrepair. Parts of the line were dismantled, and some stations were abandoned. Today, remnants of the railway can still be found in several locations, serving as a historical reminder of its existence. The Hejaz Railway holds historical and cultural significance, representing an important infrastructure project of the Ottoman Empire in the early 20th century and its connection to the pilgrimage tradition in Islam.

1.7 Mandate Period

After the Ottoman Empire's fall and the end of World War I, the League of Nations established the British Mandate for Palestine in 1922. The Palestine region, which at the time encompassed what is now "Israel", the West Bank, and Gaza, was given to Britain temporary control as per the provisions of the mandate.

The mandate was designed to protect the rights and interests of the Arab population while simultaneously establishing a framework for the creation of a Jewish homeland in Palestine (Smith 38). However, the mandate was hampered by a number of difficulties and inconsistencies, which ultimately fuelled the escalation of hostility and strife in the area (38). The United Nations General Assembly decided to divide Palestine into separate Jewish and Arab governments in 1947 after the British government declared its intention to leave the region (Shveitser, "Part I (1917-1947)).

After Arab leaders rejected the partition proposal, there followed unrest and strife that eventually resulted in the creation of the State of “Israel” in 1948 and the eviction of hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Arabs (Shveitser, “Part I (1917-1947)). Land ownership, nationalism, and identity concerns are still at the forefront of the ongoing conflict between Israelis and Palestinians, reflecting the impact of the British Mandate for Palestine on the politics and society of the region today (Smith 42).

The newly established League of Nations Council formally recognised Britain's status as the mandatory ruler of Palestine in 1923. Different classes of mandates were separated by the League. Longer periods of trusteeship were proposed for mandates "B" and "C," but mandates "A" represented nations that, in the council's opinion, had already "reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognised subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone." (Bunton 24). All of the Arab regions of the former Ottoman Empire, including Palestine, were designated as mandates with the letter "A." In many ways, the development of the mandate system served as a tool for Britain and France to pass off their traditional imperial conquest as enlightened tutelage. Thus, Britain and France accepted the mandate system as it was a catalyst to safeguard their own strategic interests (25).

In spite of the fact that the entire text of the Balfour Declaration was included in the mandate, which gave the tiny Jewish minority—which made up approximately 10% of the population—a significant benefit, the system of mandates was a difficult balancing act throughout the region (Bunton 30). This made it particularly troublesome in Palestine. The mandate, which also included several articles outlining Britain's duty as a mandatory power to support the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine (for example, by facilitating Jewish immigration and encouraging Jewish settlement on the land), did not specifically

mention the Palestinian Arab population, as was the case with the Balfour Declaration itself (30). Once the Balfour Declaration was integrated into the conditions of the mandate that allowed British authority in Palestine, one of numerous competing wartime promises was converted into a more binding contract through League of Nations mediation. Many authorities wanted to rethink the pledge to impose a Jewish national home on a majority Arab population, but Britain felt constrained by the internationally supervised mandate agreement and thought it would be extremely difficult to break the pledge (32).

In 1922, Palestine came under British mandate, following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. The British mandate was established with the goal of preparing Palestine for eventual independence. However, the British were not attempting to preserve balance of the competing interests of the Jewish and Arab populations. During the mandate period, Jewish immigration to Palestine continued to increase, while the Arab population became increasingly concerned about the loss of their land and way of life. The Arab population began to organize and demand independence, leading to a series of protests and uprisings against the British.

1.8 Partition Plan and the *Naqba*⁵

In 1947, the General Assembly of the United Nations decided to divide Palestine into two states—one Jewish and one Arab. Arab residents opposed the plan because they believed it unfairly divided their land (Khalidi, *The Iron Cage* 62). The first Arab-Israeli War began in 1948 after a declaration by Jewish leaders that the state of “Israel” had been established (Morris, *Righteous Victims* 74). Over 700,000 Palestinians were displaced as a result of the war; either fled or were made to abandon their homes (Khalidi, *The Iron Cage* 80). The Nakba, or "catastrophe" in Arabic, is an event that has had a profound effect on the Palestinian people and continues to influence the political and social climate of the region (82).

In 1948, as the British left the region and “Israel” proclaimed its independence, the British Mandate for Palestine came to an end (Khalidi, *The Iron Cage* 90). Violence and

struggle characterised the end of the mandate as Jewish and Arab armies battled for control of the region. Jerusalem was chosen as an international city when Palestine was divided into Jewish and Arab governments in 1947 by the UN General Assembly (Morris, *Righteous Victims* 98). The Arab leaders viewed the partition proposal as a betrayal of their rights and interests, while the Jewish leadership embraced it (Khalidi, *The Iron Cage* 94).

Fighting broke out between Jewish and Arab groups as the British mandate came to an end, and Jews committed acts of violence and terrorism (Morris, *Righteous Victims* 104). Arab forces, such as the Arab Liberation Army and local militias, tried to thwart the creation of a Jewish state, while Jewish forces, like the *Haganah*⁶ and the *Irgun*, fought to establish control over as much area as possible. “Israel” declared its independence in May 1948 as the mandate came to an end, which sparked a massive invasion by Arab troops from Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, and Iraq (Khalidi, *The Iron Cage* 110). Thousands of Palestinians were uprooted as a result of the subsequent conflict, known as the 1948 Arab-Israeli War, which also saw the foundation of the State of “Israel” on a vastly larger area.

A significant turning point in the history of the region was the end of the mandate and the creation of “Israel”, and the ongoing conflict between Israelis and Palestinians continues to influence regional politics and society today. The international world continues to face significant difficulties in resolving these concerns and establishing a durable peace because borders, refugees, and Jerusalem's status continue to be at the centre of the current war.

The Palestinian national movement emerged as a response to the displacement and dispossession of the Palestinian people as a result of the establishment of the state of “Israel” in 1948. The movement was characterized by a desire for self-determination and the establishment of a Palestinian state (Khalidi, *The Iron Cage* 118).

1.9 Arab-Israeli Wars of 1967 and 1973

The current Israeli-Palestinian conflict was significantly influenced by the two main Arab-Israeli Wars of 1967 and 1973. Between the so-called state of “Israel” and the nearby Arab nations of Egypt, Jordan, and Syria, a six-day war was fought in 1967 (Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited* 98). “Israel” conducted an unexpected attack on Egyptian airfields on June 5, 1967, which resulted in the ground-based destruction of the majority of Egypt's air force (102). The “Israeli occupier” swiftly routed Egypt, Jordan, and Syria's combined force over the course of the following six days, seizing the Sinai Peninsula, the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and the Golan Heights (102).

The conflict had a tremendous impact on the region, contributing to a sharp rise in Palestinian nationalism and a mounting discontent among Arab states. Israeli settlement activity in the West Bank and Gaza Strip significantly increased as a result of the invasion of these territories, paving the way for the region's continued tensions and conflict (Pappe 118). Israeli occupation and a group of Arab nations led by Egypt and Syria engaged in combat during the 1973 Yom Kippur War (Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited* 132). On October 6, 1973, Egyptian and Syrian forces unexpectedly attacked Israeli outposts in the Sinai and the Golan Heights. This was the start of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The occupier was finally able to organise a counterattack, reoccupying much of the territory it had lost, despite the fact that the initial Arab invasion was successful.



Figure 03: Map representing Israeli Occupations of 1967.

Source: The Routledge atlas of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The conflict was notable because it was the first time that Arab nations were able to militarily attack “Israel”, and it significantly altered the balance of power in the area (Pappe 145). Additionally, it made a big difference in the current Israeli-Palestinian conflict since it raised international pressure on “Israel” to talk to the Palestinians about a peace deal (Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited* 157). The Palestinian issue was a major factor in both wars, and Palestinian resistance organisations like the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) actively participated in the fighting. The wars also had a huge impact on the larger Arab world, changing regional politics significantly and raising tensions between Arab countries and “Israel” (Pappe 170).

On October 25, 1973, a truce that was arranged through the UN brought the war to an end (Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited* 178). “Israel” unfortunately repelled the Arab alliance, but the conflict exposed flaws in its military and political leadership and sparked a period of introspection in Israeli culture. Following the conflict, efforts were made to broker a long-lasting truce between “Israel” and Palestine’s Arab neighbours. These initiatives ultimately resulted in the Camp David Accords of 1978, whereupon the Israeli entity relinquished to give back Egypt the Sinai Peninsula it occupied in exchange for a peace agreement (190).

However, there has not been a comprehensive peace accord reached between “Israel” and the Palestine’s Arab neighbours. Egyptian soldiers successfully crossed the Suez Canal during the initial Arab offensive, and Syrian forces advanced far into the Golan Heights. Eventually, though, “Israel” was able to launch a counteroffensive, driving the Arab forces back and reoccupying the lands it once occupied previously (Pappe 205).

1.10 Emergence of the Palestinian National Movement

In order to represent the Palestinian people and their aspirations for national self-determination, the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) was established as a political organisation in 1964 (Sayigh 92). Following the 1948 Arab-Israeli War, which resulted in the displacement of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians from their homes and sparked a sense of urgency and mobilisation for Palestinian national ambitions, the PLO was formed (Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity* 36).

The PLO's early years were characterised by conflict with “Israel” and its military occupation of Palestinian territory, as well as a fight for legitimacy and recognition by other Arab states (Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity* 42). Yasser Arafat served as the leader of the PLO's armed wing, Fatah, which carried out a number of attacks against Israeli targets, notably the 1968 hijacking of an Israeli passenger jet that made the PLO famous worldwide (55). The PLO persisted in claiming to be the military and political spokesman for the Palestinian people throughout the 1970s. It created multiple diplomatic outposts all over the world and won the support of several Arab and non-aligned nations. The PLO received observer status at the UN in 1974, which was an important diplomatic accomplishment (Sayigh 78).

“Israel” waged various military campaigns against Palestinian organisations, notably the PLO, in reaction to the PLO's armed activity. Arafat and many other PLO leaders were exiled to Tunisia as a result of “Israel’s” invasion of Lebanon in 1982, which was done in an effort to eradicate the PLO's presence there (Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity* 92). The PLO experienced significant modifications and reforms in the years after the invasion in 1982, including a turn away from violent conflict and an acceptance of “Israel’s” right to exist. The Oslo Accords, which established the Palestinian Authority as a self-governing entity in portions of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, were the culmination of this in 1993 (Quandt 124).

The PLO still fights for Palestinian rights and self-determination and is a significant political player in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity* 108).

