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**Arab Media's Representation of
Arab-Israeli Normalization Agreements**

By

Rylan L. Forester

A Proposal Submitted to the Honors Council
For Honors in Arabic and Arab World Studies

May 12, 2021

Approved by:



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Abstract:

When, on August 13, 2020, the United Arab Emirates (UAE) announced it was normalizing relations with the state of Israel, few could have predicted the effects it would have. However, since the Emirati decision, three other Arab countries - Bahrain, Sudan, and Morocco - have reached agreements with Tel Aviv to normalize relations. Such events are a sharp divergence from the status quo and thus, this thesis examines, through the application of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and analyzed through a constructivist framework, how three Arab media sources - Al-Jazeera, Al-Arabiya, and Al-Mayadeen - discuss and represent these normalization agreements.

This thesis begins by covering the relevant background history from the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as well as the history behind the Arab media sources and how they fit into the geopolitical context of the region. Next, the constructivist theoretical framework is discussed as well as a literature review and application of CDA. Chapter three discusses the relevant data from each media source broken down by its CDA subcategory: narrative, transitive, and lexical. Finally, the section concludes with an analysis of the critical themes exposed throughout the data which reflects whether the current Israeli-Palestinian conflict is still explained by constructivism. After the concluding chapter, attached is a work cited with links to the articles used for the data in this study. However, these links will bring one to articles in Arabic so appended at the end of the paper are the translations for every article used during the research process. By the end of this paper, it should be clear not only the role these Arab media sources serve in the geopolitical context of the region but also how recent normalization agreements have affected an Arab consensus, as explained by constructivism, regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

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Chapter I: Introduction and Background

Thesis Statement and Relevance:

The topic of Israel and Palestine has been investigated, researched, and analyzed by scholars and commentators from around the world since the nineteenth century. This thesis' aim is to serve as an investigation and analysis, using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), to examine how the recent normalization agreements between Israel and Arab countries - the UAE, Bahrain, Morocco, and Sudan - are portrayed and represented in three Arab media sources - Al-Jazeera, Al-Arabiya, and Al-Mayadeen - in order to highlight the role these Arab media sources serve in the geopolitical context of the region but also how recent normalization agreements have affected Arab consensus regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Furthermore, the application of the constructivist theoretical framework will serve to investigate how an Arab consensus vis-a-vis the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been reinforced or contradicted through the representation of recent normalization agreements.

Overall, the findings from this project will work to critique and add on to previous research conducted using CDA in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (as reviewed in the Literature Review section of CDA). However, the timeliness of this project will work to highlight the trend and fracture in Arab countries' level of support for the Palestinian cause, which is only recently being increasingly exposed. As more Arab countries and others seek closer ties with Israel, at the governmental level, a fracture of support for the Palestinian cause will increase. Thus, this research study will be an appropriate indicator of developments or resolve in foreign policy aspects regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Furthermore, by comparing the different representations from the three Arab media networks, it will illuminate the varying level of support for the Palestinian cause in the region.

How Palestinian demands such as the right to return, Jerusalem as the capital of Palestine, and the right to the existence of a Jewish state at all are viewed differently, and held with varying interest, by Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and Hezbollah in Lebanon based on their differing ideologies and policies. This thesis hopes to make these differences apparent as their variances complicate any solution towards Israeli-Palestinian peace.

Historical Background: Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and the Geopolitical Role of Media Sources

Before analyzing the news articles for the case studies, it is necessary to review the historical background of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as well as how the geopolitical situation between certain Middle Eastern countries is reflected and possibly affects the news coverage of normalization. As mentioned, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has its roots in the 19th century and thus, it is necessary to recount some of the most important events since Jews began immigrating to Palestine to understand the geopolitical situation today of Israel, Palestine, and the other Arab countries in the region.

In 1882, there were only around 24,000 Jews in Palestine, constituting 8% of the population. However, by 1948, a little over 60 years later, Jews made up 82.1% of their new state (“Jewish & Non-Jewish...,” 2020). What happened was Jews, largely from eastern Europe but also Yemen, began immigrating to Palestine in 1881 in what is known as the First Aliyah (a.k.a. first wave of Jewish immigration to Palestine). This wave of immigration was largely triggered by increased anti-Semitism and persecution of Jews in Europe at that time. Pogroms carried out in what was known as the ‘Pale of Settlement,’ a western region in the Russian Empire where Jews were allowed to live, beginning in 1881, triggered many Jews to immigrate to Palestine which at that time was part of the Ottoman Empire. Between 1882 and 1903 35,000 Jews (“Aliyah,” 2020), mainly from the ‘Pale,’ immigrated to Palestine.

However, other cases of anti-Semitism in Europe later in the 19th century, such as the Dreyfus affair in France, led Jews from across Europe to debate a solution to what they saw as the 'Jewish Question.' Ultimately, Theodor Herzl, a Hungarian Jew, believed the Jews would continually face persecution in foreign countries as long as they were the minority. For Herzl, the answer was obvious; the Jews needed their own state so they could become the majority. Although Herzl's idea of Political Zionism ultimately led to the modern state of Israel, it should be noted that at the time there were varying views regarding a solution to the 'Jewish Question' and many disagreed with Herzl's Political Zionism. Nevertheless, Political Zionism fueled more waves of Jewish immigration, again largely from eastern Europe, to Palestine. Between 1904 and 1914, 40,000 more Jews immigrated there as part of the 'Second Aliyah.' ("Aliyah," 2020).

The collapse of the Ottoman Empire after the conclusion of World War I (WWI) and the set of agreements that followed would further solidify Jewish immigration to Palestine. The Balfour Declaration, signed by the British towards the end of WWI supported "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people"(Augustyn, Et al. 2020). Following this declaration, as well as facilitated through the now British mandate of Palestine, 122,000 more Jews, mainly from eastern Europe, immigrated to Palestine ("Aliyah," 2020). However, the British policy of open Jewish immigration to Palestine and the land purchases ultimately led to violence between Arab and Jewish communities as well as against the British rule. In the 1920's there were constant Arab Palestinian riots and Arab-Jewish violence throughout the British Mandate targeting Jewish settlements and the growing population of Jews in Palestine (Shields, 2020). As well, referred to as the Great Revolt or the Great Palestinian Revolt, similar Arab-Jewish clashes lasted between 1936 and 1939 in which thousands of Palestinian Arabs were killed (Kelly, 2017: 2).

Jewish immigration briefly slowed down after this period because of the British's White Paper of 1939 which limited Jewish immigration into Palestine so as to address the cause of Arab-Jewish violence. However, because of the worsening situation for Jews in Europe due to the events of the Holocaust, illegal immigration continued and even increased ("Aliyah," 2020). At the end of WWII, the British Empire had neither the financial capacity nor the desire to continue their mandate over Palestine. In 1947, the newly created United Nations (UN) took up the task of finalizing what Palestine would look like after the British withdrawal. The international body, as stated in UN Resolution 181, decided to partition Palestine into a Jewish and Arab state, east of the Jordan river, with Jerusalem as an internationally governed city (Etheredge, Et al. 2014). As Palestinians had no say in this decision, not to mention Jews made up just 32% of the population yet were guaranteed half of Palestine ("Jewish & Non-Jewish...", 2020), immediately fighting broke out between the two. When the British withdrew in May of 1948, Ben Gurion declared Israel's statehood, which the US recognized the same day (History.com Editors, 2020).

What followed is called the Israel's War of Independence by Jews and the Nakba (or catastrophe) by Palestinians. Arab neighbors invaded Israel to support the Palestinians yet by the end of 1948 Israel had not only repelled the attacks but invaded further Palestinians lands as outlined in the UN Resolution 181. As well, 700,000 Palestinians were forced to flee their homes becoming refugees, to this day, and altering the demographics of the area, making Jews a significant majority in their new country ("Jewish & Non-Jewish...", 2020). The 1949 Armistice Agreements, under the auspices of the UN, between Israel and Egypt, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon created the borders between the new state and its Arab neighbors which would stay this

way until 1967. After the war, Israel had not only increased its size but also captured West Jerusalem.

As a response to the concern of a Jewish state in Palestine a multilateral body called the Arab League was formed. Originally comprising Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Transjordan (later Jordan), and Yemen, the League is a “close cooperation on matters of economics, communication, culture, nationality, social welfare, and health” (Aly Sergie, Et al. 2020). In 1950, the Arab League expanded its mission to military cooperation between the member states in order to strengthen Arab unity in the face of the Israeli threat. The first Arab League Summit was held in Cairo in 1964 and was convened to discuss Israel’s diversion of the headwaters of the Jordan river. As well, the summit established, which was ratified at the second summit in East Jerusalem, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) as the representative of Palestinian concerns until the creation of a Palestinian state of its own (“Arab League Summit...,” 2000).

In the Spring of 1967, tensions between Israel and Egypt started to rise because of Egypt’s threat to close the Straits of Tiran to Israeli shipping, a key water access route for Tel Aviv to the east. A similar situation took place in 1956 when Israel invaded the Sinai Peninsula to re-open the Straits for their shipping. Thus, when on May 22, 1967 Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser decided to reclose the Straits to Israel and mobilize troops in the Sinai, Tel Aviv launched an attack on June 5th which started what is known as the Six-Day War or the Al-Naksah (the setback). On the offensive, Israel quickly took over the entire Sinai Peninsula all the way up to the Suez Canal, pushed Jordan out of East Jerusalem and the entire West Bank, and defeated Syria to claim the Golan Heights (Etheredge, Et al. 2020). The War also resulted in the

further expulsion of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians from their lands as well as leading to roughly a million Palestinians being under Israeli occupation (Etheredge, Et al. 2020).

The Israeli response to the War was a policy called 'Land for Peace.' It stipulated Tel Aviv was willing to return territories taken during the '67 war for peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors. However, following the war the Arab League convened in Khartoum to establish their own policy vis-a-vis Israel which states the Three No's; No peace with Israel, No negotiations with Israel, No recognition of Israel. In line with this policy and hoping to take back their stolen lands, Egypt and Syria executed a surprise attack on Israel on October 6, 1973(History.com Editors, 2018). The war is sometimes referred to as the Yom Kippur War because when the Syrians and Egyptians attacked most of the Israeli Defense Force (IDF) was away observing the holiday. Thus, the two Arab countries, along with Iraq and Jordan which joined soon after the original assault, made early advances against the Israelis. However, eventually the IDF pushed the Arab countries back to the post'67 borders and only twenty days later a United Nations ceasefire was secured (History.com Editors, 2018).

Egyptian President Anwar Sadat opted for a different approach just five years later when, on September 17, 1978, Egypt and Israel agreed to the Camp David Accords laying the foundation for a peace agreement between the two countries a year later (Carter, 2020). In the peace treaty Israel agreed to withdraw from the Sinai Peninsula and Egypt normalized relations with Tel Aviv. Egypt was heavily criticized by its Arab countries for deviating from the Arab consensus established in Khartoum in 1967(Carter, 2020). In 1993, another breakthrough in Arab-Israeli relations took place when the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Israeli government agreed on a set of accords known as the Oslo Accords (Shlaim, 2005). The agreement had PLO renounce terrorism and recognize Israel's right to exist in peace while the

Israelis accepted the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people (“The Oslo Accords...,” 2017). As well, both sides agreed that a Palestinian Authority (PA) would be established and assume governing responsibilities in the West Bank and Gaza Strip over a five-year period (“The Oslo Accords...,” 2017). According to the Oslo Accords, the Palestinian Authority would slowly gain control over time once other permanent talks on issues such as Palestinian sovereignty, settlements, Palestinian refugees, and Jerusalem were resolved (“The Oslo Accords...,” 2017). Yet, ultimately, many of the terms included in the Accords never came to fruition and a final deal to conclude what was originally started in Oslo was never struck as to this day the West Bank remains occupied by the IDF.

The Oslo Accords were controversial for both Palestinians and Israelis to the point where, in 1995, an orthodox Jewish student opposed to Israeli withdrawals from the occupied West Bank assassinated Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin who had signed the agreements only a few years earlier (“History of the...,” 2001). One year later, Benjamin Netanyahu, leader of the Zionist right Likud party, won a majority in the parliamentary elections on a platform opposing the Oslo Accords. In late 2000, Ariel Sharon, the leader of the Likud party, marked a turning point in a further deterioration of Israeli-Palestinian relations when he visited the Temple Mount (known to Palestinians and Muslims as al-Aqsa Mosque) with 1,000 Israeli soldiers. Protests by Palestinians over Sharon’s actions and Israeli occupation of Palestinian territories turned violent in what became known as the “al-Aqsa *Intifada*” or more commonly known as the Second Intifada.

In response to continued Israeli-Palestinian violence, Saudi Arabia proposed the Arab Peace Initiative at the 2002 Beirut Arab League summit, a comprehensive plan aimed at ending the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (“Arab Peace Initiative,” 2010). The plan was endorsed by all 22

members of the League and outlined recognition of and normalization with Israel in exchange for withdrawing from all land captured during the 1967 War as well as “the restoration of a Palestinian state with east Jerusalem as its capital and a ‘fair solution’ for the 3.8 million Palestinian refugees”(“Arab Peace Initiative,” 2010). However, the same day the Initiative was signed in Beirut, a hotel during a Passover seder was bombed by a Hamas militant. Hamas is a Palestinian resistance group that is rooted in its disagreement with the PLO over their signing of the Oslo Accords with Israel (Lichfield, 2011). The group has its founding in the Gaza Strip and thus, in response to the attack, Israeli Prime Minister Sharon gave the go ahead to Operation Defensive Shield, a raid into Ramallah and occupation of the Gaza Strip, which only ended in February of 2004 when Sharon’s administration dismantled its settlements and withdrew from Gaza entirely(“Historical Timeline...,” 2017).

Following Israel’s withdrawal from the Gaza strip, Hamas won a majority in the Palestinian elections and took over Gaza in 2007. After Hamas took over the Gaza Strip and separated itself from the ruling Fatah party in the West Bank, Israel and Egypt imposed a land and sea blockade that persists to this day. The blockade essentially bans all imports and exports from Gaza as well as severely limits, and at times halts, the movement of people from Gaza into Israel (“About the Gaza Blockade,” 2020). After more than a decade of this condition, the residents of Gaza have become some of the poorest in the world under what some call, “an illegal form of collective punishment against the Gaza population” (“About the Gaza Blockade,” 2020).

The Arab League in 2007 and again in 2011 in an attempt to reignite progress on a peace solution reaffirmed their commitment to the Arab Peace Initiative proposed at the Beirut Summit (“Arab Peace Initiative,” 2010). Although Israeli officials said the “spirit” of the proposal was

correct, they disagreed with details of the plan which they said needed to be further negotiated (“Arab Peace Initiative,” 2010). Regardless, since returning as Israel’s Prime Minister in 2009, Benjamin Netanyahu has overseen “settlements swelling about twice as fast as Israel overall” (Ashkenas, Et al. 2015). When former US President Trump took office, Netanyahu oversaw an even more increased expansion of settler homes in the West Bank and East Jerusalem. As well, in December of 2017, President Trump announced America’s recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, which would include East Jerusalem an occupied territory according to international law and announced they would move their embassy to the holy city as well.

At the same time, the US administration, led by Jared Kushner, spearheaded the newest Middle East peace deal when it announced the ‘Deal of the Century’ earlier that year. The Deal was flatly rejected by Palestinian leadership however, it received a mix response from the Arab League. The opponents of the Deal, like Jordan, Palestine, Iraq, Tunisia, and Algeria, believe the plan is illegitimate as the Palestinian Authority was not consulted in the creation of the proposal and unfairly favored the Tel Aviv government (Abdelaziz, 2020). However, other members of the Arab League, like Egypt, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), Bahrain, Oman, and Morocco, actually offered their support for the proposal as many commentators believe “these diverse responses reflect the current political climate in the Middle East and the severe political fragmentation among Arab states”(Abdelaziz, 2020) since the Arab Spring in 2011.

The revolutions that took place across the Arab world in early 2011, since called the Arab Spring, are attributed to a movement started in Tunisia when a street vendor lit himself on fire because of the inability to sell his products due to government regulations. Protests began in Tunisia against its longstanding ruler Ben Ali but spread to neighboring Libya, Egypt, Syria, Yemen and beyond. In fact, virtually every Arab nation experienced some form of protests

against the various monarchs, dictators, and presidents of the region. Yet, ten years after these events, multiple countries are still mired in conflict (Libya, Yemen, Syria) and the democracy and civil liberties people demanded appear scarcer than ever (See Figure 1 and 2).

However, changes like the switch from secular rulers to Islamist parties leading in Tunisia and Egypt worried the monarchs of Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, and Jordan where their own governments were being criticized by similar domestic groups calling for their overthrow (Robinson, 2020). In fact, every ruler was wary of the influence outside forces might have on provoking or seizing upon the opportunity of uprisings in their country to gain influence and for good reason. From Libya, to Syria, to Yemen, Iraq, Bahrain and elsewhere since 2011, battles have been raging across the Arab world where proxies funded by Gulf states and Iran alike fight over influence in the given country (Fisher, 2016). Thus, the mixed response from Arab states regarding Trump's Deal of the Century has not come out of a vacuum but instead from a decade of intra-Arab mistrust and instability.

Consequently, little progress has been made in debating the usefulness of Trump's Deal yet, starting in August, US efforts culminated in the normalization of relations between, first, the United Arab Emirates and then in September, Bahrain with Israel, making these two Gulf states only the third and fourth Arab nations to have diplomatic ties with the Jewish state. Then, in the waning months of Trump's term, two more normalization agreements were brokered between Israel and Sudan and then Israel and Morocco. It is important to note that in these two newest normalization agreements, US guarantees were given - US recognition of Morocco's claim over the Western Sahara and removing Sudan from the US's state sponsor of terrorism list - in coordination with normalization of relations with Israel.

An important aspect of this study is the geopolitical situation and role Al-Jazeera, Al-Arabiya, and Al-Mayadeen play in the Middle East as representations of the various views from the different ideologies within the region. Thus, it is necessary to explain not only who each of these actors are but also what are their links to governmental policy and what do these policies stand for generally. Al-Jazeera, the Qatari state-owned media company, was first launched in 1996 as a satellite news channel but now hosts a popular international news website as well. Their operations grew quickly and have expanded to 80 bureaus around the world. As well, Al-Jazeera played a unique and controversial role by covering developments during the 2011 Arab Spring uprisings that occurred in numerous countries throughout the Arab world, spreading the cause eastward from Tunisia (Seib, 2017). Whereas historically, Arab governments had control over what was being broadcasted to their citizens, Al-Jazeera made it possible for Egyptians to not only see the protests taking place in Tunisia but also those in Cairo.

