

People's Democratic Republic of Algeria
Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research
Hamma Lakhdar University of El-Oued
Faculty of Arts and Languages
Department of Arts and English Language



**Investigating the Impact of United States Foreign Policy
In Middle East During Trump Presidential Term**

A Dissertation Submitted to the Department of English in the Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Master Degree in American Literature and Civilization

Submitted by:

Azzeddine LAKHDARI

Fatma Zohra HABCHI

Iness SEMMARI

Supervised by:

Ibrahim SIB

Board of Examiners:

Dr. Asma NASBA

President

University of El-Oued

Mr. Ibrahim SIB

Supervisor

University of El-Oued

Mr. Ammar SAOUD

Examiner

University of El-Oued

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DEDICATION

We Praise the almighty for giving us the strength and patience to finish this work.

We would like to dedicate this work to the most wonderful people who
have been a part of this achievement:

To our dear parents for their unwavering love and endless support, their belief and
confidence.

To our highly respected supervisor for his encouragement, understanding, continuous
support and presence whenever we needed.

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Abstract

After the Second World War, the middle east has been and still continues to garner the central focus of the United States and its foreign policy due to its eternal religious, economic and cultural relevance and the strategically pivotal location. Although United States interests in the Middle East can be traced to the early years of the American republic, the region has been a principal focus of United States foreign policy. Oil investments and the special US relationship with Israel were the chief reasons for United States involvement in that area. The study under investigation focus on the impact of United States foreign policy towards the Middle East during the president Donald Trump's administration. The dissertation aims to examine the strategies and directions that the president Trump followed in the Middle East region. Thus, the American interests in the region encompass security, strategic access to oil, protecting the supremacy of Israel and maintaining the United States military bases. This research adopted to achieve its purpose using the qualitative method. Moreover, it aims to demonstrate the purpose of the study which is related to the impact and the influence of United States on the Middle East such us the support of Israel , Palestine case and the moving of United States Embassy to Jerusalem in addition to many causes and goals behind that interest.

Keywords: United States, Middle East, foreign policy, Donald Trump.

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AEA: American Economic Association

AIPAC: American Israel public Affairs Committee

BSF: Binational Science Foundation

CIA: Central Intelligence Agency

CUFI: Christian United for Israel

FBI: Federal Bureau of Investigation

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

ISIS: Islamic State of Iraq and Syria

JCPOA: Joint Comprehensive Action Plan

ME: Middle East

MENA: Middle East and North Africa

MOU: Memorandum of Understanding

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NSS: National Security Strategy

PAC: Political Action Committees

UAE: United Arab Emirates

UJA: United Jewish Appeal

UN: United Nations

USA: United States of America

WMD: Weapons of Mass Destruction

ZOA: Zionist Organization for America²⁰

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1. Background of the Study

After Second World War, the structure of the international system became based on a unilateral political and strategic system which characterized by the presence of the United States of America as a great power. Its foreign policy has been an inevitable necessity because it represents the most important pole in the current international system which is characterized by the decline of counter-economic factors .This pushed the United States of America to give priority to global affairs and its vital interests.

U.S. foreign policy is a set of strategies when interacting with other foreign countries to achieve specific goals . In order to understand the concept of U.S foreign policy, one must trace the historical development of this policy through significant events and situations including policies, decision-making devices and its goals.

The Middle East consists of many lands and territories. They have different cultures, religions and civilizations. It has a strategic location and it is the center of the world and acts as a crossroads connecting various sites. Moreover, it is worth for its natural resources such as oil and natural gas. This set of energies is considered as the critical issue which makes the region the worlds' backbone of economy. The geostrategic characteristics and the diversity of the region have played a very vital role in flourishing the region's economy. However, it is the pressure point of conflicts. In fact, the Middle East is the core of problems and crises where conflicts require solutions.

The United States' presidential election of 2016 remains one of the unforgotten and influential events in the political regime of the country. Donald Trump's election as the 45th President of the United States caught the American electorate and the international community by surprise .His slogan was "Make America Great Again" and his vision is based on "The America First" in which interests are above such as making the U.S. a strong, free and prosperous State. In his pre-election speech on critical foreign policy, he promised to defeat ISIS, and to set stability in the Middle-East region by means other than nation- building.. Trump embraces realism like no other recent U.S. President. In a Trump state, national interests has the priority over international efforts or multilateral institutions. There will be no humanitarian interventions. Trump doctrine would look like in foreign affairs "Peace through economic and military strength".

Trump's foreign policy was misguided and distrustful to U.S. allies. Trump's new administration implemented National Security Strategy towards the Middle East. He has focused on military activities to fight ISIS and other terrorist groups, targeting a number of Muslim countries. There were also some major acts that define his shifts in foreign policy such as: the withdrawal of US from the Iranian Nuclear Deal, The Civil War in Yemen, moving the US embassy to Jerusalem, the Murder of Jamal Khashoggi, Gulf crisis 2017, US influence on the Syrian crisis, Iraq and ISIS and Arab –Israeli normalizations.

2. Statements of the Problem

Because of the turmoil in the Middle East region, American administrations have become well aware of the weightiness of geopolitical transformations and challenge menacing American national interests in the region. In addition, the change in the balance of American power and the emergence of global forces seeking to host the geopolitical competition of the United States of America in the region, such as Iran and Russia. and China.

All of this prompted an wild interest in the region and its emergence as a major point in the mechanisms of American political decision-making, especially during the era of President Donald Trump, where his policy formed a new direction in fixing the issues of the region which prompted the search for strategies, directions and goals for the current administration.

There have been studies and investigations confirmed that the impact of US foreign policy towards the Middle East issues during the Trump administration serve the goals of USA foreign policy. So, despite the change of means, tactics and tools in implementing US foreign policy, the goals remain constant to ensure the United States interests in the Middle East, Israel's security and its influence.

3. Aims of the Study

This dissertation aims to shed light on the impact of the US foreign policy in the Middle East during Trump's administration, and this cannot be accomplished without studying and focusing on the most important strategies and transformations of Trump's policy towards the Middle East and its impact on regional issues. The study also aims to investigate whether Trump was able to achieve the United States' goals towards the Middle East.

4. Research Questions

The objectives of the study are directed by the following questions:

1. To what extent has American foreign policy during Donald Trump's administration affected the Middle East?
2. What are Trump's strategies and transformations in the Middle East?
- 3 .Had Donald Trump achieved the United States' goals in the Middle East?

5. Research Methodology

This study adopts a qualitative method based on secondary data such as: articles reports, newspapers, books, journals, etc. All data are collected from various sources.

The present dissertation is qualitative research based on analytical method associated with the case study of speech analysis which includes arguments, explanations, and evidences in order to support the theoretical approach.

6. Significance of the Study

This study is of great value due to the sensitivity of the Middle East region, its regional and global importance, and the unexpected Trump administration. It explains the directions of US foreign policy during Trump's term, and analyzes the new American strategies towards the Middle East. It also helps the academics and researchers understand the most prominent issues of The Middle East, the effects of Trump's policy and his achievements in the Middle East.

7. Structure of the Dissertation

This research paper is divided into three main chapters. The first chapter contains the conceptual framework of the study. It is an overview of the United States of America, the historical background of the concept of the United States foreign policy with a concentration on the Middle East and giving a descriptive and analytical aspect of the American political background of the American President Donald Trump

The second chapter is about the impact of Donald Trump's Foreign Policy on the Middle East with a concentration on his directions, strategies, and the most important issues that resulted from his policies

The third chapter entitled The US- Israel Relations of Trump's Policy in the Middle East . It will review a historical overview of the Israeli-American relations, the Israeli lobby and Trump's policy in decision-making. The most important focus will be on studying the case study "on moving the US embassy to Jerusalem" and its effectiveness in resolving the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

CHAPTER ONE

CONCEPTUAL FRAME WORK OF UNITED STATE

AND THE MIDDLE EAST

Introduction

The United States of America is considered as one of the most effective countries in the world because of its geographic location, strong economic , demographic strength, political system of government and powerful media. One of its principles is to become the only superpower in the world. To strengthen its influence , the United States aimed to achieve its foreign policy, goals and safeguard all its interest in the most important and the strongest center in Asia which is the Middle East. Many reasons and goals appeared behind the interests of American foreign policy towards this region especially in the period of the president Donald Trump who used his new strategies, promises and actions.

1.1. The United States of America

The U.S rose as the undisputed superpower in the international order owing principally to its political stability and strong military power. It is the only state with preponderance in every sphere of power such as economic, military, technological, ideological and cultural and that it has the capabilities to promote its interests in every corner of the world

1.1.1. USA Geography, Population and Religion

The geography of the United States is one of the most important elements influencing the country. The United States of America is made up of more than 48 contiguous states that are limited on the north by Canada, on the east by the Atlantic Ocean, on the south by the Gulf of Mexico and Mexico, and on the west by the Pacific Ocean. The United States is the world's fourth biggest country, surpassing Russia, Canada, and China. Its capital is Washington DC, which is coextensive with the District of Columbia¹⁷⁹⁰ (Briney, 2020).



Figure 1.1. United States Map (GIS Geography, 2021)

American citizens' support for foreign policy aid to various countries means that the mass public has a position opinion for making decisions .However, this caused the raising of United States' population, in 2021; the United States number of population is estimated to be 332 million, with a growth rate of 0.8%. The average life expectancy is 82.3 years for females and 77.8 years for males as the last census was conducted in 2020, and the next census will take place in 2030, The United States has joined the global world for the first time, yet its fast expansion since the eighteenth century has been unprecedented (World population, 2021).

Among Western nations, the United States has been particularly God-centered, even in its foreign policy. They believed in a kind of providential mission in the world (Goodstein, 2010, p. A17). Many Americans fail the basic religion test; somewhat more than half of Americans are identified as Protestant, while others Catholic, Jewish, Baptists, Methodists, and Lutherans (Sociology, 2010).

1.1.2. The USA Economy and Society

The major task for the United States in international economic policy is to use America's enormous influence to keep the global economy open and prosperous, and to deepen and spread the advantages of globalization. The United States of America has one of the largest economies in the world and is classified as a mixed economy (Brock & Kimberly, 2021).

The economy is a system that includes the production, trading, and consumption of commodities and services in a certain region. The size of an economy is measured using a concept known as **gross domestic product** (or GDP). GDP is the total value of all products and services produced in a nation in a given year, expressed in local currency.

According to the US Census Bureau (2003), race is based on physical features and skin colour and has played an influential role in creating America. Today, the Bureau of the Census of the United States of America recognizes four races: Native American or American Indian, African American, Asian, and White (European American).

1.1.3. The Forms of USA Government

According to its constitution, the United States is a federal, representative, democratic republic composed of 50 independent states. There is the expectation of town meetings, a type of pure democracy, at the municipal, state, and federal levels. It is “federal” because power is divided among these three levels; “democratic” because the people rule themselves and have the ability to regulate the government; and “republic” because people pick elected delegates by free and fair elections (Trandahl & Reynolds, 2003).

The United States Constitution has been described as an “invitation to struggle” among the three parts of government: executive, legislative, and judicial. This is definitely true in national security policy, where the President and Congress have overlapping responsibilities.

The legislative branch passes laws and approves or rejects presidential nominations. It is made up of Congress (the Senate and House of Representatives) and numerous agencies that offer support services to Congress. The executive branch, on the other hand, carries out and enforces legislation. It consists of the president, vice president, Cabinet, and 15 executive departments. The last powerful power is independent agencies, as well as other boards, commissions, and committees. The judicial branch applies laws to specific circumstances and determines whether laws contradict the Constitution. The Supreme Court and other federal courts are part of the judicial branch.

1.1.4. The Frame Work of Human Rights

The protection and assistance of human rights advocates is a top target in US foreign policy. Human rights defenders are frequently harassed, arrested, questioned, imprisoned, tortured, and even killed for performing their work because of attempt to hold their governments accountable for protecting globally recognized human rights. According to the

United Nations Declaration on Human Rights Defenders, “Everyone has the right, both individually and collectively, to advocate for the protection and fulfillment of human rights and basic freedoms at the national and international levels” (Bureau of Democracy, 2021).

