



Analysis of the Geopolitical Aspects of the Trump Plan

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On January 28, 2020, the US President Donald Trump unveiled his long-awaited Vision for Palestinian-Israeli peace. It is true that Trump's Plan was named after the American president who supposedly drafted and scrutinized the Plan, yet it is no secret that it is the Israelis who planned and sketched out its features for it reflects their vision of how to conclude negotiations with the Palestinians. The details of the Plan clearly reveal the difference between representation of Palestinian rights, and Israeli ambitions to camouflage and continue their occupation.

The narrative of Trump's Plan cannot be further from truth and reality when it tries to sell the distorted Israeli version that: "the Israeli withdrawal from territory captured in a defensive war is a historical rarity and that the State of Israel and the United States do not believe the State of Israel is legally bound to provide the Palestinians with 100 percent of pre-1967 territory (a belief that is inconsistent with United Nations Security Council Resolution 242)".¹ The Plan states that it provides "for the transfer of sizeable territory by the State of Israel -- territory to which Israel has asserted valid legal and historical claims, and which are part of the ancestral homeland of the Jewish people -- which must be considered a significant concession".

This article will analyze the geopolitical aspects of the published Plan, although we are aware that the Israeli and American teams are working on the detailed maps.

In general, the broad lines of Trump's Plan will allow Israel to annex 32 per cent of the West Bank (WB) territory as follows:

¹ UNSCS/RES/242(1967)22 November 1967

explicitly emphasizes the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every State in the area can live in security, via:

- (i) Withdrawal of Israel armed forces from territories occupied during conflict;
- (ii) Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force;
 - (a) guarantee of freedom of movement,
 - (b) achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem;

- 1- the western terrains of the WB; the western zone; the isolated area between the annexation wall and the 1949 Armistice Line² (the Green Line), an area of about 12.5 per cent (705 sq km) of the WB including East Jerusalem (EJ);
- 2- the eastern terrains of the WB (the eastern zone); the Jordan Valley and the coastal areas of the Dead Sea, an area of about 18.5 per cent (1036 sq km) of WB land;
- 3- 10 enclaves that incorporate remote Israeli settlements;
- 4- corridors intended to link the eastern and western zones of the WB, which simultaneously divide Palestinian areas from each other geographically into isolated entities. The three corridors that link the western and eastern zones are:³
 - the settlement bloc of Karni Shamron (east of Qalqiliya governorate);
 - the settlement bloc of Ariel (east of Salfit governorate);
 - the Beit El community from within Ramallah governorate to the Jordan Valley. In addition, there is a fourth corridor that starts in the south of the WB from the settlement of Beit Yair on the Green Line, south of the Palestinian towns of Samou and Yattato, to the controversial Israeli-controlled (H2)⁴ area east of the city of Hebron, where the settlement of Kiryat Arba and other settlements and outposts intrude into the Palestinian geography, and where Israel would maintain control under the Trump Plan.

Within the total area (1763 sq km) to be annexed according to the Trump Plan lie 105 Palestinian localities (see Tables 1 & 2); 33 of these are located in Area B⁵ (pop: 03,000), 52 localities are in Area C⁶ (pop: 16,000), 20 localities in EJ (pop: 281,000), in addition to 56 Bedouin communities and **See Map 1 & Map 2.**

² The 1949 Armistice Agreements (Armistice Line) are a set of armistice agreements signed during 1949 between Israel and countries with which it went to war 1948: Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan, and Syria to formally end the war. Also known as the Green Line.

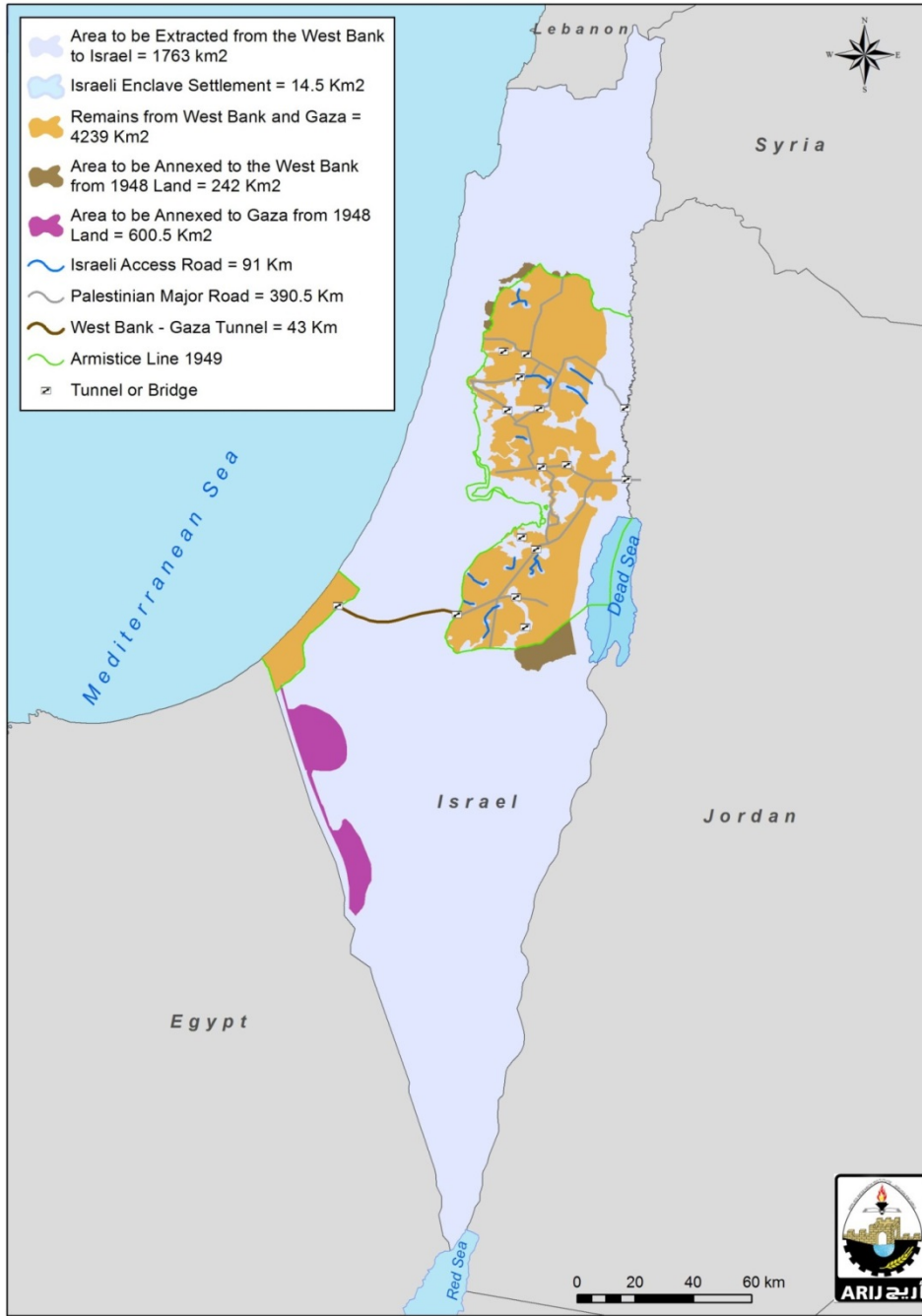
³ An area that stretches along the eastern part of the West Bank, from Tubas governorate in the far northeast of the West Bank and all the way to the southeast part of Hebron governorate and ranging in width between 15 and 20 km.

