

Donald Trump's Decision between the Transfer of the US Embassy to Jerusalem and Modify the Nuclear Deal with Iran

Ahmed ALMadani and Muhamad Muttaqien

Department of International Relations, Faculty of Social and Political Science, Universitas Airlangga, Surabaya, Indonesia

Keywords: Jerusalem, The Palestinian Issue, Iran, Hamas,

Abstract: US President Donald Trump's decision to recognize the city of Jerusalem as the united capital of Israel is in the interest of the Israeli state and against the Middle East peace process. The decision was made at the end of 2017, but at the same time, Iran's nuclear deal, signed in 2015, was between Iran and the international community does not go as required. So the researcher argues about Trump goals of this action locally, regionally and internationally, plus the United States is trying to link the Iranian nuclear issue to the Palestinian issue. US President Donald Trump has made clear that Tehran is not committed to the nuclear deal and that amendments should be made to the agreement. The most important of these changes is Iran's regional behavior, particularly with respect to its support for Islamic movements opposed to Israel, most notably the Palestinian Hamas movement. Iran has always stated that it supports the Palestinian people in the face of the Israeli occupation. This is why it established the so-called Quds Force for the Liberation of Palestine, but the Quds Force did not act in the face of the Trump decision on the city of Jerusalem in 2017. The United States is trying to isolate Iran from its regional activities, by modifying the Iranian nuclear agreement to include the cessation of Iran's activity in the Middle East. The methodology is to link Trump's decision with his position on Iran's nuclear deal according to the Theory of International conflict, the researcher found that Iran is exploiting the Palestinian cause for Iranian interests only through Iranian slogans and statements. This question: Is the United States trying to reach a new international agreement with Iran by putting all the files on the table, in other words linking the Iranian nuclear file and Iran's control of four Arab capitals and the Trump decision on Jerusalem? Or is the military option against Iran the solution to this international crisis?

1 INTRODUCTION

The US president announced his decision that the United States of America recognize the city of Jerusalem as the capital of the State of Israel in addition to the transfer of the US Embassy to Jerusalem, as these US decisions have dimensions at the US level and also have reasons at the regional level in the Middle East, in addition to international dimensions.

Initially, it must be known that this decision to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel was signed by the US Congress in 1995 (Congressional Record, 1995), after which in 1999 the decision was submitted to the White House for approval, but former US presidents were postponing the resolution, so every Six months the US administration was reviewing it, until Donald Trump came in December 2017 and announced the decision. The decision to recognize Jerusalem as the

capital of Israel and the transfer of the US embassy to it was part of Trump's electoral agenda, which he won. Thus, President Trump's agenda extends to winning a second term in the United States, which will help him in his future campaign against the Democratic Party, with the Israeli lobby next to Trump (Waxman, 2017). This is the American dimension to Trump's decision to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and transfer the embassy to it.

As for the regional dimension in the Middle East, which concerns Iran's behavior in addition to the Iranian nuclear deal, which was signed in 2015, the White House is working to review this agreement every three months to see the extent of Iran's commitment to this agreement. Until October 2017, when President Trump declared Iran's non-compliance with the nuclear agreement, we can see the link between the decision to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and the transfer of the

embassy to Trump's declaration that Iran does not comply with the nuclear agreement within a very short period of time. This linkage between Iran and the Palestinian cause has ramifications on the regional level in the Middle East.

When talking about the relationship between the subject of Jerusalem and Iran, it must be known that Iran has an army called the Quds Force. The purpose of establishing this army is to liberate Jerusalem from the Israeli occupation. But the question is where this army is? This army is in Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Yemen. Iran controls four Arab capitals (Uskowi, 2018), while Israel controls one Arab capital, Jerusalem. Here comes the link between the issue of Iranian control over four Arab capitals and the Israeli control over the city of Jerusalem.

As for the international dimension, the United States wants the American Middle East by imposing American solutions on the region, especially since the international system is based on the unipolar principle of the United States of America, especially on the level of military control (Center for Research and Strategic Studies, 2017).

This paper argues about the implications of the American decision on the Palestinian issue by linking the Palestinian file to the Iranian nuclear file, especially with the existence of the Palestinian division inside Palestine, in addition to the Iranian intervention, whether political or military in

Arab countries, how to invest the century deal in favor of the Palestinian cause.