1.1.5. Media and Advertising in USA

It is crucial to remember that we are still in the early phases of the information revolution when analyzing the influence of the media and advertising in the development of US foreign policy. Media and magazines are communication channels or data transmission tools. The most Within 50 years, discovering the United States media, which has come a long way since the first newspaper was produced in the 17th century (U.S Diplomatic Mission to Germany, 2008).

1.2. USA Foreign Policy

American foreign policy has gradually changed over time, from the days of independence until Post Cold War era (War and International Law). In order to understand the concept of U.S foreign policy, one must trace the historical background and evolution of this policy, through significant events and situations, including policies, doctrines, tools and instruments that are used in the implementation of this policy (Benaini Abdelmadjid, 2016)

1.2.1. Definition of United States Foreign Policy

United States of America is a superpower with enormous power indicators and the owner of the world's largest economy, with an estimated productivity level of 13 trillion dollars, as well as the political and geographical elements equivalent to economic power, U.S. foreign policy is far-reaching, All of these sources of power cause its national interests to expand the strategic sphere, which includes all positions and territories in the international system that it uniquely leads. (Tonovski, 2005).

US foreign policy Can be defined according to “Henry thesis” Henry Kissinger the former Secretary of State of the United States of America, is the most famous writer on American foreign policy, as his books are the most famous and most accurate describing American foreign behavior. One of Kissinger's most famous theses is what was contained in his book “Does America Need A Foreign Policy?: Toward A Diplomacy For The 21st century” in which he claimed that the continued American hegemony over the international system is related to the effectiveness of its external behavior and that its global approach will determine the type of future, and that the first challenge is The United States faces is to realize its superiority on the condition that it conducts its foreign policy as if it lives in a world full of

power centers. This is what makes the United States, according to Kissinger, to find partners in sharing the burdens of global leadership (Kissinger, 2001).

In another context , united states foreign policy according” Joseph Nye thesis”, the most famous writer and the former Assistant Secretary of Defense for Security Affairs, in his book on "The Paradox of American Power :Why the World's Only Superpower Can't Go It Alone" in which he tried to diagnose and define the American foreign policy by reformulating its conceptions of the national interest, as he distinguished between two different types of foreign policy, the first based on values and the second on The interests, stressing the interests related to the safety and security of the United States and its priority, such as preventing an attack on the United States of America, preventing the emergence of those who are hostile to the American power in Asia, in addition to ensuring the safety of the allies of the United States of America ,but also stresses the need to create the first type of policy (Nye, 2003).

1.2.2. Historical Development of US Foreign Policy

The American self-power was the primary concern of the American decision-maker and the building of the economy after independence, by exploiting the available resources of economic and natural data and a huge investment capital that was the primary concern of the American decision-maker. Overseas foreign markets, which created an American trend and foreign policy, which are the first nucleus of a long path, the stages of which can be traced as follows:

1.2.2.1. The U.S. foreign policy during the First Isolationist Age”1776-1911”

For the first 150 years of its existence, the United States attempted to maintain a geopolitical distance from its European neighbors. Making connections with Europe, according to American leaders such as George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, leads to conflicts and commercial problems. Following the signing of The Treaty of Paris by officials from both nations in November 1782, the United States immediately returned to isolation, eager to avoid the protracted and costly conflicts that had plagued the European continent for the previous three centuries (Paterson, 2018).

1.2.2.2. The U.S. Foreign Policy during World War One and Two”1914-1945”

Despite the purchase of a number of overseas colonies, the United States' isolationist inclinations remained to govern its foreign policy in the run-up to World War One. As combat erupted in August 1914, President Woodrow Wilson pledged that “the United States must remain

neutral in fact as well as in name.” Even after 100 Americans perished on the Lusitania in May 1915, he swore that “the United States must be neutral in reality as well as in name.” President Woodrow Wilson followed the counsel of his predecessors and kept the United States out of the European conflict. He was re-elected President for a second term in 1916, campaigning on a vow to keep the United States neutral in the war. “Armed neutrality is unworkable. He stated that “the globe must be made safe for democracy” (Paterson, 2018).

1.2.2.3. American Foreign Policy during the Cold War Era “1945-1990”

In this period, the United States emerged as a powerful nation after the use of nuclear power in Hiroshima and Nagasaki; it also had interests in most regions of the world. So, it opened up to the external world and. U.S faced a communist threat Soviet Union, therefore; has followed strategies (Asma,2004) starting with the Truman Doctrine than the Marshal Plan to the military alliance .It was known as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) (Howard, 2008) .

1.2.2.4. American Foreign Policy during Post Cold War

Following the Cold War's end and the fall of the communist Soviet Union in 1989, the United States became a unipolar force and a worldwide leader. The term "New World Order" is defined by President Bush.. He defined his philosophy as "freer from the threat of terrorism, stronger in the pursuit of justice, and more secure in the goal of peace." an age in which the countries of the globe might flourish and live in harmony” U.S. foreign policy was led by the presidents George W.H. Bush, Bill Clinton, and Barack Obama, whose aims were the promotion of democracy and human rights, as well as free markets. Yahyaoui and El-Arbi reported on some additional important US moves that ushered in the new world order, including:

- In a total absence of the UN, the U.S adopted the peace-process negotiations such as the Madrid-Peace Conference1991 between Israel and the Arabs.
- The U.S use of military force in North Korea, Sudan, Afghanistan, and Iraq, and justifying this aggression by the fact that these countries are holding Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD). Yet, no reaction against Israel’s huge nuclear arsenal.
- For the sake of solving the ethnic civil war in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1994, the U.S performed a military intervention in through NATO in the Balkan crisis. By all this actions America proved to be a hegemonic power in the post-cold-war.

1.2.3. Decision-Making Devices in the U.S. Foreign Policy

It is not possible to understand the outputs of foreign policy unless one understand the framework in which it is placed and the processes through which it is made. The decision-making structure means the framework of relations and the pattern of their arrangement between agencies, institutions and bodies responsible for making foreign policy and determining the relative weights of each of the internal actors involved.

Knowing the institutions in the United States that are engaged in decision-making will allow to debate and evaluate premises and reasons that are essential in American foreign policy choices in general. This part is required due to the fact that the United States is the world's first and most powerful country. The decision-making process affects not just the internal politics of the states, but also their foreign policy, and consequently the whole globe. The following are the most potent Decision-Making Instruments in US Foreign Policy:

1.2.3.1. The Political System in the United States

From 1789 until the present, the United States has put its Constitution into force, with minor modifications but without changing its essential. As a result, we may conclude that the system is comprised of two important powers (The Legislative power includes the House of Representatives and Senate) and (The Executive authority, led by the President of the United States, that determines foreign policy options) (Monlar, 1978).

1.2.3.2. The President's Powers and Authorities

The President of the United States is the one who draws the big lines of the foreign policy and defines its options. He enjoys a legitimacy that comes from the people who elected him and so does the Constitution which has granted the President several authorities, as the president is primarily responsible for the executive authority and has the power to appoint senior state officers (Aicardi, 1987).

1.2.3.3. Executive Office of the President

It was founded by the United States. In 1939, President Franklin D. Roosevelt. This executive body advises the President on major decisions. The White House Office, the Office of Management and Budget, and the National Security Council are all part of it (Bell, 1989).

1.2.3.4. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)

It is one of the most significant US agencies in the world, with the mission of spying on major foreign states and persons. Prior to the events of September 11th, 2001, the CIA avoided

working on internal issues in order not to contradict its own work with the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) (Burgess, 1998).

1.2.3.5. The Defense Intelligence Agency

This intelligence agency is in charge of the military district spying on armies all over the world. It is a subsidiary to the U.S (Bowles, 1998).

1.2.3.6. The U.S. Army Intelligence Agency

It is a separate agency from the Department of Defense, but it works in collaboration with Defense Intelligence on reconnaissance operations required by the US military but not permitted solely by military intelligence because its elements combine military capabilities and intelligence training at the same time (Wayne, 1995).

1.2.4. USA Foreign Policy Goals

Foreign policy is described as "the aims that authorities of a state strive to achieve overseas, the principles that give birth to those goals, and the means or instruments employed to pursue them." The United States' foreign policy has four major goals: the security of the United States and its population, the preservation of access to critical resources and markets, and the maintenance of a global balance of power. Throughout the globe, as well as the defense of human rights and democracy the primary aim is to defend the United States and the lives of its inhabitants by ensuring that the country retains access to critical resources. The third major objective is to maintain the world's power balance. The defense of human rights and democracy is the fourth major aim of US foreign policy (Cuny, 2021).

1.3. The Middle East

The middle east is a geographical region that has been of great importance in history since ancient times. over years, the term of middle east was an ambiguous concept to be defined due to its complex history and unspecific borders.

1.3.1. Definition of the Middle East

The region has the longest history in the world. About forty-five years ago, the researchers confirmed that the Middle East region is unknown and undefined area. Many different definitions have been used to describe this region in different languages and at different times. The name "Middle east" appeared for the first time in 1902 by the American historian Mahan Alfred. He saw it as a dynamic and variable strategic concept rather than a place, Mahan used it

to refer to the region between India and the Arabian Peninsula and its center is the Persian Gulf, The Middle East described also as a location for commercial and cultural transmissions. It is considered as the birthplace of the three religions namely Islam, Christianity, and Judaism. Moreover, the Middle East is diverse in resources, natural environment, and the strategic location. Greta in her article mentioned: " Whereas, some of the first western geographers divided the orient into three regions: the Near East extending from the Mediterranean Sea to the Arab Gulf, the Middle East from the Arab Gulf to the southeast of Asia, and the Far East which includes the Pacific Ocean". After the Cold War and the 11th of September attacks, new terms came to the surface like the Greater Middle East, the Broader Middle East and Islamic Middle East "MENA".

1.3.2. The Middle East Geography, Population and Religion

The Middle East, as defined by the revised encyclopedia site, is the region of western Asia ranging from Turkey's and Syria's eastern Mediterranean coast, across the desert to Iraq and Arabia, and to the east via Iran to the Caspian, Caucasus, and Black Sea. Egypt and Arab North Africa are included under Africa. According to the "Jaffe center for strategic studies", the Middle East defined as including the member states of the Arab league, Mauritania and Somalia are not entered. The term Middle East refer to the region which begins from Morocco on the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean countries in the west, to Pakistan in the east, to turkey on the black sea in the north, to Sudan and Ethiopia in central and east Africa in the south (Modigs,2003).

In terms of geography and nations involved, the Middle East is generally made up of Gulf nations such as Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Israel, the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Oman, and the United Arab Emirates, It encompassed Turkey and North Africa, as well as Qatar and Kuwait. The topography of the Middle East is one of the most important political variables influencing Middle Eastern policy.



Figure 1.2. The Middle East (Geosciences News and information, 2021).

The Middle East is one of the most populous regions in the Western world with a population of around 246 million people. It has aided in the diversification of its residents. Muslims constitute nine-tenths of the Middle East's population. In reality, half of them were Arabic speakers. The majority of the other half speaks Turkish or Persian. Other ethnic groups, for example, speak other languages, such as Berbers and Kurds are two groups of people. Saudi Arabia is the largest Middle Eastern country in terms of land area. Despite the fact that Bahrain and Qatar are the Persian Gulf States with the fewest people, the Middle Eastern person varies in terms of race, religion, and national identity (Lesch, 2003).

Climatically, the Middle East is mostly hot and dry except in the highest mountains, climate change is currently having an effect upon the earth's natural systems due to rapid population growth and political conflict. The Arabian Peninsula boasts some of the world's hottest and driest climates. Although the winters are moderate with little rain, the scorching desert temperatures along with wind are referred to as the monsoon. In addition, the annual rainfall is minimal, averaging approximately four inches (Parry, 2007).