⁴ Under the Hebron Protocol of 1997, the city is divided into two sectors: H1, controlled by the Palestinians, and H2, about 20 per cent of the city, administered by Israel.

⁵ A term used in the 1995 Oslo Accords, Area B constitutes 18.5 per cent of the West Bank. It designates an area that is administered by the Palestinian Authority but where Israel still has control of security.

⁶ A term used in the 1995 Oslo Accords. Area C constitutes 61 per cent of the West Bank. It designates an area that remains under full Israeli military occupation.

Map 1. Outline of the Trump Plan



Map 2. Palestinian localities enclaved in the proposed annexed area

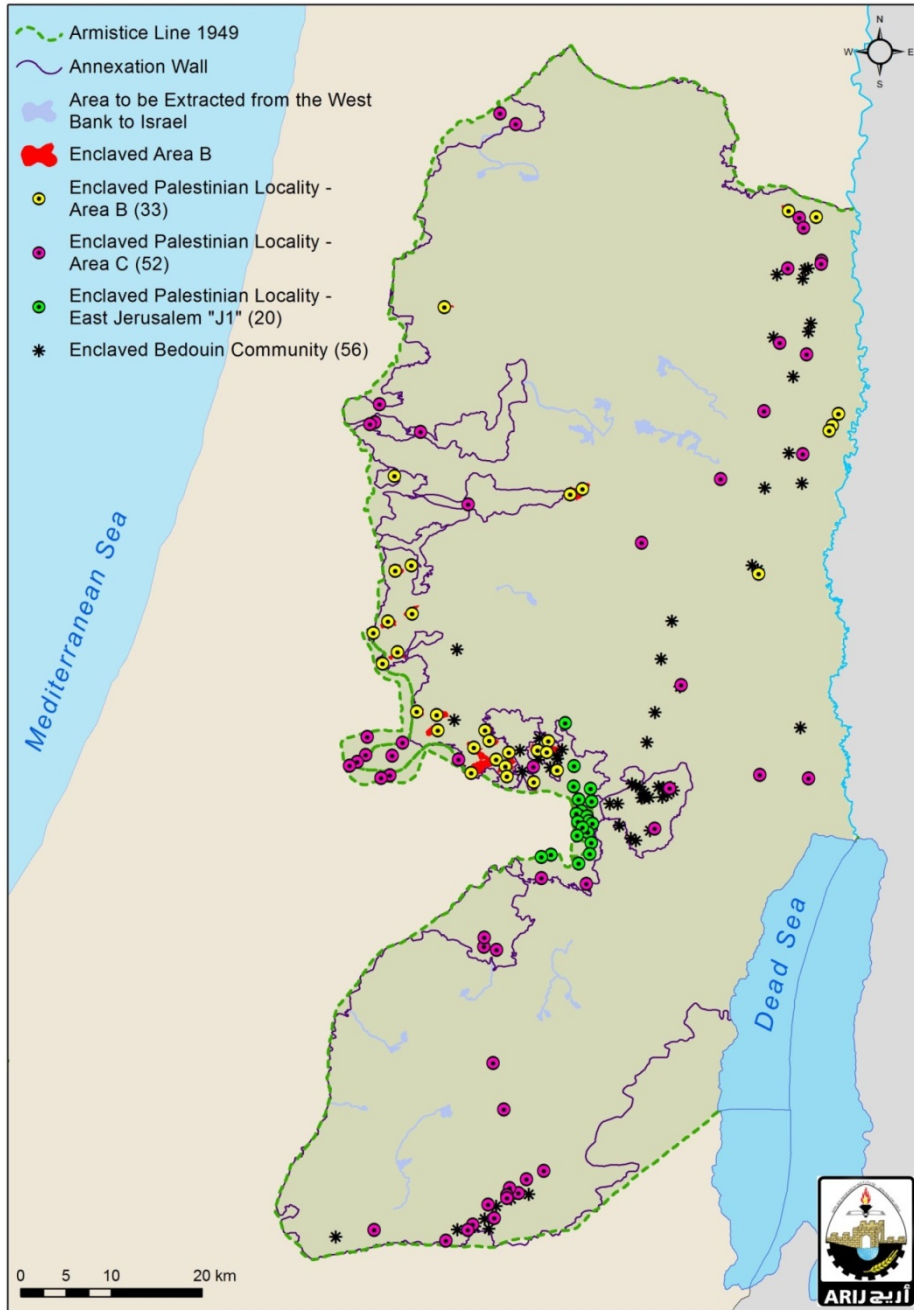


Table. 1-Enclaved Palestinian localities in Area “B”

Al Haffasi	Beit Sira	Fasayil	At Tira
Al Jib	Beit Surik	Iskaka	Az Zubeidat
Al Judeira	Biddu	Kharbatha al Misbah	'Azzun 'Atma
Al Lubban al Gharbi	Bir Nabala	Marj al Ghazal	Bardala
Al Midya	Budrus	Marj Na'ja	Beit 'Anan
Al Qubeiba	'Ein el Beida	Ni'lin	Beit Duqqu
Shuqba	Qatanna	Beit Hanina al Balad	Beit Iksa
Yasuf	Qibya	Beit Ijza	Beit Liqya
Rantis			

Table. 2-Names of Enclaved Palestinian localities in Area “C”

Al Jiftlik	Salbit	An Nabi Samuel
Al Khalayil	Al Farisiya	Ar Rakeez
Al Latroun	Imneizil	Beit Nuba
Al Malih	Deir Hajla	Khallet al Balluta
Imwas	Bir Onah	Ar Rajman and Ad Dawa