Al-Jazeera's style caused great anger in authoritarian countries not used to being criticized by the media (Seib, 2017). Yet, although Al-Jazeera claims to be impartial, many consider the network "a de facto part of Qatar's foreign policy apparatus" (Seib, 2017). This assertion is corroborated with Wikileaks articles that laid out how the editorial team at Al-Jazeera is seen "with suspicion, referring to them at times as the KGB and CIA" (Chatriwala, 2011). Thus, in response to growing criticism of the Saudi royal family during the 1990's into the 2000's, the Saudi government launched the TV channel Al-Arabiya in neighboring Dubai to compete with Al-Jazeera's message. Al-Arabiya has been the voice of Saudi foreign policy as "the network is also seen, however, as more or less a Saudi government propaganda arm," (Ajaoud, Et al. 2020) and contends with Al-Jazeera in depicting the narrative of events in the region.

Although both members of the Gulf Cooperation Council, an intergovernmental political and economic union of Gulf states, Qatar and Saudi Arabia, specifically since the Arab Spring, have been at odds with each other. The role of the Muslim Brotherhood, which is a transnational organization that has political parties in many Arab countries, grew in influence in many Arab states during the Arab Spring as Brotherhood parties gained power through the revolutions. Many experts believe “Saudi Arabia and the UAE particularly view Qatar’s support for Muslim Brotherhood affiliates as lethally threatening to their own regimes, and therefore see Qatar’s behavior as not merely objectionable, but utterly intolerable” (Trager, 2017).

Tensions reached a fever pitch between Qatar and Saudi Arabia when, in the summer of 2017, as a part of the thirteen demands imposed on Qatar by the governments of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, the UAE, and Bahrain demanded Qatar adhere to all points made or be subjected to a full land, sea, and air blockade by its Gulf neighbors. The thirteen demands stated Qatar must sever its relationship with Iran, close its Turkish military base, stop funding the Muslim Brotherhood, Al-Qaeda, and other terrorist groups, end interference in sovereign states’ internal affairs, and close the Al-Jazeera news station and its affiliates (“Arab States Issue...,” 2017). Qatar outright rejected the demands and since, continued efforts from these governments in the region and via lobbying in the US have worked to silence the Qatari news agency and isolate Manama. In fact, only recently has some level of rapprochement taken place in regard to this diplomatic crisis with Qatar and the Gulf Cooperation Council generally.

Al-Mayadeen is the newest of the three media companies employed in this study. Established in Beirut in 2012, many regard the network as “the anti-Al Jazeera” and pro-Syrian government and pro-Iran (“Anti-Al Jazeera’ channel...,” 2012). In fact, the first board of directors of Al-Mayadeen was previously the head of Al-Jazeera’s offices in Iran and Beirut. He

resigned and took up the job at Al-Mayadeen because of what he saw as Al-Jazeera's 'un-objective' coverage of the Syrian Civil War ("'Anti-Al Jazeera' channel...", 2012).

Ultimately, it is impossible to know for 100% certainty the degree to which editorial control is dictated by the governments funding these media networks. Leaked information and contextual clues have given the world evidence of their connection with the state apparatuses funding these networks though. Thus, in the context of this paper, it is important to highlight the identities of these backers as their interests dictate those of their respective media network. Consequently, the identity of the governments, who in some fashion exert editorial control on the media networks, represent those of the elite from each country. In Qatar, and with Al-Jazeera, this means shadowing the government's support of the Muslim Brotherhood, relations with the US, and willingness to work with Iran (Kaussler, 2015: 2-3). This may seem obvious, but it is important to delineate as the identity of Qatar, as a country, is extremely diverse as Qataris make up only about 10% of their country (Snoj, 2019).

Similarly, although based in the UAE, Al-Arabiya is financially backed by Saudi Arabia and thus takes its lead from Saudi elite and their rejection of the Muslim Brotherhood, Iran and its proxies. Like Qatar however, the UAE and Saudi Arabia contain a variety of identities within their borders, it is the Saudi and Emirati elites that Al-Arabiya represents though. Finally, Al-Mayadeen, which, as noted, is run by the former head of Al-Jazeera's Iran and Beirut offices, supports the interests of those that identify with Iran's rejection of Saudi Arabia and groups like the Muslim Brotherhood, in line with portions of governmental elites from countries like Lebanon, Syria, and Iran. Thus, when looking at the geopolitical situation of the Middle East currently, it is impossible to abstract these three media sources' news coverages from the views and ideologies of the various competing sides within the region.

Chapter II: Theoretical Framework & Methodology

Theoretical Framework: Introduction and Application of Constructivism

The origins of constructivism came about from the debate between neorealism and neoliberalism which sees “an alternative image of humans as socially embedded, communicatively constituted and culturally empowered” which explains and interprets “aspects of world politics that [are] anomalous to neorealism and neoliberalism”(Reus-Smit, 2013: 223). Constructivism disagrees with both sides, realists and liberals, and instead emphasizes “the role of identity in shaping political action” (Reus-Smit, 2013: 217). Thus, the identity of a state drives and defines its interests meaning, in essence, state behavior is socially constructed. However, it is pertinent to understand how identities within a state dictate policy. Cameron Thies’s Role Theory, which serves to explain this connection, is “premised on explaining and understanding the interaction between agents and structure” (Thies, 2012: 1). Thies and Wehner further explain that “Roles refer to both social positions in an organized group and to any socially recognized category actors (Stryker and Statham, 1985: 323)” (Wehner, 2014: 411).

Understanding the roles actors assume at the individual and state levels informs the identities and interests of these groups and thus, role theory as a subset of constructivism is applicable to this study. Furthermore, constructivists agree with liberals and realists alike that the world is an anarchic system of states. However, they believe cooperation can arise out of interactions between states because “most decisions are and should be made on the basis of probabilities, and these are produced by interaction, by what actors do” (Wendt, 1992: 404). Thus, reciprocal interaction promotes a social structure where states’ identities, and subsequently their interests, can be defined and laid out for other states to see.

Ultimately, for Wendt, “the key structures in the states system are intersubjective, rather than material” (Wendt, 1994: 385). In other words, the foundation of any state is the shared understanding of its people not the material reality of a situation. However, Wendt’s contributions to constructivism have been criticized by other constructivists that Wendt’s view of constructivism is not far enough away from neo-realism. Ted Hopf offers a view of constructivism that is more widely accepted and informs our understanding of Arab states as intersubjective, or not, vis-a-vis Israel and Palestine.

For Hopf, “society is assumed to consist of a social cognitive structure within which operate many discursive formations” (Hopf, 2002: 3). Hopf is referring to identities as formations here which highlights his notion that within any given society there are multiple identities that overlap with each other. That is why for Hopf, “a state’s own domestic identities constitute a social cognitive structure that makes threats and opportunities, enemies and allies, intelligible, thinkable, and possible” (Hopf, 2002: 16). For example, until 2021, the US never recognized the killing of roughly a million Armenians in the early 20th century as a genocide. Within the social structure of the US there are many that identify as Armenians and those that reject genocide (maybe Jews who had been through the Holocaust). Yet, recognition of the Armenian Genocide took over a hundred years because the identity of those as pro-Capitalist Americans had a superseding interest in establishing friendly relations with Turkey amidst the Cold War. Ultimately, any given state’s identity will be diverse and because of that, there are a plethora of interests that stem from this diversity. Thus, the application of constructivism in this case serves to investigate how the data from the three Arab media sources may represent a divergence or continuation of Arab countries’ policy towards the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

As laid out in the introduction to constructivist theory, identities and the interests of these groups serve as the defining factor of state's behavior. The antagonism of Arab countries, specifically Israel's neighbors, towards Tel Aviv is largely due to the shared view of the conflict and identity Palestinians have with Arabs across the region. After the 1967 Six-Days War, the Arab League held a summit in Khartoum to discuss Arab policy and specifically the most recent Israeli land grabs. In response to Israel's proposal, land for peace, the Arab countries pledged to the 'Three No's'; No peace with Israel, No recognition of Israel, No negotiations with Israel. As well, after decades of expulsion from their lands, Palestinian refugees now number in the millions in neighboring countries like Lebanon, Jordan, and Egypt. However, even as Egypt and then Jordan established relations with Israel, their citizens rejected Israeli cultural relations or further policies that would hurt Palestinians, and for the most part their leaders abided. In 2002, the Arab League reconvened for another summit, this time in Beirut, to discuss the Israel-Palestinian and Israeli-Arab conflicts. At the summit, Saudi Arabia proposed the 'Arab Peace Initiative,' a peace proposal between Israel and Palestine that was unanimously supported by member states. Yet, now, as more and more Arab countries normalize with Israel, does the constructivist framework that explained how Arab states behaved, vis-a-vis the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, still apply?

Methodology: CDA Literature Review and Framework

In this section, the study provides a literature review of Critical Discourse Analysis including its genesis, characteristics and usefulness, and past applications in a relevant context as well as a description of the methodology deployed in the analysis of articles. Sometimes referred to as Critical Linguistics (CL), it was first labelled Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) by Roger Fowler, Bob Hodge, Gunther Kress, and Tony Crew in their 1979 book *Language and Control*.

CDA has been defined as, investigating how societal power relations are established and reinforced through language use, highlighting issues of power asymmetries, manipulation, exploitation, and structural inequities in spoken and written discourse. According to Wodak, the origin of CDA comes from classical rhetoric, text linguistics and sociolinguistics, as well as applied linguistics and pragmatics. Fairclough and Wodak define the key characteristics of CDA as: CDA addresses social problems, power relations are discursive, discourse constitutes society and culture, discourse does ideological work, discourse is historical, the link between text and society is mediated, discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory, and discourse is a form of social action. Thus, CDA's lens focuses on relations of struggle and conflict in the various domains it is applied by scholars, specifically useful for a study focused around Israeli-Arab normalization agreements.

Gamson in 1992 claimed CDA is necessary because the sources through which we receive information is not neutral but parallels the power and point of view of the political and economic elite who operate and focus it. Thus, CDA offers a way to critically analyze media and illuminate how power influences news coverage. Van Dijk, in his 2001-chapter *Critical Discourse Analysis*, states that the analysis using CDA in the linguistics of media has received substantial research attention including: Bazzi, 2009; Caldas-Coulthard & Coulthard, 1996; D'Haenens & Bink, 2007; Erjavec, 2001; Fairclough, 1995b; and Fowler, 1991. As well, Van Dijk highlights the important role of politics within CDA research. Some of the most notable work has been conducted by Chilton, 2004; Chouliaraki, 2004; Fairclough, 2001; Fairclough et al., 2006; Fowler, 1979; Lazuka, 2006; and Wodak, 1989 on a variety of topics.

As for CDA research around the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, with the start of the First Intifada in December of 1987, a growing international focus came into picture and a greater

quantity of research was produced on discourse between the two sides. One of the earliest of such studies came from the Intifada Research Project which began in October 1988. Researchers sought to examine aspects of Palestinian graffiti and television coverage of the first fifteen months of the Intifada in the US, UK, West Germany, and Israel, as well as newspaper coverage from both Israeli and Palestinian sources. Nir and Roeh (1992) built on this work by examining different Israeli newspaper headlines. After the Oslo Peace Process, Wolfsfled (2004) examined how both sides competed over the news media to portray their cause and actions in a positive light. With the outbreak of the Second Intifada, *Bad News from Israel* (Philo & Berry, 2004) investigates the coverage of the Second Intifada in British TV news reports and concludes that viewers are often left ill-informed because of decontextualized reports that are produced in haste and are subject to powerful lobbies such as the Jewish lobby in the West.

Another important study was published by Grade the News Project of Stanford University (McManus, 2003) which analyzed the coverage of deaths in the Second Intifada in the *San Jose Mercury News* from April to September 2002. The study found that headlines and language emphasized Jewish suffering and Palestinian militance. Other American centered studies were undertaken like Dunsky's *Pens and Swords: How the American Mainstream Media Report the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*. However, it was not until 2009 when a notable study titled, *Arab News and Conflict: A Multidisciplinary Discourse Study*, dealt with the representation of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in Arab media in the period from 2001 to 2009. Samia Bazzi examined the representation of the conflict in different Arab news outlets such as Al-Manar, Al-Jazeera, Reuters Arabic and Associated France Press (AFP) Arabic, Assafir and Al-Mustaqbal newspapers in order to include a diverse range of Arab views. She concludes that "hegemony, interpellation, power relations, cognition and editorial control give legitimate and

logical reasons for the final semantic, structural and pragmatic choices found in a politically motivated text” (Bazzi, 2009: 181). This study looks to build on these findings incorporating the expanding field and influence of major Arab media corporations such as Al-Jazeera, Al-Arabiya, and Al-Mayadeen in the context of recent normalization agreements.

CDA Framework:

After researching various CDA frameworks for analyzing texts, the one used by Zaher (2009) will serve as a model for this research project because of her application of the framework in a similar context. Analysis is broken down into 3 categories; Narrative, Transitivity, and Lexical. Each category has unique subcategories that may be wholly or partially present within any given article. The narrative category examines different aspects of the structure of news reports, including: choice of headline and lead, interpretative frames, the focus of reports, the choice and order of episodes of normalization agreements and how they are constructed (especially as concerns the representation of acts of different sides, their causes and consequences), the use of quotations and sources on both sides, and contextual details within each story. Transitivity examines which actions are undertaken by each side, how they are construed, and how agency, causality and responsibility for normalization are represented. Lexicalization is the labelling and describing of people and their actions, affecting the representation of people and their actions in positive or negative ways. Finally, there is a section included in Al-Jazeera and Al-Mayadeen articles that examines the choice and representation of media inserted in the writings via pictures, videos, or social media posts. Ultimately, the CDA framework is appropriate for this study because of its societal method of analysis, parallel to the constructivist framework.

Article Selection:

Finally, this thesis will briefly provide details on how articles from each source were selected in order to deliver quality data. It began by examining every opinion article involving normalization since August 13th, 2020, which is when the first Arab country, the UAE, announced its agreement with Israel and ended the collection of articles on January 31st, 2021. No author was disqualified or selected because of their position or political affiliations as the media networks' editorial choice to publish their pieces or not overcomes any given author's official position or political leanings. However, the articles picked from each website do not come from the same author, meaning that if any given author wrote on UAE-Israeli normalization and then wrote another article about that same topic, the second article or subsequent articles on that same subject were not included in the research. However, if an author wrote about UAE-Israeli normalization and then wrote a second article on Morocco-Israeli normalization, the second article on a different topic was included in the research. The purpose of this was; one, cut down on the redundancies of opinions from authors who wrote many articles on a single topic while others, carrying possibly different opinions, wrote fewer, and two; analyzing every article would have amounted to over two-hundred articles, a quantity beyond the extent of this thesis. In the end, the data will include research from ten articles from Al-Jazeera, fifteen articles from Al-Arabiya, and nine articles from Al-Mayadeen (all of which will be translated and present in the Appendix section at the end).

Chapter III: Data and Analysis

This section will begin by discussing the findings from Al-Jazeera, Al-Arabiya, and Al-Mayadeen. Each section is broken down, as outlined by the CDA framework, into the categories; Narrative, Transitive, and Lexical/Media. The section will conclude by comparing and

contrasting the general themes of the articles and applying the constructivist framework to determine whether this framework still applies to Arab countries vis-a-vis the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Al-Jazeera Data:

Narrative: Title

The narrative category examines different aspects of the structure of news reports that includes a plethora of sub-categories in analysis. The consolidation of these categories results in five general narrative sub-topics; title, lead, presentation of story, sources, and background information. Amongst Al-Jazeera article titles, overall, appear different but in the end portray a similar message. For example, there are those that clearly reject normalization and make that apparent via narrative, transitive, or lexical means in the title. Said Al-Hajj's article is titled, "Miscalculations regarding normalization" (Al-Hajj, 2020) and Basem Naeem titled his piece, "The normalization agreement between the UAE and Israel... was not surprising, but it was rude" (Naeem, 2020). Neither of these titles leave any room to doubt where the authors stand on the normalization agreements. However, the majority of Al-Jazeera articles were more subtle. The titles either appeared supportive or neutral on normalization because of the factual ways they were written. However, certain transitive and lexical aspects, like how actions are construed or the framing of actions and people, illuminate the author's message and views regarding normalization.

For example, one author writes, "Despite the condemnation of normalization, an article in the National Interest talks about the "advantages" of the Moroccan-Israeli agreement" ("Despite the condemnation...", 2020). Although it appears that the author has displayed both sides of the argument about normalization in the title, in fact, his neutrality is misplaced. The author

mentions the article in the ‘National Interest’ which talks about the positives of normalization. However, the “advantages” are put within quotes in the title of the article, portraying the author’s lack of belief in actual advantages coming from normalization. As well, the author writes at the beginning, “Despite the condemnation of normalization,” which is extra information the author chose to include. Thus, an otherwise neutral article on closer inspection portrays the message of the title discussed at the beginning. This trend is consistent amongst other Al-Jazeera articles that highlight normalization in the context of criticism to its signing.

Two other Al-Jazeera authors do this when titling their pieces, “Protests in Bahrain after the appointment of the Chargé d’Affairs of the Israeli Embassy in Manama”(“Protests in Bahrain...,” 2021) and “After a month of normalization with the UAE and Bahrain, Israel approves building thousands of new settlement units in the West Bank”(“After a month of normalization...,” 2020). The former links protests in Bahrain to the appointment of the Israeli Chargé d’Affairs in Manama, a result of Bahrain’s normalization with Israel. And the latter discusses the construction of new settlements amidst fresh normalization deals with the UAE and Bahrain. The titles of these articles, however hidden, support the main message against normalization agreements with Israel. Thus, whether hidden or blatant, the trend amongst Al-Jazeera titles portray the recent normalization agreements in a negative manner and cast doubt on any advantages they may bring.