The religions of the Middle East are well-known: Islam, Christianity, and Judaism. The largest and most commonly practiced religion is Islam, and the people of the Middle East are distinguished by their national identities, such as Syrians. While ethnic and religious differences are significant in the Middle East.

1.3.3. The Importance of Middle East

The Middle East has been seen as an important area on over the world for many several years, that importance is not only related to the geographical area or its location but also to economy, military forces, and culture.

Geographically, Middle East connects the three continents of the world, Asia, Europe and Africa. The region overlooks the largest group of sea and oceans: the Caspian Sea, the Black sea, the Mediterranean Sea, the Red sea, the Arabian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. Also, it is the source of important rivers such as: the Nile, Tigris, Euphrates, and the Jordan River. In addition, it controls the most entrances which are: the Suez Canal, the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, Bab al-Mandan, and the Strait of Hormuz. The area is distinguished by its breadth and depth.

In terms of military significance, it is represented by: the largest Middle East location which allows for the deployment of military bases, as well as the nature of the soil which provides different conditions for training. The availability of necessary production factors, such as the

manufacture of weapons, and the enormous humanity that can be used in military operations. With a wide spectrum of wars and crises, the Middle East receives more than half of total US military aid internationally. It is regarded one of the places that most acquire weapons in the world, to the degree that nations' arms exports are poured into them. It is the region where Islamic culture arose, as well as the three monotheistic religions of Islam, Christianity, and Judaism.

On the cultural front, the Middle East area is rich in diversity and multiculturalism, as well as linguistic and ethnic variety.

While the economic side, concerned with the majority of the oil resources in the region, the Middle East region is one of the most important fuel and gas tanks in the world (Barden, 1992). The Guardian journal informed that the region of the middle East accounted for 32% of global imports of weapons that what led power states as USA and Russia interest in. Also, most of the world's recognized oil reserves are discovered in the region. The Middle East accounts for about half of the world's oil reserves and around a quarter of worldwide petroleum output.

1.4. Donald Trump

The United States' presidential election of 2016 remain one of the unforgotten influential event in the political regime of the country. Scholars might spend the next decades understanding the causes behind Trump's electoral victory

1.4.1. Donald Trump Biography

Donald John Trump, the 45th President of the United States, took office on January 20, 2017. He was born on June 14, 1946, in Queens, New York. His father, Fred Trump, was a well-known real estate magnate; the older Trump was of German ancestry, while his wife, Mary McLeod, was of Scottish ancestry. Donald was the second youngest of their five children (BBC News, 2017). He attended the New York Military Academy and the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School of Finance and Commerce. He was lured to real estate and construction even before he graduated, and as a young man he took over his father's company, calling it the Trump Organization (Powaski, 2019).

The Trump Organization quickly became involved in a slew of projects, including hotels, resorts, residential and commercial structures, casinos, and golf courses both in the United States and overseas. The Art of the Deal, his first of many books, was released in 1987 (Brody &

Lamb). During the 2016 primary season, Trump overcame more than a dozen seasoned opponents to earn the Republican nomination, and he went on to defeat former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton in the election. His campaign slogan was "Make America Great Again," and he moved quickly to revitalize "Buy American, Hire American" programs (Powaski, 2019). His strategy for dealing with nuclear proliferation involved putting maximum economic pressure on both North Korea and Iran. Trump boosted the military budget, and the self-proclaimed Islamic State (ISIS), which had acquired territory in Iraq and Syria and was responsible for instigating terrorist acts, was crushed under his presidency.

1.4.2. Trump Doctrine

A doctrine is the framework within which a president is required to conduct foreign policy in the context in which he finds himself. Presidents occasionally declare their own foreign policy theories. Observers may notice a consistent trend in a president's foreign policy and describe the doctrine for him. In both situations, doctrines should not be regarded as brilliant ideas or inventions made not at the president's request, but as acts imposed on him and dictated by reality. Doctrines frequently pertain to specific geographical locations or conditions (e.g., The Monroe Doctrine for South America) (e.g., the Truman Doctrine for the Cold war with the Soviet Union). The Trump Doctrine is unique. It represents a broad rethinking of what American policy will be across the world, as well as how it will be implemented (Friedman, 2018).

Trump's foreign policy was constant. His government has been dubbed "principled realism." The Trump Doctrine was similar to the majority of presidential doctrines. Trump has articulated it on several occasions, including in one of his most missed speeches (Anton, 2019). The Trump doctrine's most apt conceptual term is (Conservative American Nationalism). It is made up of six key components:

The first is an America First premise in Trump policies; the second is an emphasis on American National Identity as a cornerstone of America's elemental and dual relationship with itself and the rest of the world; and the third is a highly selective involvement, with a non-exclusive emphasis on its own terms and interests in defining America's role in the world. The fifth is the application of maximum recurring pressure along a continuum of points in pursuit of important objectives; and the final is the use of greatest tactical and strategic flexibility (Renshon, 2021).

According to Friedman (2018), Trump doctrine may be summarized as a policy to defuse circumstances that could necessitate military action and instead engage in an aggressive economic strategy, while dismissing foreign viewpoints in the broadest sense.

1.4.3. Trump Election Campaign

Trump became interested in politics at a young age while working with his father. He donated to and developed friends with Democratic office holders in New York, and he became acquainted with politicians. In 1980, he backed Ronald Reagan for president and was invited to White House festivities. By 1987, Trump had identified as a Republican, though he would later register or identify as a Democrat, independent, and Reform Party member (Powaski, 2019).

Trump first openly showed interest in running for president in 1987; on June 16, 2015, Trump descended an elevator with his wife, Melania, at Trump Tower, his Fifth Avenue apartment and company headquarters, and declared his campaign in front of a media throng. He sounded the themes that would characterize his candidacy. He also introduced what would prove to be a winning slogan among disgruntled voters, particularly white working-class voters: "Make America Great Again." Trump also ran well in Republican polls from the start, as he boasted regularly at campaign rallies, on Twitter, and in the ubiquitous cable-TV interviews. that prompted his candidacy (Powaski, 2019). As recently as 2011, Trump had registered as an independent. On September 3, 2015, Trump signed a party loyalty pledge, vowing to support the eventual Republican winner. Trump stated on Twitter:

This is the most crucial election in our country's history. There has never been a greater ideological, philosophical, or vision gap between two parties or individuals than there is now. Our opponents feel that America is a morally reprehensible country. We are not a frightened people. We are a nation of American Patriots who are strong, proud, and self-sufficient (Trump, 2015).

Trump stoked the flames, hounding his opponent, whom he dubbed "Crooked Hillary," but he, too, was caught off guard in October. The New York Times got a copy of Trump's 1995 tax filings, which revealed 916 million dollars in losses that, if carried over, could mean he paid no taxes for up to 18 years. He is the only presidential contender since Gerald Ford not to have released his tax records (Powaski, 2019).

Donald Trump beat Hillary Clinton, the former Secretary of State. He received more votes than any other Republican in history. He received 304 electoral votes, compared to Clinton's 227, despite having considerably more government experience. Indeed, Trump became

the first presidential candidate to have no elected or military public experience. In addition to John Quincy Adams, Rutherford B. Hayes, Benjamin Harrison, and George W. Bush, he is the sixth president to win the election despite losing the popular vote (Towin, 2016).

1.4.4. Trump's Campaign Promises

During his 2016 presidential campaign, Donald Trump made several pledges to become the 45th President of the United States. The following are the key pledges made by the Republican candidate:

Donald Trump promised to ban all Muslims and bomb Islamic State in order to combat terrorism. Trump has proposed not only to authorize torture, but he also advocated a total ban on all Muslims from entering the United States. However, the constitution restricts this action to only a few countries: Chad, Libya, Syria, Somalia, Iran, and Yemen. The torture proposal was quickly rejected and abandoned; Trump even condemned the ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) Since November 2015, the Taliban has threatened to attack their stronghold in Afghanistan. He actually carried on his warnings by launching the largest non-nuclear bomb in the US arsenal on I.S (Islamic State) (BBC News, 2018).

Concerning cut taxes and bring back jobs, Trump had promised to cut taxes on the middle class, to remove the property tax and to bring the corporate tax to 15 percent against 35 percent. He managed to get down to 21 percent but no less. On June 16, 2016, he announced his campaign in New York City, aiming that he will bring back lost jobs (Lamont, 2017).

The pledge of Trump's campaign was to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital. In a recorded video, he vowed to help Israel and Palestine reach a peace accord. He saw himself as the best competent individual to bring about peace between Palestinians and Israelis, and he would remain impartial in the dispute between the two.

Donald Trump has pledged to withdraw U.S. from Iranian Nuclear Deal, an agreement reached with Iran by Obama and the other four permanent members of the United Nations Security Council over its nuclear capabilities. He also vowed to withdraw the United States from the Trans-Pacific Partnership.

Conclusion

In this context, Highlighting the most important aspects and points of each concept including foreign policy were held. United States, Middle East and the president Donald Trump. Starting from the details and general definitions, moving on the next chapters to more specific outcomes of study of each point.

CHAPTER TWO

The Impact of Donald Trump's Foreign Policy on the Middle East

Introduction

The way how US foreign policy pursued towards the Middle East region differ from one president to another. The president Donald trump represented new dimensions of the US foreign policy after eight years of the Obama administration that sought equal partners around the globe. After the 9\11 attacks, the relations between the United States and the Middle East get degraded very quickly. In the following chapter, Donald trump's foreign policy will be discussed, before and during his administration. In addition to the shifts and goals, the most important crisis and issues will be included.

2.1. US Foreign Policy in the Middle East before Trump's Term

US foreign policy has always been a force that tried to save its strength from some countries, especially the Middle East, when U.S. foreign policy began to develop its interests, from gas, oil to issues, here that the relationship between the two parties was not new, but began from the Truman era to Trump's immediate custody, interspersed with internal interests

2.1.1. US Interests in the Middle East

The United States of America played an important role in the Middle East, and it will do whatever it takes to remain the world's only superpower, protecting all of its national interests in the region. Following the end of World War II, the United States' interest in the Middle East grew exponentially, and this involvement continues today.

Firstly, the importance of oil resources in the Arabian Gulf has become critical in the United States on economic, military, and political levels. Truman remarked in 1945, "Therefore the international oil center of gravity is shifting to the Middle East, where American business has been entrusted with the exploitation of one of the world's largest oil fields." It is in our national interest to ensure that this critical resource is protected, remains in the hands of the United States." The interests of the United States in the Persian Gulf are critical to national security. These interests include access to oil, which is both important friendly in terms of security and stability. *THE MODERN MIDDLE EAST: A HISTORY*, by James L. Gelvin, is a book about the modern Middle East. According to history, one of the most prominent goals of the United States in the Middle East area is to ensure western access to oil because it obtains roughly 80 percent of its oil from the Middle East; American policy has seen oil as a strategic resource (Gelvin, 2005).

Furthermore, the United States' second interest in the Middle East area is to protect Israel's states. The United States has maintained a close and strong connection with the state of Israel since the 1960s, based on security interests, shared values, domestic and economic assistance. This assistance may be seen in the military, intelligence collaboration, and diplomatic cover in organizations such as the United Nations (UN)

As previously stated, the US-Israeli partnership has spanned decades and has involved \$115 billion in military, economic, and diplomatic assistance since 1949. Despite numerous changes, this funding continues to act as a deterrent to Islamic regimes and a means of reducing mass-produced weaponry (Eisenstaedt & Pollock, 2012).

Nonetheless, the United States' strategy and interest in the Middle East were centered upon military locations such as Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Bahrain, which are utilized for training, planning, and operations. Air Force, Army or land, Navy, and communication bases are the four types of military bases in the United States (Dufour, 2008, p5)

The United States has long had interests in the Middle East in terms of security, particularly in combating terrorism and destroying any sources of disruption such as Taliban activities in Afghanistan, al-Qaeda, Hamas, and Islamic Jihad.

2.1.2. A Brief History of the United States Foreign Policy in the Middle East

The first contacts and relation of the US with the Middle East go back to the late 18th century near to period after achieving independence; the Americans were dealing with the North African states in a peaceful way to obtain a passage permit to its ships to the Mediterranean.