The PLO's military efforts and rising worldwide profile in the 1960s and 1970s were directly related to the organization's growth and Yasser Arafat's ascent to leadership (Sayigh 45). The PLO started to step up its military resistance against "Israel" after the 1967 Six-Day War, which saw "Israel" conquer and control the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and East Jerusalem (Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity* 62). Arafat, who had risen as a significant figure in the Fatah group of the PLO, took on the role of the struggle's public face both in the Arab world and abroad (71).

The PLO's military branch carried out a number of well-known attacks against Israeli targets when Arafat was in charge, notably the Munich Olympics massacre in 1972 that resulted in the deaths of 11 Israeli athletes. In addition, the PLO undertook a number of guerrilla operations against Israeli forces both inside "Israel" proper and in the West Bank and Gaza Strip (Sayigh 92).

The PLO was simultaneously attempting to gain political and diplomatic backing for the Palestinian cause. The organisation was given observer status at the UN in 1974, which supported its claims to speak for the Palestinian people on a global scale (Sayigh 78). The PLO's ascent to prominence was largely attributed to Arafat's charisma and political savviness. He developed connections with Arab leaders as well as global leftist and anti-colonial movements. His comments at the UN and other international gatherings boosted support for the Palestinian cause and brought attention to the suffering of the Palestinian people (89).

Arafat and the PLO were widely acknowledged by Arab states and the world community by the 1980s as the principal representatives of the Palestinian people (Sayigh 102). Despite this loss, Arafat kept up the PLO's leadership from afar, and in the years that

followed, he and the group continued to be crucial players in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (120).

1.11 Palestinian Authority

The Palestinian Authority is a semi-autonomous governmental body that was established in 1994 as a result of the Oslo Accords, signed between Israeli occupation and the PLO. The PA's creation marked a significant shift in Palestinian governance, providing limited self-rule in certain areas of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, administering civil affairs, and providing basic services to the Palestinian population (Khalidi, *The Iron Cage* 76; Farsoun 33). PA has played a pivotal role in Palestinian politics and society since its establishment. It emerged in the 1990s due to international aid and state formation efforts (Frisch and Hofnung).

In May 1994, the international aid regime towards the Palestinian Authority was established, with a focus on economic assumptions. However, this later changed to reflect the importance of state building (Frisch and Hofnung). As such, the impact of international aid on state consolidation in new states has not been specifically related to the Palestinian experience (Frisch and Hofnung). In order to achieve a better balance between the centralization of power, developing state capacity and promoting civil society, the international aid regime towards Palestine should be re-evaluated (Frisch and Hofnung). The PA's ability to govern effectively will be key to addressing the issues facing Palestinian politics and society.

The Palestinian Authority comprises executive, legislative, and judicial branches, with the Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC) serving as the representative body. The Palestinian Authority has a president, currently Mahmoud Abbas, who is elected by the Palestinian people. It also has a legislative body known as the Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC), which is responsible for passing laws and overseeing the PA's activities. The PA's functions

include maintaining internal security, providing education and healthcare services, managing public infrastructure, and collecting taxes.

The PA's governance structure faces challenges stemming from political divisions, limited territorial control, and external constraints (Hroub 98; Hilal 64). Moreover, the PA's jurisdiction is divided into three main areas: Areas A, B, and C. Area A is under full Palestinian civil and security control, while Area B is under Palestinian civil control and joint Israeli-Palestinian security control. Area C, which covers the majority of the West Bank, is under full Israeli civil and security control.

The Palestinian Authority grapples with numerous challenges, including internal divisions, financial dependence, Israeli restrictions, and the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict. These challenges hinder the PA's ability to govern effectively, provide essential services, and pursue state-building efforts (Abunimah 47). The relationship between the PA and "Israel" has been complex and contentious. While the Oslo Accords envisioned the establishment of a Palestinian state through a negotiated two-state solution, the process has faced numerous obstacles and challenges, including issues related to Israeli settlements, security, and the status of Jerusalem. Thus, the Palestinian Authority plays a central role in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as the representative body of the Palestinian people. It engages in negotiations, advocates for Palestinian rights, and coordinates security cooperation with Israeli occupation. However, criticism exists regarding the effectiveness and legitimacy of the PA's approach (Said 88; Khalidi, *The Iron Cage* 101).

The Palestinian Authority's primary objective is the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. It seeks international recognition, pursues diplomatic efforts, and engages in state-building activities. However, the realization of Palestinian statehood faces obstacles, including Israeli occupation, settlements, and the unresolved status of Jerusalem and Palestinian refugees (Abunimah 62; Roy 145). The Palestinian Authority faces a range of

future prospects and challenges. It must address internal divisions, foster national unity, strengthen its institutions, and navigate the complexities of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The Palestinian Authority has gained recognition as the representative of the Palestinian people by many countries and international organizations. It has received financial assistance and political support from various countries and entities to sustain its operations and development projects.

The Palestinian Authority faces numerous challenges in its efforts to govern effectively and achieve its objectives. These challenges include the ongoing Israeli occupation, internal divisions between Palestinian factions, economic difficulties, and limited control over all Palestinian territories. There have also been criticisms of corruption within the PA and concerns about limitations on political freedoms and human rights. International support and efforts to resolve the conflict on just terms are vital for the PA's prospects (Hroub 114). The Palestinian Authority holds a pivotal role in Palestinian governance and the pursuit of self-determination.

The Palestinian Authority continues to play a central role in the Palestinian political landscape, working towards the goal of establishing an independent Palestinian state alongside Israeli occupation. However, the future of the PA and the resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict remain subjects of ongoing negotiation and debate.

1.12 Palestinian Resistance and Armed Struggle against “Israel”

Since the beginning of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, there has been a continuous and complicated history of Palestinian resistance and violent confrontation against “Israel” (Khalidi, *The Iron Cage* 42). Palestinian resistance organisations launched a number of operations against Israeli targets, including military outposts and residential settlements, throughout the 1940s and 1950s. Small, ill-equipped groups of fighters frequently carried out these raids, which were largely unsuccessful in attaining their goals (54).

The Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), which was established in 1964 with the purpose of liberating Palestine from Israeli rule, became the focal point of the Palestinian national movement in the 1960s (Khalidi, *The Iron Cage* 68). At first, the PLO combined political and armed conflict, but by the late 1960s, it had come to regard armed conflict as its main strategy for accomplishing its objectives (Sayigh 77). The PLO and other Palestinian resistance organisations committed a number of high-profile attacks against Israeli targets during the 1970s and 1980s, including bombings and hijackings. These attacks frequently seek to highlight the Palestinian cause around the world and to put a pressure on “Israel” to engage in peace talks (Khalidi, *The Iron Cage* 92).

The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), one of the armed groups that the PLO founded, carried out a series of attacks, notably the hijacking of an Israeli aeroplane at Lod Airport in 1972 (Sayigh 88). The Palestinian resistance movement witnessed a lot of developments in the 1980s and 1990s. More diplomatic efforts were made by the PLO, and in 1988 it formally acknowledged “Israel”’s right to exist. The PLO's willingness to compromise was rejected by a new generation of Palestinian militants, who called for a more radical, uncompromising strategy (Khalidi, *The Iron Cage* 112).

A combination of political and armed conflict is still being waged by the Palestinian resistance movement today, with organisations like Hamas⁷ and Islamic Jihad occasionally attacking “Israel” (Khalidi, *The Iron Cage* 125). However, the movement is also severely split, with many factions frequently vying for power and influence, and some organisations supporting military conflict while others supporting nonviolent, peaceful resistance (130).

1.13 Waves of Jewish Immigration to Palestine

Jewish immigration to Palestine can be divided into several historical waves, each with its own unique characteristics and impact on the development of Jewish settlements in the region. The first Aliyah (1882-1903): this wave of immigration saw the arrival of

approximately 35,000 Jews to Palestine, mostly from Eastern Europe. They established agricultural settlements, primarily in the coastal plain and the Galilee region (Sachar 73; Peters 101). The second Aliyah (1904-1914): around 40,000 Jews arrived during this period, also primarily from Eastern Europe. They established more agricultural settlements and also began to establish industries and factories (Morris, *Righteous Victims*; Gelvin, *The Israel-Palestine Conflict* 82).

Then, the third Aliyah (1919-1923) it brought in approximately 35,000 Jews, many of whom were skilled laborers and professionals. They played a major role in developing the infrastructures and institutions (Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity* 45; Karsh, *Palestine Betrayed* 97). After that the fourth Aliyah (1924-1929): over 80,000 Jews arrived during this period, many of whom were fleeing anti-Semitic violence in Eastern Europe. They established new urban communities, particularly in Tel Aviv (Rogan, *The Arabs: A History* 112). Fifth Aliyah (1929-1939): around 250,000 Jews arrived in Palestine during this wave, primarily due to the rise of Nazism in Europe. They established a wide range of new settlements and industries, greatly expanding the Jewish presence in the region (Laqueur 79; Shapira 94). The sixth Aliyah (1945-1948) it brought in approximately 100,000 Jews, many of whom were Holocaust survivors. They played a key role in the establishment of the “Israel” in 1948.

The Second Aliyah brought pioneering agricultural workers to the region at the beginning of the 20th century. The Third, Fourth, and Fifth Aliyot were responsible for spectacular urban and industrial growth. Each wave of immigration brought specific ideological and social characteristics, with the Second Aliyah introducing the collective settlement (the kibbutz⁸). Proto-Zionist ideas that had already crystallized in Western Europe were gaining currency in Eastern Europe during this time. The Zionist movement had a significant impact on Jewish immigration to Palestine, with several thousand American Jews moving to Mandate Palestine before the so-called State of “Israel” was established. However,

between alleged establishment of “Israel” in 1948 and the Six-Day War in 1967, Aliyah from the United States and Canada was minimal.

It's worth noting that these waves of immigration were controversial and often resulted in conflict with the Arab population, who felt that Jewish immigration threatened their rights and interests in the region. The issue of Jewish immigration remains a major point of contention in the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has provided a historical overview of the Palestinian cause, from the region's pre- “Israel” days to the present day. It has highlighted key events and conflicts, such as the Balfour Declaration, the Arab-Israeli War of 1948, the formation of the PLO, and the Oslo Accords. Additionally, this chapter has shed light on the impact of the conflict on the Palestinian people, including their displacement, living conditions, and human rights violations. It is important to understand the historical context of the Palestinian cause to effectively analyse the current situation and the significance of the Palestinian cause for the international community.