Yalu	Khirbet Zanuta	Khallet 'Afana
Birin	Qawawis	Badiw al Mu'arrajat
Al Hadidiya	Furush Beit Dajan	Khirbet Tell el Himma
An Nabi Musa	'Arab ar Ramadin ash Shamali	Arab Al-Khouleh
Al Mefqara	Khirbet ar Ras al Ahmar	Beit Mahseer
Khallet an Nu'man	Shi'b al Batim	Tuba
Kardala	Al Ka'abina (Tajammu' Badawi)	Umm al Khair
Khallet Sakariya	Beit Ayyoub	'Arab Abu Farda
Haribat an Nabi	Al Bouaierah (Al Baq'a)	Arab ar Ramadin al Janubi
Umm ar Rihan	Izbat Abu 'Adam	Arab al Jahalin (Salamat)
At Tuwani	Khirbet Ghuwein al Fauqa	Kharayib Umm al Lahim
Khirbet Sarra	Dhafer al Malih, Sadit athaleh	Ein El- Hilua

Transportation corridors included in this Plan create transportation contiguity that is allegedly meant to reduce the need for checkpoints, and to enhance mobility and the quality of life and commerce for the Palestinian people, but it is evident that the 14 bridges or tunnels referred to in the Plan perpetuate the apartheid regime. **See Map 3.**

Map 3: Proposed transportation contiguity plan

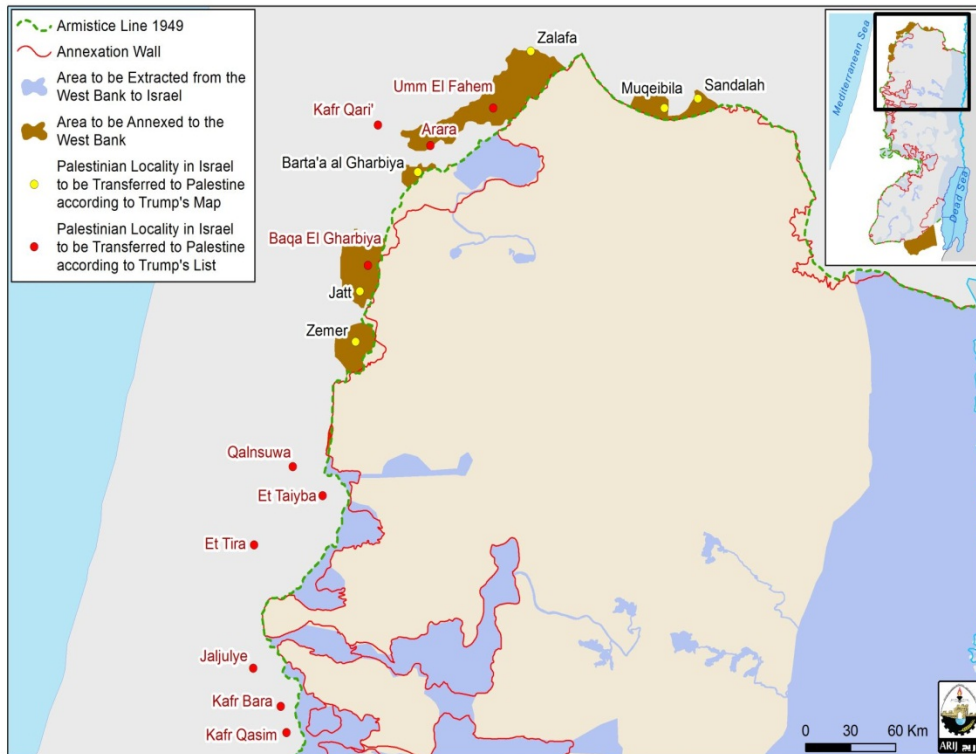


An Unwanted Land Swap

The unilateral approach in the Trump Plan proposes that a number of Palestinian localities located on the other side of the 1949 Armistice Line (the Green Line) in the north and northwest of the WB should be annexed into the WB territory, thereby altering the demarcation of the Green Line.