Summary
Al-Jazeera

- **Clearly Reject Normalization**
 - Minority of articles
- **Subtly Critical of Normalization**

Despite the condemnation of normalization, an article in the National Interest talks about the "advantages" of the Moroccan-Israeli agreement

After a month of normalization with the UAE and Bahrain, Israel approves building thousands of new settlement units in the West Bank

➡ **Vast majority of articles cast doubt on and criticize normalization**

Narrative: Lead

The lead is another important indicator of the author's views by highlighting a critical message the author wants to tell the reader. Not all articles have leads but when they do, they usually represent the main message of the article. Some notable leads from Al-Jazeera articles include Said Al-Hajj's description of normalization where he says, "The last few weeks witnessed a rapid and hasty normalization of relations with "Israel" and a number of Arab countries" (Al-Hajj, 2020). Said gets the news across to the reader but also conveys his views regarding normalization in the process. His characterization of normalization as "Rapid" and "Hasty" suggests that the agreements were ill-advised. Furthermore, Said puts "Israel" in quotation marks signaling his belief that the entity called Israel is not legitimate.

Hassan Al-Aloul writes as the lead for his article; "It seems that the Arabs' faith in the Palestinian cause and its justice has ended in disbelief, as the boycott contract has broken away, and the frantic scramble towards normalization has begun without the slightest shame, preceded by a retreat in positions and the failure of deceived regimes in their support for Palestine without any justification"(Al-Aloul, 2020). Hassan not only shows his clear rejection of normalization but also puts the blame on normalizing Arab countries for their 'retreat in positions.' Once again, normalization is characterized as hasty and the normalizers are labelled deceived regimes.

Portraying multiple views regarding normalization, not just one's dissatisfaction, is common in lengthier leads where authors have the ability to express deeper beliefs. For example, Mahmoud Abdel Al-Hadi writes, normalization "should provoke all Palestinian forces to seriously stop, leave the shouting and wailing under blanket denunciations and look deeply into the current regional and international context controlling the path of the Palestinian cause in search of new solutions that push the issue forward outside the (impossible) peace path which it has been walking for more than 80 years, which aims to solve the issue on the basis of two states,

and to move again to the path of peace (forbidden) based on the one-state basis for the Palestinian and Jewish peoples”(Abdel Al-Hadi, 2020). In this detailed lead, Al-Hadi expresses his belief that a one-state solution offers a possible path forward whereas the current strategy is doomed to fail. Noting such views at the beginning of the article sets the tone for everything else the author says later on. Thus, not only do Al-Jazeera leads reinforce the author’s feelings regarding normalization but they also offer a portal into some of the author’s main arguments for rejecting these agreements.

Narrative: Presentation of Story

The presentation of a story is one of the most important sub-categories within the narrative framework. The presentation of the story analyzes the author's views on normalization that go beyond simply their approval or disapproval of events. Thus, I will begin by briefly summarizing the foci of each article before delving into similar views

expressed across the various Al-Jazeera pieces. Said Al-Hajj talks about the colonial history of Israel and thus, as an occupier, it makes no sense to make peace with such an entity. As well, the agreements, the author argues, will not help Palestinians and will only further Israeli influence in the region. Hassan Al-Aloul in his article also criticizes the colonial past of the UAE and Saudi Arabia which explains why 70 years later, the same actors are selling Palestine off again, hurting its people with these agreements. Mahmoud Abdel Al-Hadi begins by discussing the paralysis of the Arab League and other institutions that are tasked with the international relations of the

Summary **Al-Jazeera**

- Echoes sentiment of titles regarding normalization

“The last few weeks witnessed a rapid and hasty normalization of relations with “Israel” and a number of Arab countries”

- Expressed their deeper views on normalization

Normalization “should provoke all Palestinian forces to seriously stop, leave the shouting and wailing under blanket denunciations and look deeply into the current regional and international context controlling the path of the Palestinian cause in search of new solutions that push the issue forward...”

- ➔ Majority of articles that had leads **reinforced the message in their titles** and some **expressed deeper opinions** on normalization

region. He adds that further internal conflict has served to divide and weaken Arab countries. In order to amend this, Arabs should consider the forbidden peace in order to turn the tables of the conflict. Furthermore, the author argues normalization will do less than previous normalization agreements did for the Palestinians and these deals will further Israeli influence in the region.

“The normalization agreement between the UAE and Israel... was not surprising, but it was rude,” by Basem Naeem, claims that normalization is not surprising as the UAE has continuously broken ranks with Arab consensus regarding Israel. Also, the author says this will have only a negative impact on Palestinians and their cause. The article titled, “After a month of normalization with the UAE and Bahrain, Israel approves building thousands of new settlement units in the West Bank,” discusses Israeli plans to build over 5,000 new settlements in the West Bank. Through this news, the author demonstrates the insincerity of Israeli normalization. The next Al-Jazeera article, “In a rare criticism of normalization ... the wife of the ruler of Sharjah attacks educational cooperation between Abu Dhabi and Tel Aviv,” recounts Sheikha Jawaher Al Qasimi’s comments regarding a meeting between Israel and Emirati education ministers following normalization. The author says her criticisms are regarding their curriculum which educates Israelis, and now also possibly Emiratis, in violence against Arabs.

Furthermore, the Al-Jazeera piece titled, “Despite the condemnation of normalization, an article in the National Interest talks about the "advantages" of the Moroccan-Israeli agreement,” offers an opposing view from the other Al-Jazeera articles which goes over Morocco’s normalization with Israel and how these are not new ties but a formalization of previously existing relations. Furthermore, the author claims this agreement would not diminish the King’s commitment to the two-state solution. The article about Sudan, “It was delayed for logistical reasons .. Israel sends its first delegation to Sudan after the normalization agreement,” discusses

the popular rejection of normalization with Israel in Sudan amidst the delay of an Israeli envoy set to arrive in Khartoum. Finally, the last article, “Protests in Bahrain after the appointment of the Chargé d’Affairs of the Israeli Embassy in Manama,” also discusses protests, this time in Manama, following Bahraini-Israeli normalization.

To begin the discussion around common themes shared between the articles, it makes sense to begin with the overwhelming theme coming from Al-Jazeera articles that normalization will either hurt or have no effect on Palestinians and the Palestinian cause. Said Al-Hajj claims there is no real benefit for these countries in normalization by calling them, “delusional interests.” He goes on to say that Egypt or Jordan would have gained by now from normalization if these agreements were actually beneficial (Al-Hajj, 2020). Furthermore, Said contends that the longevity of these agreements will be in question due to the Arab countries betting on “crisis parties” (aka Netanyahu and Trump) (Al-Hajj, 2020). Hassan Al-Aloul confirms this view when saying, “Palestine has become a burden on you and on your thrones and chairs. We do not understand what the reasons for your insistence on normalization with this usurping occupier are without the slightest compensation? By God, do not tell us that it is a service to Palestine” (Al-Aloul, 2020). With elaborate language, Hassan questions the level of interest these Arab countries have for the Israeli-Palestinian crisis still. Another author speculates that this agreement is simply to divert Arab antagonism away from Israel; “Therefore, whatever they try and whatever they invest, the normalizers will not be able to divert the region’s compass from the central enemy of it, which is the Zionist “occupation state,” that it will disappear sooner or later”(Naeem, 2020).

However, one article I analyzed actually offered an opposing view. The author was analyzing an article published in the National Interests by journalist Ahmed Al-Sharai. “In his

article in the National Interest, he added that he was also astonished at two ways in which some critics disparaged the agreement or its authors, and that they lost key aspects of what the deal meant, in reference to the widespread criticism of the declaration of normalization inside and outside Morocco” (“Despite the condemnation...,” 2020). His two main criticisms are that informal ties between Morocco and Israel have existed for years and that signing this agreement will not diminish Morocco’s resolve to the two-state solution.

Another theme propagated in a few of the articles is the notion of normalizing with a relic from the colonial era. Said Al-Hajj explains that the principle of normalization is flawed because Israel is the extension of former colonialism in the region; “This is precisely the reason for the implicit contradiction in the term "normalization", as it is "unnatural" and unacceptable to establish "normal" relations with the occupying power”(Al-Hajj, 2020). Another author echoes this same idea but applies it to normalizing countries like the UAE and Bahrain; “History repeats itself and those who sold Palestine 70 years ago in return for their thrones and chairs, they return once again to the abuse of selling” (Al-Aloul, 2020). This is a reference to Britain which ‘sold Palestine 70 years ago’ but also was the protectorate of Gulf emirates until 1971. Hassan, the author here, is implying that its colonial history lives on within the UAE and Bahrain too today.

Another focus of Al-Jazeera writers is Israel’s influence in the region and how normalization could lead to its proliferation. Mahmoud Abdel Al-Hadi believes that Israel is using normalization agreements to “openly and actively enter the depth of the components of the structure of the Arab system and the individual self-interests of the Arab countries” (Abdel Al-Hadi, 2020). He titles this problem, “The Zionist penetration of the countries of the region.” Sheikha Jawaher Al Qasimi’s criticism of the meeting between Israeli and Emirati educational ministers where she said, "their curriculum... recommends killing and raping Arabs” (“In a rare

criticism...,” 2021), is another example of the weariness of certain individuals and countries to Israeli influence. As well, Said Al-Hajj claims that this move may open the door to Saudi normalization with Tel Aviv in the future.

Finally, the last theme that came up is the idea of the deterioration of Arab unity with the signing of these normalization agreements. Mahmoud Abdel Al-Hadi cites Arab league paralysis as well as “the disruption of the Arab Maghreb Union and the Gulf Cooperation Council” (Abdel Al-Hadi, 2020) as having major impacts on Arab unity.

However, he also says that the region needs to finish and move on from the internal conflicts in Syria, Yemen, Libya and Iraq which “pulls the Arab region away from the Palestinian issue and the Arab-Israeli conflict” (Abdel Al-Hadi, 2020). Discussing the lack of Arab unity goes on to prove the point that this aspect needs to be remedied in order for a lasting peace agreement to take shape.

Summary

Al-Jazeera

- Normalizations will either hurt or have no effect on Palestinians
 - Only one dissenting article
- Normalizing with a Colonial Relic
 - Israel, UAE, Bahrain
- Israel's Influence in the Region
“The Zionist penetration of the countries of the region.”
- Deterioration of Arab Unity
Internal Conflict “pulls the Arab region away from the Palestinian issue and the Arab-Israeli conflict.”

Narrative: Sources

The next sub-category within the narrative subject is the evaluation of sources used by the authors in their articles. The sources that are cited in Al-Jazeera articles have a variety of opinions unlike Al-Arabiya and Al-Mayadeen. The majority of sources in the articles came from either cultural or media figures or non-profits which brought in a diversity of opinions. For example, one author cites the Israeli "Peace Now" organization, which opposes settlement activity and said, “that this settlement expansion indicates Israel's refusal to establish a Palestinian state, and deals a blow to the hopes of achieving a broader Israeli-Arab peace”(“After a month of normalization...,” 2020). The author uses the non-profit as a source to show the

impartiality of their opinion, however the source does still affirm the article’s message. Similarly, in the article titled “In a rare criticism of normalization ... the wife of the ruler of Sharjah attacks educational cooperation between Abu Dhabi and Tel Aviv,” the author includes tweets, like from Jordanian artist Makadi Salem Al-Nahhas who said of the rejection to normalization, “I respect, Sheikha Jawaher Al-Qasimi, for your great Arab stance that touches the hearts of all the Arab people and represents them”(“In a rare criticism...,” 2021).

However, the same article also includes a source from “The Emirates 71” news site rebutting Jawaher’s comments (“In a rare criticism...,” 2021). And, in regards to criticism over Moroccan normalization, this author cites journalist and publishing director Ahmed Al-Sharai who says, “that as a Moroccan citizen who worked for years to bring together Jews and Muslims, Moroccans and Israelis, he felt "proud and grateful" after yesterday's announcement of establishing new diplomatic relations between Morocco and Israel”(“Despite the condemnation...,” 2020). Thus, generally, there is a variety of opinions being introduced from outside sources in Al-Jazeera articles.

Narrative: Background Information

Summary **Al-Jazeera**

- Sources come from non-official figures
 - Cultural/Media Figures, Non-Profits
- Affirmed the author’s view on normalization
 - “Peace Now” Org. and Makadi Salem Al-Nahhas (Jordanian Artist)
- Countered the author’s view on normalization

➡ Variety of opinions introduced that affirmed and offered opposing views to that of the author’s

Like the sources an author chooses to introduce, the background information an author chooses or does not choose to input can exemplify the author’s stance and opinions regarding normalization. Al-Jazeera authors focus heavily on previously developed Arab consensus to inform their stance on normalization today. Said Al-Hajj references how normalization is represented as “a departure from the official Arab consensus, exemplified by the Arab Peace Initiative announced at the 2002 Beirut Summit” (Al-Hajj, 2020). Basem Naeem also affirms this position and Hassan Al-Aloul adds that normalizing countries “have torn apart the Arab Peace Initiative, which was reluctantly accepted by the Palestinian people” (Al-Aloul, 2020). Thus, it is clear by the background information presented that Al-Jazeera authors believe the minimum requirement of any fair peace solution is in line with the Arab consensus formed at the 2002 Beirut summit.

Summary
Al-Jazeera

- Focus on previous Arab Consensus
 - Arab Peace Initiative

Normalizing countries “have torn apart the Arab Peace Initiative...”

➡ Establishes the conception of a fair solution in the opinion of Al-Jazeera authors

Transitive: How actions are construed

In the transitive section, there are two subcategories which analyze how actions are construed and how agency, causality and responsibility for normalization are represented. Examining how actions are construed, specifically those surrounding normalization between Israel and Arab countries, is useful in understanding agreement or disagreement with events but also reinforcing and highlighting previously stated narrative opinions. In Al-Jazeera articles, the authors do just this by using language that portrays normalization negatively and demonizes proponents of normalization. Said Al-Hajj describes agreements as “hasty,” “rapid,” and a “gasp” towards normalization (Al-Hajj, 2020). As well, Basem Naeem similarly labels recent events as “shameful” and “normalization with the enemy” (Naeem, 2020). One author references

normalization as “the kingdom's new ‘wonderful’ decision” (“Despite the condemnation...,” 2020), portraying the agreement in a facetious manner as seen through the use of quotation marks are the word ‘wonderful.’

Al-Jazeera writers also demonize proponents of normalization to portray the agreements in a negative light. Talking about the UAE and Bahrain (possibly Saudi Arabia is implied as well), Hassan Al-Aloul says, “Its regimes crouch with the power of oppression on the chest of every free person” (Al-Aloul, 2020). Similarly, Basem Naeem says at one point in his article regarding the Israeli occupation, “we teach them that many colonists have passed by, but no one settled in it [Palestine]” (Naeem, 2020). Thus, Naeem is portraying Israel as a modern colonizer, unworthy of establishing relations with. As well, even while criticizing Palestinian Authority leadership for merely wailing, Naeem portrays the international community, the US, and Israel in a negative light and as intentionally harming or neglecting of Palestinians; “bearing the hypocrisy of the international community, the arrogance of the American administration and its absolute bias towards the Zionist entity, and submitting to the iron upper hand of the Zionist entity and its elusive aggressive policies”(Abdel Al-Hadi, 2020). Consequently, Al-Jazeera writers continuously use negative representations and demonizing language to reinforce their rejection of normalization broadly.

Summary **Al-Jazeera**

- Authors use language that portrays normalization negatively
 - “hasty,” “rapid,” “shameful”
 - “normalization with the enemy”
- Authors demonize proponents of normalization
“Its regimes crouch with the power of oppression on the chest of every free person”

➡ **Negative representations and demonization of normalizers** reinforces authors’ views on normalization

Transitive: How agency, causality, and responsibility are represented

Analyzing how agency, casualty, and responsibility are represented is an important aspect in uncovering who and/or what is responsible for normalization and its impact. Al-Jazeera

writers, through what they say and how they say it, demonstrate normalization as benefiting Trump and Netanyahu politically, claim Iran as the impetus for normalization, puts the onus of responsibility regarding the Palestinian cause on those that resist normalization, and discusses the cause of Arab division that has led to these agreements. Talking about normalization, Said Al-Hajj says it “seemed like a race against time before the end of Donald Trump's presidency” (Al-Hajj, 2020). This statement is actually in the lead of the article which reinforces the author’s view that agreements were signed to benefit Trump politically. Similarly, another author when talking about Israeli trustworthiness sites the Israeli’s government’s suspension of “settlement construction in the West Bank for a period of 8 months, until it completed the stages of signing the two normalization agreements with the UAE and Bahrain, then Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu instructed his government to re-ratify these construction projects”(“After a month of normalization...,” 2020). This author, like the former, portrays Netanyahu as using normalization as a political tool all the while continuing with settlements, albeit suspended for a time.

Al-Hajj also discusses the cause that he believes for normalization agreements; “The normalized regimes seem to be driven by the pursuit of establishing their legitimacy and possessing power cards in light of the current volatile situation in the region” (Al-Hajj, 2020). Said Al-Hajj clearly views normalizer’s self-loathing and perceived regional instability as key factors leading to the recent events. Later context in the article leads the reader to assuming the regional instability, in the view of normalizers, is caused by the impact of Iranian backed groups in the region.

Hassan Al-Aloul, talking instead about whose responsibility it is to stand up for Palestinians, says, “The Palestinian people have never bet on any Arab regime like you helping

them, but the bet is on the living peoples who utter the Israeli entity and consider it an enemy and a cancer that ramps up in the body of the nation”(Al-Aloul, 2020). Al-Aloul concludes that the Palestinian people should never expect Gulf states to help because they have never given their assistance before. Instead the onus of responsibility to stand up for the Palestinian cause is on those who believe Israel is an ‘enemy’ and ‘cancer.’

Finally, one of the most interesting aspects a number of Al-Jazeera writers point to as the cause for normalization is the fracture in Arab unity. Mahmoud Abdel Al-Hadi sees the paralysis of the Arab league as a driving factor for countries to sign agreements with Israel. He boils this paralysis down to a number of factors; “Due to the conflict of interests of the member states, hegemonic policies carried out by some countries at times, and because of the intervention of major powers” (Abdel Al-Hadi, 2020). Al-Hadi elaborates on the first two reasons later saying, “these states retain themselves and begin to establish regional and international relations that suit them, and establish agreements and understandings that achieve their interests, whether at the political, military, economic, or security level”(Abdel Al-Hadi, 2020). Ultimately, the cause of Arab division lies within and outside the region however, if countries put regional cooperation ahead of their own self-interests, Al-Hadi believes there would be greater regional stability.

Basem Naeem emphasizes Hadi’s point in his article saying, “The UAE, especially in recent years, dissolved from all the national, religious and historical values of the region, in order to create a place for it on the international map, even at the expense of the peoples of the region and their future”(Naeem, 2020). As well, Hassan Al-Aloul concurs that “the Arab League, which

refused to include the condemnation of normalization with the entity..., gave a statement and a green light to other countries that are eagerly awaiting the train of normalization” (Al-Aloul, 2020). Consequently, there is a general consensus among Al-Jazeera authors that the weakness and division in the Arab league provided a pathway towards normalization and has been ineffective in critiquing the agreements.