Endnotes

1. **Intifada** (Arabic: shaking off) Name given to the Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation which began on 9 December 1987 and lasted until the signing of the 1993 Oslo Accords between the PLO and “Israel”.
2. **BDS Campaign:** short for Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions, is a global movement that aims to exert economic and political pressure on “Israel” in response to its policies towards Palestinians. The campaign was initiated in 2005 by a coalition of Palestinian civil society organizations as a non-violent means to protest Israel's occupation of Palestinian territories, its policies towards Palestinians, and its perceived violations of international law.
3. **Hashemites** The family of the Sharifs of Mecca who trace their descent to the Prophet Muhammad.
4. **Lawrence of Arabia:** Lawrence's experiences and writings, particularly his book "Seven Pillars of Wisdom," have made him a legendary figure in the history of the Arab Revolt and the wider Arab world. His actions and advocacy for Arab independence had a lasting impact on the Arab nationalist movement.
5. **Naqba** (Arabic: disaster) Term for the Palestinian experience in the 1947–49 Arab–Israeli war, alluding to the Arab defeat and the Palestinian refugee situation.
6. **Haganah** (Hebrew: “Defense”), Zionist military organization representing the majority of the Jews in Palestine from 1920 to 1948. Organized to combat the revolts of Palestinian Arabs against the Jewish settlement of Palestine, it early came under the influence of the Histadrut (“General Federation of Labour”).
7. **Hamas** The acronym for Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiyya (Islamic Resistance Movement). It emerged during the first *intifada* in 1987 in the Gaza Strip.

8. **kibbutz:** is a form of collective settlement that originated in the early 20th century in Palestine. It is a communal living arrangement where a group of individuals, typically of Jewish background, live and work together in a cooperative manner.

Chapter Two

Navigating the Path of Peace: Conventions and Treaties Shaping the Palestinian Cause (1948-2020)

Introduction

This chapter aims to provide an in-depth analysis of the historical evolution of international conventions and treaties concerning the Palestinian cause, delving into their implications and challenges for global diplomacy. Diplomacy at the track-one level involves political discussions to reach mutual consensus on issues underlying conflicts. However, sympathy with the Palestinian cause often lacks real substance, which hinders progress towards a peaceful resolution of the conflict (Cochrane 1). A thorough examination of international issues that reflect and impact diplomacy involves an analysis of various types of treaties and international agreements, including correspondence. Additionally, comparative analysis suggests that diplomatic relations with the Palestinian Authority have derogated the Palestinian cause (Anziska 3).

The survival of Palestine's economy is crucial, given that it affects both the Palestinian-occupied territories and the overall economic well-being of the region. The stability and growth of Palestine's economy have direct implications for the livelihoods of the Palestinian people, their access to basic services, and their ability to achieve economic self-sufficiency. Additionally, a thriving Palestinian economy can contribute to regional stability, promote peace-building efforts, and create opportunities for cooperation and development among neighbouring countries (Murinson 950). Therefore, supporting the sustainable development and resilience of Palestine's economy is not only essential for the Palestinians themselves but also for the broader stability and prosperity of the entire region.

2.1 Overview of Major United Nations Resolutions

The United Nations has played a key role in the Palestinian cause and has passed several resolutions related to it. The most significant of these is Resolution 181, also known as the Partition Plan, which was adopted in 1947. The resolution called for the partition of Palestine into Arab and Jewish states, with Jerusalem being a *corpus separatum* governed by a special international regime (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, “United Nations Resolution 181”). While the resolution was considered a legal basis for the establishment of the so-called “Israel” by the Jewish community in Palestine, it was rejected by the Arab community (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, “United Nations Resolution 181”). It aimed to preserve a single integrated economy throughout Palestine while giving each group (Arab and Jew) the power to make its own laws in its own territory. The resolution was succeeded almost immediately by violence (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, “United Nations Resolution 181”).

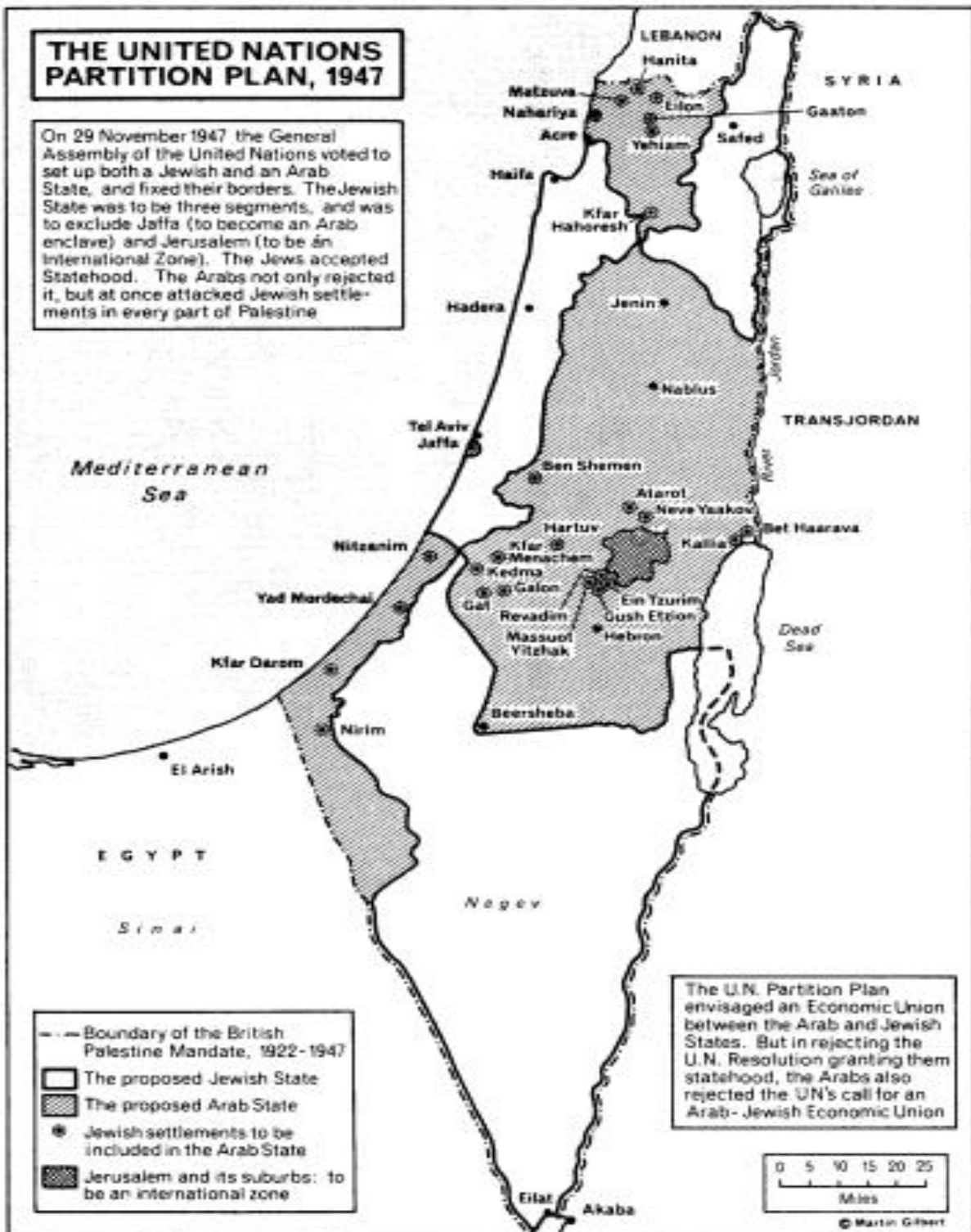


Figure 04: Map representing the United Nations Partition Plan of 1947.

Source: The Routledge atlas of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The United Nations Special Committee on Palestine issued a report to the General Assembly⁹ in 1947, proposing a scheme for political division and economic unity in Palestine. The UN has since adopted numerous resolutions and decisions related to the question of Palestine, including Resolution 3236 (XXIX), which reaffirmed the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, national independence, and sovereignty, and their right to return to their homes and properties (“General Assembly”). The UN has also addressed several issues related to the Palestinian cause, including self-determination, sovereignty over natural resources, assistance, refugees, “Israel” Defence Forces (IDPs), United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), human rights, Israeli settlements, peaceful settlement of the question of Palestine, and Jerusalem (“General Assembly”). In 2012, the UN granted Palestine Non-member Observer State status¹⁰ (“General Assembly”).

2.1.1 Resolutions’ Impact on the Palestinian Cause and the Middle East Peace Process

The United Nations resolution sparked conflict between Jewish and Arab groups within Palestine, leading to a significant impact on the Palestinian cause and the Middle East peace process (“Milestones: 1945–1952”). The Jews hoped to gain control over the territory allotted to them under the Partition Plan, while the goal of the Arabs was initially to block the Partition Plan and to prevent the establishment of the Jewish state. The fighting began with attacks by irregular bands of Palestinian Arabs attached to local units of the Arab Liberation Army composed of volunteers from Palestine and neighbouring Arab countries (“Milestones: 1945–1952”).

The involvement of the UN has been essential both as the guardian of international legitimacy and in the mobilization and provision of international assistance (Shveitser, “History of the Question of Palestine”). In more recent times, peace talks were disrupted when Fatah formed a unity government with its rival faction *Hamas* in 2014, with *Hamas* being designated a foreign terrorist organization by the United States in 1997 (Center for

Preventive Action). The Israeli government's response to the second *Intifada* was to construct a barrier wall around the West Bank, which was approved in 2002 despite opposition from the International Court of Justice and the International Criminal Court (Center for Preventive Action).

In 2012, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution granting Palestine the status of Non-member Observer State, with the vote being 138 for, 9 against, with 41 abstentions. Mahmoud Abbas, the President of the Palestinian Authority, and his delegation were present following the decision (Shveitser, "History of the Question of Palestine").

2.2 The Oslo Accords: Provisions, Successes and Failures

The Oslo Accords, signed in 1993 and 1995, were a significant milestone in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. These agreements were the result of secret negotiations held in Oslo, Norway, between Israeli and Palestinian representatives, facilitated by the United States and other international actors. The Oslo Accords aimed to establish a framework for resolving the long-standing Israeli-Palestinian conflict and achieving a comprehensive peace agreement.

2.2.1 Main Provisions of the Oslo Accords

The Oslo Accords, signed in 1993, were a series of agreements that aimed to establish Palestinian interim self-government and set the agenda for future negotiations on final status issues. The first agreement was the "Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements" (DOPOISGA or DOP), which outlined the framework for the interim period (History.com Editors, "Oslo Accords"). The Accords endorsed a five-year interim self-rule for a Palestinian authority to be executed in two stages, with talks on final status issues beginning after three years and a two-year deadline for an agreement to be reached (History.com Editors, "Oslo Accords"). The Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) recognized "Israel's" right to exist, renounced terrorism and agreed to change its charter that

called for “Israel’s” destruction. In return, “Israel” recognized the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people (History.com Editors, “Oslo Accords”).