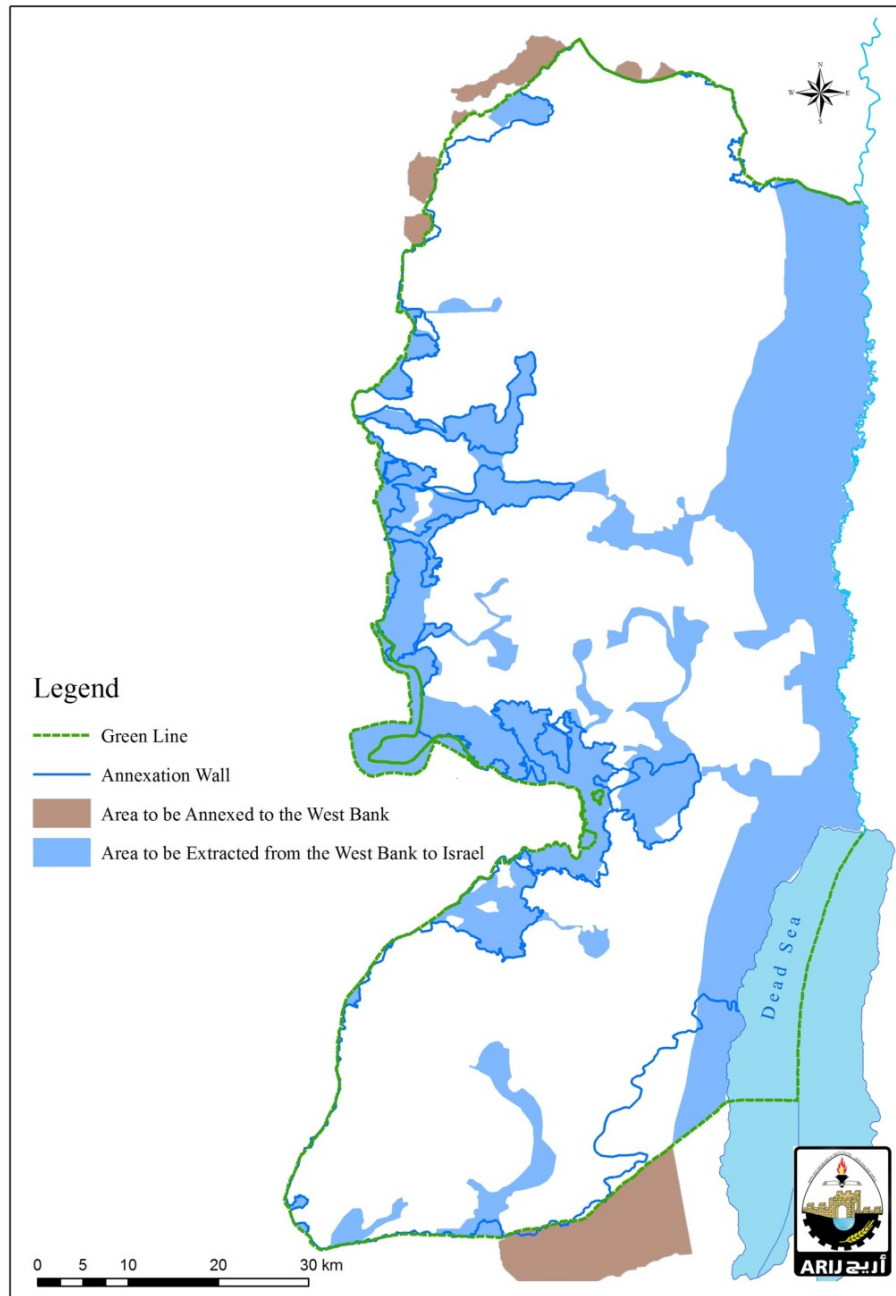
It is worth noting here that the Palestinian localities named in the written text of the Trump Plan are different from those located on the map presented by Trump. Thus, while the written text of the Plan refers to the names of 10 Palestinian localities (Al-Taibah, Qalansawa, Baqa al-Gharbiya, Jaljuliya, Kafr Qara, Kafr Qasim, Al-Tira, Umm Coal, Arara, and Kafr Bara), with a population of more than 257,000 Palestinians, the Trump map refers to six different Palestinian localities: Sandalah, Muqibla, Zimer, Jatt, Zalafah, and Barta'a Gharbiya with a population of approximately 34,000 Palestinians. Therefore, the proposed relocation remains open to doubt as the numbers swing between 10 and 16 localities with a total population of more than 290,000 Palestinians, constituting 15.2 per cent of the total Palestinian population remaining beyond the Green Line. According to the Trump Plan, the area of land of the 16 Arab-Palestinian localities to be annexed to the WB totals 242 sq km. **See Map 4.**

Map 4. The plan for 1948 Palestinian localities



Furthermore, the Plan also revealed an additional area of land to be annexed to the WB: 180 sq km of land located across the Green Line in the southeast of the WB (southeast of Hebron governorate and along the Green Line), that is also part of the scheme to redraw the Green Line. It should be noted that the land designated for “swap” is a barren area and not suitable for cultivation or development. **See Map 5.**

Map 5. The plan for the southern Hebron area



The unambiguous reality of such unilateral and selective “land swaps” is primarily to reduce Palestinian demography beyond the Green Line and within Israel, which is concerned about the rapid demographic growth of the Palestinian community. Hence, the Plan suggests that the Palestinian residents of the targeted localities should continue to

live in these localities but should reclassify their status from citizens of the Israeli State to become citizens of the State of Palestine (to be).