Lexical: Framing

The penultimate category examined in this thesis was the lexical structure authors use in their writings, specifically how the author frames different actors in order to reinforce their position on normalization. For example, Said Al-Hajj labels Israel as the ‘occupation,’ ‘occupying power,’ the ‘Zionist project,’ and puts the state’s name in quotations, “Israel” (Al-Hajj, 2020). All of these labels serve to promote the author’s rejection of normalization by demonizing Israel. Other common labels for Israel were ‘usurping occupier,’ a ‘cancer and enemy’(Al-Aloul, 2020), the ‘racist Zionist leadership’(Abdel Al-Hadi, 2020), ‘the occupying power,’ ‘Zionist occupation state’(Naeem, 2020), and the ‘Israeli occupation authorities’(“After a month of normalization...,” 2020). All of these representations highlight the point that normalizing with an enemy, occupier, and racist does not make sense.

Similarly, other authors demonize the normalizers calling the UAE and Bahrain ‘regimes’ and not states or countries (Al-Hajj, 2020). Hassan Al-Aloul calls them ‘Deceived regimes’ (Al-Aloul, 2020) and another author labels the allies of these countries as ‘dictatorial forces’ (Naeem, 2020). Al-Aloul also labels normalization the ‘shadow deal’ (Al-Aloul, 2020). Meanwhile, the opposite is true when it comes to Palestine, where Basem Naeem called the Palestinian cause

Summary
Al-Jazeera

- Normalization Benefiting Netanyahu and Trump
- Impetus for Normalization; Regional Instability
“The normalized regimes seem to be driven by the pursuit of establishing their legitimacy and possessing power cards in light of the current volatile situation in the region”
- Cause of Normalization; Fracture in Arab Unity
“Due to the conflict of interests of the member states, hegemonic policies carried out by some countries at times, and because of the intervention of major powers”

“the fairest issue in modern history” (Naeem, 2020). Thus, the lexical framing of Israel, Arab normalizers, and Palestine is in line with the messages conveyed by Al-Jazeera writers in the narrative and transitive sections.

Media:

The final category analyzed is the use of media, like pictures, videos, or social media posts, contained within the article. Most articles had at least one picture under the title which related in some way to the author’s message. Some Al-Jazeera pictures have no caption but show Arab signatories with Israeli and US officials. In Hassan Al-Aloul’s article, there is one picture at the top showing Benjamin Netanyahu, Mohammad Bin Zayed, and a US official from the signing of the Abraham Accords set against a plain blue backdrop (Al-Aloul, 2020). Another picture from Mahmoud Abdel Al-Hadi’s piece shows a similar picture at the top with no caption showing three men - Muhamed Bin Zayed, Donald Trump, and Benjamin Netanyahu - against a plain blue backdrop (Abdel Al-Hadi, 2020). Basem Naeem’s article also has a similar photo below the title which shows Muhamed Bin Zayed, Donald Trump, and Benjamin Netanyahu, in that order, against a blue backdrop (Naeem, 2020). Although these pictures have no caption and show relatively plain pictures, the choice by all three authors to illuminate Bin Zayed, Trump, and Netanyahu shows who the authors believe are culpable for normalization.

Summary
Al-Jazeera

- Demonize Israel
 - ‘occupying power,’ the ‘Zionist project,’ ‘usurping occupier,’ a ‘cancer and enemy,’ and the ‘racist Zionist leadership’
- Demonize Normalizers
 - ‘Deceived regimes’ and ‘dictatorial forces’
- Framing Palestinian Cause Positively

➔ Framing of Israel, Arab normalizers, and Palestine is in line with the messages conveyed by Al-Jazeera writers

Other Al-Jazeera authors choose to show protests (or settlements) and have captions that are purely descriptive. One author has a picture below the title which shows Sudanese protesting normalization with the caption below, “Sudanese express their categorical rejection of normalization with Israel during a protest in the capital, Khartoum” (“It was delayed...,” 2020). Another article contains a picture showing Bahrainis protesting normalization with the caption, “The demonstrators carried banners denouncing normalization with Israel.” Later in the text there is a tweet inserted that shows more pictures and videos from the protests, explaining that Bahrainis are demonstrating against normalization with the “Zionist enemy” (“Protests in Bahrain...,” 2021). Said Al-Hajj’s article contains one picture at the top, with no caption, showing crowds of people with Moroccan and Palestinian flags, which is assumed to be a demonstration in Morocco rejecting the normalization agreement (Al-Hajj, 2020). Finally, another article has a picture showing a settlement town under construction in the West Bank, captioned, “Construction work in the settlement of Ramat Givat Ze’ev in the West Bank” (“After a month of normalization...,” 2020). Thus, although none of these directly demonize Israel or point culpability to Israel, the UAE, and the US, they do highlight the reaction of people from normalizing countries rejecting the agreements (or in the one case, settlements).



Summary
Al-Jazeera



Al-Arabiya Data:

Narrative: Title

Similar to Al-Jazeera in style, Al-Arabiya articles have titles that are blatantly supportive of normalization and there are titles that appear neutral and factual but actually portray a similar message as to the former. Those like Farouk Youssef and Abdullah bin Bajad Al-Otaibi show their support for normalization quite blatantly with their titles, respectively, “Everyone is late, except that peace is the solution of the powerful” (Youssef, 2020) and “Emirati Peace... Who criticizes it?” (bin Bajad Al-Otaibi, 2020). In both of these titles, their support for normalization is evident due to what they say. However, some authors are just as blatant via lexical or transitive means. For example, the author writing under the name ‘Khayr Allah Khayr Allah,’ titled his piece, “Emirati courage ... and bidders” (Khayr Allah, 2020). Another author, Jalal Buna, titled their piece, “A message to the "union" about the peace of the brave” (Buna, 2020). And a third, Mohammed Al-Rumaihi, titled his article, “Beyond the signature!” (Al-Rumaihi, 2020). What do these all have in common? Although none outright declare their support for normalization like, “Emirati Peace... Who criticizes it,” they all show their support for normalization based on how the authors characterize and frame actors and their actions. ‘Emirati courage’ and ‘peace of the brave’ characterizes the normalizing countries, and specifically the UAE, as courageous and brave. As the supporters of the agreements, labelling these actors as such indicates the authors support for normalization broadly.

Other Al-Arabiya titles held deeper views, not just their categorical support or rejection of normalization. For example, Salman Al-Dossary’s title, “Relations with Israel ... Bahrain is more knowledgeable about its branches” (Al-Dossary, 2020), is referencing the author's point later on in the article that normalization is the sovereign choice of any Arab country. Two other

authors include the Palestinian cause in their titles, linking its prosperity with normalization. Salem Salemeen Al-Nuaim titled his article, “Emirati diplomacy and the Palestinian issue” (Salemeen Al-Nuaimi, 2020) and Mustafa Elfeki labelled his piece, “Gulf states and the Palestinian cause” (Elfeki, 2020). Not only does this category of title show the author’s approval or lack thereof for normalization but it also gives insight into the author’s main point later in the article. Al-Arabiya had no leads at the beginning of their stories which may explain why author's felt compelled to elaborate on their views in the title.

Finally, the secondary form of titles are those that have neutral, or almost factual titles, but still convey a general support for the normalization agreements. For example, three separate titles that fall under this category include; “Regarding normalization between the UAE and Israel”(Naomkin, 2020), “UAE and Israel”(Al-Rahman Al-Rashed, 2020), and “My opinion on the UAE and Bahrain’s Peace with Israel”(Al Sheikh, 2020).

Unlike Al-Jazeera, these titles are a lot blander in description and thus, the lack of antagonism towards normalization is evidence of some level of support. The fact that these titles include the names UAE, Israel, and Bahrain and not occupier, regime, or enemy, and the author refers to events as normalization and peace not betrayal means that the authors could have the same messages as their colleagues regardless of the ‘neutral’ title.

Narrative: Presentation of Story

Like the Al-Jazeera section, this section will begin by briefly summarizing the foci of each article before delving into similar views expressed across the various Al-Arabiya pieces.

Summary

Al-Arabiya

- Clearly Support Normalization
Emirati Peace... Who criticizes it?
- Subtly Supportive of Normalization
Beyond the signature!
My opinion on the UAE and Bahrain's Peace with Israel
- Expressed a deeper view about Normalization
Relations with Israel ... Bahrain is more knowledgeable about its branches
Gulf States and the Palestinian Cause

➡ Vast majority of articles support and look positively at normalization

Mishary Al-Dayidi claims that normalization saves Palestinian land and protects their cause while also pushing back against the realities of the region; the “Brotherhood,” Iran, nationalists, and leftists. Abdul Al-Rahman Al-Rashed argues that Arabic-Hebrew relations go back a long way and thus the criticism is hypocritical because these deals are just a formalization of already existing ties. He also declares it is each state’s sovereign right to form relations with any state it wishes. In Farouk Youssef’s piece he addresses the growing proliferation of Iran’s influence since the Arab Spring and the growing awareness by Arab countries and Israel in the need to unite to counter this force.

The author writing under the name, Khayr Allah Khayr Allah, says the UAE was always looking out for the Palestinian cause, historically and now. As well, the author addresses how since 2003, Arab and non-Arab, priorities have shifted elsewhere. Another Al-Arabiya article titled, “Emirati Peace... Who criticizes it?” by Abdullah bin Bajad Al-Otaibi, claims that Israel used to be the greatest enemy but now a greater enemy cancels out Tel Aviv’s threat. The following article by Salem Salemeen Al-Nuaimi lays out how ineffective previous Palestinian and critics of normalization’s efforts have been in achieving success. He encourages more countries to look towards normalization as a solution. Also, Salem believes that regional countries need to ensure their security due to a perceived withdrawal from the region by the US. Next, Mustafa Elfeki talks about how the Arab Spring has drastically changed the calculus of countries in the region. He says there has been a clear shift away from the Palestinian cause but that does not mean the UAE, Saudi, and other Gulf countries have not continued to support Palestine both in policy and with financing.

Furthermore, Vitaly Naomkin offers a number of questions meant to challenge normalization agreements on the basis that it helps Palestinians. In fact, this author comes to the

conclusion that the agreements will not help Palestinians but will hurt Iran and its efforts in the region. In “Israel and the changes in Arab public opinion,” by James Zogby, he discusses the shift in Arab public opinion which has witnessed a drastic decrease in the priority Arab’s give to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. He believes that because of these changes in public opinion, it justifies signing agreements to try new strategies to solve the conflict while confronting an expanding Iran. “Peace Treaty ... and the future of American policy” by Geoffrey Kemp talks about Iran and Turkey’s views of normalization. The author concludes that these agreements have hurt Iran and will most likely push the country even closer to China, both economically and politically. Meanwhile Turkey has denounced the agreements, but the author believes normalization has less of an effect on Ankara than it does on Tehran. Finally, the author questions future US policy and the future of a US presence in the region at all.

In this piece, Salman Al-Dossary explains how the PA has no right to dictate UAE policy and that Palestinians have to understand the current state of the region and the necessity to stop Iranian influence. The next article by Mohammed Al Sheikh discusses how each country has its own right to make relations with who it wishes, specifically because interests and threats differ in magnitude by region. As well, the author adds that these normalization agreements are necessary to stop a resurging Iran and Turkey in the region. Mohammed Al-Rumaihi lays out the UAE’s interest to work with Israel instead of Palestine because of the relationship between Palestine and Iran. The author emphasizes that Arabs should stop indoctrinating people via education or media, demonizing Israel as it does not lead to a constructive solution.

The penultimate article by Jalal Buna confesses the positives of the UAE-Israeli normalization. The author says the agreements benefited the Palestinians firstly and brought about stability and development most importantly. He encourages those that criticize the

agreements to look into the future, not the past, for answers. And, finally, Muhammad al-Sa`d states in his article, “Israel ... the spoiled Turkish girl,” that normalization benefited the Palestinians and that in no way were the Gulf’s interest any less important than northern Arab states’. The author claims Turkey is a hypocrite for rejecting normalization as Ankara has deep ties with Israel as well as it neglects Palestinian interests.

Now, for the general themes within Al-Arabiya articles, they differ drastically from Al-Jazeera’s and at times offer diametrically opposed views. The first, most widely expressed view in these articles is that normalization will help the Palestinian people and save their land from annexation. Mishary Al-Dayidi makes clear in her comments this message by saying, “The UAE reaped a tangible gain for the Palestinian cause, not by slogans, but by work, by stopping the gnawing of Palestinian lands in the West Bank in favor of settlements” (Al-Dayidi, 2020). Jalal Buna agrees that normalization’s “first positive results were for the Palestinians to freeze the decision to annex Palestinian lands to Israeli sovereignty” (Buna, 2020). As well, Salem Salemeen Al-Nuaimi argues that normalization will allow for the “re-entry of Muslims to Jerusalem, and open new horizons for the Palestinian people to build a true state in a state that is ruled by law, and that has enough strength to become a par with any other country in the region”(Salemeen Al-Nuaimi, 2020). Abdul Al-Rahman Al-Rashed comments that the criticisms of normalization do not pertain to their effect on Palestinians but instead inter-Arab relations; “Consequently, the party of attacks and criticisms launched by Qatar, along with some symbols of the Palestinian Authority, reflects the disagreement in the inter-Arab relations, and has nothing to do with the diplomatic move with Israel”(Al-Rahman Al-Rashed, 2020).

Furthermore, multiple authors cite normalization as a new strategy that has the possibility to achieve success for Palestinians. Al-Nuaimi comments later, “What has changed the reality of

the Palestinian cause on the ground, except for calling for emergency meetings, denunciations, protests, speeches in international organizations, and the collection of donations and support for more than half a century?! Where is the result of this support? And how did the Palestinian people benefit from it in regaining any of their rights?!” (Salemeen Al-Nuaimi, 2020). He is not the only author that believes what Palestinians and critics of normalization have been doing for so long has not worked. Al-Nuaimi comments that “the dream of Palestinian national unity, and collecting the diaspora in a national homeland, have not and will not be achieved by continuing actions and practices that have proven unsuccessful without any doubt, and a doctrine of return without a realistic, sustainable and achievable plan”(Salemeen Al-Nuaimi, 2020). Thus, many authors look to normalization like Mustafa Elfeki does, “as the beginning of a new strategy that may be more beneficial and better than its predecessors” (Elfeki, 2020). Similar to Al-Jazeera, I did find an article that offered a counter opinion to the majority. The dissenting author, Vitaly Naomkin, casts doubt that this agreement will put a long-term halt to further Israeli annexation; “I would like to stress that the Israeli side only "freezes" and does not cancel plans for large-scale annexation of lands. Netanyahu described this as a "suspension of sovereignty over parts of the territories" and a "temporary delay" of these plans, not for the sake of the Arabs, let alone the Palestinians, but rather in response to President Trump's request” (Naomkin, 2020). Unlike her colleagues, Vitaly sees the Palestinian position as more precarious and the agreements flimsy.

Another common view held amongst Al-Arabiya writers is that any country, and in this case the Arab normalizing countries, have the sovereign right to establish relations with whom they wish. Abdul Al-Rahman Al-Rashed’s problem with criticism from other countries regarding normalization “is that every Arab country has the same right to manage its international relations, including its relationship with Israel. This is a sovereignty issue that every country

decides on the basis of its interests, not based on what the Palestinians or other Arabs want” (Al-Rahman Al-Rashed, 2020). Khayr Allah Khayr Allah also affirms this belief in his piece and Salman Al-Dossary adds that “it is not a requirement that it [a peace solution] be from the gate of the Palestinian Authority” (Al-Dossary, 2020).

Here Mohammed Al Sheikh expands on the point stating there is a clear distinction between regions, saying the problems of North Arabs or North African Arabs differ from those of the Gulf Arab states; “It is we, not the Arabs of the North, nor the Arabs of North Africa, who assess the dangers surrounding us and set the priorities”(Al Sheikh, 2020). Muhammad al-Sa`d argues that the Gulf cannot have its interests dictated to it because “they believe that the Gulf politicians are minors and that those who have the right to tactics, maneuver and build relationships based on interests are the Palestinians, the Lebanese, the Syrians, the Turks, and the Moroccans”(Al-Sa`d, 2020). This is why authors like Mohammed Al Sheikh argue for the UAE to continue to pursue peace with Israel in order to develop its country economically.

While Al-Jazeera writers are worried about Israeli influence and foreign meddling, Al-Arabiya writers are concerned with Iranian influence and the need to wake-up to the realities of the region. Farouk Youssef claims that Israel had to dismantle its isolation because of “the fall of national regimes, the collapse of the old countries, and the emergence of Iran on the surface as a blind enemy force” (Youssef, 2020). Youssef is referencing the 2011 Arab Spring, which he clearly sees attributing to the rise of Iran and instability in the region. Many authors used language regarding normalization that portrayed it as a “‘realistic’ opportunity away from the "Brotherhood," Iran, nationalist and leftist word shops” (Al-Dayidi, 2020). Furthermore, Mustafa Elfeki cites “the Palestinian leadership's support for the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait” as adding “a secondary factor in the degree of absolute Gulf support to the Palestinian people” (Elfeki, 2020).

Ultimately, there is consensus that normalization will hurt Tehran, “The damage to Tehran should not be overstated, as normalization would help its opponents unite their efforts” (Naomkin, 2020). Geoffrey Kemp offers a similar view saying that “It is clear that Tehran views the closer cooperation between the UAE and Israel as a military challenge, and views these developments as additional evidence of a broader US strategy to exert more pressure on Tehran to abandon the military elements in its nuclear program”(Kemp, 2020). Also, both Kemp and Salem Salemeen Al-Nuaimi note that these agreements are necessary to fill the void of the perceived US withdrawal from the region. In thinking about normalization, these authors suggest Arab countries need to ponder “Are we today in a position of Arab and Islamic unity, and is the balance of power in our favor?” Questions like this, and answering them, are important as they are “the beginning of the path of political realism, especially after the withdrawal of the United States from the region” (Salemeen Al-Nuaimi, 2020). Clearly there is a wariness amongst normalizers that they need to take measures into their own hands to ensure their interests and security.