During the 1930s, the US was competing with the British in the field of oil exploitation in the Middle East, here the US dealt with Saudi Arabia especially with Wahhabi who supported Americans with oil in exchange with US military protection.

Following World War II, Washington devised a policy known as the Truman Doctrine to prevent Soviet expansion and deprive them of key oil resources throughout the area. According to this policy, the United States concentrated on three main Middle Eastern countries: Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Turkey. Meanwhile, meanwhile, another aspect of US foreign policy participation in the area was US backing for the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, or backing for Israel. Following that, they attempted to reestablish relations with the Arabs; one of them wrote, "it is without exaggeration to say that our relations with the entire Arab world have never recovered from the event of 1947-1948.

When we allied with the Jews against the Arabs, and that is one thing, and our ties with the Arabs are another" (Wilson, 1949). Furthermore, the terrorist and tragic assaults on New York and Washington on September 11th, 2001 are seen as a watershed moment or a new dramatic dimension in the history of the United States' engagement in the Middle East.

2.1.3. Bush Administration and the Hard Power

George W. Bush's administration began on January 20th, 2001. George Bush was well-versed in the Middle East before becoming the forty-first President of the United States of America. Ronald Reagan visited Egypt, Israel, and Jordan as Vice President in 1986. Following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in August 1990, Bush moved rapidly to form an international military coalition that included Arab countries. Following Kuwait's liberation, he rejected suggestions that the US lead the military offensive into Baghdad, instead choosing to end the fighting only a hundred hours after the ground offensive began (Youssef, 2018).

The Bush administration's foreign policy resisted the Islamic movement exactly the Islamic terrorist group al-Qaeda, this after the Attacks of 9/11, the Bush administration declared a war on terrorism, by killing Osama Bin Laden after years of being a fugitive. Also, the overthrow of the Taliban rule from Afghanistan by a US-led coalition.

2.1.4. Obama's Administration and the Soft Power

The presidency of Barack Obama began on November 4th, 2008; he became the 44th president of the United States. Obama has been described as Bush-lite, a president who might talk the language of soft power but who often resorts to hard power solutions. Barack Obama followed the Bush administration's approach by discussing where the threats are namely: terrorism, tyranny and weapons of mass destruction. In 2010, Arab countries witnessed a wave of so-called Arab revolutions or the Arab Spring, and Obama's reaction was to deal with each case individually, rejecting Egypt's biggest weight among Arab Spring countries that supported the United States. In every country in support of that revolution, such as the bombing of al-Qaeda aircraft in Yemen here, the United States is working to win its internal interests in order to solve the Middle East files, Obama's administration was considered as crucial in the America's history with its influence in the Middle East after Obama administration, the direction of the U.S. policy changed from impacts to reaction with the doctrine of the President Donald Trump.

2.2 US Foreign Policy in the Middle East During Trump's Administration

The manner in which the Trump administration achieves its foreign policy goals in the Middle East can have effects on the region's stability. The Trump administration may challenge, if not totally overhaul, historical American Middle Eastern foreign policies, thus affecting his views on U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East

2.2.1. Trends of Donald Trump in the Middle East

There are several trends of USA president Donald Trump policy towards the most prominent issues in the Middle East:

Firstly, Trump was realist .He rejected the idea of humanitarian intervention in internal affairs of countries. He believed that there is no need for American forces or policy to be involved in these affairs unless there is a serious threat to US interests and national security. This was reinforced by Trump's remarks towards the Middle East. He had chosen a pragmatic approach which has resulted in a softening of Trump's stances on Middle East issues. They were distinguished by harshness during his election campaign, in favor of moving away from dramatic reforms and leaning towards incremental change. According to the available evidence, if it involves his team's administration of the policy External, or actual occurrences in the Middle East (Gauvin, 2017).

Secondly, cooperation and coordination with international and regional players. The Trump administration realized that the United States is no longer the only player in the Middle East; the Russian has also a role in the region. This requires pushing American policy towards rapprochement and coordination with international and regional players such as Russia, Turkey and the Gulf states, when dealing with complicated situations, and what resulted from them, such as the cases of terrorism and refugees. In his first speech after winning the presidency, Trump stressed these cooperative relationships by saying: "We are discussing on friendship, not enmity."This led to breakthrough in relations. He is a realist paradigm, explicitly based on interests rather than "values." (Gauvin, 2017).

Besides , Trump foreign policy is based on how America is involved in world and Middle East, and how the economic benefits are gained. Trump glorifies the nation-state and the national interests above all considerations. As starting from his career as a businessman that affected his political thinking, and in the way he judged relationships, and linked them to the extent of the success of the deal with the other party. He runs the state as if it were a company in commercial

approach profitability. It moves on the basis of gain and loss, an account which requires not engaging in long-term conflicts, the costs of which exceed what it returns from it from strategic benefits and interests which may lead to the limitation of the United States' capabilities, and influence its international standing in other regions of the world (الدعاء علي, 2018).

Furthermore, Confining the Decision-Making Process in a Narrow Circle. The Trump administration did not have a clear foreign policy toward the Middle East. According to President Trump's statements, his foreign policy toward the Middle East appears to be laissez-faire. Because there is no threat to the United States, there is no need for direct American military engagement, therefore overthrowing governments and rebuilding states is not required. Therefore, America should not play the role of the world's policeman. By meddling in all foreign conflicts. This is in contrast to his predecessor's foreign policy of engagement, surveillance, and securitization. Trump approaches foreign affairs with a realistic, business-like mentality. He wished to alter the way the United States conducts foreign policy.

The door may be open for changing the role the U.S. wants to play globally (الدعاء علي, 2018).

2.2.2. The most Prominent of Trump's Appointments and the Political Positions of their Owners

American foreign policy is made by institutions, and in most cases it is fixed and does not change . It is based on a set of determinants related to the security of the United States, and to ensure its interests. However ,it is affected by the orientations of the leaderships that hold high positions in any new administration. Because the rise of the neoconservatives ,during the tenure of George Bush Jr, broke many constants on the role of the institution and the individual in making American foreign policy, especially towards the Middle East region, What requires us to know the members of the team of President Donald Trump, and their political orientations, with a goal knowing the directions of the US foreign policy towards the region. (منصور أبو كريم, 2018)

In his early term, Trump appointed General Michael Flynn, who is a retired general, as national security advisor. He got out of military service early due to a flaw in political visions between him and the previous Obama administration. Trump's stemmed from experience Flynn's long military and intelligence service, as he fought in Iraq and Afghanistan and dealt with terrorist groups, It has resolute tendencies in confronting the so-called (radical Islam) such as ISIS, Al-Qaeda and the Al-Nusra Front. Flynn does not believe in the idea of "political correctness". (منصور أبو كريم, 2018)

President Donald Trump also chose General James Mattis to be the secretary of defense. . Mattis headed the Marine Corps Battalion (Marines) during the second Gulf War, and a division of the Marines during the invasion of Iraq in 2003.. The nickname "Crazy Dog" after the Battle of Fallujah in 2007 Harry Truman era, and it is reported that Mattis 2004 in Iraq, where he led British and American forces against Iraqi militants. Mattis reinforced that title with powerful statements such as He declared in 2005 in a panel discussion on (the Taliban) that it was fun to shoot people. (منصور أبو كريم, 2018)

Moreover ,president Trump chose retired General John Kelly to take over the Department of Homeland Security to protect the borders. Trump promised in a statement that he would choose the former general in the Navy, he is the suitable person for carrying out the urgent mission of stopping illegal immigration and to provide our border security. John Kelly's job at the Department of Homeland Security will be to secure external border controls to the United States and the United States immigration and naturalization operations, and it will also protect American homeland security in light of the outbreak the phenomenon of terrorism that has reached American cities. (منصور أبو كريم, 2018)

In addition ,Trump has appointed Senator Mike Pompeo as director of the CIA Critics of the Iranian nuclear deal .He was one of the officials of the controversial Benghazi Committee to investigate the attack on the US consulate in 2012 that targeted Trump's rival in the election, Democracy Hillary Clinton. Pompeo has a military background and worked as a lawyer and businessman after he left the ranks of the army, and became a Republican lawmaker in what is known as the Tea Bloc in the Republican Party, a conservative wing New militant party. He has recorded statements hostile to Islam, Iran and the Iranian nuclear agreement. (منصور أبو كريم, 2018)

Trump appointed Nicky Haley, who is considered one of the staunchest supporters of Israel and its defenders in international forums. What Take office the era of condemning Israel at the United Nations is over. (منصور أبو كريم, 2018)

Jared Kushner is an American investor, real-estate developer, and newspaper publisher who is currently senior advisor to US President Donald Trump. Kushner is the elder son of real-estate developer Charles Kushner, and is married to Trump's daughter Ivanka.. During the 2016 Trump presidential campaign, Kushner helped develop and run Trump's digital media strategy. On January 9th , 2017, Kushner was named as a senior White House advisor. He consequently resigned as CEO of Kushner Companies, and as publisher of the Observer. Kushner had said he had four meetings with Russians during the 2016 campaign and presidential transition, but

denies that any of those Russian contacts was improper or involved any collusion Jared (الجزيرة, 2018)

In January 2018, the New York Times revealed that President Trump's son-in-law has deep financial ties to Israel, despite his supposed mission to broker peace in the Middle East.

There is no doubt that Trump's appointments have many political and strategic connotations as most of these names have political ideological orientations and convictions that can be reflected in the directions of the US State Department towards the Middle East, especially these names have preconceived positions on the issues of the region and its countries

2.2.3. Trump Goals in the Middle East

During Donald Trump election campaign and in various meetings, he expressed about his goals in the Middle East. The first Trump goal is to make America first .His vision is one based on security and economic interests such as making the U.S. a strong, free and prosperous State. "We are going to take care of this country first", he said, "Before we worry about everyone else" (Fisher ,2016).

Trump's other objective in the Middle East is to destroy extreme Islam and ISIS. His objective is to employ diplomacy first and armed force only when absolutely necessary. President Trump wishes to restore stability in the Middle East without resorting to military force. His objective was not war and devastation, but rather peace and prosperity. The best way to achieve those goals is through a disciplined, deliberate and consistent foreign policy. He also promised to ban Arab Muslims from immigration to the USA as he considered them as terrorists A disciplined, methodical, and consistent foreign strategy is the best approach to attain those aims. He also pledged to bar Arab Muslims from entering the United States because he deemed them terrorists.

In addition, Trump's goals were to reduce U.S. unnecessary spending on other countries concerns, and make the allies contribute to the financial costs of their interests. He said, "I will also call for a summit with our NATO allies and a separate summit with our Asian allies. In these summits, we will not only discuss a rebalancing of financial commitments, but take a fresh look at how we can adopt new strategies for tackling our common challenges"(Crowley,2016).

2.2.4. Trump's National Security Strategy in the Middle East

The National Security Approach (NSS) of President Trump was a program that outlined the government's America First strategy of "principled realism." Its goal was to tell the world about how the government wants to lead. It was just a partial guide; Trump's tweets, budget proposals, appointments, and choices augmented it. It results in predictable hedging, leveraging, and compensating behaviors that are evident even in the Middle East. The Middle East figures significantly under all four pillars.

The first pillar, "Protect the American People, the Homeland, and the American Way of Life," addresses issues like as immigration, terrorism, and weapons of mass devastation. It does not, however, include the military as a tool of power, which is added later along with diplomacy under Pillar III, "Preserve Peace by Strength." The section on borders, unsurprisingly, advocates enhanced vetting of entrants to the United States; the terrorism section endorses (albeit without acknowledgment) the lines of effort inherited from the Obama Administration; and the WMD section, curiously, omits discussion of nuclear proliferation while addressing chemical and biological threats (Keiswetter, 2018).

The second pillar, "Promote American Prosperity," calls for the "Embrace of Energy Dominance," which includes efforts to increase U.S. energy exports, preserve the world's energy infrastructure, provide universal energy access, and strengthen America's technical advantage. There is no indication of any engagement with Gulf or other foreign energy producers, whose participation would have facilitated execution.