It goes without saying that this entire part of the Plan is distinctly racist as it is based on racial and ultimately religious domination. It panders to the Israel goal of defining itself as a Jewish State, a goal shared almost entirely by Israelis of all walks of life, and by the current administration of the White House which declared Israel a Jewish State.

The Trump Plan also included arrangements for the Gaza Strip (GS), specifically a designated road that links Gaza and the WB. Palestinians perceive this as yet another sham scheme that will never materialize on the ground unless the Israelis design the road to fulfill their purposes and their pretext of “security needs”. A similar road was agreed upon in the internationally validated Oslo Accords but Israel disavowed its obligations in the years that followed.

Nonetheless, the Plan showed two locations in Gaza (to the south along the Egyptian border going towards the Al-Naqab (Negev) desert) to establish a techno/industrial city and another agro/residential one. The access to the two locations is yet to be determined but is anticipated to be beyond the framework of Palestinian control (the Palestinians are likely to have an administrative and logistical mandate) and would be via a designated road that would most likely be under Israeli security control. See Map 6.

Map 6. The plan for Gaza



The Plan also designated a section of the Israeli-controlled Ashdod sea-port (north of the GS) to be operated by the Palestinians. Israel will maintain absolute security control and Palestinians would manage the logistics of shipping and clearing operations, etc. However, all these promises will be subject to pre-emptive conditions, the first of which is that the Palestinian declare a ceasefire with Israel; the second is that they (again the Palestinians) complete demilitarization of the GS and adopt a regime based on the rule of law. This would ensure a sound and a safe environment to give the international community confidence in their future investments against any imminent or potential possibility of renewed confrontations.

On the eastern terrains of the WB, the Plan stipulates that Israel will maintain absolute control of the border area with Jordan, which stretches along the Jordan River east of the Jordan Valley, and of the Dead Sea area, including the land across from it. The Plan states that, “Israel should work with the Palestinian government to negotiate an agreement in which existing agricultural enterprises owned or controlled by Palestinians shall continue without interruption or discrimination, pursuant to appropriate licenses or leases granted by the State of Israel”.

The State of Israel will allow the State of Palestine to develop a resort area in the north of the Dead Sea “without prejudice to the State of Israel’s sovereignty at such location, including, without limitation, Israel’s sovereignty to the shoreline. The presence of the Palestinian resort area along the coast of the Dead Sea will not alter the distribution arrangements between the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the State of Israel for natural resources in the Dead Sea. The State of Israel and the State of Palestine will establish a road that will allow the Palestinians to travel from the State of Palestine to this resort area, subject to Israeli security considerations”. Thus, the Trump Plan abolishes the riparian rights of Palestinians to the Jordan River and Dead Sea. It is worth mentioning that under the Johnston Plan, a West Ghor Canal was planned to provide the Palestinians with 250 MCM per year but this plan was not implemented.

Moreover, the Trump Plan gives Israel the right to absolute control over all Palestinian airspace under the pretext of security imperatives and to protect itself from any possible attack on it. This is in addition to Israel's right under the Plan to enter Palestinian areas or the future Palestinian state under the necessity of security reasons to eliminate anything that threatens its security.

Jerusalem

The city of Jerusalem was and still is the focus of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This is why some hours after the occupation of EJ, Israel almost immediately commenced ground work to prove or cultivate a legacy for its claim in order to declare Jerusalem as its capital.

Despite relentless attempts and efforts to affirm Jerusalem as its capital, Israel as an occupying power failed to persuade the world to adopt its position. Israel persevered during the decades that followed to legitimize its claim over Jerusalem. However, its efforts were repeatedly met with rejection and successive decisions by international bodies, including the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council, on the illegality of EJ becoming part of the capital of the occupying state of Israel.

On October 23, 1995, (under the Clinton Administration), Israel's relentless pursuit to realize their objective regarding Jerusalem almost became a reality when the US House of Congress and Senate made an unprecedented decision to recognize the city of Jerusalem as the eternal and united capital of the State of Israel. The decree was converted into a law on November 8, 1995. This unlawful recognition came 41 days after the signing in Washington on September 28, 1995, of the Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement on the WB and the GS. The decision was put on hold pending the signature of the US President to render the law effective.

From that time, a "special postponement" was signed by the US President every six months under the pretext of national security. This routine continued during the

consecutive administrations of President Clinton, President George W. Bush, President Obama, and up to the first round of the current President Trump signing the first "special postponement" in the month of June 2017. However, in an unprecedented step that took place on December 6, 2017, Trump announced that he would not sign the "special postponement" as he would recognize unified Jerusalem as the capital of the State of Israel. Accordingly, he issued instructions to transfer the US Embassy from Tel Aviv to occupied Jerusalem.