Issues such as borders, the return of refugees, the status of Jerusalem, and Jewish settlements in the occupied territories, were reserved for final status talks (History.com Editors, “Oslo Accords”). The Palestinian Legislative Council was established as part of the Oslo Accords, and the Israeli Civil Administration was dissolved upon its inauguration (History.com Editors, “Oslo Accords”). The agreements recognized the Palestinian "legitimate and political rights" and aimed for a permanent settlement of unresolved issues within five years (History.com Editors, “Oslo Accords”).

Signed in 1993 and 1995, the Oslo Accords marked a significant attempt to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict through negotiations. The accords consisted of several stages, including:

1. Declaration of Principles (DOP): Signed in 1993, the DOP was a framework agreement that outlined the terms for a peace process between “Israel” and the Palestinians. It established the Palestinian Authority (PA) as an interim self-governing body and called for a phased Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza Strip.
2. Interim Agreement (also known as Oslo II): Signed in 1995, the Interim Agreement further defined the powers and responsibilities of the PA, including security control in certain areas of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. It also established the Joint Israeli-Palestinian Liaison Committee to coordinate security and civilian issues.
3. Final Status Negotiations: The Oslo Accords were meant to be a framework for negotiating a final peace settlement between “Israel” and the Palestinians. However, these negotiations never reached a final agreement and were ultimately suspended.

Overall, the Oslo Accords aimed to establish a lasting peace between “Israel” and the Palestinians by addressing the core issues of the conflict, such as borders, settlements, and the

status of Jerusalem. While the accords were seen as a major breakthrough at the time, their failure to achieve a final agreement has contributed to the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

2.2.2 How Successful was the Oslo Accords in Achieving its Objectives

The Oslo Accords were intended to create trust between Israelis and Palestinians and bring peace to the region. It was meant to be an interim agreement and a prelude to challenging negotiations toward a final agreement. The objective of the Oslo Accords was to build confidence between the two sides, but it failed to deliver what both parties had expected from it. The establishment of the Palestinian Authority and Yasser Arafat's appointment as its President followed, and the first Israeli withdrawal from Palestinian territories in Gaza and Jericho on the West Bank was conducted smoothly.

However, less than a decade after the signing of the Oslo Accords, the region was already at war, indicating that the Oslo Accords were not successful in achieving their objectives (Sayigh 140). Additionally, the lack of safeguards led to the failure of the Oslo process, as the fashioners of the Oslo Accords did not establish monitoring mechanisms for violations or ways to ensure corrections. Furthermore, the dynamic of the Oslo process was negatively affected by longstanding sentiments of mistrust and anger between Palestinians and Israelis. Ultimately, the negative spiral of mistrust and enmity suggests that Oslo was not successful in achieving its objectives (140).

2.2.3 Main Failures of the Oslo Accords

The Oslo Accords were intended to bring peaceful coexistence between Israelis and Palestinians and end the decades-long conflict in the region. However, the agreement was plagued by numerous failures that ultimately led to its collapse. One major failure was “Israel’s” illegal and aggressive colonial project on the West Bank, which continued unabated even after the signing of the agreement (Shlaim). The peace process became a charade due to the actions of the Israeli government, which negotiated in bad faith (Shlaim). Settlement

expansion continued during peace talks, which was a significant fault of the Oslo Accords (Shlaim).

The Oslo Accords were opposed by various groups, including Islamic movements like *Hamas* and *Islamic Jihad*, left-wing parties like Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), mainstream politicians, intellectuals, and former peace negotiators (History.com Editors, “Oslo Accords”). The outbreak of the Second *Intifada* also contributed to the end of the Oslo process (History.com Editors, “Oslo Accords”). Ultimately, the failure of the Camp David Summit in 2000 marked the end of the Oslo process (History.com Editors, “Oslo Accords”).

2.3 Navigating the Camp David Summit

The Camp David Summit of 2000 was a significant event in the history of the Israel-Palestine conflict. The negotiations held at the summit aimed to resolve the longstanding dispute between the two parties and bring about a peaceful settlement. However, despite the efforts of the negotiators, the summit ultimately failed to achieve its objectives.

The proposed solutions at the Camp David Summit aimed to address the most contentious issues between Palestine and Israeli occupier, which included the status of Jerusalem, the question of Palestinian refugees, and Israeli settlements (“Mideast Peace Process”). Negotiators proposed a division of Jerusalem, with each side taking control of neighbourhoods that were predominantly Arab or Jewish. The Israeli entity was to keep control of Jewish neighbourhoods, while Palestine would take control of Arab neighbourhoods (“Mideast peace process”). The negotiators also suggested that some Israeli settlements in the West Bank would be annexed to the so-called “Israel”, while others would be dismantled (“Mideast peace process”). The Camp David Summit also proposed a resolution to the issue of Palestinian refugees through compensation and resettlement in a future Palestinian state, rather than a right of return to Palestine (“Mideast peace process”).

Despite the extensive negotiations at the Camp David Summit, no agreement was reached on the final status issues of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The negotiations had an all-or-nothing approach, as nothing was considered agreed and binding until everything was agreed (“The Palestinian-Israeli”). The discussions became heated and eventually reached an impasse after three days of negotiations (Carter, “Camp David Accords”). The right of return was identified as the major sticking point, not Jerusalem or borders. The refusal of the Palestinians and Arafat to give up the right of return was a significant factor contributing to the failure of the negotiations.

Additionally, discussions about preservation of historical structures were easier than discussing the link between political and religious sanctity at the heart of the city. Jerusalem was not treated as a religious city during negotiations, and neither party had prepared for the Temple Mount issue¹¹ (Morris, *Righteous Victims* 110). The parties assumed the religious dimensions of the dispute could be ignored. Furthermore, there were missed opportunities during the negotiations, and the failure was due to miscalculation rather than mischief (Malley). Finally, long-standing rivalries among Arab leaders also played a role in blocking substantive progress in negotiations, and Arafat's poor personal chemistry with Barak further complicated the negotiations (“Milestones: 1977–1980”).

From the Palestinian perspective, the role of the United States in the Camp David Summit in 2000 is a subject of debate and differing opinions. While some Palestinians criticize the United States for being biased towards “Israel” and favouring its interests during the negotiations, others acknowledge the efforts made by the US in facilitating the summit and attempting to intermediate a peace agreement. Critics argue that the United States, under President Bill Clinton's administration, pressured the Palestinian leadership to make concessions and accept proposals that did not adequately address their core demands (History.com Editors, “Camp David Accords”).

They believe that the US was biased towards “Israel” and exerted pressure on the Palestinians to accept an agreement that fell short of their aspirations for statehood, the right of return for refugees, and sovereignty over East Jerusalem. Additionally, some Palestinians feel that the United States did not effectively address issues such as Israeli settlements, which are considered illegal under international law, and the expansion of settlements during the peace negotiations. They argue that the US did not put enough pressure on “Israel” to halt or reverse settlement activities, which they viewed as a major obstacle to achieving a just and lasting peace (History.com Editors, “Camp David Accords”).

The Camp David Summit was a critical moment in the history of the Arab-Israeli conflict, with negotiators attempting to address some of the most contentious issues between Palestine and “Israel”. The proposed solutions included a division of Jerusalem, compensation and resettlement for Palestinian refugees, and the establishment of a Palestinian state comprised of four cantons. Despite these efforts, the negotiations ultimately failed, with gaps between the two sides that were insurmountable.

2.4 Annapolis Conference and the Middle East Peace Process

The Annapolis Conference was a peace meeting held in Annapolis, Maryland, in November 2007, hosted by the United States government and attended by Palestinian and Israeli leaders. The conference aimed to restart peace negotiations between the two sides and to establish a framework for a peace agreement.

The conference was attended by Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas and Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert, as well as representatives from over a dozen Arab states and other international stakeholders. The conference was seen as a major diplomatic effort to revive the peace process, which had been stalled since the failure of the Camp David Summit in 2000. The outcomes of the Annapolis Conference were the agreement to launch peace negotiations aimed at achieving a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The

parties agreed to create a joint steering committee to oversee the negotiations and to hold regular meetings. The Annapolis Conference was seen as a positive step toward peace, but ultimately failed to produce a final agreement. The talks were interrupted by the 2008-2009 Gaza War, and the negotiations stalled once again (Smith 64).

Several considerations influenced the Palestinian leaders' decision to attend the Annapolis conference. These included a willingness to address fundamental Palestinian concerns, the pursuit of Palestinian statehood, and the recognition of the necessity of diplomatic engagement (Smith 64). Palestinians participated in the meeting in an effort to get worldwide support and acknowledgment for their aspirations.

Critical final status concerns could be addressed at the Annapolis meeting. Borders, Jerusalem, settlements, refugees, and security arrangements were among them. From a Palestinian standpoint, the main priorities were to bring an end to the “Israel”, create an independent Palestinian state, handle the issue of refugees' rights to return, and guarantee Palestinians' rights and sovereignty in Jerusalem (Khalidi, *The Iron Cage* 95). Mixed opinions were expressed about the Annapolis summit by Palestinians. While some people understood the value of participating in diplomatic efforts, others had doubts about the likelihood of any real advancement. In order to hold “Israel” responsible for its obligations, critics claimed that the conference lacked a defined structure and effective enforcement measures (Erakat 55; Abunimah 123). They also expressed concern about Israeli settlement expansion, which they saw as a significant barrier to a fair and lasting peace (Said 82).

The Annapolis conference encountered several difficulties and hindrances that reduced its efficiency. Significant obstacles were the continuous siege of Gaza, political instability, and internal conflicts within the Palestinian leadership (Makdisi 109). Moreover, in addition to the internal complexities and challenges faced by the Palestinian Authority in negotiations, there were also external factors that further complicated the process and weakened the

negotiating position of the Palestinian Authority. These external influences include geopolitical dynamics, regional crises, and the unresolved status of Jerusalem as a contentious issue in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. (Said 96).

The effect of the Annapolis conference on the likelihood of peace is still up for dispute. While some contend that it was a start towards reviving negotiations, others believe it has been a missed opportunity because there were no noticeable outcomes. The chances for a just settlement to the conflict have been called into question due to the inability to carry out agreed-upon pledges and the ongoing expansion of Israeli settlements (Khalidi, *The Iron Cage* 132; Erakat 71).