2 THE AMERICAN CENTURY DEAL LOCALLY IMPACT: TRUMP GOAL OF WINNING A SECOND TERM OF THE PRESIDENCY ELECTION IN USA

Trump's move has been expected since his election victory at the end of 2016. His election program included a promise to move the US embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem if elected president of the United States. A combination of complex factors played an important role in Trump's decision. Internally, investigations into Russian intervention in the US elections are approaching the Trump crew. His son-in-law, Jared Kouchner, who is close to Israel, can also be dragged on, which means that Trump is in an increasingly fragile internal situation,

and may want to distance him from suspicions or at least postpone discussion.

Under these circumstances, Trump is likely to seek support from influential Jewish lobbies in Washington. Another equally important factor is Trump's attempt to satisfy the Republican Party's support for the transfer of the Embassy, especially the Conservatives, and the Evangelicals. In addition to the figures who supported him in his election campaign to reach the White House, some of them paid \$ 25 million on condition that the United States recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel (Al Jazeera Center for Studies, 2017).

US President Donald Trump has announced that he is planning to run for the US presidential elections in 2020, where he began planning very early, after he admitted to «Jerusalem the capital of Israel» with the clear goal of winning the Jewish lobby in the United States. Trump knows very well that anti-Israel is not in his favor or in favor of American foreign policy. Any step he takes must not harm America's interests, first and foremost the protection of Israel. Perhaps the most appropriate analysis is that this position came to hit two birds with one stone. Iran has pushed for more sanctions against Iran and its violations in Yemen and Lebanon. Trump's decision to scatter the files in the region and make the Iranian interference file linked to the Palestinian issue. At the same time, the Jewish Lobby is working to support the American president in his belief that it will serve the interests of Iran (Rashed, 2017).

3 THE AMERICAN CENTURY DEAL REGIONALLY IMPACT ON THE MIDDLE EAST: FOUR ARAB CAPITALS UNDER IRANIAN CONTROL IN EXCHANGE FOR AN ARAB CAPITAL UNDER ISRAELI CONTROL

One of the most important reasons for the deterioration of the situation in the Middle East, especially when talking about American or Iranian intervention is the conflict between the Arab countries, the absence of a unified political program that brings together the Arab countries on one basis, particularly the conflict between Sunnis and Shiites in Arab countries including Iraq, Syria, Yemen and Lebanon (Khalid, 2017).

Iran and America have exploited their agenda in the Middle East through Iran's military intervention in Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Yemen. In addition to the US decision to expropriate Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, the Arab-Arab conflict has been a major cause of the weakness of the Arab power towards external dangers whether it is from the Iranian or American side.

US President Donald Trump's century deal is an Israeli plan and an American application on the ground by giving the Palestinians the Gaza Strip and part of the West Bank, no agreed borders, no agreement on the Palestinian refugees issue, no talk of Jerusalem in the negotiations. In other words, the liquidation of the Palestinian cause (Short, 2018).

Iran's role in exploiting the weakness of the Arab countries to pass the Iranian project through Iran's relationship with the Palestinian Hamas movement, in other words support the Palestinian resistance, as Iran exploits its relationship with the Palestinian resistance and interferes in Arab affairs. In addition to the Iranian exploitation in supporting the Palestinian resistance movements as a card that can be negotiated in the details of the Iranian nuclear file.

The official Arab position and the people agreed to reject the deal of the century presented by the US administration (Khalid, 2017), but for the Iranian party, the Arab position is divided between a supporter of the Iranian project and a rejection of the Iranian project in the Middle East, and here lies the Arab weakness (Al Jazeera Center for Studies, 2017).

The Israeli and Iranian behavior are two faces of one coin, especially since the principle of establishing these two states is purely religious. Iran adopts the Shiite ideology of its political system. Israel advocates the Jewishness of the Israeli state. In other words, both countries are outside the principle of a modern and pluralistic state Politics and democracy, a common point between the two countries (Adnan, 2015).

the deal of the century is to link the Palestinian issue with the Iranian nuclear agreement, by combining these two files and trying to find an international solution to them, so that the solution is the end of Iran's control of four Arab capitals by the return of Iranian forces in Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and

Yemen to the Iranian border. In contrast, moving the US embassy to Jerusalem is an end to the idea of two states (Palestine and Israel), where a confederation can be established under the name of one state and Jerusalem as a capital under international supervision (Norman, 2018).