The final notion propagated that requires discussion is contained, largely, within the article written by James Zogby regarding Arab public opinion. Zogby states that although critics of normalization have cited the agreements as against public opinion, this is not true. Historically, “Palestine has always been one of the constant issues in these polls. In 2002, for example, we found that this issue occupied, along with unemployment and health care, one of the top three political points of interest in most Arab countries, especially in Egypt and Saudi Arabia, and remained a high priority until a few years ago” (Zogby, 2020). But, when Zogby and his colleagues conducted a similar survey in 2019, they found that there was significant concern regarding “Syria, Iraq, the failure of the "Arab Spring" and concern about Iran's behavior in the

region” (Zogby, 2020). However, the author was shocked to see that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict had dropped into “the lower class of priorities in every country” (Zogby, 2020). As well, in June 2020, the same group of researchers “found that large majorities believe that the solution to the conflict is important, and they have hope that a solution may be reached in the next five years. These two factors together led to the majority in the five Arab countries, except for Palestine, saying that they want to explore new means to convince the Israelis of the benefits of peace with the Palestinians. Therefore, some prefer normalizing relations with Israel as a way out of the impasse, and with this in mind, majorities in these same countries stated that they support the initiative presented by the Emirati ambassador to confront the Israeli threat of annexation” (Zogby, 2020). Ultimately, despite the author’s own views which he says are against normalization, “the tendencies of public opinion throughout the Arab world have undergone many changes in the past few years” (Zogby, 2020) and thus, Arab policy must adapt to this new reality. Consequently, Zogby offers a constructivist view, as laid out by his statistics suggesting a shift in Arab public opinion, that aligns with how this theory explains relations between states. Overall, Al-Arabiya articles mirror in opposing ways the opinions propagated in Al-Jazeera articles and introduce the impetus for these agreements in the eyes of normalizers and their supporters.

Summary

Al-Arabiya

- **Normalization Agreements will help Palestinians**
 - Stops Annexation
 - Opportunity for a state
 - Change in Approach
- **Sovereign Right of States**

“It is we, not the Arabs of the North, nor the Arabs of North Africa, who assess the dangers surrounding us and set the priorities.”
- **Iranian Influence in the Region**

Normalization is a “realistic opportunity away from the “Brotherhood,” Iran, nationalist and leftist word shops”

Narrative: Sources

Al-Arabiya authors cite a less diverse gallery of opinions, and choose, most often, official documents or officials to cite. As well, even if those documents or figures represent the

opposition, the author uses the source as an affirmation of the author’s beliefs. Mishary Al-Dayidi cites the joint Emirati, American, and Israeli statement which stated, “this historic diplomatic achievement would enhance peace in the Middle East and preserve the two-state solution on the ground, not the imagination” (Al-Dayidi, 2020). Similarly, other authors like James Zogby cited the Emirati ambassador to the United States who published an opinion piece “warning that Israel could not normalize and annex the territories at the same time.” Later the same author cites the Jordanian monarch, King Abdullah, who “issued a severe warning about the consequences of the annexation” (Zogby, 2020). These statements, all from proponents of normalization, reinforce the message that these agreements are good for Palestinians and Israel will keep its word on annexation. Jalal Buna employs a similar tactic by citing Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum, who said, “‘History is written by men and peace is made by the brave,’ because peace needs, first and foremost, strength, courage, tolerance and a clear and different vision” (Buna, 2020). This furthers the author's message that the UAE’s decision is brave and courageous.

As well, like other media sources, some authors used opposition sources to prove the author’s point. Salman Al-Dossary used Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas’ statement to prove his point that the UAE has the sovereign right to form relations with whom it wishes; “The UAE or any other party has no right to speak on behalf of the Palestinian people. The leadership does not allow anyone who was to interfere in the Palestinian issue or report on his behalf in his legitimate rights in his

Summary **Al-Arabiya**

- Majority Official Sources
 - Authors cite sources with a similar view on normalization
 - Cites sources that are against normalization, yet authors use the sources as an affirmation of their support
- Why does the Palestinian leadership have the right to speak on behalf of the Emirati or Bahraini people and prevent them from taking sovereign decisions that are compatible with their interests?!”*

➔ Sources are exclusively official figures and all affirm authors’ support of normalization

homeland” (Al-Dossary, 2020). Al-Dossary follows by asking the rhetorical question to prove her point, “Why does the Palestinian leadership have the right to speak on behalf of the Emirati or Bahraini people, and prevent them from taking sovereign decisions that are compatible with their interests?!”(Al-Dossary, 2020). Thus, whether supportive or opposition sources, both works to prove the authors' opinions and views in their pieces.

Narrative: Background Information

Background information presented by Al-Arabiya authors falls generally into two categories which serve to promote the overall position of most Al-Arabiya writers on normalization agreements. The first is writers highlighting former Arab-Israeli relations to justify the current normalization agreements. Mishary Al-Dayidi discusses how “Egypt is still enjoying the blessings of peace that Sadat brought with Israel. The great King of Jordan, Hussein bin Talal, was also attacked after he refused to submit to the bidding market and brought peace to his land and to his country in the famous Wadi Araba agreement” (Al-Dayidi, 2020). Al-Dayidi provides these two historical examples to justify the benefits normalizing countries and Palestinians will reap from the most recent agreements. Another author, Mohammed Al Sheikh, recounts his interpretation of events since 1948; “Anyone who reads the history of the Palestinian-Israeli issue from 1948 until now... will find that the Palestinian cause is in continuous deterioration, and the dominance throughout that period is in favor of Israel... Now Israel has seized nearly 80% of the Palestinian geography, meaning that the wars that took place between the Israelis and the Arabs were all won by Israel, while Egypt and Jordan, as well as the Palestinians themselves, were able to obtain lands that were actually occupied by Israel”(Al Sheikh, 2020). Mohammed’s account of events leads to his great point that wars have simply led

to loss of land, while Arab normalization with Israel has acquired land for Arabs and Palestinians.

Other authors, like Khayr Allah Khayr Allah, suggest that historical agreements between Arab countries and Israel would have been fruitful if they were not hindered by other Arab states; “The two rival Baathists [Iraq and Syria] forced the other Arabs to boycott Egypt, preventing the Palestinians from reaping any fruits from the 41-year-old Egyptian-Israeli agreement”(Khayr Allah, 2020). Finally, the same author also says that historically, Jordan and Egypt have looked out for their own interests just as much as the UAE or Bahrain has; “He [King Hussein] hastened, may God have mercy on him, a speedy agreement with Israel to guarantee Jordan's rights to land and water and to confirm that it is not an alternative Palestinian state”(Khayr Allah, 2020). Thus, given the historical precedent, Al-Arabiya authors justify normalization as consistent with past precedent.

A number of authors interject background information to prove the secondary theme which highlights Iran’s growing influence in the region as the impetus for normalization. Farouk Youssef says, “If Iran were not represented by Hezbollah and were not present in Syria, Israel would not have considered what is going on there, especially after the agreement with Russia” (Youssef, 2020). Youssef is claiming that if Iran wasn’t involved in Syria and with Hezbollah in the past, then Israel would not be threatened and push normalization in the sake of its national security. Another author, Mustafa Elfeki, suggests that Iran has exploited the division in Palestinian unity between Hamas and Fatah and “uses it to its advantage under the umbrella of Islam and claims of solidarity for the sake of Palestine” (Elfeki, 2020). Finally, a third author, Salman Al-Dossary, when talking about the 2011 protests in Bahrain says, “Iran was the state that stood behind that coup attempt, with financing and planning, and the leaders of Hamas and

the Palestinian components. They do not stop strengthening their relationship with Iran and continue their visits to Tehran without timidity or shame” (Al-Dossary, 2020). Thus, whether Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, or Bahrain, Al-Arabiya writers are keenly aware of the history of Iran’s influence in the region and are ready to propagate such information to justify normalization.

Transitive: How actions are construed

After analyzing texts for the transitive feature, how actions, in this case normalization, are portrayed, Al-Arabiya writers depict normalization in a positive manner, characterize normalization as a positive change and development, and demonize critics of normalization. In regard to the first subject, Mishary Al-Dayidi calls normalization a “breakthrough” (Al-Dayidi, 2020) in the Middle East and Khayr Allah Khayr Allah refers to the Emirati-Israeli agreement as “not an ordinary event” (Khayr Allah, 2020). Both of these characterizations portray normalization positively and a new, different, and influential event. Similarly, Mohammed Al-Rumaihi writes in his piece, “The future is what matters, so the signature of Sheikh Abdullah bin Zayed on behalf of the Emirates and Mr. Abdul Latif Al-Zayani with Benjamin Netanyahu, and in the presence and signature of the President of the United States, last Tuesday evening, is unlike other peace treaties”(Al-Rumaihi, 2020). Once again, characterizing normalization as unlike other peace treaties makes these agreements unique and sets perceived high goals for the participants. Jalal Buna shares this thinking, saying, “Undoubtedly, the agreement is the most important of the three peace agreements concluded between Israel and Arab countries, as it will have the largest positive impact on the course of

Summary **Al-Arabiya**

- Former Arab-Israeli relations justify current ones
 - Egypt and Jordan
- Background information regarding Iran’s influence in the region
 - “If Iran were not represented by Hezbollah and were not present in Syria, Israel would not have considered what is going on there.”

“Iran was the state that stood behind that coup attempt, with financing and planning.”

➡ **Authors use background information to justify their stance on normalization**

affairs in the eastern region” (Buna, 2020). Generally, Al-Arabiya writers look a lot more positively towards normalization, which is evident based on the language used to talk about the agreements and their impact.

The second subject of how Al-Arabiya portrays actions regarding normalization relates to its positive characterization regarding change and development resulting from normalization. For example, Mohammed Al Sheikh thinks normalization “will positively reflect on our development, which for us, and indeed for all countries of the world, is tantamount to ‘legitimacy’ for survival and continuation” (Al Sheikh, 2020). Not only does he clearly speak to the positive effect normalization will have on development, but he stresses the importance of development, characterizing it as ‘legitimacy.’ Abdullah bin Bajad Al-Otaibi adds on that normalization “represents a rejection of the absurd situations that existed for decades, as well as a real hope for a better future for the entire region” (bin Bajad Al-Otaibi, 2020). Through Mustafa Elfeki’s characterization of critics of normalization, “I am not one of the dervishes who delude things and think that talking with the Israeli opponent is a crime or that negotiating with them is a sin”(Elfeki, 2020), he depicts those that believe this as dervishes and unfounded to criticize normalization. Mohammed Al Sheikh has a similar comment where he insinuates that those that reject normalization do not care about bettering their country or placing development as a high priority; “The other matter, which does not exist in the dictionaries of those who reject peace and normalization with Israel”(Al Sheikh, 2020), is that the UAE places development as a high priority. Ultimately, Al-Jazeera writers, regardless of criticism, depict normalization as benefiting development and bringing positive change for all, even those that ‘cannot see it.’

Finally, the last way Al-Arabiya writers depict normalization in a positive manner is by demonizing critics of the agreements. Mustafa Elfeki says of Qatar, “Qatari policy plays the role

of ‘cat's claw’ for Israeli ambitions and foreign pressures” (Elfeki, 2020). By characterizing Qatari policy as a ‘cat’s claw’ the author is insinuating the nuisance and pettiness of Qatar. When talking about criticisms of normalization, Salman Al-Dossary says, “the same aggressive response is repeated from the Palestinian components and leadership against Bahrain” (Al-Dossary, 2020). The choice to label Palestinian criticism as an ‘aggressive response’ indicates the message the author is trying to imply to the reader. Abdul Al-Rahman Al-Rashed conveys a similar message about the PA by saying, “This is the choice of the Palestinian Authority administration, it is content with watching the news and commenting negatively on it!” (Al-Rahman Al-Rashed, 2020). Al-Rashed characterizes the PA as incompetent and ill-equipped to handle its own situation let alone comment on the merit of normalization agreements between the UAE and Israel.

Summary Al-Arabiya

- All authors portrayed normalization agreements positively
 - “breakthrough,” “not an ordinary event”
 - Positive characterization regarding change and development resulting from normalization
 - Depict normalization in a positive manner by demonizing critics of the agreements
 - Qatar and PA
- ➡ Writers discuss the events and actors involved in normalization agreements parallel with their views

Transitive: How agency, causality, and responsibility are represented

Al-Arabiya writers, generally, re-affirm their views by demonstrating the direct cause and effect in terms of normalization and its benefit towards Palestinians, placing responsibility on Iran as the impetus for normalization, and discussing the causes of Palestinian weakness. Mishary Al-Dayidi says, “In direct terms, and in clear terms, the United Arab Emirates achieved a major political, psychological and security "breakthrough" in the Middle East” (Al-Dayidi, 2020). She reserves no room for interpretation about how she sees this ‘breakthrough’ as beneficial for all. Similarly, Mustafa Elfeki tries to demonstrate the Gulf’s steadfast commitment

to the Palestinian cause and thus the inevitable benefits normalization will bring; “I am sure that the peoples of the Gulf are holding their support for the Palestinian people, clinging to their inalienable rights, and raising the relevant legitimacy decisions in the face of all those who bid Arabism”(Elfeki, 2020).

Other authors though site normalization as beneficial for Palestinians by stopping annexation but attribute this responsibility towards the US. Geoffrey Kemp says, “Had it not been for the treaty and strong pressure from the Trump administration, the Israeli government would have gone on the path to formal annexation of large sections of the West Bank, including the Jordan Valley, later this year” (Kemp, 2020). Although the responsibility is relegated to a different actor, the overall message that normalization is beneficial persists.

Another subject of responsibility for the normalization agreements amongst Al-Arabiya writers is the rise of Iranian influence in the region. Farouk Youssef says in his piece, “What if Israel is not serious about its promises this time either? A naive question blown by the existential changes that have swept the region” (Youssef, 2020). He labels this a ‘naive question’ because of the existential changes, insinuating the internal conflicts and instability within the last twenty years, that make this question obsolete in the author’s mind. Khayr Allah Khayr Allah adds on saying, “Iran has become more aggressive and more opportunistic in everything related to the Palestinians, and Jerusalem in particular” (Khayr Allah, 2020). The wariness of Iranian influence amongst Al-Arabiya writers and its culpability is highlighted by Mohammed Al-Rumaihi’s comments saying, “We must remember that the peacemaker will be targeted and perhaps there are pockets that will be revived by Iranian money or directed towards the media in order to create many crises”(Al-Rumaihi, 2020). Mohammed sees Iran responsible for these crises via its rhetoric and role in the media. Mishary Al-Dayidi utters a similar sentiment, “The empty speech

mills of the general speech merchants, Turkey, Qatar and Iran, and of course, the chaos organizations such as Al Qaeda, ISIS, Houthi, Hezbollah, etc., will turn against the UAE”(Al-Dayidi, 2020), insinuating the message from these three countries is equivalent to that of Al-Qaeda, ISIS, the Houthis or Hezbollah.

Finally, a large cohort of Al-Arabiya writers believe, and demonstrate so through their writing, that the Palestinian cause is weak because Palestinians have followed states that have counter interests to the Palestinian people. Abdullah bin Bajad Al-Otaibi claims, “Our Palestinian brothers, who are many in the Gulf countries, should focus on their lives and their successes and the positive balance they have built with their diligence, and not be led by the corrupt who trade their cause”(bin Bajad Al-Otaibi, 2020). His belief is that Palestinians are currently led by the corrupt and that “this is a blatant contradiction that is no longer a possibility”(bin Bajad Al-Otaibi, 2020). Al-Otaibi alleges, “To be a Brotherhood terrorist, and insist on that in Gaza, and break the Palestinian ranks, allying with the enemies of the Gulf in the sectarian project or the fundamentalist Turkish project, the sanctity of the Palestinian cause will not protect you, and you will have to know that every political position has a price”(bin Bajad Al-Otaibi, 2020). Al-Otaibi thinks it is up to the Palestinians to right their course. Currently, their fate is in their hands but there is a clear contradiction, in the author’s mind, between the lack of Palestinians that support the ‘true supporters’ (a.k.a. UAE, Bahrain, and possibly Saudi Arabia) and those that support fundamentalists or Brotherhood terrorists.

Similarly, both Jalal Buna and Mohammed Al Sheikh propagate this view that the Palestinians need to reassess their supporters and strategy; “In my opinion, such a step would move this issue forward, which the Arabs, particularly the Palestinians, failed to solve through wars, while they succeeded in achieving remarkable progress through peaceful negotiations”(Al

Sheikh, 2020). Ultimately though, many authors believe it is up to the Palestinians to take this initiative. Mohammed Al-Rumaihi, amongst others, sees unifying the Palestinian cause on the right path as a crucial first step towards a lasting solution; “The purpose is an attempt to advance Palestinian unity, which for any sane person is an urgent necessity for all Palestinians to face the challenges at this stage”(Al-Rumaihi, 2020). Ultimately, the causality of and responsibility for normalization illuminates Al-Arabiya’s authors’ views on these agreements, highlighting key drivers of these agreements.

Lexical: Framing

The lexical framing of actors and their actions serves a similar purpose to other sources in reaffirming their views and opinions on normalization. For example, Abdullah bin Bajad Al-Otaibi calls Israel an ‘old enemy’ (bin Bajad Al-Otaibi, 2020), indicating it does not pose a threat anymore. Similarly, other authors praise normalizers and their allies calling the UAE a “young, strong Arab state” (Al-Dayidi, 2020) and labelling the region as ‘the oil-rich Gulf’ (Al-Sa`d, 2020). As well, Farouk Youssef calls supporters, when referencing the group of Arab countries that supported the agreements, ‘the Arabs, on the sane side of them’ (Youssef, 2020), inferring that the critics make up the insane side.

As well, the framing of the normalization agreements clearly represents the authors views on the matter. Mishary Al-Dayidi calls normalization a "historic" agreement (Al-Dayidi, 2020) and Abdullah bin Bajad Al-Otaibi adds on saying that “Emirati peace is a truly historical

Summary **Al-Arabiya**

- **Direct cause and effect between Palestine and Normalization**
“In direct terms, and in clear terms, the United Arab Emirates achieved a major political, psychological and security "breakthrough" in the Middle East”
- **Impetus for Normalization; Iran**
- **Cause of Normalization; Palestinian Policy**
“In my opinion, such a step would move this issue forward, which the Arabs, particularly the Palestinians, failed to solve through wars, while they succeeded in achieving remarkable progress through peaceful negotiations”

decision” (bin Bajad Al-Otaibi, 2020). Vitaly Naomkin concurs with this opinion stating, “With the UAE and Israel reaching an agreement... they made this event one of the most important events in the Middle East region now” (Naomkin, 2020). Furthermore, writer Jalal Buna calls the normalization agreements what the US administration labelled them as, the ‘Abrahamic Peace Agreement’ (Buna, 2020). The name of these agreements, after the biblical figure Abraham, insinuates the kind of message the constructors of the agreements wanted to portray. Choosing to accept this language and propagate it is in line with the author’s point of view regarding normalization.