2.5 The Abraham Accords: Implications of the Accords on the Palestinian Cause

In terms of Middle East diplomacy, the Abraham Accords, which were signed in September 2020, are a historic breakthrough. “Israel”, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Bahrain, Sudan, and Morocco all experienced a normalisation of diplomatic and commercial ties as a result of the Abraham Accords, which marked a crucial turning point in the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Abraham Accords' signature built on years of diplomatic work and Middle Eastern regional factors. Due to overlapping strategic objectives, evolving geopolitical conditions, and a determination to fend off common regional threats, some Arab governments' attitudes towards “Israel” have changed as a result of the Accords (Kerr 91).

The Accords are potentially more significant than previous Israeli peace agreements with Egypt and Jordan, which mainly operated at the governmental level and left the Palestinian issue unresolved. While there is negligible exchange between the peoples and not much trade, apart from gas, it is hoped that the formalization of regional economic cooperation can be materially and symbolically valuable (Scheidlin). The architects of the agreements, who were Donald Trump, Benjamin Netanyahu, and Mohammed bin Zayed Al

Nahyan, hoped that they could solve regional problems through new business and security alliances (Scheidlin).

The United States has an interest in finding reliable partners in the region to fill the vacuum after the American-dominated Middle Eastern order shifts to an American-supported Middle Eastern order (Scheidlin). Military assistance to “Israel” contributes to the idea of countering destabilizing powers in the region. “Israel” has a critical role to play in developing a Sunni-Israeli axis to counter other destabilizing powers in the region (Scheidlin).

The addition of Bahrain to the Accords on September 11th showed that their effect on security and prosperity in the region could be far-reaching, with a potential impact for years to come and in more ways than its architects could. However, some experts argue that the agreement is not as ground breaking as claimed, and its impact is vastly overblown (“Transition 2021 Series”). Palestinian anger with the Abraham Accords was due to the belief that the accords did not offer any incentives of value to Palestinians (Scheidlin).

The Biden administration is making efforts to revive relations with the Palestinian leadership and has stated that economic improvement should not be expected to replace political resolution of the conflict (Scheidlin). Partner states can pressure Israeli occupation to provide incentives to Palestinians to demonstrate the potential of the Accords, and successful implementation of such steps could lead to a Palestinian leadership and people having more regional engagement opportunities and being less isolated (Scheidlin). The United States and Arab countries can leverage Israel's interest in adding future partners to get “Israel” to recommit to a future Israeli-Palestinian resolution (Scheidlin).

The Abraham Accords contain a number of clauses that deal with interpersonal interactions, economic cooperation, security cooperation, and diplomatic relations. The creation of embassies, the beginning of direct flights, and the encouragement of trade and investment between the signatory countries are all emphasised in the Accords (Eisenberg et

al. 42; Stein 118). The Abraham Accords' signing has a big impact on regional stability as well as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Critics contend that the Accords sidestep the Palestinian issue and dim the prospects for a comprehensive peace agreement, despite the fact that they have been hailed as a step towards normalisation and greater regional cooperation (Rubenberg 64; Fischbach 103).

International observers have expressed admiration and scepticism about the Abraham Accords. Supporters draw attention to the potential for increased security cooperation, economic growth, and a fresh strategy for establishing peace in the region. Without addressing the fundamental issues causing the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, critics express concerns about the marginalisation of the Palestinian cause and the viability of the Accords (Brynen et al. 212).

Numerous obstacles must be overcome for the Abraham Accords to be successfully implemented, including regional dynamics, public opinion, and the requirement for real progress in ending the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. For the Accords to be successful in the long run, it will be essential to address these issues and seize chances for additional involvement and cooperation (Brynen et al. 212).

2.5.1 Analysis of the International Response to the Accords

The Abraham Accords were a set of agreements signed in 2020 between “Israel”, the United Arab Emirates, and Bahrain, normalizing diplomatic relations and economic cooperation between the countries. The agreements marked a significant departure from the traditional Arab consensus, which had previously held that recognition of “Israel” should only occur after the establishment of a Palestinian state. This shift in the geopolitical landscape of the Middle East was notable, as the agreements introduced a new approach by acknowledging “Israel’s” existence and engaging in direct negotiations with the aim of achieving a peaceful resolution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

The impact of the Abraham Accords on the Palestinian cause has been a matter of debate. Proponents of the agreements argue that they represent a positive step towards regional stability and economic development. They suggest that by normalizing relations with “Israel”, the UAE and Bahrain have created opportunities for increased trade and investment, while also promoting cooperation on issues such as security and technology (Sanam and Neil).

Critics, however, argue that the Accords have come at the expense of the Palestinian cause. They suggest that the agreements effectively legitimize Israeli control over the occupied territories, without addressing the underlying issues of the conflict. Moreover, the Accords have been seen as an attempt by the UAE and Bahrain to curry favour with the Trump administration and gain access to advanced military technology (Sanam and Neil).

The international response to the Accords has been mixed. While some countries, such as the United States and Israeli occupation, have praised the agreements as a historic breakthrough, others have expressed concern about their impact on the Palestinian cause. The Palestinian Authority and several other Arab countries, including Saudi Arabia, have criticized the Accords as a betrayal of the Palestinian people and a violation of longstanding Arab consensus on the issue of Palestine.

In summary, the Abraham Accords have had a significant impact on the Palestinian cause, both in terms of their implications for regional stability and their potential to further marginalize the Palestinian issue. The international response to the Accords has been mixed, reflecting the complex and contested nature of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

2.6 Human Toll of The Conflict

The Palestinian people, throughout their tumultuous history, have experienced a wide range of conflicts and challenges. Since 1948, wars and destruction have plagued the region, leading to the displacement of millions of Palestinians who were forced into exile. The

Palestine problem has widened into a Middle East dispute between the Arab states and Israeli occupation, which has been a major source of danger for world peace (Shveitser, "Origin and Evaluation of the Palestinian Problem"). Political conflict has been frequenting in the history of Palestine, with Palestinians experiencing conflicts in the form of wars and bloodshed (Amnesty International).

The conflict between Jews and Palestinian Arabs in 1948 opened a new chapter in their struggle, which now became a regional contest involving nation-states (History.com Editors, "Palestine"). Land seizures have been a major issue in Palestine due to its importance to several major world religions and its valuable geographic location (History.com Editors, "Palestine"). Palestinians have also been subjected to the military rule of the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT)¹², and they have been fragmented both geographically and politically, with different levels of discrimination depending on their status and location, including segregation from Jewish Israelis (Amnesty International). The Palestinian movement has been divided into a steadily weaker Palestinian Authority "government" in the West Bank and a *Hamas* "government," while there has been a major military build-up in Gaza (Cordesman).

Palestinians have also experienced displacement throughout their history, perpetually being made vulnerable (History.com Editors, "Palestine"). Violence and massacres, such as the one at Sabra and Shatila camps in 1982, have also taken place (Medical Aid For Palestinians). The evolving situation in East Jerusalem has come to epitomize the fundamental elements underlying the broader Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the experiences of Palestinians living through it (ICG). The latest altercations in Jerusalem found common resonance throughout Palestine's geographically scattered communities, including in the diaspora (ICG).

2.6.1 Conflict's Impact on the Palestinian Society

The conflict between “Israel” and Palestine has had profound and far-reaching effects on the daily lives of Palestinians. The threat of violence is a constant presence, putting the safety of Palestinians at risk. Ongoing conflicts have led to a high number of Palestinian refugees living in camps in Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan (Mariele). For Palestinians living in Gaza and the West Bank, conflict is a part of everyday life (Mariele). They face numerous restrictions in their daily lives due to the conflict, including limited access to basic necessities like healthcare and education, as well as restricted freedom of movement due to checkpoints and blockades. Despite these challenges, Palestinians continue to work hard to overcome the difficulties caused by the conflict and live meaningful lives (Mariele).

However, the conflict has made it challenging for Palestinians to secure a better future for themselves and their families, and has negatively impacted their daily lives (“The Conflict Zone”). Villages and Israeli settlements co-exist in close proximity, leading to conflict over resources. In some cases, this conflict has turned deadly, such as in the case of clashes between the Palestinian village of Nabi Saleh and the Israeli settlement of Halamish (“The Conflict Zone”).

Access to medical aid is often restricted due to occupation, further exacerbating the challenges faced by Palestinians. Palestinians in Lebanon are particularly affected by the conflict, with limited access to basic civil rights and high rates of unemployment and poverty (Medical Aid For Palestinians). Palestinian children often have to walk several kilometres to get to school and may have to walk by settlements that are not friendly to them (Mariele). The complications of living in a conflict zone are extraordinary for Palestinians, making it difficult for them to lead an ordinary life (“The Conflict Zone”).

2.6.2 Physical, Psychological, and Economic Impacts of the Conflict

The human toll of the conflict on Palestinian community is extensive, with physical, psychological, and economic impacts seen across the region. The recent hostilities have worsened the already faltering socioeconomic conditions in Palestinian communities, with the unemployment rate in Gaza at approximately 50% and more than half of Gaza's population living in poverty (“The Rebuilding of Gaza”). In addition, prolonged restrictions on the movement of people and commercial goods at border crossings and limits to fishing off Gaza's coast have added to the economic toll on Palestinians in Gaza (“The Rebuilding of Gaza”). Following 2021 May's hostilities, 62% of Gaza's population were food insecure, which is a significant physical impact of the conflict (“The Rebuilding of Gaza”). Recurrent hostilities over the last three decades have caused cumulative human and economic costs for Palestinians in Gaza, with an estimated 2.1 million Palestinian people now in need of humanitarian assistance (“The Rebuilding of Gaza”; “State of Palestine Conflict”).

The conflict has also had psychological impacts on Palestinian communities, including significant mental health disorders among Palestinian children, such as acute levels of posttraumatic stress disorder (Qouta and Odeh 49). Moreover, exposure to the conflict may lead to changes in the way Palestinians think, feel, and act, which could have a strong public health impact (Ayer et al. 156). Physical impacts are also prevalent, with more than 60% of people affected by constraints to accessing basic services due to physical restrictions of movement, including military checkpoints. Since the *Al-Aqsa Intifada* in 2000, over 51,000 Palestinians have been injured and 2700 killed due to violence in the West Bank and Gaza Strip (“State of Palestine Conflict”; Qouta and Odeh 49).

The hostilities in Gaza in May 2021 resulted in the loss of over 260 people, including 66 children and 41 women (“The Rebuilding of Gaza”). The conflict in Gaza has a negative impact on the physical, psychological, and economic well-being of Palestinian communities

and each time a war ends in Gaza, civilians are the ones who suffer the most (“Lack of Political Horizon”). Donors' support is needed to help restore dignified living conditions and livelihoods in Gaza and lead the way to recovery (“The Rebuilding of Gaza”).