The third pillar, "Preserve Peace Through Strength," might be captioned "It is better to be feared than loved," as Machiavelli famously said. It claims that our military, diplomatic, intelligence and economic institutions have "failed to keep pace with changes in the nature of competition." The military must be revitalized in order to reestablish America's competitive edge "retain over match" so that the US "will never be in a fair fight," by modernizing, acquiring new capabilities, improving readiness, and supporting a full-spectrum force. The goal is deterrence, which it characterizes as significantly more complex today as it was during the Cold War era and should extend across all domains. Nonetheless, it warns that the Department of Defense must create concepts and technologies (Keiswetter, 2018).

The fourth pillar, "Advance American Influence," underscores the need of collaboration. It claims that the secret to American success has been that "we design policies that allow us to accomplish our goals while our partners achieve theirs." It then recommends a development

model to promote “aspiring partners” that closely matches development aid with U.S. interests; it claims that recovering US sovereignty is the means to produce better outcomes in international forums; and it walks a delicate line between supporting American ideals on the one hand and proclaiming that the US would not impose its principles on the other (Keiswetter, 2018).

These attitudes are a mixed bag for the Middle East, depending on how they play out. In many situations, they correlate to Trump's domestic constituencies. While promises that the United States will not impose its beliefs on the area are welcome, Kansas Governor Sam Brownback's nomination as Ambassador-at-Large for International Religious Freedom is not (Keiswetter, 2018).

2.3. Shifts of Trump Administration's for Middle East Issues

The Middle East is still one of the major geographic constituencies in US foreign policy. Donald Trump began to accelerate his strategies around the world specifically towards a range of issues related to the Middle East, such as the Iranian nuclear file, The gulf region event, Syria, Iraq, and fight the militants (ISIS) and monitoring the new U.S. foreign policy impact toward countries in the region Middle East a year after Trump takes office in the White House, as follows:

2.3.1. Trump and the Iranian Nuclear Issue

The Iran nuclear deal represents an advanced step in the process of restructuring U.S. policy in the Middle East under President Barack Obama, who is part of a new U.S. strategy to deal with Iran, focusing on dealing with the issue of Iran's nuclear program and move toward preventing it from possessing weapons, the United States has succeeded in achieving an agreement. But once new U.S. President Donald Trump came to power in 2017, he spoke on more than one occasion about The Iranian threat, not only in the Gulf region, but around the world, focused on negative and dangerous consequences agreement with the Iranian regime, although it did not clarify the new U.S. foreign policy agenda, but it make U.S. foreign policy priority to dismantle the disastrous nuclear deal with Iran, he says.

2.3.1.1 The Iranian Nuclear Deal (1+5)

On July 14th, 2015, the P5+1 (the five permanent members of the Security Council-the United States, UK, China, France, and Russia-plus Germany) and the Islamic Republic of Iran signed the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), also known as the “Iran Nuclear

Deal.” The US administration has realized that in order to restructure its role in the Middle East, Iranian assistance is necessary. As part of the deal, Iran was required to, among other options, decrease by 98% its stockpile of low-enriched uranium for 15 years and refrain from building new uranium enrichment facilities for 15 years in exchange for the lifting of international and domestic sanctions against Iran (Nephew, 2018).

During Donald Trump's presidential campaign, the Republican nominee repeatedly lambasted the JCPOA. On June 16th, 2015, in his speech announcing his candidacy for the presidency, Trump stipulated that if Obama were to sign the JCPOA, Israel's existence would not last very long, and declared it to be a “disaster.” Additionally, in his speech to AIPAC in 2016, Trump announced that “my number one priority is to dismantle the disastrous deal with Iran.”

2.3.1.2. The Withdrawal of US from the Iranian Nuclear Deal

Another of Donald Trump's campaign promises was to withdraw from the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), often known as the **Iran nuclear agreement**. Trump argued that Iran was not adhering by the agreement, which he claimed that benefited Iran far more than the rest of the world. Sanctions were eased in exchange for Iran's promise not to proceed with construction. A nuclear weapons program (Renshon & Suedfeld, 2021).

According to reports, US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo aimed for a "soft" departure in which the US quit the deal but did not re-impose penalties (Landler 2018). However, the withdrawal was immediately followed by the re-imposition of sanctions on Iran; Mike Pompeo has stated that a new agreement and the termination of sanctions are required. Iran must:

- Declare to the IAEA (Henceforth the International Atomic Energy Agency) a full account of the prior military dimensions of its nuclear program, and permanently and verifiably abandon such work in perpetuity.
- Stop uranium enrichment and never pursue plutonium reprocessing.
- Provide the IAEA with unqualified access to all sites.
- End up its proliferation of ballistic missiles and stop launching or development of nuclear-capable missile systems.
- Release all U.S. citizens detained on spurious charges.
- End its support to Middle Eastern terrorist groups.

- Respect sovereignty of the Iraqi government and permit the disarming and demobilization of Iraqi Shiite militias.
- End its support for the Yemen's rebel Houthi movement.
- Withdraw all forces under Iranian command from Syria.
- End support for the Taliban and other militant groups in Afghanistan, and cease harboring senior Al-Qaeda leaders. (BBC News, 2018).

2.3.2. Shift of Influences Under Trump Administration towards the Gulf Region

Trump's foreign policy toward the Gulf states was very strategic before he took office during the campaign and during his presidency. Implemented many resolutions that would have affected the issues of the Gulf states, as a result of the so-called Gulf crisis. It was dense in terms of its programs and decisions, and exciting in terms of the nature of the issues and topics raised such as (the war in Yemen, the killing of Jamal Al-Khashoggi, the crisis in Qatar, and The Syrian crisis, Iraq and ISIS).

2.3.2.1. Yemen Civil War

The area of Yemen has, from a historically being a relatively small but important actor. There has been a conflict over power between South Yemen and North Yemen. After the unification, Ali Abdullah Saleh became the first president of the new republic. Saleh gave the interest of the northern part of Yemen and improving its foreign relations with the west. After the attacks of , September 11th, 2001 in the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, The US then declared the war against terrorism and Saleh had to balance the growing anti-American sensibility and strong Yemeni nationalism together with US support against terrorism. The international pressure continues handling terrorism in northern S Shiites, it resulted in what called Islamic political Movement called Houthi in 2014 (Schmitz and Burrowes, 2017).

President Trump recognizes that the relation with Saudi Arabia is complex. Trump's emphasizes "always America first" and to "make America great again" (Shesgreen, n.d.). Therefore, President Trump vetoed the Congress resolution proposal to stop US involvement in Yemen saying, "This resolution is an unnecessary, dangerous attempt to weaken my constitutional authorities, endangering the lives of American citizens and brave service members, both today and in the future," (Tharoor, 2019).

2.3.2.2. The Murder of Jamal Khashoggi

When it comes to the relationship between the United States and its long-standing ally Saudi Arabia, both are fighting for strategic security and commercial partners' interests. The partnership has had, the most recent and prominent being the intentional murder of Washington Post journalist Jamal Khashoggi, a Saudi national and US citizen.

Jamal Khashoggi was a well-known journalist for The Washington Post, and the critic of the Saudi government, the assassination of Khashoggi has caused a serious divide in global and regional politics in terms of its approach and impact. The respected journalist who was accepted in the intellectual circles particularly in the United States (U.S.) was killed in Turkey. The killing of Khashoggi has thrust Saudi Arabia and the U.S. to the center of the global agenda (Telic, 2017).

All the events began after Jamal Khashoggi entering the Saudi consulate in Istanbul in October, 2018 in order to obtain an official document, Khashoggi never exited the building, Saudi officials including the crown prince initially disowned any knowledge of what had happened to Khashoggi, but eventually capitulated that he had died in a "fight." (BBC News, 2019) .Washington Post newspaper claimed that a Saudi prosecutor involved in the resulting investigations blamed the murder on rogue operatives(Miller and Harris,2018).United Nations reported on the murder, "Evidence points to the 15-person mission to execute, Mr. Khashoggi murder requiring significant government coordination, resources and finances Saudi high-level officials planned for confession to the mission."(Booker, 2019) .A month after Khashoggi's murder, the CIA collaborated the UN's findings and concluded that Mohammed bin Salman had ordered the assassination. This insight came from intercepted phone calls, among them a conversation in which the crown prince's brother Khalid bin Salman requested that Khashoggi visit the Saudi Consulate in Istanbul (Dawsey, Miller & Harris, 2018).

For US the early reaction of Trump's Administration was considered as a defense of the prince and the Saudi regime, he rejected the evidence of CIA investigation, in an extraordinary statement on November 20th , Trump wrote: "it could very well be that the Crown Prince had knowledge of this tragic event maybe he did, and maybe he didn't!" (Bazzi, 2019).

Senior officials in the Trump Administration have joined the president they ignored about Saudi Arabian involvement in the killing of Jamal Khashoggi, for example the Secretary of State Mike Pompeo took a similar way, stating that there was no "direct reporting" of the crown

prince's liability (STUART, 2019) .In a June 2019, meeting with King Salman bin Abdul-Aziz Al Saud, Secretary of State Pompeo made no mention of Khashoggi's death (Berger, 2019).

The U.S. has condemned Khashoggi's killing, Trump called it "one of the worst in the history of cover-ups", the president and his top alliance have repeatedly signaled that the broader U.S.-Saudi relationship, including billions of dollars in military sales, shouldn't be put at risk over the journalist's death (Jacobs & Shahine, 2018).Finally, Khashoggi murder considered as one of the most grievous incidents in recent years because it is not effected on the Middle East and US policies ,but the mostly the freedom and expression of human rights.

2.3.2.3. Qatar Crisis (Gulf Crisis 2017)

Since the end of May 2017, the Gulf region has witnessed a diplomatic crisis between members of the Gulf Cooperation Council countries, the most acute since the council was formed in 1981. The crisis began with a media campaign against the State of Qatar, led by Saudi and Emirati media. In contrast to the ambassadors' withdrawal crisis in 2014, three Gulf states, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, and the UAE with Egypt, on June 5, 2017, severed diplomatic relations and imposed a comprehensive siege on Qatar, then handed it a list of demands, giving it ten days to implement them or face scenarios (The Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies, 2017).

Although the roots of the crisis existed long before between Qatar and United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia and Bahrain since the events of the 2011 Arab Spring, and because the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia held Qatar responsible for foiling their plans to make an end to the gains of the Arab Spring; many other reasons have been also provided to explain the roots of the crisis (Doumar, G. Etal, 2017).

The first root is the hacking of the Qatar News Agency website on May 24, 2017. Hackers posted fake remarks attributed to the Emir of Qatar, Sheik Tamim Bin Hamad Al Thani, expressing support for Iran, Hamas, Hezbollah and Israel (Doumar, G. et al, 2017).

The second root, leading to the crisis, has to do with the Qatari broadcast network Aljazeera. It has been irritating many of the Arab countries in the Middle East by interfering in foreign countries affairs; especially Saudi Arabia, spreading and discussing taboos such as main role for women in public space, education of women and so on.

Donald Trump's implications have been considered by some experts as a decoy to escape from the attention gathered on him about an investigation on Russia possible relations with the last presidential elections of the country. Doha Institute stated that:

It could also be argued that Trump wants to exploit the Gulf crisis and even try to inflame it in order to distract attention from the investigations into the Russian intervention in the 2016 U.S. presidential election. These investigations started to be more serious following testimony of former FBI Director James Comey in which he accused Trump of lying about the reasons behind his dismissal (Wolff, 2018).

2.3.3. US Influences towards Syrian Crisis, Iraq, and ISIS

In his campaign, Trump made it clear that he wanted to withdraw from Iraq and Syria, given that the two regions are ISIS. Following the Obama administration's policy of supporting opposition to Assad and defeating ISIS by any means that Trump came to office, there were 2,000 U.S. troops in Syria to train and support Syrian opposition forces and anti-ISIS forces, and ISIS is one of the basics of U.S. policy that has drawn many U.S. targets against ISIS. Trump has canceled the anti-Assad program. He also supported retaliatory attacks against the Syrian regime for the use of chemical weapons (Renshon& Suedfeld, 2021).