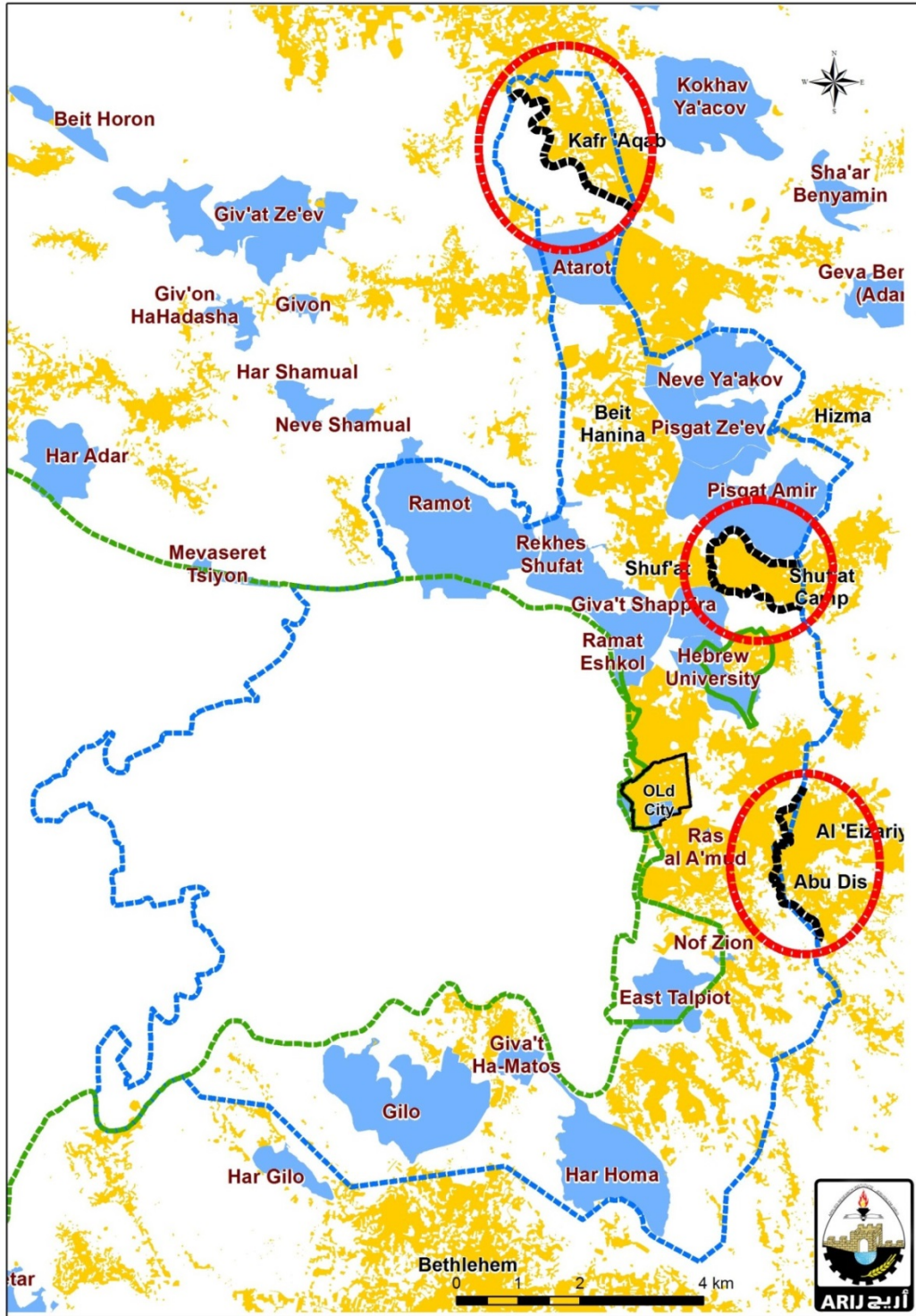
On February 23, 2018, the Trump administration announced an official decision to move the US Embassy from Tel Aviv to the US consulate site in Jerusalem (until another location for the US Embassy is determined). The actual transfer and official inauguration of the American Embassy in occupied Jerusalem took place on May 14, 2018, on the 70th anniversary of the declaration of the establishment of the State of Israel, while in parallel, the Palestinians were commemorating the 70th anniversary of the Nakba in Palestine.

These events are not a historical presentation, but rather a look at the stages that preceded the declaration of Trump Plan, in which Jews have been allowed access and even administration of the Al-Aqsa Mosque, under the pretext of freedom of access to all sacred areas for all religions and worshipers, with specific reference to the Al-Aqsa area, known to Israelis as the Temple Mount. The Plan states, "Jerusalem's holy sites should remain open and available for peaceful worshipers and tourists of all faiths. People of every faith should be permitted to pray on the Temple Mount/Haram al-Sharif, in a manner that is fully respectful to their religion, taking into account the times of each religion's prayers and holidays, as well as other religious factors".

It is here that the American Plan really encapsulates Israel's aims as it would alter the status quo of the existing arrangement on Al-Aqsa. It foresees a geographical division of the site and its administration (in terms of space and time) between Muslim and Jewish worshipers.

The Plan clearly stated that Jerusalem should not be divided. In addition, the Plan indicated that the annexation wall that encircles Jerusalem will define the city's future border. This would greatly exceed the current marked boundary of Jerusalem that was unilaterally and illegally declared by Israel following the occupation of the east of the city in 1967. The wall is a geographic barrier intended to physically separate Jerusalem from its natural extending Palestinian environment. The wall will act as a physical subdivide between the capitals of the future Palestinian and Israeli states. What is meant here - according to the Plan - is that Palestinian localities of Jerusalem outside the annexation wall, including Kafr Aqab, the eastern section of Shuafat (Shuafat camp), and Abu Dis, are areas that will constitute Palestinian Jerusalem. **See Map 7.**