The Palestinian cause has been shaped by various key conventions and treaties. Recognition of a sovereign and independent state of Palestine is crucial for understanding the cause, as the state of Palestine has been seeking recognition since the establishment of the so-called “Israel” in 1948 (Al-Abid). The Oslo Accords of 1993 and 1995 set up a framework for Palestinian self-governance in the West Bank and Gaza, enabling mutual recognition between the Palestinian Authority and Israel's government and mandating the withdrawal of Israeli occupation from some areas.

However, the lack of recognition of a state of Palestine continues to be an issue, with Israeli occupation controlling the largest Palestinian area, Area C, and Israeli settlers benefiting from the resource-rich region while Palestinians face restrictions that make it difficult to use the land. The Arab Peace Initiative establishes proper peace between Israeli occupation and the Arab World after the Palestinian issue is resolved, with Arab countries establishing normal relations with “Israel” in the context of comprehensive peace if an independent Palestinian state is established.

Honouring the original Oslo Accords would buttress the Palestinian economy, reduce the need for foreign aid, and alleviate the current dire situation and growing Palestinian frustrations. Overall, these treaties and convictions have significant implications for the present and future of the Palestinian cause.



Figure 05: The Human Cost of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

Source: United Nations

The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) has been tracking deaths in the conflict since 2008 and its data shows that 5,600 Palestinians died up to 2020 while 115,000 were injured. 250 Israelis died during the same period while 5,600 were injured. Violence was especially high in 2014 when “Israel” conducted Operation Protective Edge in Gaza in response to the kidnapping and murder of three teenagers. The campaign lasted seven weeks and resulted in more than 2,000 deaths, the majority of which were Gazan. Major protests also erupted in 2018 along the “Israel” Gaza border which saw more than 28,000 Palestinians injured.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has examined the major convictions and treaties related to the Palestinian cause, highlighting their significance and implications for the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict. By reviewing key agreements and resolutions, a deeper understanding of the historical context and legal framework surrounding the conflict is being gained.

Recapping the key points, discussed above are important conventions and treaties such as United Nations resolutions, the Oslo Accords, the Camp David Summit, and the Abraham Accords. These agreements have shaped the peace process and have had a significant impact on the Palestinian cause.

Understanding the major conventions and treaties is of utmost importance for analysing the current situation in the region. It provides valuable insights into the complexities and challenges that both parties face in their quest for a just and lasting resolution. By recognizing the historical context and legal obligations, we can better assess the actions and policies of the parties involved.

Endnotes

9. **General Assembly:** is one of the six principal organs of the United Nations (UN). It is composed of all 193 member states of the UN and serves as a forum for discussion, decision-making, and policy formulation on a wide range of international issues. Each member state has one vote in the General Assembly, and decisions on important matters usually require a two-thirds majority.
10. **The Observer State Status:** refers to the diplomatic recognition granted by the United Nations General Assembly to a certain entity or region, allowing it a restricted level of involvement and representation within the organisation. In contrast to full membership, an observer state does not have the ability to cast a vote in the General Assembly.
11. **Temple Mount Issue:** is a highly divisive issue in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In Arabic, it is also referred to as Haram al-Sharif, and it is a prominent holy site in Jerusalem's Old City. After Mecca and Medina, the Temple Mount is the third holiest place in Islam for Muslims. It is thought to be the spot where the Prophet Muhammad ascended to heaven during the Night Journey. The Al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock, both significant religious and architectural landmarks, are located on the site. Given that the First and Second Jewish Temples were built there in antiquity, the Temple Mount is regarded by Jews as being the most sacred place in all of Judaism. It is believed to be the location where God's presence resided and where significant religious rites were performed. Jews still visit and pray at the Western Wall (also known as the Wailing Wall), which is located at the base of the Temple Mount.
12. **Occupied Palestinian Territories:** It refers to the territories of the West Bank, including East Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip, which have been under Israeli military occupation since the 1967 Six-Day War. The OPT is a term commonly used to

describe the areas that are internationally recognized as being under Israeli occupation and are part of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The situation in the OPT has been a subject of ongoing political, social, and humanitarian concerns.

Chapter Three

Israeli-Palestinian Conflict under the Trump Administration

Introduction

The Palestinian cause has undergone significant developments during the presidency of Donald Trump, which have significant implications for the future of the conflict. This chapter aims to provide an overview of the latest developments of the Palestinian cause during Trump's presidency and their implications, analysing and evaluating the impact of his administration policies on the Palestinian cause. It is crucial to understand these latest developments to assess the current situation of the Palestinian cause accurately. The chapter also highlights the importance of these developments in shaping the future of the Palestinian cause.

Former US President Donald Trump intervened in the Palestinian cause during his presidency. One of his major actions was to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of the so-called "Israel" and move the US embassy there from Tel Aviv in December 2017. This move was controversial and widely condemned by the international community, including Palestinian leaders, who view East Jerusalem as the capital of Palestine. Additionally, in January 2020, Trump unveiled a plan for peace between Palestine and the Israelis, commonly referred to as the "Deal of the Century," which was rejected by Palestinian leaders.

3.1 Trump's Changes in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

The Trump Administration's policy changes with regards to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict have been met with criticism and controversy. One of the major policy changes was the presentation of the "Deal of the Century," which was a one-sided and zero-sum plan to end the conflict, according to critics (Fraihat). The plan proposed a new conceptual map for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which included significant non-starters regarding Jerusalem, Palestinian sovereignty, borders, and water rights (Sher and Cohen).

While “Israel” sees it as a historic opportunity, critics argue that the Trump plan has dire consequences that only Palestinian engagement can stave off (Sher and Cohen). The plan offers “Israel” political sovereignty over the Jordan Valley and allows for Israeli annexation of all Jewish settlements (Sher and Cohen). Additionally, it proposes erasing pre-1967 borders as the core reference point for future sovereign borders, which undermines the essence of Palestinian sovereignty (Sher and Cohen). Trump implemented some elements of his plan which reflected Israeli interests, such as moving the US Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem (Fraihat).

However, negotiating under the Trump administration will ultimately strip away from the core of the Palestinian vision (Sher and Cohen). The Trump Administration advanced a reckless and irreversible annexation project that would lead to a piecemeal state for Palestinians, lacking coherent policy (Sher and Cohen). Furthermore, there was a lack of cohesion on the part of the Trump administration regarding the timeframe for Israeli annexation of West Bank territory (Sher and Cohen). Trump's plan gives “Israel” "overriding security responsibility over the State of Palestine" (Sher and Cohen).

The proposed map adds 1,400 kilometres to Israeli's occupation borders, including the Jordan Valley and Negev area to be given to Palestinians (Sher and Cohen). The Trump Administration is offering strong support from the White House and US protection from international reprisals for these goals (Sher and Cohen). However, the plan will fail without significant Israeli concessions, complete re-sequencing, and resourceful Palestinian initiative (Sher and Cohen). Trump and Netanyahu must eschew unilateral action in favour of multilateral good-faith negotiations (Sher and Cohen).

3.1.1 Effects of Trump's Policy on the Peace Process

The Trump Administration's policies regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict have had a significant impact on the peace process. The administration's "peace plan" is a slight

revision of the current Palestinian autonomy under Israeli domination, and it rejects a two-state solution (Pillar 113). The plan's underlying belief that economics should come before addressing core political issues is fundamentally flawed, and it has only resulted in inconclusive discussions about economic development (113). Additionally, the plan is a result of the Trump administration's policy of agreeing with the right-wing Israeli government's preferences, undermining the long-agreed US policy of finding a solution to the conflict through the two-state solution, and favouring "Israel" heavily (Huczko 24). The political portion of the plan is indefinitely delayed and might never be announced, leading to fears that it may not include both elements (Pillar 113).

The Trump Administration's policies disregarded Palestinian concerns and preferences, weakened the traditional US role in mediating the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and led to a lack of trust from both Israelis and Palestinians. Moreover, the Trump administration's relocation of the American embassy to Jerusalem drew criticism from Arab and Muslim countries, and Trump's recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of "Israel" was seen as a violation of international law and UN resolutions. These policies increased tensions between "Israel" and Palestine, and the Palestinian Authority severed ties with the US and did not consider it a mediator in the peace process (Analytica).

The Biden administration has reversed, frozen, and continued some of Trump's decisions with the aim of establishing a new Israeli-Palestinian conflict environment. Biden's approach towards the conflict is different from Trump's, and he aims to restore US credibility as an honest broker in the peace process, which was lost during the Trump administration (Huczko 24). However, there is still Palestinian opposition to the plan, and fears that the Trump administration's process of gradual de facto annexation may soon become de jure (Analytica).

3.1.2 Local and International Reactions to Trump's Policy

The Trump Administration's policies regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict elicited varied reactions from different parties, including the Israeli and Palestinian governments and the international community. The US foreign policy towards the region has been a key aspect of the conflict since the 1960s (Wissal 14). When Trump entered office with no prior experience in government, his talk of a ban on Muslim immigrants and embassy relocation led to concerns about his policies in the region. The Trump Administration's decision to reject a two-state solution and promote limited Palestinian autonomy under Israeli control was met with negative reactions from both Israelis and Palestinians (Arnous 35).

The Biden Administration has attempted to establish a new environment for resolving the conflict by reversing some of Trump's policies, which has led to a lack of trust from both sides. The international community has also been critical of Trump's policies, with concerns about their impact on US foreign policy in the Middle East and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Aksendi 102; Freedman 289). Trump's flagrant approach to Israeli-Palestinian policy caused tension between the US and its ally, "Israel". For instance, rather than vetoing a UN resolution condemning Israeli settlements in the West Bank, the US abstained from voting for the first time ever (Rodriguez 46).

Trump's foreign policies in the region have been a significant factor in US involvement in the conflict. It remains to be seen how his policies will affect the region in the long term (Guerioun and Badi 53). In conclusion, the Trump Administration's policies towards the Israeli-Palestinian conflict garnered mixed reactions from various parties, with concerns about their potential impact on the US foreign policy in the Middle East and the region's stability.

3.1.3 Implications of International Policy on the Political, Social, and Economic Development of Palestine

The international policies have played a significant role in the political, social, and economic development of Palestine, as highlighted by multiple takeaways. However, the politicization of aid can hinder the social and economic growth of Palestine (DC). The political split between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip caused a reduction in donors' contributions to Palestine, with attention, diplomatic energy, and funds shifting primarily towards the West Bank and the PA after the division (DC).