Conclusion:

The works focus on the link between the United States units with the Middle East region. As well as analyzing the most important point in Trump influence. In a nutshell, it is unclear what direction will Trump's administration take in the Middle East in the coming years. There were planks in his Middle East policy platform including the mainly crisis and challenges.

CHAPTER THREE

The US- Israel Relations of Trump's Policy in the Middle East

Introduction

With Trump's administration taking over the U.S. government and immersing himself in Middle East issues and forming relations with it as an ally, Trump administration's influence on the issues of the region soon emerged, from the Iranian file to the Gulf issue to the War of Syria, Iraq and ISIS. Trump had not only spared from the issues of the region except interference in the Palestinian affairs and exactly the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Thus, we will focus on Israeli-American relations and its historical development. While highlighting the new Israeli alliance called the lobby and its impact on U.S. foreign policy in decision-making, especially with regard to the issues of the Middle East and specifically the issue of peace and the transfer of the embassy, it is an opportunity to discover how the all-inclusive relationship between Israel and Trump was, and this was the continuation of the election promise against the Palestinian issue, especially with regard to the issue of the transfer of the U.S. Embassy to Jerusalem. Concerning the capital of Israel, in order to identify the most important connotations and arguments on which the speech relied to justify its decisions, this issue is of a global nature, and is closely linked to the national security of the Arab world, and the preservation of its historical and religious rights. Then, it is the case here to deepen the reading of this speech individually away from putting it in comparisons with other speeches that do not suit its importance and with the thesis concerning with. Moreover, In this research paper, a space to highlight the nature of the conflict on the city of Jerusalem has been permitted, as well as the most prominent features of Donald's personality Trump, trying to read Donald Trump's secrets from the speech.

3.1. Introduction to US- Israel Relations

The close relationship between Israel and the United States may be traced back to the previous years. The impact of Jewish tradition on America's Founding Fathers may be observed in the United States Constitution. This was said in a letter written by John Adams to Thomas Jefferson: "I shall contend that the Hebrews have done more to civilize man than any other country" (Jewish virtual library website, 2021).

In 1948, the United States regarded Israel as the first country to be recognized as a state. Ronald Reagan was the first President to explicitly state that Israel was a strategic asset to the United States; he stated before his election, "Only by full appreciation of the critical role the State of Israel plays in our strategic calculus can we lay the groundwork for thwarting Moscow's designs." on territories and resources vital to our security and our national well-being." Reagan also understood this alliance sprang from shared values: "Since the rebirth of the State of Israel,

there has been an ironclad bond between that democracy and this one.” Israel is a great partner to the United States, and Israel has no greater friend than the United States. Both Americans and Israelis are united as they shared commitment to democracy, economic prosperity, and regional security (Jewish virtual library website, 2021).

The promotion of a comprehensive and long-term settlement to the Israeli-Palestinian issue has long been a US goal. The US is likewise dedicated to fostering further collaboration and normalization of relations between Israel and Arab and Muslim majority governments, since Israel's security has long been a focus of US foreign policy. It is backed up by extensive defense cooperation including a 10-year, \$38 billion Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) inked in 2016 by the US and Israel. Thus, the United States gives \$3.3 billion in Foreign Military Financing each year, as well as \$500 million for cooperation missile defense initiatives (Aipac website, 2020).

In addition to security support, the US participates in a range of exchanges with Israel, such as joint military exercises, research, and weapon development. Furthermore, the US and Israel collaboration was to combat a variety of regional threats through the yearly Joint Counterterrorism Group and frequent strategic talks, includes the development of weapons of mass destruction, the expansion of state-sponsored terrorism, and the development of Islamic radicalism Israel is on the front lines in the Middle East, battling common adversaries while acting as a capable and strong American partner (U.S.-Israel Relations, 2019).

Furthermore, the economic and commercial connection between the United States and Israel is robust, with annual bilateral commerce of close to \$50 billion in products and services. In 2019, US goods exports to Israel were \$14.7 billion, with imports totaling \$19.6 billion. Through the Binational Science Foundation, the United States and Israel also organize scientific and cultural exchanges (BSF), the Binational Agricultural Research and Development Foundation (BARD), the Binational Industrial Research and Development Foundation (BIRD), and the United States-Israel Education Foundation In order to enhance economic collaboration, the two nations form a Joint Economic Development Group (U.S. Department of state website, 2021).

Israel and the United States are both members of the United Nations, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization.

On December 6, 2017, the United States recognized Jerusalem as Israel's capital, and on May 14, 2018, the US Embassy in Israel relocated from Tel Aviv to an interim location in Jerusalem. The US operates a substantial Embassy Branch Office in Tel Aviv.

3.2. The Role and Position of the Israel Lobby in the US Foreign Policy towards Middle East

As previously stated, the relationship between the United States and Israel has been the focal point of US Middle Eastern policy for several decades, particularly after the 1967 conflict. The Israel lobby was founded in the spring of 1945, six years after Israel achieved independence. This lobbying was do constructed not only in Washington and New York, but also in Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, and other cities, especially the West Bank of Palestine which is occupied by Jordan. Jews in the United States were the most active and effective supporters of Israel in 1948.

From a methodological standpoint, it is required to make a critical decision: What is mean by the Israeli lobby or the Jewish lobby in the United States of America? The Israeli lobby is one of the most powerful interest groups in American foreign policy. Walt and Mearsheimer (2013) explained that The Israel lobby is defined as the influential groups and organizations that are challenging how to shape America's foreign policy and with understanding the national interests resulted, and this is always trying to convince legislators, politicians, and cabinet members to protect the Israeli government's interests.

The lobby's power to influence US foreign policy decision-making derives from the Powerful network that it acquires with all the major units, from the white house to senior advisers to the engagement of many representatives in congress. In addition to the relationship with the military-industrial complex, its employs to control this unit, which is classified as high-caliber in influencing the American decision especially in the field of foreign policy, defense and security policy. Also, it's funding of many research centers such as the Raid Research Center, one of the most prominent centers associated with decision makers in the United States. the lobby role observed on: American support for Israel, creating hostility between Arabs and the united states, disturbing and destroy the Arab-American relations in any way, supporting Israel's foreign policy, blessing its aggressive actions against the Arabs, and protecting it in international forums, especially the United Nations and the Security Council.

The American Jewish Yearbook lists about three hundred national organizations and structures close to two hundred local federations, the lobby or as known the lobby groups, consist of the Informal and formal components:

The informal lobby is the organizations which sympathize with a cause; it includes the activities of Jewish and Christian groups who support Israel and US-Israel for moral and religious matters. Author Mitchell Bard defined the "informal lobby" as the indirect means through which Jewish behavior and American opinion influence US Middle East policy (Bard, 2009).

The organized lobby groups, political action committees (PACs), and media watchdog groups comprise the official component of the Israel lobby, according to United Jewish Appeal (UJA). According to Mitchell Bard, the three most formal lobbying groups are: Christians United For Israel, the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, and the American Jewish Committee ,Organizations that serve as a liaison between the Jewish community and the executive branch of the US government include the Zionist Organization for America (ZOA), Christian United For Israel (CUFI), and the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), which is regarded as the most important and powerful organization. AIPAC is defined as an autonomous organization run by a select group of rich and prominent persons, whose aims are to acquire money and political favors for Israel and to prevent assistance and weaponry from being sent to any Arab government that does not recognize Israel. AIPAC, according to Rep. Brad Sherman, is the "single most significant group in supporting the US-Israel partnership" (Reznik, 2016).

The fact that Israel lobby effects on the US policy decision especially in the Middle East region, and that seems in the start of the war on Iraq. In addition to the support of senior leaders of the main organization with the Israeli lobby voted against Iraq and with Israel for waging war. Moreover, Israel ,since the early days of the Syrian civil war ,has been support to the US administration to wage a full war in Syria. However, the lobby prevailed on trump to launch airstrikes in April 2018 on the pretext of a chemical attack in Dumas.

Another impact to mention is the idea that the Jews see Iran's possession of nuclear weapons breeds imminent threat to their entity and unit. Therefore, the bush administration responded to the lobby's pressure by continuing and doing the best to abort the Iranian nuclear program without forgetting the Palestine case, Egypt and the Arab spring. In the administration of the President Donald Trump, he supported the lobbies as result for their impact on the

government so he signed an Executive Order within his first days of office forbidding Executive Branch appointees from lobbying for five years.

3.3. Trump's Decisions Resulting from the Influence of the Israeli Lobby

If Israel's financial, military and political support is consistent in U.S. foreign policy, the variable lies in Trump's controversial personality taking office in the White House administration, the latter making unprecedented decisions during his brief tenure as president of the world's most powerful country, but accomplishing what his predecessors could not accomplish in relation to U.S. Middle East policy and support for Israel.

He began his mandate by signing a presidential decree banning the entry of citizens of seven Muslim-majority countries (Iran; Iraq; Syria; Somalia; Libya; Yemen; Sudan) into the United States under the pretext of terrorism, followed by the withdrawal from UNESCO in October 2017 on the pretext that it was hostile to Israel, the suspension of aid to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees (Anorwa), and the recognition of Jerusalem as israel's capital and withdrawal from the Iran nuclear deal. (Reznik, 2016).

In addition to recognizing Israel's sovereignty over the occupied Syrian Golan, as well as marketing the so-called deal of the century to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict, this unclear deal is paralleled by steps from the American and Israeli side that confirm that this solution, as it is, will not take the rights of the Palestinians as the right of return and the two-state solution, but will devote the fait accompli to pressuring the parties to the Palestinian cause to accept the deal under unfair Israeli conditions, including the absence of Jerusalem from the circle of negotiations by refusing to establish a state of state. In order to influence the Administration for israel's benefit, the Zionist lobby, throughout its presence in the United States, has adopted two basic strategies: putting pressure on Congress and the executive branch to support Israel, trying to woo opinions into the Israeli class, and pressuring public discourse to portray Israel positively by echoing myths about it as a victim among neighbors who hate its existence. As part of the implementation of the Zionist lobby's strategies, its influence extends to:

3.3.1. Influencing Congress

The Zionist lobby's influence in Congress is concentrated in the U.S.-Israel Public Affairs Committee (IPAC) as it supports and rewards those who support it by raising money on it, supporting its candidate in the elections, and punishing its opponents by directing its campaign donations to his political opponents.

Thomas Friedman, a New York Times columnist who is a staunch advocate for Israel, refers to the network of Jewish organizations and political action committees in the United States, which in turn direct election time for or against congressional candidates. It also mastered the mechanisms of political intimidation not only because the candidate might be denied the support of those financial organizations but also the financing of his opponent. (Reznik, 2016).

3.3.2. Control of Presidential Campaigns

The influence of the Zionist lobby and its control over the executive branch stems from the power of the influence of Jewish voters in the presidential election, most Jews give their votes to the Democratic Party because it more reflects the interests of minorities, but if the interest requires the support of a Republican candidate, they do not mind, as evidenced by their solidarity and support for President Donald Trump because of his pro-Israel election promises. Their participation in the elections is 92%. This gives their voting percentages an effective impact on voting results, and Jews are the most concentrated minorities in cities, which means that their ability to influence is doubled, as they are concentrated in important states with The most important seats make the Jewish voice important to each candidate and thus seek to appeal to him by showing his support for Israel and his intention if he wins the election to adopt Israel's policies and be its protector in the Middle East. It is therefore self-evident that any presidential candidate or even think about it should seek to win Israel's friendliness and appease it.

This has been repeatedly expressed by various candidates, such as George W. Bush's statement to " the U.S.-Israel Committee. ",(IPAC) in 2001 that Israel's safety and security are the first priority of my foreign policy."