Map 7. The plan for Jerusalem



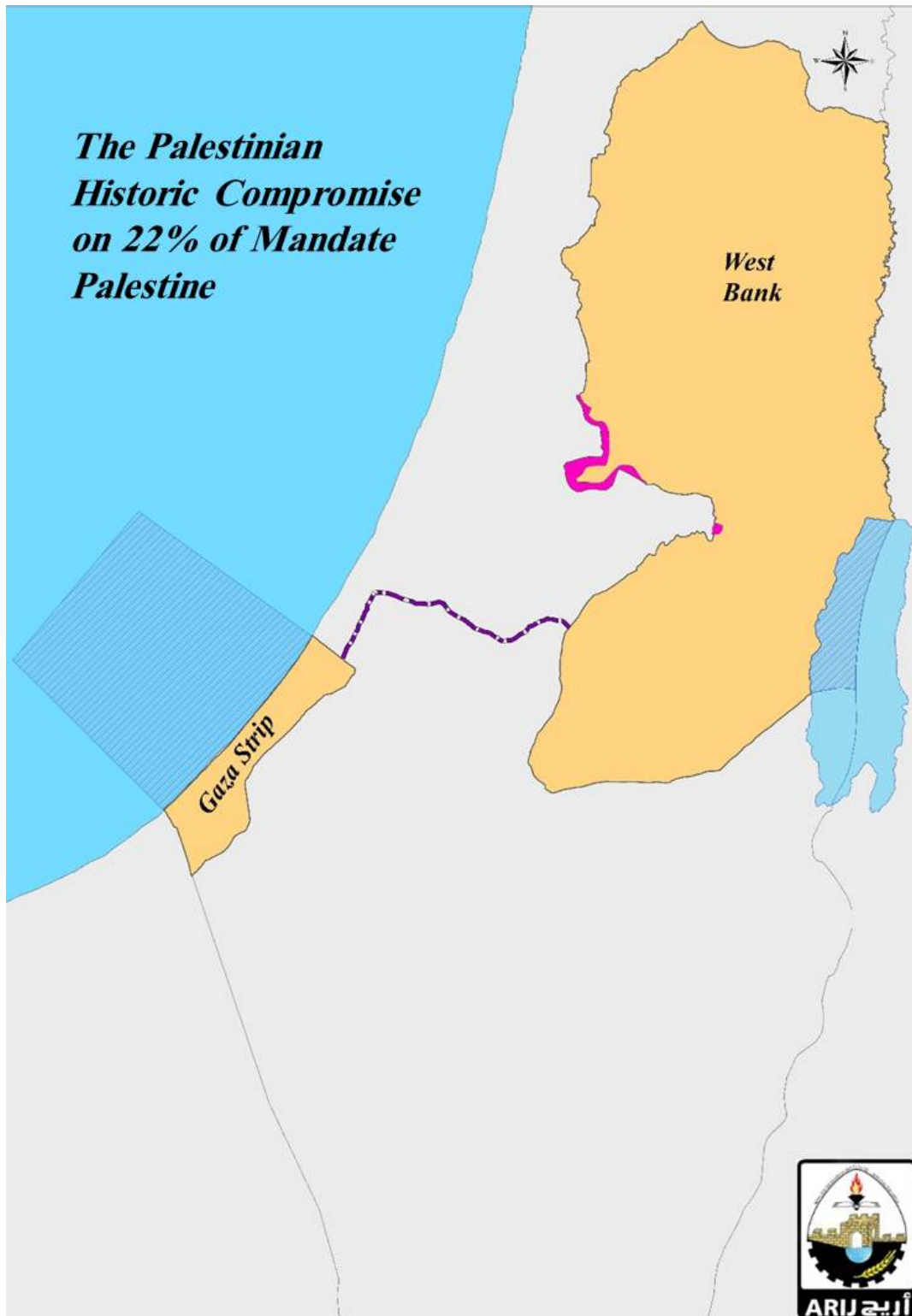
The ramifications of the Trump Plan for geographical separation go beyond land and space, but really reflect the goal of demographic distribution sought by Israel on the ground by separating the Jerusalem localities outside the so-called Israeli Jerusalem municipality and excluding some 150,000 Palestinians from the new borders of occupied Jerusalem (what will be called Greater Jerusalem). This would reduce the Palestinian presence from the current rate of 37 per cent of the total population of Jerusalem to a range of between 15-18 per cent of the total number of residents of the occupied city.

The Plan provides Palestinians who remain within the illegally declared “capital” of Israel in occupied East Jerusalem with three options: 1) to remain or become a citizen of the State of Israel; 2) to become a citizen of the State of Palestine; 3) to maintain their current status as permanent residents of Israel.