Many donors did not want to be accused of aiding *Hamas*, which is considered a terrorist organization by the US and “Israel” (DC). Despite this, the PA did not neglect the Gaza Strip after the split and provides part of the aid supplied to Gaza (DC). Qatar became the primary provider for the Gaza Strip for humanitarian and political reasons, giving them \$1.3 billion from 2012 to 2021, including \$500 million following the Israeli assault on Gaza in May 2021 (DC). In light of this, “Israel” should facilitate exports from Gaza and the West Bank overseas, grant more work permits to Palestinians, relax restrictions on movement and foreign investment in Palestine, take steps to facilitate economic growth in Palestine, and review the dual-use regime in Palestine to make sure it aligns with international law and human rights standards.

It is worth noting that aid received by Palestinians is influenced by solidarity politics and political considerations related to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict (DC). However, despite continued aid, less than half of Palestinian households were food secure in 2020 (DC). Poverty continues to increase, and unemployment remains high in both the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The two-state solution no longer appears realistic. These realities make the long-term purpose of aid in Palestine unclear since the signing of the Oslo Accords (DC).

Thus, donors allocate most of their aid to addressing urgent humanitarian needs and the PA's budget deficit, but economic development is a priority for international donors. Still, the complicated nature of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict makes the implementation of development projects difficult. Overall, international policies have implications on the political, social, and economic development of Palestine (DC).

The Palestinian-Israeli conflict has long been a contentious issue, and international policies have played a significant role in shaping the political, social, and economic development of Palestine. While international policies can contribute to the development of Palestine, the politicization of aid can hinder social and economic growth. Therefore, policymakers must ensure that the aid provided is not influenced by political interests, but instead focused on the needs of the Palestinian people.

3.2 US Embassy Move to Jerusalem

The move of the US embassy to Jerusalem in 2018 was a controversial decision that had significant implications for the peace process between Palestinians and Israelis (Smith 85). The move was announced by President Trump in December 2017, and the embassy officially opened in May 2018, coinciding with the 70th anniversary of the creation of the so-called State of "Israel". The move was seen as a major shift in US policy, as previous administrations had refrained from recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of the Israeli occupier due to its contested status (Jones, *The Trump Administration's* 148). The move was welcomed by "Israel", which sees Jerusalem as its undivided capital, but was strongly opposed by the Palestinian Authority and many other countries, who see East Jerusalem as the capital of Palestine (Brown 27).

The move had several implications for the peace process. First, it was seen as a blow to the prospects of a negotiated settlement, as the US had effectively taken sides on one of the most contentious issues in the conflict. Second, it was seen as a signal that the US was willing

to prioritize its relationship with “Israel” over its relationships with other countries in the region (Davis 65). Third, it was seen as a potential trigger for violence, as it touched on deep-seated religious and nationalistic sentiments on both sides. The international response to the move was mixed. Many countries, including US allies in Europe, criticized the decision and refused to follow suit by moving their own embassies to Jerusalem (65). The United Nations General Assembly also passed a resolution condemning the move and reaffirming the international consensus on the status of Jerusalem. However, some countries, including Guatemala and Honduras, followed the US example and moved their embassies to Jerusalem.

Overall, the move of the US embassy to Jerusalem was a highly contentious decision that had significant implications for the peace process and the US role in the region. Its long-term effects on the conflict are still uncertain, but it is clear that it has further complicated an already complex and difficult situation.

3.2.1 Impact of the US Embassy's Relocation to Jerusalem on the Peace Process

The relocation of the United States embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem has had a significant negative impact on the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. This move has weakened the prospects for peace in the region as it reduces the role that the Palestinian people can play in shaping peace (Pertile). The US's attitude towards the bi-lateralization of the crisis and its preference for a future bilateral agreement does not favour the achievement of a just and lasting peace, and moving the embassy to Jerusalem is argued to prejudice the final status negotiations over Jerusalem (Pertile; Bolton).

The almost unanimous commitment to the two-state option will remain dead letter if the solution is left to a future bilateral agreement; hence, a multilateral initiative that safeguards the interests of both parties is needed to achieve a settlement with two states living in peace within secure borders. The lack of credible diplomatic initiatives at present further complicates the peace process (Pertile). Additionally, relocating the embassy would validate

“Israel’s” exclusivist claim over the whole of Jerusalem, and “Israel” will hold the territory east of the Green Line unless it is eliminated entirely (Bolton). The relocation has resulted in the loss of a diplomatic channel both physically and verbally, with the US consulate in Jerusalem acting as an independent mission representing the US government to the Palestinian Authority. Hence, it has had a massive negative reaction from states, which shows the importance of the status of Jerusalem and the Israeli-Palestinian issue (Pertile; Epatko).

The US embassy move from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem has been a controversial decision, with significant implications on the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. The relocation has further complicated the already fragile peace process, as there is a lack of credible diplomatic initiatives at present. The negative reaction from various states highlights the critical importance of the status of Jerusalem and the Israeli-Palestinian issue (Epatko). The decision to move the embassy has been viewed as a violation of international law and a significant setback for peace efforts. The move has also been met with protests and violence, leading to loss of lives and property damage.

The decision has been criticized for not taking into account the views and concerns of the Palestinian people, who have been denied their right to self-determination. The move has also been seen as a political ploy to appeal to certain domestic constituencies. Thus, there is a need for diplomatic efforts to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the importance of considering the views and concerns of all parties involved (Elgindy; Epatko).

3.3 The “Deal of the Century” Proposal

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been a long-standing issue that has challenged countless attempts at finding a peaceful solution. One such proposal that has gained significant attention and controversy is the Deal of the Century proposal. Officially known as the "Peace to Prosperity" plan, it was a proposal put forward by the Trump administration in January 2020 to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Smith 105).

The proposal was announced by President Trump in a joint press conference with Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, and was rejected by the Palestinian leadership (Jones, *The Trump Administration's* 142). The key provisions of the proposal included the recognition of Jerusalem as the undivided capital of the so-called "Israel" (Smith 105), the annexation of Israeli settlements in the West Bank (Johnson 56), the creation of a Palestinian state with limited sovereignty over disjointed territories (Brown 89), and the provision of \$50 billion in economic aid to the Palestinians (Roberts 120).

The proposal was met with widespread criticism and condemnation from the international community (Miller 47), with many arguing that it heavily favoured "Israel" and did not take into account the concerns of the Palestinian people (Adams 68). The Palestinian leadership rejected the proposal outright, calling it a "conspiracy" and a "fraud," and refused to engage in any negotiations with the Trump administration (Jones, *The Trump Administration's* 155). The reasons for the rejection of the proposal by the Palestinian leadership were multi-fold. Firstly, the proposal was seen as heavily favouring "Israel" and effectively legitimizing its occupation of Palestinian land (Smith 132). Secondly, the proposal did not address key issues such as the right of return for Palestinian refugees or the status of Jerusalem as a shared capital for both Israelis and Palestinians (Johnson 62). Finally, the proposal was seen as a departure from long-standing international consensus on the parameters for a two-state solution (Brown 97).

In conclusion, the Deal of the Century proposal was a controversial attempt by the Trump administration to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. While it contained some provisions that could be seen as positive for the Palestinians, it was ultimately rejected by the Palestinian leadership and the international community as a whole, largely due to its perceived bias towards "Israel" and departure from established international consensus.

3.3.1 Deal Rejected

President Trump's "Deal of the Century" proposal aimed to resolve the long-standing Israeli-Palestinian conflict. However, the plan has been widely criticized and ultimately rejected. Many believe that the US is not an honest broker with regards to the conflict and that the plan attests to this fact (Chomsky and Klug). Further, the plan would lead to an escalation of violence and the continued suffering of the Palestinian people (Chomsky and Klug). Critics argue that it is an ultimatum to Palestinians, asking them to accept their defeat and cede their land to "Israel" (Chomsky and Klug). Since the conflict has global repercussions, other parties should get involved in resolving it. The proposal also did not add much to what had already been leaked, leading many to question its effectiveness (Jamal).

3.3.2 Proposal's Provisions

The proposal contains several provisions that have been outlined by the US administration. Some of the provisions of the plan have been criticized for not fully corresponding to the relevant resolutions by the UN Security Council (Holmes et al.) The proposal is structured as a diktat, and America will recognize Israeli annexation regardless of whether Palestinians accept the proposal or not. Palestinians can choose to accept or reject the proposal, which suggests the creation of a sovereign Palestinian state that should be independent and demilitarized. Minor modifications of borders are proposed where necessary, and exchanges of land equal in size, volume, and value on a one-to-one basis are suggested. The proposal advocates for a free market, has a "pro-growth tax structure", and includes greater protection of property rights (Wittes).

The proposal offers limited and continuously conditional autonomy to Palestinians but does not grant statehood to them. "Israel" will maintain security sovereignty, control points of entry and exit at the borders of the proposed Palestinian state, and retain the right to intervene as it deems necessary. Moreover, the proposal is a two-state solution that includes a plan for

annexing part of the West Bank on the border with Jordan and applying Israeli sovereignty over the Jordan Valley and northern Dead Sea (Unit For Political Studies).

Besides, the proposal contains 22 sections covering various issues such as legitimate aspirations, two-state solution, status of Jerusalem, borders, security, refugees, detainees, border crossings, Gaza Strip, and commercial exchange. It also has four annexes covering proposed borders, Israel's security concerns, counter-terror criteria for Palestinian state, and consolidating Israeli security control over a 'disarmed' Palestinian state. Additionally, the proposal promises international investment of over \$50 billion in ten years for regional economic integration, confirms international crossings with Jordan and Egypt, and regulates territorial waters of the proposed Palestinian state (Unit For Political Studies).

3.3.3 Deal of the Century and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

The newly-released proposal is aimed at resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, but it is unlikely to achieve its purported goal (Holmes et al.). The proposal has been met with mixed reactions from both Israelis and Palestinians. The Palestinians have rejected the proposal outright, calling it a "slap in the face" and designating the day of its unveiling as a "day of rage" (Tobin). The counter-proposal seeks to create a sovereign Palestinian state, which would be independent and demilitarized, with East Jerusalem as its capital. It seeks to create a permanent solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict ("PA submits counter-proposal").

Moreover, it is time to move on from the unresolved issue of sovereignty (Unit For Political Studies). However, critics argue that the newly-released plan does not address the Israeli-Palestinian conflict at all, and that prospects for a two-state solution dimmed under President Donald Trump (Tobin, Wittes). In fact, the proposal freezes Palestinian and Israeli construction in the Palestinian-designated territory for four years, and "Israel" may continue to build in the areas it intends to annex, other than a few small settlement enclaves (Wittes).

The Biden administration has reiterated US support for a two-state solution, while multiple US administrations have proposed road maps for a peace process that would result in two states, one Israeli and one Palestinian (Wittes). Nonetheless, it remains to be seen whether this will be achievable given the current realities of the conflict.