U.S. President Donald Trump said before winning the election when he met with Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu that "Israel and its citizens have suffered for a very long time on the front lines against Islamic terrorism and that the Israeli people want a just and lasting peace with their neighbors, but peace will be achieved only when the Palestinians abandon hatred and violence and accept Israel as a Jewish state." Under the Trump administration, Jerusalem would be recognized as the undivided capital of the State of Israel. (Bard, 2009).

In order to win the election, Trump's campaign made propaganda inside Israel entitled "Trump is equal to The Israeli interest," in order to urge voters with U.S. citizenship there to give their vote in the election to Trump. Because Trump and his campaign were well aware of how strong the Zionist lobby was and how powerful it was to influence the election and turn the

equation around in one moment. Because Trump and his campaign were well aware of how strong the Zionist lobby was and how powerful it was to influence the election and turn the equation around in one moment.

The Steps taken by the Trump administration regarding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict were the best evidence of the enormous and dangerous power of the Zionist lobby in Washington. Under Trump, he has shown unprecedented influence even by his usual standards. At the forefront was the U.S. decision to move its embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, as Trump chose the most sensitive day in Palestinian history, Nakba Day, when Palestinians commemorate the day when more than 1,000 Palestinians were displaced in the 1948 war from their homeland, to make his decision. Not only that, but the White House praised the Israeli snipers who massacred dozens of Palestinian civilians protesting on the 70th anniversary of the Nakba on May 15, 2018. State Department spokeswoman Heather Naort said at the event: "Israel has the right to defend itself and Hamas bears responsibility." (Bard, 2009).

Furthermore, the United States has sought to block a Statement by the United Nations Security Council calling for an international investigation into the martyrdom of 59 Palestinians by Israeli forces near the security fence between the eastern Gaza Strip and Israel. The United States has

used the right to "break the silence" of the draft statement prepared by Kuwait, the only Arab member of the Council, in coordination with representatives of some Member States.

Israel was confident of supporting and defending the United States, as Trump's U.N. envoy Nikki Haley said in a speech at a UN Security Council meeting on the bloody violence in Gaza: "No country in this room can show more restraint than Israel does." None of these steps served any clear national interest of the United States as much as it was primarily in Israel's best interests.

The coming period is expected to result in more benefits for Israel at the expense of the Palestinian side, as Trump's recent statements in support of the two-state solution proposal as a solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict are controversial, saying at the annual meeting of world leaders at the United Nations on September 26, 2016, that "I like the two-state solution. That's what I think is the best... That's how I feel, if the Israelis and the Palestinians want one state, that's fine for me. If that pleases them, it pleases me." The statement came without giving any details and without pledging to abide by the 1967 borders, and during his meeting with

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu at the United Nations, he indicated that he would unveil a peace plan in two or three months. 15 At a time when Netanyahu stressed that "a future Palestinian state must be demilitarized and recognize Israel as a state of the Jewish people, conditions that Palestinians say indicate that he is not serious about peace." Raising doubts that a two-state solution would be a just one, Trump is investigating all avenues for Israel's interest. In the context of those statements, the world is expected to be surprised in the near future by a decision that will become the talk of the whole world, as did the decision to move the Embassy.

The Administration, led by Trump and his pro-Israel team, is one of the most right-wing, pro-Israel, pro-Israel governments, and a subjugant of its dictates, investing in the dire situation in the Arab world by putting forward the "deal of the century," essentially eliminating the Palestinian cause and its practical steps, such as recognizing occupied Jerusalem as Israel's eternal capital, and turning recognition into a *fait accompli*, although the move was not universally supported by a few marginal states, and agreed to annex The Golan, and stopped all forms of financial support for the Palestinian people and UNRWA, and all organizations that support the Palestinian right and criticize "Israel".

The significant strength of the Zionist lobby today in moving the American administration toward Israel's interests and exerting pressure on it from all sides, including Congress, campaigns, research and studies centers, as well as the economy, in addition to its success in attracting the American people by informing Israel of the role of the victim, is what makes the United States government and people desperate to defend Israel in every way and support it in word and deed by providing assistance to support its economy and weapons to secure it and support it politically. Protect it by making it the most prominent and important priority of its foreign policy. This is one of the factors that questions the integrity of the United States of America as an intermediary in the peace process, and that any solution currently proposed by the United States as a solution to the conflict must be taken into question, not in the place of extradition and drift.

3.4. Trump's Foreign Policy towards Israel: A Case Study on Moving the US Embassy to Jerusalem

Jerusalem has always been the most famous city in the world, both old and new; it is the cradle of religions and an important strategic location which led Jews to believe that ,it was their promised homeland. Palestinians and Israelis have been fighting for decades on the city of Jerusalem for a variety of political, religious, historical, and other reasons, and the city has

suffered greatly as a result of this conflict. Following Sharon's breach of the sanctity of the Al-Aqsa Mosque, Israeli transgressions persisted, and the Palestinian fight for Jerusalem persisted, but Jerusalem was not spared from international interventions such as meddling in US policy.

Under the era of Truman for example, the United Nations decided to divide Palestine and establish the state of Israel, including the right of Jews to return home, and a role for every new American president continued until Trump's turn came.

There is a very strong political relationship between Trump, President Netanyahu and leaders of the American Israel Public committee (AIPC), and there is also a religious policy that strengthens the line of convergence between Jewish and Christian beliefs. Before entering the White House Johnson(2016) candidate Trump repeatedly pledged that he would be a "true friend of Israel," and that the US should cooperate with Israel more and more, "this commitment to supporting Israel's strategic interests in front of his supporters from U.S. Jewish organizations and far-right groups," according to the report has contributed to the growth of his deep-seated conviction that he is a president who adheres to his principles and fulfills his friends, a conviction that gives him a sense of political ethics.

The Trump administration has tried to present itself as responsible for finding a lasting solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, but it is pursuing a strategy that would eliminate the Palestinian issue by ignoring the Palestinians' historical rights, ignoring dozens of UN resolutions and declarations, and continued support for Israel, one of the largest beneficiaries of U.S. assistance particularly in the field of military support, Trump's 2016 campaign has been described as old but more broadly racist, by replacing the word "black" with minority Muslim immigrants and others, and there are those who believe that Trump's election is the production of an economic and ethnic context (Bobo,2017 , p85- 104).

Schallhorn (2018) emphasized with the strong relationship and geopolitical interests that bind America and Israel and with the campaigns of President Donald Trump, in which he promises to fully implement his promises toward Israel, on Monday, December 6, 2017, Trump decided to move the U.S. Embassy to Jerusalem, which allowed Jews to establish a homeland for them, while Israel considered Trump's decision to be a symbolic sign, since Israel has controlled Jerusalem since 1997. The Embassy has a great response between east and west countries as well as analysts of political speeches like (Fox news, CNN News , BBC News, Al Jazeera, and the New York Times) while its announcement includes many arguments and reasons.

When analyzing a speech of Trump in terms of location and time, the arguments and evidence involved, his rhetorical style, his motives and his most important secrets, and his relationship with Middle East issues, one finds a beginning that Trump delivered his speech in English, which was broadcast by several satellite channels on the YouTube platform of many satellite channels such as the BBC News. The website information shows that the speech was delivered from the White House Diplomatic Reception Hall, which began at 1:07 a.m. and ended at 1:19 p.m. EDT, meaning it took about twelve minutes to deliver the exact day on Monday, December 6th, 2017 (Trump, 2017), the President's speech about Jerusalem was taken from (www.whitehouse.gov). When scrutinizing Trump's media speech as a direct speech when he addresses the American people on domestic issues, unlike his indirect speech when he addresses foreign issues (A Williams et al.).

In addition, relative to political analysts, Trump discusses foreign policy issues, and he resorts to offering simplified solutions and bilateral equations, in addition to the fact that narcissism and charisma overcome his personality politically. This makes him characterized by his confidence in himself, his boldness, temperament and impulsiveness, and thus one who sees Trump's language in his speech as a means of arousing and producing emotions that resemble the show-like shows of reality TV, can also talk about things that have nothing to do with the truth, with his use of terms that ignore its meaning, 2017, Giroux (p890), and it's clear that Trump doesn't have a consistent strategy with a clear vision on the Palestinian issue. He stressed in his election propaganda the right of Palestinians to obtain their rights while claiming to implement his electoral promise to move the American Embassy to Jerusalem and provided absolute support to Israel. Trump has not made the decision alone, there are others who support him; the United States of America is a country with institutions that must take into account its views on such decisions as Congress, the State Department, intelligence and security institutions; for an ongoing decision-making process that began with Trump's support from many to get to the center of the decision in the White House; Such a decision is a success for those close to Trump as his advisers and the Jewish lobby.

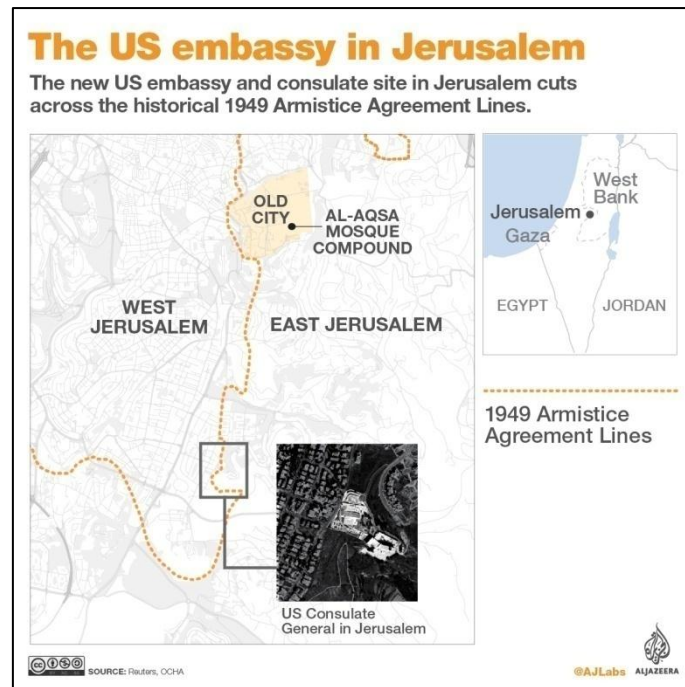


Figure 3.1 The US embassy in Jerusalem (Al Jazeera, 2018).

Moreover, Trump's speech on moving the Embassy to Jerusalem contains much significance there are major significance and there's a sub which can be explained as follows:

3.4.1. A New Treatment of the Conflict between Israelis and Palestinians

this main indication includes sub-connnotations:

3.4.1.1 The Indication of the Old's Lack of Interest in the Palestinian Conflict

it is meant to be ineffective in studying the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, such as Trump's statement "The foreign policy of the United States is grounded in principled realism which begins with an honest acknowledgment of plain facts. With respect to the State of Israel", it is noted that this indication came at the beginning of the speech, which indicates that Trump's use of the pilgrim method to mislead to communicate the failure to address the conflict and accept reality.

3.4.1.2. Significance of Achieving Peace

he believes to reach a lasting peace of conflict between the two parties, and this new strategy was the beginning of Trump's announcement to move the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem and his recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel such as saying as well as saying "This long overdue recognition of reality is in the best interests of both the United States and the pursuit of peace between Israel and the Palestinians".

3.4.1.3. The Significance of Resolving the Conflict Legally

Trump fulfilled his duty by implementing the embassy law adopted by Congress as they included the stages of the law including saying, "The Congress, since the Jerusalem Embassy Act of 1995 (Public Law 104 45) (the "Act"), has urged the United States to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital and to relocate our Embassy to Israel to that city. The United States Senate reaffirmed the Act in a unanimous vote on June 5, 2017". In 1990, Congress adopted the Jerusalem Embassy Act, his saying "I have also determined that the United States will relocate our Embassy to Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. This action is consistent with the will of the Congress as expressed in the Act".

3.4.1.4. The Significance of the Recognition of Jerusalem as the Capital of Israel

It includes two sub-significance:

3.4.1.4.1. The Significance of the Electoral Promise

Trump confirms in his speech that the transfer of an embassy was the result of the implementation of his electoral promise and the like saying "Today's actions recognizing Jerusalem as Israel's capital and announcing the relocation of our embassy".