At the same time Al-Arabiya authors are framing normalization and normalizers in a positive light, they are also using language to demonize and frame Iran, Turkey, and other critics in a negative manner. Farouk Youssef calls Iran the ‘blind enemy force’ (Youssef, 2020) and Salem Salemeen Al-Nuaimi labels Iran and its proxies the “apparent enemy and hidden enemy” (Salemeen Al-Nuaimi, 2020). Mohammed Al Sheikh calls Iran the ‘mullahs’ Iran’ and the ‘Persian Safavid mullahs’ (Al Sheikh, 2020). Abdullah bin Bajad Al-Otaibi lumps Turkey in with Iran calling them the “hideous occupiers of Arab countries” (bin Bajad Al-Otaibi, 2020). Other authors generalize and call those that denounce normalization as ‘aggressors’ (Al-Dossary, 2020) and their criticism a ‘convulsive stance’ (Buna, 2020). All of these titles draw on a negative aspect of critics and their criticism towards normalization.

Other actors Al-Arabiya portrays to similarly prove their message are the Palestinians who one author calls, ‘our

Summary **Al-Arabiya**

- **Positive Framing of Normalizers**
 - UAE a “young, strong Arab state,” ‘the Arabs, on the sane side of them’
 - Israel an ‘old enemy’
- **Framing of Normalization in a positive manner**
 - “historic” agreement, ‘Abrahamic Peace Agreement’
- **Demonizing Critics of Normalization**
- **Portrays Palestinians Positively**
 - ‘our Palestinian brothers,’ ‘captive Palestinian people’

Palestinian brothers' (bin Bajad Al-Otaibi, 2020) and another says the 'captive Palestinian people' (Zogby, 2020). Both portrayals frame Palestinians in a sympathetic manner, needing their Arab brothers' support via normalization. Another aspect Al-Arabiya authors frame in a certain way are the Egyptians who one author calls 'rich Egyptians'(Al-Sa`d, 2020) and another says of their current leader, "Therefore, and because he is a realistic, responsible Arab leader, Egyptian President Abdel Fattah El-Sisi..."(Al-Dayidi, 2020). All of these trends in lexical framing lead the reader back to the authors' main messages regarding the normalization agreements.

Al-Mayadeen Data:

Narrative: Title

Quite similar to the first two sources, Al-Mayadeen articles follow a similar style and contain content closer to that of Al-Jazeera than Al-Arabiya. There are Al-Mayadeen articles, like from author Hayat Al-Hawaik Atia, titled "Normalization give up before signing" (Al-Hawaik Atia, Aug. 2020) where it is clear how she feels towards the normalization agreements. As well, there are multiple articles that hint at the author's disapproval of normalization via lexical and transitive means like, "Signs of normalization between the Emirates and the Israeli occupation"(Aziz bin Habtoor, Aug. 2020) by Abdul Aziz bin Habtoor or "The fall of the masks"(Shaaban, Aug. 2020) by Buthaina Shaaban. In both of these, the authors demonstrate their disapproval with the situation by labelling normalization between the UAE and the 'Israeli occupation' or framing normalization as 'the fall of the masks,' meaning normalization will expose who the normalizers really are behind their masks. Although neither of the authors outright reject normalization, they characterize events in their title in a negative light, leading readers to interpret their position on the matter.

As well, many Al-Mayadeen articles were also more complex and held a deeper message or view, similar to the previous two sources. Saeb Erekat’s piece titled, “The Arab Choices Between Fallujah and Kiryat Gat” (Erekat, 2020), alludes to the Palestinian town of Fallujah which, after the 1948 war, Israeli troops took over and renamed the area Kiryat Gat. The article only briefly discusses this historical point but referencing this town and its alternative names make a larger point about the choice between Palestine or occupation. Similarly, “The sky and the land of Sudan” (Shaaban, Oct. 2020), by Buthaina Shaaban alludes to the author’s point that normalization is a way for Israel to seize Sudan’s wealth, land, and sky. Finally, even one article linked Emirati and Bahraini normalization with Israel leading to possible Saudi normalization in the future in his article titled, “The Emirati-Bahraini normalization is an introduction to Saudi normalization with the Zionist enemy” (Aziz bin Habtoor, Sept. 2020). This is a point that neither Al-Jazeera nor Al-Arabiya brought up when discussing normalization agreements. Overall, of all the articles, all of them in some way, either directly or otherwise, antagonize and cast doubt on the normalization agreements and the participants.

Narrative: Lead

The leads in Al-Mayadeen articles are lengthy and packed with information regarding the author’s views on normalization, the result the agreements will have, and who is to blame for normalization. Hayat Al-Hawaik Atia writes at the beginning of her piece, “The information indicates a brilliant solution contained in the deal of the century, which is that the Emirates work

**Summary
Al-Mayadeen**

- **Blatantly Reject Normalization**
Normalization Give up Before Signing
- **Subtly Critical of Normalization**
Signs of Normalization between the Emirates and the Israeli Occupation
- **Expressed a deeper view about Normalization**
The Arab Choices Between Fallujah and Kiryat Gat
The Emirati-Bahraini Normalization is an Introduction to Saudi Normalization with the Zionist Enemy

➡ **All** articles, either blatantly or through transitive and lexical means, criticize the normalization agreements

to restrict Arab workers and gradually replace them with labor from the Palestinians of the 48 lands, so that Israel will be emptied of them, and the state's Jewishness will be achieved”(Al-Hawaik Atia, Oct. 2020). This is the main argument of her article which states the reason for normalization is to achieve the ‘Jewishness’ of Israel. Hayat elaborates later on in her piece saying, “This explains one of the reasons for choosing the UAE and Bahrain to start the project that will turn the Arabian Gulf into new, humiliating colonies” (Al-Hawaik Atia, Oct. 2020). Thus, in the lead Hayat conveys not only the impetus for normalization, to have Palestinians emigrate to work in the Gulf and thus achieve the Jewishness of the state, but also the accountability of Bahrain and the UAE to facilitate this.

Following up on his direct title linking UAE normalization leading to Saudi normalization, Abdul Aziz bin Habtoor says in his lead, “The UAE’s normalization move is only an introduction to the Saudi normalization step. This is the catastrophe of catastrophes for the Islamic nation, if our analysis is correct” (Aziz bin Habtoor, Sept. 2020). Not only does the author directly hold UAE normalization responsible for opening the door to Saudi Arabia, but the author makes it clear this would be the ‘catastrophe of catastrophes’ for Islam as Saudi contains the two holiest sites in the region, Mekkah and Medina. This opinion also highlights Al-Mayadeen’s divergence from Al-Jazeera articles where the latter never blatantly connected these recent agreements with Riyadh’s perceived desire for normalization like the former did.

Other Al-Mayadeen authors, like Abdul Aziz bin Habtoor and Buthaina Shaaban, display their view that the Arab countries are being subjected to normalization by Israel and outside powers. Habtoor says in his lead, “Confusion inhabits the minds of some Arab leaders who have been domesticated and educated on the principle that staying in power and seizing power can only take place with a guarantee from the gate of the Zionist movement”(Aziz bin Habtoor, Aug.

2020). Abdul portrays Arab leaders as having been ‘domesticated’ and ‘educated’ to believe this way. The author uses passive voice to demonstrate that the reader does not know who domesticated and educated these leaders, but the reader does know that the Arab leaders did not educate or domesticate themselves. Similarly, Shaaban says in her lead, “The first concept that has fallen into the general Arab context today is the concept of neutrality or self-distancing. It is clear that all Arabs are being targeted” (Shaaban, Aug. 2020). Although vague, the author elaborates on her point later saying, about “the concept of neutrality or self-distancing; It is clear that all Arabs are targeted and that the goal is not only to swallow Palestine but also to extract any factor that could allow any Arab country to aspire to be a regional power and transform these countries one by one into countries ravaged by internal conflicts, blocs and crises”(Shaaban, Aug. 2020). In her view, outside powers are subjugating and pushing Arab countries into internal conflict, to weaken and divide Arabs, distancing them from the Palestinian cause.

Finally, two leads in Al-Mayadeen articles address a concept key in the constructivist theoretical framework. Saeb Erekat says, “The Palestinian people cannot accept a fictitious state that is severed its enclaves, linked to each other through bridges and tunnels, and subject to the continuous Israeli control and domination of its crossings, borders, airspace, and resources” (Erekat, 2020). Furthermore, Hayat Al-Hawaik Atia had a similar message in her lead, “Would we exaggerate if we said that we the people can determine the fate of all projects by resisting normalization not only with "Israel" but with its Arab clients?” (Al-Hawaik Atia, Aug. 2020).

Both of these leads are centered around the idea that the interests of individuals, based off of their identity as Arabs, compels them to push back against normalization in the interest of a shared identity. Overall, Al-Mayadeen leads, like Al-Jazeera's, offer a complexity of opinions and views at the beginning of the article that sets the tone for everything else the author says later on.

Narrative: Presentation of the Story

The Al-Mayadeen articles I analyzed begin with Abdul Aziz bin Habtoor's piece discussing the reasons for UAE normalization with Israel such as the colonial history of Israel and the desire to help Trump, Netanyahu, and Israel, which demonstrates the superfluous nature of the agreement. "The fall of the masks" discusses how this deal primarily benefited Netanyahu and Trump politically. The author also believes the deal shines light on a possible role for China, Russia, and other actors in the region. In "Normalization give up before signing," the author discusses a wide array of topics that covers the response Palestinians must have to this agreement as well as the different axis responsible for this normalization agreement, citing; the Muslim Brotherhood, Iran and its proxies, and foreign actors: the US, China, Russia, NATO, etc.

Saeb Erekat discusses the benefits the US is gaining by using Israel to achieve its regional interests. Saeb also explains how Arab countries have let the Palestinians down politically and financially. The next article, "The Emirati-Bahraini normalization is an introduction to Saudi normalization with the Zionist enemy," discusses generally the different 'projects' regarding normalization and focuses on those of Western countries which have

Summary

Al-Mayadeen

- Most Expressed a deeper view about Normalization
 - Saudi Normalization
 - "The UAE's normalization move is only an introduction to the Saudi normalization step. This is the catastrophe of catastrophes for the Islamic nation, if our analysis is correct"
 - Wariness of outside actors
 - "Confusion inhabits the minds of some Arab leaders who have been domesticated and educated on the principle that staying in power and seizing power can only take place with a guarantee from the gate of the Zionist movement"
 - Arabs should resist normalization
 - "Would we exaggerate if we said that we the people can determine the fate of all projects by resisting normalization not only with "Israel" but with its Arab clients?"

➡ Al-Arabiya leads elaborate on the negative result the agreements will have and who is to blame for them

tarnished the Arab League. The author also implicates Saudi Arabia in normalization and promotes following Iran's lead in resistance. In her piece, Hayat Al-Hawaik Atia discusses normalization with Sudan and the lack of benefits it will bring for the country, not to mention the wealth the US will be able to steal from Sudan now. Finally, Buthaina Shaaban talks about how the mood around normalization has not stalled because of the current geopolitical situation but instead the lack of results that have come out of the Arab League dialogue vis-a-vis Israeli-Palestinian peace in the last fifty years.

Thematically, there are a number of common issues Al-Mayadeen writers offer in regard to the normalization agreements between Arab countries and Israel. The first, a common theme between Al-Jazeera and the Lebanese channel, is the notion that this agreement serves to help Trump and Netanyahu politically and does nothing for the Palestinian cause. Buthaina Shaaban propagates this view, saying, "The timing was carefully chosen by the Americans and Israelis to serve the Trump election campaign and enhance Netanyahu's chances to continue to head the government. Beyond that, it has existed for decades in secret and in different ways" (Shaaban, Aug. 2020). Shaaban has "no doubt it [annexation] will resume after the American elections and after the end of Netanyahu's internal controversy" (Shaaban, Aug. 2020). These authors believe beyond a temporary freeze of annexation, these agreements will do nothing to further the Palestinian cause. As well, Abdul Aziz bin Habtoor also hints that within helping Netanyahu and Trump, normalization agreements now will pave the way for Saudi Arabia's future normalization with Israel; "The normalization step from the Zionist corner is a way to drag Saudi Arabia into the square of normalization treachery, of course, as we mentioned above, with the aim of saving the Zionist criminal / Benjamin Netanyahu from a series of moral scandals, corruption and betrayal of trust in his Zionist state, and it is also an electoral support for US President, Donald

Trump in his election campaign against the Democratic candidate, Joe Biden”(Aziz bin Habtoor, Sept. 2020).

Also similar to Al-Jazeera, a number of Al-Mayadeen authors write on the continuing effects of colonialism and the neo-colonialism immerging in the region. Abdul Aziz bin Habtoor contends that the Zionist ideology, a colonial relic, is still entrenched in Israel and thus, “they have not changed their rhetoric, practices, or racist ideology against Arabs since they embraced the Zionist ideology” (Aziz bin Habtoor, Aug. 2020). And today, Buthaina Shaaban argues that Sudan should not normalize as “the United States will open the doors to Sudan and bring them good things, while all the good things are in their land” (Shaaban, Oct. 2020). Shaaban sites former normalization agreements, like with Egypt, Jordan, and Palestine, and how the agreements did not result in tangible positives for these countries or the Palestinian cause in general.

Al-Mayadeen writers agree that although normalization will not help the Palestinian cause, it will work to strengthen the geopolitical situation of normalizers vis-a-vis the ‘resistance.’ Thus, numerous authors debate the different axes involved in normalization and how these agreements have affected their geopolitical situation. The first axis, identified by Hayat Al-Hawaik Atia, is “a resistance axis that extends from Tehran to Beirut” (Al-Hawaik Atia, Aug. 2020). Abdul Aziz bin Habtoor says, “The alliance of the project resisting the Western capitalist hegemony and the Zionist occupation of Palestine is led by the Islamic Republic of Iran. This project arose out of the rubble of oppression, suffering, displacement, settlement and humiliation of all kinds, and rose to resistance against the most ferocious, oppressive and tyrannical Western regimes and against their Arab followers who are zealous in the region and those working against our Arab and Islamic nation”(Aziz bin Habtoor, Sept.

2020). Thus, although recognized as a cohort and an impetus for Arab regimes to normalize, these authors believe that this is a necessity to defend the Arab and Islamic world.

Another axis in the normalization agreements is the involvement of foreign actors. Hayat puts it quite frankly when saying that “the conflict falls within the framework of an extremely complex interlocking of relations and interests” (Al-Hawaik Atia, Aug. 2020). In her view, it revolves around “the Cold War between the United States and China on the one hand and between Russia (or rather Eurasianism) and NATO on the other hand, and between the West and other blocs and international axes, some of which have been formed and some are taking shape - we do not mean by them only the BRICS countries and the Shanghai Organization - but rather, the matter goes beyond the conflict that began to unfold within the Atlantic itself between Europe and the United States”(Al-Hawaik Atia, Aug. 2020). Needless to say, there are a vast array of interests and divergences amongst this cohort of actors. However, Habtoor categorizes the UAE as falling into the “Western-American-Zionist project in the Middle East region” (Aziz bin Habtoor, Aug. 2020). Saeb Erekat considers the US to have an interest in achieving “the establishment of a regional alliance in which "Israel" plays a pivotal role alongside Arab countries in order to protect US interests in the region” (Erekat, 2020).

Although, some authors offer a foreign counterbalance to the “Western-American-Zionist project” in the region. Buthaina Shaaban commented that “the fragility and weakness of Western countries” currently has “opened the door wide for other options represented in China, Russia, and poles capable of presenting all alternatives, while preserving the dignity and decision of independent states” (Shaaban, Aug. 2020). Habtoor concurs with this assessment and believes the “alliance of the two giants, Russia and China, is imperative to avoid the arrogance of America and the West” (Aziz bin Habtoor, Sept. 2020).

The final axis discussed is that of Turkey and its support via the Muslim Brotherhood, a topic discussed by Al-Arabiya but not Al-Jazeera. Hayat Al-Hawaik Atia believes that Turkey “imposes itself as the godfather of a project to be completed by the Muslim Brotherhood in the geography of the dream of the Ottoman Sultanate” (Al-Hawaik Atia, Aug. 2020). Thus, the author concludes, if Israel can offer an opportunity to reach this goal for Turkey, then Ankara will willingly follow “the bulldozer of Israeli economic and cultural normalization” (Al-Hawaik Atia, Aug. 2020). Importantly as well, the demonization and linking of Turkey with the Muslim Brotherhood is a theme present in Al-Mayadeen and Al-Arabiya articles but not Al-Jazeera.

Finally, Hayat Al-Hawaik Atia proposes the final theme worth discussing which is Al-Mayadeen’s view of the constructivist framework in the context of normalization agreements today. Hayat contends that Arab countries have found ways to reject Israel, even when their countries have normalized with it; “This was the embodiment of a contradictory equation that prevailed throughout the Arab street, even in Jordan and Palestine, after the treaties. "Israel" was not able to penetrate the consciousness or erase the rejection and hostility of the people, nor did the rulers impose on the people what they signed on paper” (Al-Hawaik Atia, Aug. 2020). Although relations existed on paper, that is all it was. Al-Mayadeen contends that these newest normalization agreements can be like the Egyptian and Jordanian ones. Hayat highlights that “so far, no Israeli has participated in any cultural, sporting or artistic event in Jordan, for example” (Al-Hawaik Atia, Aug. 2020). Ultimately, this author sees the

Summary
Al-Mayadeen

- **Normalization will hurt Palestinians**
 - Help Netanyahu and Trump
- **Normalizing with Colonial Relics**
 - Israel and US
- **Geopolitical Considerations of Normalizations**
 - Curtailing 'resistance axis'
 - Aiding 'Western-American-Zionist' axis
 - Turkey and the Brotherhood
- **Constructivist View of Normalization**

normalization agreements within the context of a constructivist framework as long as their people stay course and their rulers are indifferent on the issue.