3.3.4 Reasons for the Rejection of the Proposal by Palestinians and International Communities

The rejection of the proposal by Palestinians and some international communities is based on several reasons. Firstly, the Palestinian leadership, as well as 94% of the Palestinian public, have rejected the plan, along with some Arab and Western countries, the European Union, and the Arab League (Fraihat, Allawzi et al 3). Secondly, the plan is considered biased and prioritizes Israeli interests over those of Palestinians. Additionally, some Arab columnists have rejected Trump's peace plan and called it "weak and fake" (Allawzi et al 3; Abumaria).

The plan is also viewed as unfair to Palestinians, with the establishment of a Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital being a crucial part of the Arab peace initiative (Abumaria; Allawzi et al 4). Furthermore, the international communities have reminded the American team of the importance of the international references based on United Nations (UN) resolutions that obtained consensus (Allawzi et al 4). The United States has veto power in the Security Council, where approval for the Palestinian bid is required, and has traditionally not supported Palestinian bids for statehood at the United Nations (Robinson).

However, the submission of a counterproposal by the Palestinians could force "Israel" to negotiate over new terms and be viewed as a constructive move towards resolving the conflict (Cari). On the other hand, if the Palestinians refuse to submit a counterproposal, it could be crucial for the success of Trump's peace proposal. The rejection may provide a pretext for "Israel" to annex settlements in the West Bank and scuttle prospects for a right-

wing government. Therefore, the success of Trump's peace proposal is dependent on the Palestinians' refusal to accept it (Cari).

The Deal of the Century proposal has been a controversial topic in the international community, particularly among the Palestinians and Arab columnists. The proposal contains several provisions that have been criticized for not fully corresponding to the relevant resolutions by the UN Security Council. The specific provisions of the proposal have four annexes covering proposed borders, Israel's security concerns, counter-terror criteria for Palestinian state, and consolidating Israeli security control over a 'disarmed' Palestinian state. The proposal is structured as a diktat, and America will recognize Israeli annexation regardless of whether Palestinians accept the proposal or not. The success of the proposal is dependent on the Palestinians' refusal to accept it, which suggests the creation of a sovereign Palestinian state that should be independent and demilitarized. However, if the Palestinians refuse to submit a counterproposal, it could be crucial for the success of Trump's peace proposal.

3.4 The West Bank Annexation Plan: Implications for Peace and International Response

The proposed West Bank annexation plan by Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu in 2020 has been met with a lot of opposition from the international community and neighbouring countries. Jordan, Egypt, France, and Germany have jointly issued a statement opposing the annexation plans (Dagres). The plan called for the annexation of up to 30% of the West Bank, including the Jordan Valley and Israeli settlements in the area, in accordance with the Trump administration's peace plan known as the "Deal of the Century." The UN experts have also urged the international community to analyse the implications of the annexation plan on regional peace and the international response (OHCHR). The annexation plan is considered illegal by most of the international community.

Moreover, the PA also strongly opposed the plan and threatened to cut off security cooperation with “Israel” and cancel all agreements between the two sides, including the Oslo Accords. The annexation plan further exacerbated tensions between the two sides, and many feared that it would lead to a new round of violence in the region and violate a cornerstone principle of international law (OHCHR). It would lead to serious implications on regional peace (“Israeli Annexation”; Sher and Cohen). The annexation plan would affect Israel's relations with the Palestinians, Arab neighbours, Europe, and US legislators.

The international response to the annexation plan would be a crucial factor in shaping Israel's decision-making (“Israeli Annexation in the West Bank?”). The annexation plan poses a risk to regional peace and threatens the possibility of a two-state solution (Sher and Cohen). Additionally, the annexation plan could lead to a one-state reality lacking in equality and may result in civil war. It could lead to a 21st-century apartheid in the region where two peoples are living under the same state but with profoundly unequal rights. The annexation plan would intensify human rights violations in the West Bank (OHCHR). Furthermore, it could result in the collapse of the Palestinian Authority and further violence in the region (Sher and Cohen).

The proposed West Bank annexation plan by Israeli occupier has sparked a heated debate within the international community. The plan is met with strong opposition from neighbouring countries and human rights organizations due to the potential intensification of human rights violations in the West Bank. The annexation plan is considered illegal by most of the international community, which may cause diplomatic tensions and strain relationships between “Israel” and other countries. The implications of this plan for peace in the region are significant, as it could further destabilize an already volatile situation.

It is crucial to consider the potential consequences of the annexation plan and explore alternative solutions that prioritize human rights and promote sustainable peace in the region. Ultimately, the annexation plan was put on hold in August 2020, as part of a peace deal

between “Israel” and the United Arab Emirates brokered by the United States. However, the Israeli government has not officially abandoned the plan, and many fear that it could still be implemented in the future.

Conclusion

Understanding the latest developments of the Palestinian cause during Trump's presidency is crucial for analysing the current situation. The Trump administration's policies towards the Palestinian cause have significantly impacted the region and may have long-lasting effects. The relocation of the US embassy to Jerusalem, the Deal of the Century proposal, and the recognition of Israeli sovereignty over the Golan Heights are some of the significant developments during Trump's presidency that have implications for the future of the Palestinian cause.

The implications of these developments on the future of the Palestinian cause are vast and complex. The relocation of the US embassy to Jerusalem has led to the international community questioning the US's ability to remain an impartial mediator in the peace process as it is not. The Deal of the Century proposal, which was widely rejected by the Palestinian leadership, sought to address some of the most contentious issues of the conflict, such as borders, refugees, and settlements. However, its implementation would have required significant concessions from the Palestinians and failed to address key Palestinian demands.

The recognition of Israeli sovereignty over the Golan Heights has further emboldened the Israeli government to assert control over the Palestinian territories, potentially hindering the prospects of a two-state solution. The Abraham Accords, which normalized relations between “Israel” and some Arab countries, have weakened the collective bargaining power of the Arab countries in the peace process.

In conclusion, the latest developments of the Palestinian cause during Trump's presidency have significant implications for the future of the region. Understanding these

developments and their impact is crucial for analysing the current situation and developing strategies to achieve a just and lasting peace between Israelis and Palestinians.

General Conclusion

In conclusion, this dissertation has explored the Palestinian cause, its historical background, major conventions and treaties, and the latest developments during Trump's presidency. By understanding the historical context, including the region prior to the creation of the so-called state of "Israel", the Balfour Declaration, the partition of Palestine, and the Arab-Israeli wars, valuable insights into the roots of the conflict and the complexities surrounding it will be gained.

The emergence of the Palestinian national movement, particularly the formation of the PLO and the role of Yasser Arafat, highlighted the aspirations of the Palestinian people and their struggle for self-determination. The Palestinian resistance and armed struggle against "Israel" demonstrated the depth of their determination and the challenges faced in their quest for statehood. Attempts at resolving the conflict, such as United Nations resolutions on Palestine, the Oslo Accords, and the Camp David Summit, have shown both promising and disappointing outcomes. These efforts have influenced the trajectory of the peace process and the establishment of the Palestinian Authority, but have also encountered significant obstacles and limitations.

The impact of the conflict on the Palestinian people cannot be understated. The displacement of Palestinian refugees, the expansion of "Israeli" settlements, and the perpetration of human rights violations have created immense challenges for the Palestinian population. Restrictions on movement and the ongoing occupation have further exacerbated their plight, hindering their socio-economic development and stifling their aspirations for a better future.

The policies of the Trump administration, including the relocation of the US embassy to Jerusalem, the introduction of the Deal of the Century proposal, and the establishment of the Abraham Accords, have brought significant shifts in the dynamics of the conflict. These

developments have sparked intense debate and garnered diverse international responses, reshaping the landscape of the Israeli-Palestinian relations and influencing the future trajectory of the Palestinian cause.

The presidency of Donald Trump has been a subject of intense scrutiny and discussion both domestically and internationally. One of the key areas of focus has been the role of the United States in the global political arena during his administration. Specifically, there has been debate over whether the United States acted as a political party or mediator in its interactions with other countries. The United States has historically played a role as a political party or mediator in various conflicts, including the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. However, during the Trump administration, the United States took policies that diverged from the goal of a two-state solution, causing deep divisions between and within the parties involved and hindering negotiations.

However, it is important to note that US involvement has not been without controversy and criticism. Some argue that the United States has shown a bias towards “Israel”, raising concerns about its ability to act as a neutral mediator. Others believe that the US influence has not always resulted in meaningful progress towards a lasting peace agreement. In recent years, the Trump administration's policies, such as the relocation of the US embassy to Jerusalem and the introduction of the "Deal of the Century" proposal, have sparked further debate and discussion about the US role in the conflict. These actions have been viewed by some as departing from long-standing US positions and potentially impacting the dynamics of the peace process.

There are perspectives and arguments suggesting that the United States has exhibited bias in its approach to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Critics argue that the United States has historically displayed a strong pro-“Israel” bias, which has influenced its policies and actions in the conflict. Firstly, concerning the historical ties and support for “Israel”, the United

States has maintained a close relationship with “Israel”, providing significant financial, military, and diplomatic support. This support has often been seen as favouring “Israel” and shaping US policies in the region. Secondly, the United States has repeatedly used its veto power as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council to block resolutions critical of “Israel”. This has raised concerns about its impartiality and ability to act as an unbiased mediator.

Moreover, US peace mediation efforts have faced criticism for allegedly favouring Israeli interests over Palestinian concerns. Critics argue that proposed solutions have disproportionately favoured “Israel” and disregarded key Palestinian demands and rights. Besides, the decision by the Trump administration to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of “Israel” and relocate the US embassy there was seen by many as a departure from long-standing international consensus and a bias in favour of Israel's claims to the city. Lastly, related to disregarding for Palestinian rights, the United States has not adequately addressed or challenged Israeli actions that have been criticized for violating Palestinian rights, such as settlement expansion, land confiscation, and human rights abuses in the occupied territories.

It is important to note that these arguments reflect a particular perspective and that opinions on bias may vary. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is complex and deeply rooted, involving multiple stakeholders with diverse interests and narratives. Achieving a comprehensive and just resolution to the conflict requires impartiality, balanced engagement, and a commitment to the rights and aspirations of Palestinians.

In light of these findings, it is evident that the complexities and sensitivities surrounding this issue require continued research, dialogue, and international cooperation to work towards a just and lasting resolution that respects the rights and aspirations of Palestinians. It is hoped that this dissertation contributes to the ongoing discourse surrounding the Palestinian cause, fostering greater understanding and empathy among individuals,

policymakers, and the international community. Through shedding light on the multifaceted nature of the conflict, a future can be strived towards where peace and justice prevail in the region.

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