Arab and Islamic countries have agreed to reject the deal of the century, where the deal of the century was considered a significant concession to the Palestinian rights to establish a Palestinian state with East Jerusalem as its capital based on UN Security Council resolutions and the UN General Assembly (Al Jazeera Center for Studies, 2017).

In addition, American recognition of the city of Jerusalem was rejected as the united capital of Israel. Most of the members of the international community rejected this decision and declared explicitly that the embassies would not be transferred to Jerusalem because Jerusalem is a file of negotiations between Israelis and Palestinians (Center for Strategic Thought Studies, 2017).

In 2003, as US forces entered Iraq, Iran offered a paper to the USA containing possible terms for agreement between both countries. Iran prepared a comprehensive proposal to start negotiation with the United States dealing with all points of disagreement between them. The first one to think about this was Sadeg Kharazi, Iran's ambassador to France. He feared of Iran to be the next state on the US list of military intervention following Iraq and Afghanistan. The project was directed to the Supreme Leader of Iran for approval and then was reviewed by Iran's ambassador to the United Nations at the time, Javad Zarif. The amendments were finalized before sent to the USA. The decision makers in Tehran participating in the preparation consisted of Minister of Foreign Affairs Kamal Kharrazi, President Mohammad Khatami, UN Ambassador Zarif, Sadeg Kharazi and Ayatollah Ali Khamenei. In addition, Iranians also consulted Tim Guldeman, Swiss ambassador to Iran (Parsi, 2007). Iran built their proposal on the principle of mutual respect to the United States. It offered to end their support for Hamas and Islamic Jihad and pressed them to stop the attacks on Israel. In addition, it also offered to stop Hezbollah's military support and to turn it into a purely political party. With regard to the nuclear issue, the proposal offered to open Iran's nuclear program completely to be inspected internationally.

The Iranians would sign Additional Protocol to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and offered extensive US involvement in the program as an additional guarantee and gesture of goodwill. With regard to terrorism, Tehran had provided full cooperation against all terrorist organizations, including Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan. Regarding Iraq, Iran would work actively with the United States to support political stability, democratic institutions and, most importantly, a nonreligious government.

The Iranians offered to accept Beirut Declaration on Saudi Peace Initiative of 2002 Arab League Summit, in which Arab states offered to establish collective peace with Israel and to recognize and normalize relations with the Jews in return for Israel's agreement to withdraw from all the occupied territories and accept a completely independent Palestinian state, the division of Jerusalem on an equal footing, and a just solution to the problem of Palestinian refugees. Through this move, Iran would formally recognize the two-state solution and consider itself at peace with Israel.

The Iran's offer was delivered to the then- US-administration of George W. Bush that was split into two parties: the one supporting the start of serious negotiations with Iran, including former US Secretary of State Colin Powell, and the other opposing to the offer, including former Vice President Dick Cheney. Former Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld had by now rejected

President Bush's offer as Iran was one of the tools serving the axis of evil and that the religious political system in Iran must be eliminated (Parsi 2007).

4 THE AMERICAN CENTURY DEAL INTERNATIONALLY IMPACT: AMERICANIZATION MIDDLE EAST

The Americanization Middle East means that the largest number of Middle east states must be dependent on USA, and in another novel it means that most of the states if not all should be created by the United States way. Therefore, the American project for the Middle East aims to reshape the region and establish American areas of influence by working on several axes, including (Saif 2006):

First, Iran's ambitions are curtailed by carrot and stick policy. The threat of US military force is frequently used, while other incentives are offered to Iran in order to stop Iranian support for Islamic resistance movements such as Hamas and Hezbollah.

Second, to give Israel the opportunity to eliminate the causes of tension in the region, which the United States believes lies in the Palestinian cause, and therefore releases Israel's hand to eliminate any Palestinian forces carrying the banner of resistance such as Hamas and Islamic Jihad.