Not for sale

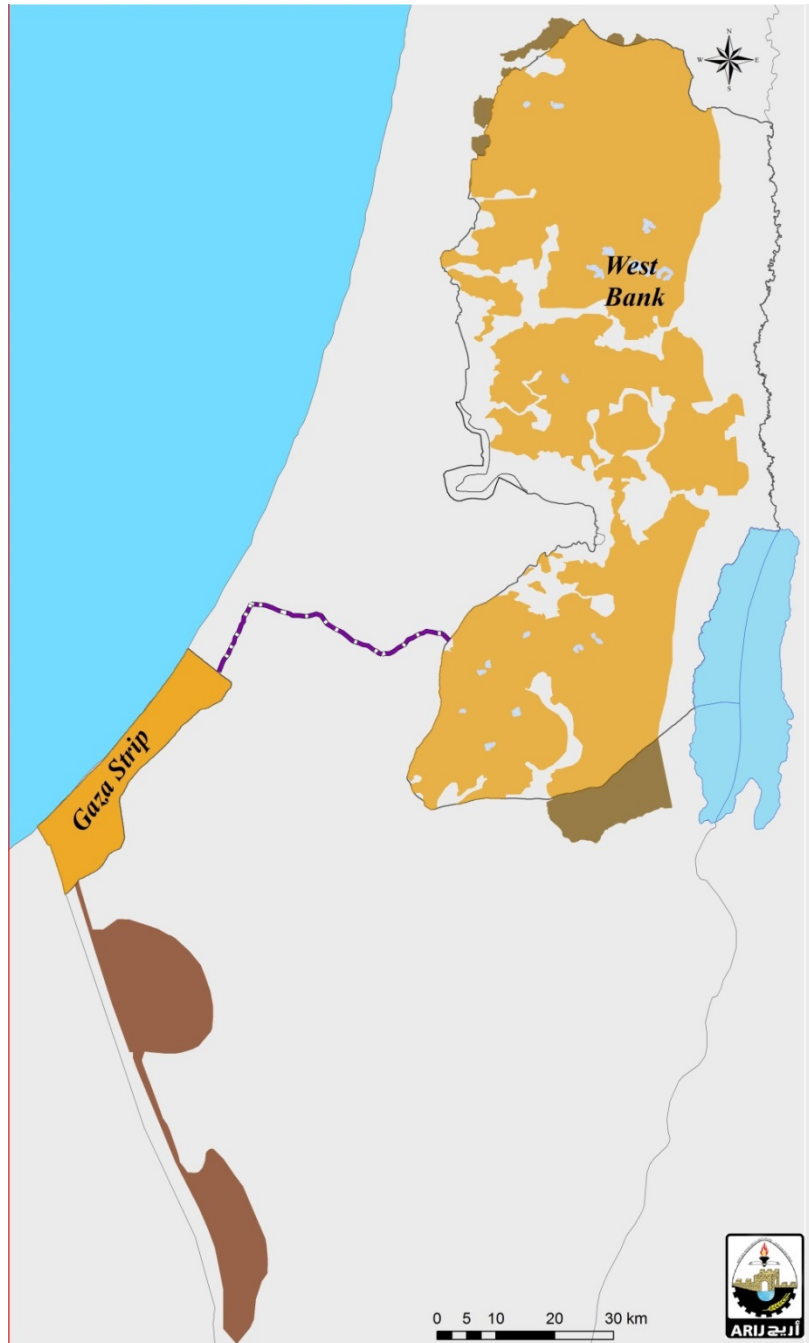
For decades, the Palestinian people have sought to achieve their dream to establish and live in a country of their own and enjoy the right of self-determination. When the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), as the official and only representative of the Palestinian people, decided to engage in the peace process with Israel, it conceded to establish a Palestinian state on the land occupied by Israel in the 1967 war (on 22 per cent of historical Palestine), with East Jerusalem as its capital. **See Map 8**

Map 8. The Palestinian historic compromise



This analysis of the Trump Plan clearly shows that Palestinian aspirations for a just and comprehensive peace based on the two-state solution have been replaced with a map of capitulation that perpetuates the colonization of Palestine.

Map 9. The capitulation map



The peace process, which was overseen under international auspices, was based in essence on realizing a two-state solution. However, Israel continued to pursue its long-standing record of violations of international law, with its settlement construction, house demolition, land confiscation, restrictions on freedom of movement, and theft of Palestinian resources.

The lack of any deterrence from those involved in the peace process and the international community only encouraged Israel to continue its transgressions despite all the statements of denunciation by the international community. The apathy exhibited by the US as the main broker of the peace process was no less harmful and encouraged the occupation to continue its systematic and methodical aggression over the 25 years following the signing of the Declaration of Principles (DoP).

Unstinting support from the US in the legal battles fought within the UN, financial aid in the form of grants and loan guarantees, and in military and defense, necessitates intervention by third parties, or a more active role by the European Union, Russia, and the Quartet to restrain Israel's sway over the United States and in the United Nations. This could also help the peace process back on track and restore Palestinian rights.

At this point, the Palestinian people need extraordinary support in the face of the Trump Plan, which has proved to be nothing less than the long-term plan of Israel and mirrors the outcome it desires from the peace process. The Trump-Israel Plan aims to consolidate Israel's hold over what remains of Palestine, and thus the Palestinians, by fortifying the Israeli matrix of land control through its settlements, road network, natural resources, and borders. Israel also seeks to create a subordinate and dependent Palestinian economy that may never achieve economic independence. Furthermore, the Trump Plan also demands that Palestinians do not to join any international organizations and must end endeavors to pursue Israel and/or the US in any legal proceedings in international courts or bodies.

Israel already started implementation of the Trump Plan

The Trump Plan is an act of aggression against Palestinian rights and overt bias in favor of Israel. As the Plan was formulated in collaboration with Israel and without Palestinian participation, it can only be seen as void. More than that, the Plan is a distortion of the narrative of the conflict and the historical rights of Palestinians over their land and holy sites, particularly Al-Aqsa Mosque. It perpetuates the Israeli occupation as it enhances Israel's quest for the Israelization of EJ and bantustanization of the (State) of Palestine. It stands in violation of international law and of the inalienable rights of Palestinians to self-determination and sovereignty over their natural resources, particularly of their riparian rights in the Jordan River and the Dead Sea. The international community, by and large, still adheres to the two-state solution on the pre-5 June 1967 borders as the end game of Israeli-Palestinian peace. The monopoly of the US as the sole broker of peace negotiations is no longer a viable option, and the intervention of third parties is more urgent than ever to maintain whatever hope may be left.



ARIJ would like to acknowledge the support of the EU. The contents of this publication are the sole responsibility of the authors and can in no way be taken to reflect the views of the European Union.”