Narrative: Sources

In a similar tactic to many Al-Arabiya authors, Al-Mayadeen writers employ opposition figures to validate their opinions. Two authors cited two different Israeli Prime Ministers but used their words to prove the author's point, in these cases antithetical to the source's most likely original intent. Hayat Al-Hawaik Atia says normalization "will do nothing more than implement the slogan of Simon Peres; The convergence of Arab capitals with the "Israeli mind", as he put it, is to serve the hegemony of "Israel" over the region and the world"(Al-Hawaik Atia, Aug. 2020). As well, Buthaina Shaaban invokes "the enemy Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu," who said, "Sudan's skies are now open to "Israel," allowing for direct and shorter flights to Africa and Latin America'" (Shaaban, Oct. 2020). Shaaban uses this statement as evidence that Israel sees Sudan as something it can take advantage of. She elaborates, citing Netanyahu still, "Just as Netanyahu began with the sky of Sudan as if it had become the property of his flights, providing him access to Africa and Latin America. Their constituencies will talk about agriculture in Sudan and the fertility of the land and the enormous products that they will produce there, but after they have become the heroes of production and not the Sudanese themselves" (Shaaban, Oct. 2020). In these cases, two Israeli PMs had their words used to prove Al-Mayadeen's author's point of view, most likely in a way opposed to the source's original intentions.

In Hayat Al-Hawaik Atia's article on the transfer of Jewishness occurring in the state of Israel, she analyzes an article written by Benny Morris, a historian and professor at Ben-Gurion University, published in the New York Times titled, "Israel feels that the noose is getting worse"(Al-Hawaik Atia, Oct. 2020). Through her evaluation of Morris' findings, Hayat

concludes that Israel's sense of entrapment and threatened feeling has led to normalization as a way to remedy this problem. Thus, although in a different style, Morris as a source informs and confirms Hayat's original message. In general, official sources are used, like other media networks, to authenticate and reinforce the author's opinions on normalization.

Narrative: Background Information

Like the other two media sources, authors from Al-Mayadeen utilize background information to justify and inform their stance on normalization. One style a number of Al-Mayadeen authors used was characterizing historical events in a certain way that informs and leads to how one looks at the world. For example, Abdul Aziz bin Habtoor provokes the infamous Zionist slogan regarding Palestine and Jewish immigration to the land; "a land without a people in which a people without a land would live in it," this is how the Zionist rabbis promoted the occupation and usurpation of the land and the displacement of more than 7 million Palestinians spread across the globe"(Aziz bin Habtoor, Aug. 2020). From this reading, normalization is unjustifiable as Israel is rooted in the theft and expulsion of Palestinians and their lands. Similarly, Buthaina Shaaban points to the Saudi King Abdulaziz bin Saud's meeting with the US President when they "agreed that Gulf oil is in exchange for protecting their thrones, and that the only currency allowed to be used to sell the enormous oil wealth is the dollar"(Shaaban, Aug. 2020). Buthaina's choice to include this information shapes the interpretation of normalization events from sovereign states forming relations with who they wish into puppet states of the US doing its bidding.

Summary **Al-Mayadeen**

- Fewer Sources used as compared to Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya
- Mix of official and non-official figures
- Authors used opposition figures' statements to prove their view
 - Gurion and Netanyahu (Israeli Prime Ministers)
 - Benny Morris' *Israel Feels that the Noose is Getting Worse*

➡ The few sources employed all affirm the authors' views on normalization

Buthaina says the problem “that still persists is what President Bashar al-Assad called the "state of denial" that has been dragging on our history for hundreds of years and is largely responsible for the setbacks in this history” (Shaaban, Aug. 2020). The ‘state of denial,’ as the author describes, is the continual trap set by foreign powers which Arab countries keep falling for, following outsiders and doing their bidding, and constantly in a ‘state of denial’ about it. Abdul Aziz bin Habtoor’s insertion of background information gives context for the reader to understand that those who have followed Iran in their resistance have been able to achieve success; Resistance by following Iran, “achieved victory for Lebanon in its honorable battle, led by His Eminence Sayyid Hassan Nasrallah, against the Israeli enemy which forced them to withdraw from southern Lebanon in the year 2000. It achieved a great victory for him in 2006 and it has now guaranteed the balance of relative strategic deterrence with the Zionist entity that was arriving and roaming in Lebanon undeterred by its army.... On the other hand, this alliance of Arabism to Syria achieved the great victory and the steadfastness of the state with its borders and its glory under the leadership of the wise President Dr. Bashar al-Assad civilized Iraq and achieved a sweeping victory over the terrorist organizations (ISIS and al-Qaeda). The besieged Palestinian Gaza and its heroic resistance achieved the victories for which the Zionist enemy has a strategic account. Accurately, the great Yemen achieved steadfastness and victory after a war of aggression and an unjust siege that lasted nearly 2000 days of resistance” (Aziz bin Habtoor, Sept. 2020). Thus, through the framing of inserted historical events, Al-Mayadeen writers inform how the article portrays the world in order to justify an anti-normalization stance.

Al-Mayadeen authors also insert and utilize smaller historical background information to prove their views and outlook on normalization. For example, Buthaina Shaaban highlights how the head of Mossad is flying with the first Israeli delegation to arrive in the UAE and that this

“will indicate the type of relationship the entity is looking for” (Shaaban, Aug. 2020). Shaaban specifically points out in recalling the event that the head of Mossad was in the delegation to arrive in Abu Dhabi to prove the author’s point; “The rulers of the Gulf have only to receive orders from the head of the Mossad, who will spare no effort to weaken these countries, fragment them and turn them into marginal entities that plunder their wealth and enslave their people”(Shaaban, Aug. 2020). Similarly, both Shaaban and Saeb Erekat discuss how “Trump's plan to liquidate UNRWA and the rights of Palestinian refugees”(Erekat, 2020) as well as Israel freezing “the granting of entry visas to UN human rights employees”(Shaaban, Oct. 2020) proves that neither Trump nor Netanyahu can be trusted to have sympathy towards the Palestinian cause and thus, the normalization agreements will achieve nothing for Palestinians.

Summary

Al-Mayadeen

- Highlighting historical moments that have led to these agreements

- 1945 US/Saudi meeting

“a land without a people in which a people without a land would live”

- Highlighting more recent events that reinforce Al-Mayadeen authors’ views on normalization

- Mossad
- Trump/ Netanyahu

➔ **Past and Recent history are relied on heavily to validate the views of the authors**

Transitive: How actions are construed

This section analyzes how normalization is construed between Israel and several Arab states where the signing of these agreements and the impetus for normalizing is construed to generally portray them as negative, expected yet catastrophic, and antithetical to reason. Saeb Erekat portrays the agreements negatively by depicting the Palestinian’s response to normalization and labelling Israel unsympathetically; “The masses of our Palestinian people were distressed by hearing the news of the tripartite agreement according to which full normal relations would be established between the United Arab Emirates and "Israel," the occupying

power”(Erekat, 2020). Characterizing Palestinians as distressed implies the surprise and displeasure associated with the agreements. This attitude is reinforced with “Israel” being in quotes and labelling it the occupying power which both demonstrate the hypocrisy in forming relations with such an entity. Abdul Aziz bin Habtoor believes the only reason Arabs support normalization is because they have been convinced “to believe in the idea of normalization with the usurping Israeli Zionist entity, which is ‘Israel’” (Aziz bin Habtoor, Sept. 2020). He hypothesizes that US hegemony, and subsequently subordination, is the reason but his point emphasizes the message that normalization is a negative and will be harmful.

Al-Arabiya authors also characterize normalization as expected yet catastrophic. Abdul Aziz bin Habtoor says normalization was unveiled “on the already existing warm relations between the sheikhdom of the United Arab Emirates and the state of the Zionist entity that occupies the land of Palestine” (Aziz bin Habtoor, Aug. 2020). Not only does Habtoor demonize Israel in his framing of the state, demonstrating the hypocrisy in normalizing with an occupier, but he also shows that this was simply a formalization of already existing relations. Habtoor later states, “Of course, the news was warmly welcomed by most of the Western colonial capitalist countries that revolve around the US-Zionist orbit and its followers in the Arab region” (Aziz bin Habtoor, Aug. 2020). Once again, the characterization demonizes the normalizers but also conveys that it was expected that these colonial capitalist countries would support normalization.

Finally, Al-Arabiya writers characterize Israel in a negative way and demonize the state to highlight the ridiculousness of normalizing with such an entity. Buthaina Shaaban says of Israel, “According to him, all of them in the end are Arabs and he is driven by hatred for them and their history and civilization” (Shaaban, Aug. 2020). Similarly, Shaaban also states when referring to Israel, “After all the defamation and racism that our enemies practiced against us

over the past decades” (Shaaban, Oct. 2020). Others use this premise to offer rhetorical questions regarding normalization, “One wonders what is the interest of the United Arab Emirates in taking such a step? Especially since the leaders of "Israel" do not hide their ambitions to control Arab wealth through the so-called normalization” (Erekat, 2020). Questioning the logic of the UAE’s choice highlights the writer’s message that normalizing with Israel is antithetical to reason. Ultimately, Al-Mayadeen authors generally construe the recent normalization agreements as negative, expected yet catastrophic, and antithetical to reason.

Summary

Al-Mayadeen

- **Expected yet Catastrophic**
“Of course, the news was warmly welcomed by most of the Western colonial capitalist countries that revolve around the US-Zionist orbit and its followers in the Arab region”
- **Antithetical to Reason**
“The defamation and racism that our enemies practiced against us over the past decades...”

➔ **Al-Mayadeen authors construe the recent normalization agreements as expected yet catastrophic and antithetical to reason**

Transitive: How agency, causality, and responsibility are represented

Al-Mayadeen authors talk at length about the causes of Arab weakness which has led some countries to normalize relations with Israel. Saeb Erekat says of Palestinian unity, “We realize that we have a duty to strengthen this steadfastness and amplify the image of this struggle through salvation from the flawed division that our national movement has suffered over the past years” (Erekat, 2020). His use of the passive voice in this context is employed to convey that the division in the PA happened to them, owing no fault to the Palestinian Authority for provoking this division. Buthaina Shaaban offers her opinion that “The weakness of the Arabs, their scattered ranks and the collapse of their regional and international status, and one of the reasons for this collapse is the wars they waged against their brothers in Iraq, Libya, Syria and Yemen; Do not forget that the first planes that bombed Baghdad took off from the UAE, Qatar and Saudi Arabia”(Shaaban, Aug. 2020). She suggests that the Arabs are not only weak because of outside

forces that hold culpability but also because of the internal conflicts between Arab countries, citing specifically the use of Gulf military bases in the 2003 US invasion of Iraq.

In regards to discussing Sudanese normalization with Israel, Shaaban also discusses what Khartoum should do but neglects; “Many Arabs in their various countries have contributed to campaigns of self-flagellation and underestimation of Arabism and Arab nationalism and the tremendous capabilities that this nation possesses from its surroundings to its gulf”(Shaaban, Oct. 2020). Shaaban demonstrates her belief that Arab nationalism might offer a remedy to their continued degradation. Saeb Erekat continues with this idea, countering critics that say each country has the right to make its own sovereign decisions, saying, “We, as Palestinians, adhere to safeguarding the independence of our national decision, respect at the same time the right of every Arab country to make its own decisions, but this should not be a justification for shirking the obligations dictated by Arab solidarity and deviating from the decisions of the Arab summits that were taken unanimously, violating the Arab peace initiative that constitutes Arab consensus framework”(Erekat, 2020). Thus, even though every country has the right to make their own sovereign decisions all Arab countries, according to Erekat, have a responsibility towards the ‘Arab consensus.’ He reinforces this point by highlighting how those that have stuck to this axis have reaped tangible benefits for the Palestinians; Freezing annexation, “a temporary measure that comes as a result of a combination of a number of factors, including the Palestinian and Arab rejectionist position and the international consensus it created to condemn this Israeli move as a violation of international law and international legitimacy resolutions”(Erekat, 2020).

As well, while other media sources highlight the role Iran and others have played in destabilizing the region, leading to normalization, Al-Mayadeen writers suggest a different set of actors are accountable. Abdul Aziz bin Habtoor suggests, “There is an explicit accusation by a

number of Lebanese and foreign parties and political figures that it [Israel] had a hand in the explosion and disaster of the Beirut port.... The announcement of the normalization deal may divert the direction of the news from its course” (Aziz bin Habtoor, Aug. 2020). Hayat Al-Hawaik Atia also accuses Israel in having a hand in the Beirut port explosion as well as pointing to the UAE as having a hand in the Arab Spring and the instability that has followed; “Based on all of this, it becomes clear why the "Arab Spring" represented the demonization and destruction of Gaddafi's dictatorship, and no one struck at a dictatorship in any of the Gulf states. Rather, why was the inevitable first step before all that was the destruction of Iraq, so that Syria's role immediately began.... Why was both Qatar and the UAE working at the same time on the programmed economic penetration of the Syrian situation throughout the years before the war, to turn to financing the Syrian opposition and terrorist groups during the war” (Al-Hawaik Atia, Aug. 2020). The responsibility of Gulf countries for the Arab Spring and the instability that has followed as well as Israel’s alleged role in the Beirut port explosion demonstrates Al-Mayadeen’s general justification for rejecting normalization and their stark contrast in opinion with Al-Jazeera.

Finally, a few other authors look at another possible cause of normalization which is that these agreements have taken hold where there are smaller populations and ‘oppressive regimes’ can twist their people’s awareness quicker. Hayat Al-Hawaik Atia says, “because working on perverting peoples' awareness is not an easy and quick matter, the best option was to start with countries whose peoples do not constitute a significant human mass (numbers that only number in the hundreds of thousands, whether in Bahrain, the Emirates or Qatar)”(Al-Hawaik Atia, Aug. 2020). Hayat is making the connection that the only real support for these agreements is in smaller countries where their governments can manipulate the masses, insinuating that no one in

reality supports normalization. The author also mentions later that, through the media, allies of Israel continually bring up the Holocaust to remind people of the potential for another genocide in order to gain sympathizers for their cause (Al-Hawaik Atia, Oct. 2020). Thus, the desire of Al-Mayadeen writers to point to manipulation in some form as the cause for sympathy towards normalization is apparent.

Lexical: Framing

Finally, Al-Mayadeen writers, like the other media sources, use lexical framing to reinforce their views on normalization. Abdul Aziz bin Habtoor calls Israel the ‘Zionist movement,’ ‘the state of the Zionist entity that occupies the land of Palestine,’ and ‘the occupying enemy’ (Aziz bin Habtoor, Aug. 2020). Similarly, Buthaina Shaaban labels Israel an ‘enemy,’ ‘usurping entity,’ and ‘Zionist entity’ (Shaaban, Aug. 2020). Other authors further demonize Israel calling the state an ‘apartheid regime’ (Erekat, 2020) and referring to Israelis as ‘Zionist circles’ (Al-Hawaik Atia, Oct. 2020). Framing of Israel in this way reinforces the author’s message regarding normalization as unnatural, making peace with an enemy or occupier.

Similarly, other authors characterize Arab normalizers and supporters of the agreements as ‘the Western colonial capitalist countries’ (Aziz bin Habtoor, Aug. 2020), “oppressive regimes like no other in the world” (Al-Hawaik Atia, Aug. 2020), and ‘backward regional elites’ (Aziz bin Habtoor, Sept. 2020). Further demonization, like ‘the enemies of Sudan’ (Shaaban, Oct. 2020), or linking Arab normalizers and supporters with the US, like the ‘American Zionist administration’ (Aziz bin Habtoor, Sept. 2020) or ‘the American master’ (Shaaban, Oct. 2020), is

Summary **Al-Mayadeen**

- Causes of Arab Divisiveness
 - A Focus on Regional Conflicts
 - From regional and outside actors
 - Divergence from an Arab Consensus
 - Adhere to Arab Peace Initiative
 - Israel’s role in Destabilizing the Region
 - Israel and the Beirut Port
 - UAE and the Arab Spring

➡ The causality of and responsibility for normalization illuminates authors’ views on the key drivers of these agreements

also present. Overall, the framing of Arabs and foreigners engaging in normalization mirrors the demonization of the state of Israel itself.

Al-Mayadeen authors take a similar stance to other sources in sympathizing with Palestinians and their cause, calling them ‘the pure Palestine,’ or saying, “the occupied Palestinian territories are still suffering... even though they are the smartest, greatest and most generous people in our entire Arab nation”(Aziz bin Habtoor, Aug. 2020). These representations further the message that it is imperative to reject normalization for the sake of the Palestinians. Ironically, Al-Arabiya authors have a similar message but insist accepting normalization as a prerequisite for Palestinian prosperity.

Other ways Al-Mayadeen authors frame actors is by calling Iran ‘an illusion of hostility’ or Turkey, ‘the new Ottoman’ (Shaaban, Aug. 2020). Here, Iran’s perceived threat is deemed an illusion and Turkey today is linked with its Ottoman past. In another point of contrast to other media sources, Abdul Aziz bin Habtoor calls the recent agreements, ‘the so-called Abraham or Ibrahim Agreement’ (Aziz bin Habtoor, Sept. 2020). Unlike the Al-Arabiya author which uses the name Abraham to demonstrate the peaceful and monumental nature of the agreements, Habtoor uses the ‘so-called’ Abraham Accords as a representation of the hypocrisy and illegitimacy of the agreements. Ultimately, authors from Al-Mayadeen consistently frame the actors and actions supporting normalization in a negative manner.

Media:

Summary **Al-Mayadeen**

- **Demonize Israel**
 - ‘Zionist movement,’ ‘usurping entity,’ ‘apartheid regime’
- **Demonize Normalizers**
 - ‘the Western colonial capitalist countries,’ “oppressive regimes like no other in the world,” and ‘backward regional elites’
- **Positive Framing of Palestinians**
 - ‘the pure Palestine’

The last source of data from Al-Mayadeen articles is the media contained within each piece. In all but one article, pictures in the writings show Emirati, Bahraini, American, and Israeli officials in one way or another. In Habtoor's article, there is a picture showing the King of Bahrain and the Saudi Crown Prince smiling friendly at one another with the caption, "King of Bahrain Hamad bin Isa Al-Khalifa receives Mohammed Bin Salman in Manama in 2018" (Aziz bin Habtoor, Sept. 2020). Similarly, in Hayat Al-Hawaik Atia's article there is a picture showing the three signatories from the UAE-Bahrain-Israel deal outside of the White House with the caption, "Signing the Israeli-Emirati agreement at the White House" (Al-Hawaik Atia, Oct. 2020). Although these captions are rather bland and descriptive, like the Al-Jazeera articles, the choice to highlight the signatories of these agreements is pertinent to their messages.