Thirdly: the focus of direct American hegemony on oil to impose indirect American influence on the

global economy by controlling oil supplies to China, Japan and Europe.

The link between the two issues (the Iranian nuclear and the Palestinian issue) at the regional level is the beginning of an agreement at the international level through direct US intervention, both at the political level or military in imposing solutions on the parties to the conflict and then restructuring the Middle East according to the American concept, Especially with the absence of a strong Middle Eastern state capable of controlling it (not a major Iran, not a major Israel, not a major Turkey, nor a major Islamic caliphate). The unilateral regime that governs the international community - the United States - wants to find a way to resolve political and military differences. , And turning the Middle East into a second American spot after the European Union, which is the first spot of the American way (Channel 9, 2017).

5 CONCLUSION

US President Donald Trump wants to hit two birds with one stone: the solution of the Iranian nuclear file and the Palestinian issue. The nature of Trump's background is business, his handling of these files is not based on political concepts or international relations, On the Middle East, but the reality is that he is the president of the United States of America and must be dealt with on this basis.

The Arab and Islamic parties, whether on the official or popular level, have rejected the deal of the century because of the irrational concessions that the Palestinian people have. But at the same time, the century's deal must be invested in the interest of the Palestinian cause. Is an international solution, not regional or local.

REFERENCES

- Adnan A. Saudi Arabia between Iran and Israel: Geography is defined as the identity of the main enemy <https://bit.ly/2uT15SZ>: Al Arab Newspaper; 2015 [cited 2017 Dec 13 th].
- Center M. America's new strategy in the Middle East <http://rawabetcenter.com/archives/42356>: ALrawabet Center for Research and Strategic Studies.; 2017 [cited 2018 May 17th].
- Channel9, 2017 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2M2YAILf_zl&t=474s: [cited 2018 May 20th].
- CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, 1995.

- Khalid A. The split of the Arab states lost the Palestinian cause <http://www.elbalad.news/3067881>: el-balad; 2017 [cited 2018 May 17th].
- Noman E. «Deal of the Century»: starting with Palestine and its axis Syria and end Iran? <http://www.alquds.co.uk/?p=925671>: Al Quds Al Arabi Newspaper; 2018 [cited 2018 May 16th].
- Parsi T. TREACHEROUS ALLIANCE the secret dealings of israel, iran, and the united states. <http://solargeneral.org/wp-content/uploads/library/traacherous-alliance-trita-parsi.pdf>: Yale University, the United States of America 2007. Pp 243-246.
- PUBLIC LAW 104-45—NOV. 8. JERUSALEM EMBASSY ACT OF 1995. <https://www.congress.gov/104/plaws/publ45 /PLAW - 104publ45.pdf>:
- Rashed S. Trump to a new presidential term <https://bit.ly/2NQo5GU>: Al Watan Press & Publishing; 2017 [cited 2018 May 15th].
- Saif T. Americanization Middle East Projects <http://www.alittihad.ae/wajhatdetails.php?id =23047>: Al Itihad newspaper UAE; 2006 [cited 2017 May 15th].
- Short C. beyond Trump's "Deal of the Century" http://studies.aljazeera.net/mritems/Documents/2018/6 /24/2b95327ca25c4744affe7469a 7342359_100.pdf: Al Jazeera Centre for Studies, 2018. Pp 4-8.
- Studies AJCf. Trump's recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and its aftermath. <http://studies.aljazeera.net/ar/positionestimate/2017/12/171211121619961.html>: Al Jazeera Center for Studies, 2017.
- Unit MaA. What after the declaration of Trump Jerusalem as the capital of Israel? <http://bit.ly/2IG7unh>: Center for Strategic Thought Studies, 2017. Pp 4-5.
- Uskowi N. Examining Iran's Global Terrorism Network. <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/testimony/UskowiTestimony20180417.pdf>: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2018. Pp 2-4.
- WAXMAN OB. The 1995 Law Behind President Trump's Plan to Move the U.S. Embassy in Israel to Jerusalem <http://time.com/5049019/jerusalem-embassy-history/>: Time Inc; 2017 [cited 2018 Feb 6th].