3.4.1.4.2. Israel's Sovereignty

Trump has repeated these words over and over again, stressing that Israel is a sovereign state and has made sure that the city of Jerusalem is included in Israeli sovereignty, including his statement "Today, Jerusalem is the seat of Israel's government the home of Israel's parliament, the Knesset; its Supreme Court; the residences of its Prime Minister and President and the headquarters of many of its government ministries. Jerusalem is where officials of the United States, including the President, meet their Israeli counterparts. It is therefore appropriate for the United States to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital"

3.4.1.5. Significance of the Peace Process

Trump emphasizes his efforts to achieve peace by saying "Above all, our greatest hope is for peace including through a two-state solution, if agreed to by both sides. Peace is never beyond the grasp of those who are willing to reach for it". He also said "do not reflect a departure from the strong commitment of the United States to facilitating a lasting peace agreement. The United States continues to take no position on any final status issues". The

speech shaped recommendations, guidance and calls for actors in a conflict like he state “ask the leaders of the Middle East political and religious; Israeli and Palestinian; and Jewish, Christian, and Muslim to join us in this noble quest for lasting peace”.

3.4.2. Trump's Secrets in the Speech

There are many encrypted messages behind Trump's speech, for example, when he called on the parties and all leaders about the status of Jerusalem, as he said, "This means that parties have a role and influence in Jerusalem, such as Israel and the Palestinian Authority." Trump has relied on many method of passion, including his call for love and tolerance to prevail, focusing on, the emotional standing of the city Jerusalem, calling for opening of hearts and minds to new possibilities as his statement “and for young and moderate voices across the Middle East to claim for themselves a bright and beautiful future. Today, let us rededicate ourselves to a path of mutual understanding and respect, rethinking old assumptions and opening our hearts and minds to new possibilities”. “and must remain a place where Jews pray at the Western Wall, where Christians walk the Stations of the Cross, and where Muslims worship at Al-Aqsa Mosque”.

3.4.3. Diverse Arguments

The arguments employed by Trump varied in his speech, according to the four arguments of Philip Proton, Trump relied on power by mobilizing many justifications to try to convince the public of his speech, the speech also relied on the arguments of subscribing to religion and human values in order to influence the recipient, and Trump resorted to relying on framing arguments by clouding the value of his declaration and strengthening it from the reactions that are expected to occur Comparing the love, tolerance and future that such a declaration could achieve, as he described it, and according to the Tolmen model, Trump relied on the three elements of the arguments in more than one of the themes of the speech, and the elements of Trump's arguments were:

- **Claim:** Trump made a number of major and subsidiary thesis that served as framing that included refuting the approach and sharing a new approach, and then declaring Jerusalem the capital of Israel and challenging.
- **Statements:** In his speech, Trump did not provide information that amounted to statistics and data and merely listed the stages that the embassy law has been in, as Trump stated

that the Israeli people built a town for seven decades characterized by religious freedom and others, and seven decades is not long in countries, and although Trump tried to point out that the Jews founded Jerusalem in ancient times, it adopts one novel that is for the Israeli side and their supporters.

- Justifications: Trump's keenness to provide justifications to prove the need for a new approach, the most important of which is that despite the delay in the transfer of the embassy, the achievement of a justified peace remained only.

There is a huge contradiction between the significances that focus on Trump in his speech on the one hand he speaks about making peace and on the other hand the sovereignty of Israel, this decision is of course the reversal in Gaza caused by the narcissism of Trump that overcomes his personality politically this vision is only to extend U.S. support for the Israelis and ignore the rights of the Palestinians.

Trump's decision to move the embassy wasn't very easy, Leaders from within the Arab and Muslim worlds, and from the wider international community, were swift to criticize the move. Some warned of the potential for violence and bloodshed as a result.

"King Abdullah of Jordan emphasized that the passage of this resolution will have serious consequences for security and stability in the Middle East, will stymie the American administration's efforts to restart the peace process, and will fuel the sentiments of Muslims and Christians," the statement added (Halbfinger & Landler, 2017).

According to President Mahmoud Abbas, the decision amounted to the US "abdicating its role as a peace mediator." "These heinous and abhorrent tactics purposefully undercut all peace efforts," he said in a speech televised following Mr. Trump's declaration. He claimed that Jerusalem was the "eternal capital of the Palestinian state" (BBC News, 2017).

Ismail Haney, the head of the Islamist movement Hamas, has called for a new "intifada," or uprising. "The American decision is an attack against our people, a declaration of war against our Palestinian people," he said at a news conference in Gaza. "In the face of the Zionist adversary, we should call for and strive toward starting an intifada," he continued (BBC News, 2017).

The Saudi Royal Court released a statement claiming that the kingdom had followed Trump's decision "with great regret" and warned of the "dangerous implications of relocating the U.S. "Ambassador to Jerusalem." Egypt, which negotiated the first Arab peace treaty with Israel

in 1979, dismissed Trump's move, claiming that it made no difference to the disputed legal status of Jerusalem. Sheikh Mohammed bin Abdul Rahman al-Thani, Qatar's foreign minister, branded Trump's initiative a "death sentence for everyone who desire peace" and a "destructive escalation." Furthermore, Turkey called Trump's action "irresponsible" (Heinrich, 2017).

Donald Trump had two main considerations in mind when dealing with the Jerusalem question in general and the relocation of embassy in particular: the strong influence of pro-Israel groups in U.S. politics and elections make it important to show sympathy with the Israeli status in the city; however, U.S. interests in the Middle East, and its interest in maintaining a process of conflict management and negotiations between Palestinians and Israelis, has connected any actual change in U.S. policy toward Jerusalem with the outcome of negotiations.

Conclusion

We started in this chapter to know the foreign policy features of Donald Trump which is characterized by the lifting of the bishop and the great demands and on the sidelines of that .He succeeded in modifying his interests with his successor Israel by winning the Israeli lobby and making it as part of the government ,we tried to know whether president Donald Trump was able to implement his promises to Israel and his first covenants as we saw was the speech of moving the U.S. Embassy to Jerusalem in order to allow the Israelis to build their homeland. In short , we attempt to discover and analyze what Donald Trump acknowledged in his speech in which he tried to use arguments to justify his decision to move the U.S. Embassy to Jerusalem and declared Jerusalem as the capital of Israel by adopting a new American approach in dealing with the challenges of the world. He based on arguments as diverse frameworks as legal, political, historical, humanitarian and other arguments, while emphasizing that the declaration is in the interest of the Palestinians and Israelis and that the beginning of the deal is great. To deal with the most important issue in the Middle East, if not in the world, this vision seems in essence a kind of extension of U.S. support for Israelis, and disregard for Palestinian rights.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

This study is based on the USA foreign policy towards the Middle East specifically during Donald Trump administration and its influences on the region. This is by understanding Trump's trends, his goals and his dealing with the Middle East

USA foreign policy goals are to dominate the security system in the Middle East, and it wants to put the Arab Gulf states at the center of their dispute with Iran. Its goal also is confronting the danger of the spread of nuclear weapons in the region, especially with regard to the Iranian nuclear project, without referring to the Israeli nuclear weapon

Trump adopted in his foreign policy the principle of America first as a main goal in which America should not secure the interests of others or take them into account. Trump has outlined a deeply misguided foreign policy vision that was distrustful of U.S. allies as well as immigration which was the centerpiece of his campaign, offering more detailed policy agenda than on any other. Through the trends of the US administration of Donald Trump, he was seeking to restore the United States in the Middle East for the defense of its strategic interests, its historical role in the region and its security obligations towards its allies impose on it. Thus, he gave the available opportunities and options for military intervention on one hand, and the cost and the benefit, on the other hand. Trump's perceptions of the economic variables mainly serve his internal political agenda.

Among the issues which had some harmony and consistency during the Trump era is Iran. After withdrawal from the nuclear agreement, America imposed broad economic sanctions on Iran as part of what is known as the policy of "maximum pressure. The United States of America uses Iran as enemy to Arabs for ensuring that the Arabs remain within the American system. This confirms the USA desire to benefit from the conflict between the Gulf States and Iran is for the aim of securing its interests and protect the security of Israel

Trump also worked to move the US embassy to occupied Jerusalem. The Israeli settlement is based on any political arrangement even if it is at the expense of Palestinian rights. The deal fulfilled all the demands of the Israeli side so as to Israeli control over most of the West Bank, and keeping the city of Jerusalem united and under Israeli sovereignty. As for the greatest achievement, which he described as "historic", it is without a doubt, as he said, the two peace agreements related to the Middle East after decades of stagnation. Israel and the United Arab Emirates signed a historic peace agreement in the White House, as did Bahrain

Moreover, when we analyze the most important issue in Trump's custody which is related to his speech on moving the US embassy to Jerusalem, the speech was scheduled on Monday, December 6th, 2017, and was delivered in the diplomatic reception hall of the White House at 1:07 and ended at 1:19. In this speech, we focused on the most important arguments, proofs, evidence, mysteries and goals of Donald Trump, and discover and conclude that there are many influences that were behind this speech. The most important of them is ignoring the issue of peace between Israel and Palestine, maintaining peace, support and security for Israel and in return ignoring the rights of the Palestinians and the lack of a statement about any of their rights.

To sum up, Trump administration used new strategies and policies and made important shifts in the Middle East. However, it achieved the same goals of USA foreign policy. Combating terrorism in the region did not come among the priorities of the US administration as much as it is a competitive struggle. The fundamental priorities of the US strategy not take the Arab interests or Arab security or the unified Arab position in the consideration.

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علي موسى (2018)، ادارة ترامب السياسية الخارجية في الشرق الاوسط، دار المنظومة ، المستقبل العربي مج.41 ع 477.

منصور أبو كريم (2018) ، إتجاهات السياسة الخارجية الأمريكية تجاه منطقة الشرق الأوسط في ظل حكم ترامب ، مركز حرمون

للدراستات المعاصرة ، الدوحة

ملخص:

بعد الحرب العالمية الثانية، كانت منطقة الشرق الأوسط ولا تزال تحظى بالاهتمام المركزي بالنسبة للولايات المتحدة الأمريكية وسياستها الخارجية بسبب أهميتها الدينية، الاقتصادية والثقافية والموقع المحوري من الناحية الاستراتيجية. ويمكن إرجاع اهتمام الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية بالشرق الأوسط إلى السنوات الأولى من تكون الجمهورية الأمريكية. وقد شكلت هذه الأخيرة محورا رئيسيا للسياسة الخارجية الأمريكية. تعد الاستثمارات النفطية والعلاقة الوطيدة بين الولايات المتحدة وإسرائيل من الأسباب الرئيسية لاهتمام الولايات المتحدة بالمنطقة. تركز هذه الدراسة على البحث والتحقيق في تأثير السياسة الخارجية للولايات المتحدة تجاه الشرق الأوسط خلال فترة الرئيس دونالد ترامب. تهدف الأطروحة إلى دراسة الاستراتيجيات والتوجهات التي اتبعتها الرئيس ترامب وتعامله مع قضايا المنطقة ومدى تأثيره في منطقة الشرق الأوسط. وهكذا فإن الاهتمام الأمريكي في المنطقة يشمل الأمن، الأهمية الاستراتيجية للنفط، حماية سيادة إسرائيل والحفاظ على القاعدة العسكرية والأمنية للولايات المتحدة. لتحقيق هذا الغرض اعتمدنا على المنهجية الكيفية. علاوة على ذلك، تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى توضيح الغرض من الدراسة والتي لها علاقة بتأثير الولايات المتحدة على الشرق الأوسط مثل الدعم الإسرائيلي، قضية فلسطين وانتقال سفارة الولايات المتحدة إلى القدس بالإضافة إلى العديد من الأسباب والأهداف وراء تلك المصلحة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الولايات المتحدة، الشرق الأوسط، السياسة الخارجية، دونالد ترامب.