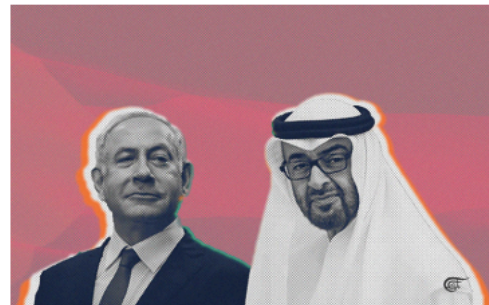
Other similar media however had more descriptive captions that pointed to views the authors propagated later in the articles. Buthaina Shaaban says in her article, under the picture showing Bin Zayed, Netanyahu, and Trump against a blue backdrop, "The timing of the announcement of the Emirati-Israeli agreement was carefully chosen by the Americans and Israelis" (Shaaban, Aug. 2020). Similarly, Hayat Al-Hawaik Atia offers criticisms in her caption, below a picture of Zayed and Netanyahu, saying, "The Emirati-Israeli agreement represented a new turning point in the reversal of an important detail, which is the principle of 'normalization before signing'" (Al-Hawaik Atia, Aug. 2020). Saeb Erekat even goes so far as to link these agreements with Netanyahu's domestic turmoil, under a picture showing the first Israeli delegation disembarking from an 'El Al' plane in the UAE with the caption, "The normalization step meets a vital interest for Netanyahu who faces growing popular opposition"(Erekat, 2020).

The lone dissenting article, which showed a picture of a Sudanese woman protesting, holding a sign reading, "No reconciliation, No negotiations, No Recognition," also had a caption

relating to the general message of the article; “What the Israeli enemy and the American master think of, of course, is Sudan’s open sky, its benevolent land, and its enormous wealth”(Shaaban, Oct. 2020). Thus, whether discretely or blatantly, Al-Mayadeen authors utilize the media in their articles to promote their views regarding normalization between Arab countries and Israel.



Summary
Al-Mayadeen



Concluding Analysis:

In conclusion, it is necessary to analyze the different themes propagated, via narrative, transitive, or lexical means, in the three media sources using the constructivist framework in order to determine if this view of the world still applies to Arab countries vis-a-vis Israel and Palestine. Amongst all Al-Jazeera, Al-Arabiya, and Al-Mayadeen writers there is a prevailing desire to show that their view regarding normalization supports Palestinians and their cause. Al-Arabiya writers make this infinitely clear by writing statements like, “Throughout the history of the relationship between the Emirates and Palestine, the Gulf state has never had any goal but to help the Palestinians” (Khayr Allah, 2020). As well, authors insist that normalization is to thank for halting the annexation of parts or all of the West Bank; “The UAE reaped a tangible gain for the Palestinian cause, not by slogans, but by work” (Al-Dayidi, 2020).

However, Al-Jazeera and Al-Mayadeen writers suggest the opposite, saying that normalization will hurt Palestinians and only benefit the enemies of Palestine. One Al-Jazeera author claims, “The agreements have absolutely nothing to do with Palestinian interests, and its

impact on the path of the Palestinian cause will not be like the impact of Oslo or Camp David” (Abdel Al-Hadi, 2020). While another author from Al-Jazeera suggests that these agreements “make Netanyahu almost the only one benefiting from the normalization path, and perhaps Trump in a symbolic way, but it severely limits Arab countries from benefiting from it” (Al-Hajj, 2020). An Al-Mayadeen author claims a similar stance saying the deals are a way to help Netanyahu personally with his corruption charges and a way for Trump to gain political points to help him in the past election (Aziz bin Habtoor, Aug. 2020). There is a clear need and desire by all media sources, regardless of their approval of normalization, to support the Palestinian cause and demonstrate that their views regarding normalization supports the Palestinians. This demonstrated desire to be in support of the Palestinian cause is in line with a constructivist view of the world where the identity of Arabs informs their governments’ policies.

However, the last two general themes serve to explain the relations of Arab countries vis-a-vis Israel and Palestine through a different set of identities than has historically been propagated through a constructivist framework. The first of which is that all three media sources identify and discuss Arab or Palestinian unity being weakened in some way or another. There is a general consensus that, although outside actors play a role, it is the actors within the region largely responsible for the culpability of Arab and Palestinian divisions. As mentioned, an Al-Jazeera author lays partial blame on the intervention of major powers in the region. However, the same author also cites “the conflict of interests of the member states and hegemonic policies carried out by some countries at times”(Abdel Al-Hadi, 2020) leading to the “natural result of the failure of Arab and regional organizations to achieve coordination, cooperation and complementarity among member states”(Abdel Al-Hadi, 2020). Thus, although outside actors share a piece of culpability, the majority of blame lies within the region for this paralysis.

Al-Arabiya writers similarly see Palestinian weakness as the result of their policies and internal division. One author states, “The Arabs still care about the fate of the Palestinians, but attention must be paid to their disappointment with the Palestinian Authority and their concern that the strategies tried so far have failed” (Zogby, 2020). Another takes a more direct stance, accusing the Palestinian leadership of negligence towards their people; Palestinians should not be “relying on the sayings of leaders who do not starve or thirst, and have assets in all the world's banks, who talk about the right to return and liberate lands while others die from hunger, destitution, unemployment, disease and deprivation, and factions”(Salemeen Al-Nuaimi, 2020). Thus, Al-Arabiya authors universally point to Palestinian weakness as the result of their own leadership, policies, and internal division.

Al-Mayadeen authors add on to the point that Al-Jazeera made regarding intra-Arab conflict however, they place a larger responsibility on normalizing actors like the UAE and Bahrain, as well as their ally in Saudi Arabia, for destabilizing the region. As noted in the data section, there is a consistent view that the Gulf states have destabilized the region before and after the Arab Spring; “Based on all of this, it becomes clear why the "Arab Spring" represented the demonization and destruction of Gaddafi's dictatorship, and no one struck at a dictatorship in any of the Gulf states”(Al-Hawaik Atia, Aug. 2020). The same author as well as another even point to the UAE as a possible culprit for the Beirut port explosion that took place last year; “This is what it [UAE] is doing in Beirut with its declared French ally and its silent Israeli ally, perhaps it might possess the port”(Al-Hawaik Atia, Aug. 2020). Thus, generally, Al-Jazeera, Al-Arabiya, and Al-Mayadeen all allude to, in one way or another, the culpability of intra-Arab conflict and disagreement as a leading cause for the division amongst Arabs that has led to these normalization agreements.

Consequently, this view, that intra-Arab conflict is to blame for Arab divisions is in line with a constructivist view of the world but is explained through the prioritization of different identities. Theoretically, during the Arab Spring, all Arab countries would have rallied together to either see to their people's will to form a democracy or partner to stabilize all Arab governments in accordance with a shared Arab identity. Instead, neither happened, and as the Al-Jazeera author Mahmoud Abdel Al-Hadi said, "the conflict of interests of the member states and hegemonic policies carried out by some countries at times" (Abdel Al-Hadi, 2020) are largely to blame for the Arab division. The interest of individual states is a manifestation of its government's various identities and thus, this view of relations, although in contrast to the historically dominated identity of Arabs, is in line with a constructivist view of the world and is explained by the final theme propagated amongst the Arab media sources.

The explanation for countries' decisions to pursue their own interests irrelevant of Arab consensus or unity, is laid out by all three sources as a general wariness of the growing influence of either regional or international actors. For example, Al-Arabiya writers see 2003 as a turning point, where afterwards, "Palestine was no longer the central issue, neither for Arabs nor for non-Arabs" (Khayr Allah, 2020). Instead, the supporters of normalization rationalize that Israel has become "an old enemy, and here are the present most dangerous enemies canceling its danger with greater danger" (bin Bajad Al-Otaibi, 2020). What is this greater danger? Mohammed Al Sheikh claims, "Israel is no longer the first enemy for us, the Gulf, as it was before the Persian Safavid mullahs crouched on Iran in 1979 and began exporting the revolution, nor before Erdogan assumed the presidency in Turkey and worked to restore the Ottoman occupation of the Arab world"(Al Sheikh, 2020). Lumping Turkey in with Iran was something that was unexpected and made even the more interesting by the fact that Al-Mayadeen authors similarly

demonized and blamed Ankara for regional instability via their proxy in the Muslim Brotherhood. More revealing however may be that Al-Jazeera articles choose not to denounce Turkey or link Ankara with the Brotherhood.

Although Al-Arabiya writers put the onus of responsibility on Iran and Turkey, Al-Jazeera continually propagated that Israeli influence is not only concerning but growing with the recent agreements. This is represented by Said Al-Hajj's opinion that "the first and most dangerous thing that the "Israelis" did after the agreements they concluded with Egypt, the Palestinian Authority and Jordan, is to work on penetrating the internal fronts, espionage and harming all available means, legitimate and illegitimate. It is no secret that the countries that have followed the path of normalization with them recently are not more immune than the aforementioned countries" (Al-Hajj, 2020). Hajj's view that normalization agreements will lead to further "Zionist penetration of the countries of the region" (Abdel Al-Hadi, 2020) is widely held and demonstrates the wariness Al-Jazeera writers have for Israel's influence in the region, especially after these agreements.

Finally, Al-Mayadeen writers are acutely aware of the geopolitics of the region and the different forces at work. The overall sentiment is that the normalization agreements do not help Palestinians but do support the normalizers' geopolitical situations. One author suggests that the UAE's normalization with Israel was in order to assist Abu Dhabi with its conflict with Qatar (Aziz bin Habtoor, Aug. 2020). Furthermore, another author suggests "The Trump administration sees an interest in achieving progress on another axis of its plan, which calls for the establishment of a regional alliance in which "Israel" plays a pivotal role alongside Arab countries in order to protect US interests in the region"(Erekat, 2020). This notion is in line with Al-Arabiya's message and although the Al-Mayadeen writers do not support such an initiative,


its authors do recognize this axis as an important impetus for normalization agreements. Other Al-Mayadeen authors see normalization in the context of a “Cold War between the United States and China on the one hand and between Russia (or rather Eurasianism) and NATO on the other hand” (Al-Hawaik Atia, Aug. 2020).


Regardless of the actors blamed for destabilization, the consensus from all three media sources that the geopolitics of the region were an important factor in the recent normalization agreements, whether they approve of them or not, is an indication that this situation can be explained by the constructivist theory of international relations as determined by the various identities of states. James Zogby’s argument that Arab public opinion has changed and now its citizens of these countries have a greater focus on “Syria, Iraq, the failure of the ‘Arab Spring’ and concern about Iran's behavior in the region”(Zogby, 2020), is an indication of the shift of interest from being based around the identity of Arab towards, what Al-Jazeera, Al-Arabiya, and Al-Mayadeen point to as, a growing concern over foreign interference. Yet, the vast majority of authors from all three Arab media sources insist on showing their support for the Palestinian cause, consistent with a constructivist view of the world based around their shared identity as Arabs.


Role Theory, as developed by Thies, serves to explain this contradiction as each state envisions their role in a socially constructed way that informs their interests. Saudi Arabia, home of the two holiest sites for Muslims, sees itself as the protector of Islam. Conversely, Iran and groups like Hezbollah, which follow its lead, see their role as the resistance against forces hurting Muslims, specifically Shiite communities. This has proven to cause division, as constructivist Ted Hopf states, a state’s identities serve to define its allies and enemies, opportunities and threats.

Thus, the desire by authors to associate their views with helping Palestinians is in line with how role theory, a subset of constructivism, would explain the states' behavior in this context. Yet, the adoption of these identities has become a perceived risk for other states which view, for example, Qatari support for the Muslim Brotherhood as a direct threat to the identity of Saudi Arabia as the guardian of Islam and Sunni Muslims specifically. Thus, the majority of evidence supports a constructivist explanation of Arab states normalizing, as Palestinian sympathy is simply a facade for their true impetus, for or against normalization, which is to counter the influence and threat of the conflicting identities in the region.

Concluding Analysis

-  Clear desire from all Al-Jazeera, Al-Arabiya, and Al-Mayadeen writers to show that their view regarding normalization supports the Palestinian cause.
 - Al-Arabiya writers generally support normalization
 - Al-Jazeera and Al-Mayadeen writers generally reject normalization

-  All three media sources identify and discuss Arab or Palestinian unity being weakened
 - Al-Jazeera authors → conflict of interest amongst member states
 - Al-Arabiya authors → focus turned towards regional instability (by Iran) away from Israel-Palestine
 - Al-Mayadeen authors → focus on internal conflicts made worse by UAE, Bahrain, and Saudi Arabia

-  All three networks agree the growing influence of either regional or international actors is a defining interest in normalization
 - Al-Arabiya authors → shift in perceived regional threats
 - Al-Mayadeen authors → agreements serve to strengthen normalizers' geopolitical situation
 - Al-Jazeera authors → Israeli influence concerning and growing because of these deals

Chapter IV: Discussion and Conclusion

Conclusion:

In conclusion, it is clear that the theoretical concept of constructivism, which formerly explained the relations of Arab countries vis-a-vis Israel as defined by their shared Arab identity, now explains the region's relations through a different set of prevailing identities and interest

after the UAE, Bahrain, Morocco, and Sudan normalized relations with Israel in 2020. Historically, even when governments chose to normalize relations with Israel, their people rejected these decisions and for the most part, their leaders followed suit. However, as demonstrated through the CDA analysis of Al-Jazeera, Al-Arabiya, and Al-Mayadeen articles, a general consensus has formed which suggests that the reason to both support or reject normalization is not based around its shared identity with Palestinians but instead on how these agreements will impact the geopolitical situation in the region as defined by the identity of elites.

Whereas historically, Arab states' policy could be largely consistent with each other vis-a-vis Israel and Palestine, based around their common Arab identity. Despite the desire by all authors to continue to demonstrate their views are in line with their identity as Arabs, after these normalization agreements, it is evident that policies have shifted towards an interest in each states' attention to regional interference amidst intra-Arab competition. Thus, it is evident that the constructivist framework, which used to explain Arab states' relations with Israel as defined by their Arab identity, now serves to explain the situation through the identity of elites in Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and Hezbollah, as greater wariness of foreign interference from regional axis, whether at the behest of Iran or Israel, has prevailed.

Limitations:

There are a few limitations this thesis faced which, if overcome, would lead to better data and more quality results. For starters, the scope of this thesis was narrow on purpose because of the limited time available. In the end, it was necessary to narrow down the possible articles about normalization from hundreds to the tens because it would have not been possible to translate, annotate, and analyze all the articles. With a team of people or significantly more time it could

be possible to widen the scope to include articles that may be tangential to normalization but pertinent to analyze, nonetheless.

As well, another limitation that may be impossible to overcome is investigating and uncovering the editorial control in each media company. Researching and analyzing how tightly controlled, for example, Al-Jazeera writers are by their editors or possibly government officials could further shed light on the relationship between the views expressed in a given article and the government's official opinion. Investigating editorial control could also illuminate dissenting voices, unaccounted for currently.

Opportunities for Future Research:

There are immense opportunities for future research as these normalization agreements are still relatively new and countries are still weighing their options. One of the most interesting topics for further research is to follow and look for future normalizations. Multiple authors in this research suggested at the current agreements paving the way for Saudi Arabia. Continuing to monitor these Arab media sources may prove pertinent in uncovering the sentiment before normalization agreements are announced.

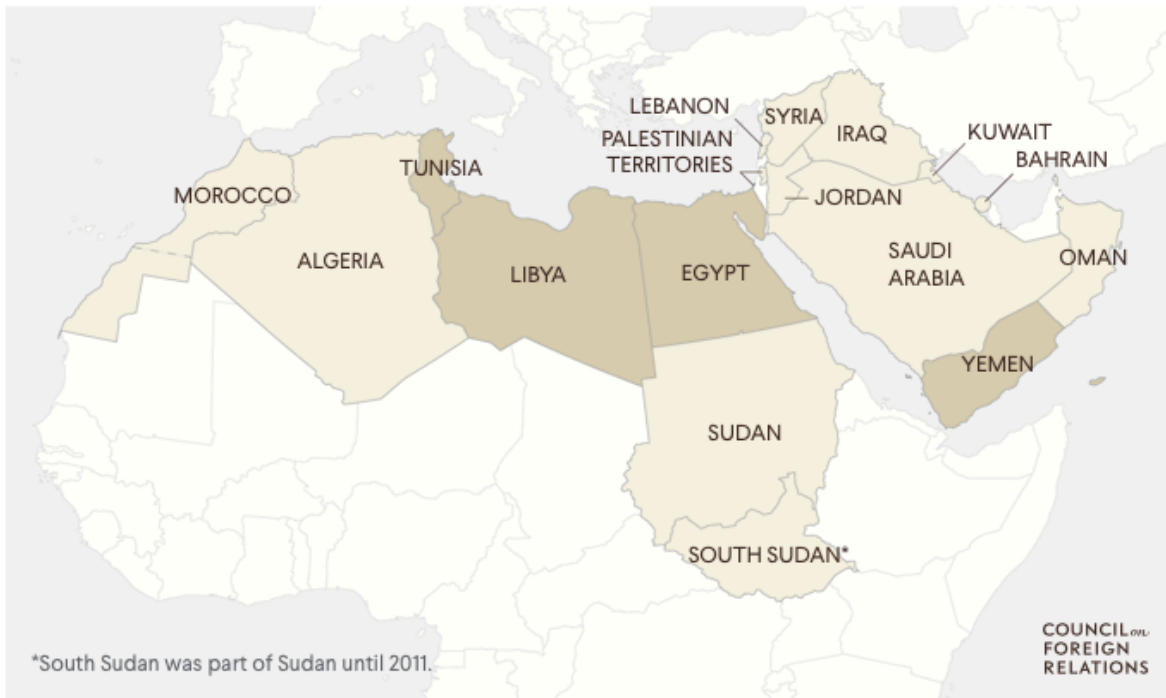
As well, further research may investigate what Palestinian media in the West Bank (supportive of Fatah) and in the Gaza Strip (supportive of Hamas) have to say about normalization agreements. Do both sides reject normalization? Are there aspects of the agreements they are sympathetic to? Where is the overlap and where is the divergence of opinion? All of these questions would be useful in uncovering if there has been a shift amongst Palestinians from before to now. Researching Hebrew media and their opinion on normalization agreements would be pertinent in this discussion as well.

Figures:

Figure 1:

Where the Arab Spring Happened

● Leadership change ● Protests but no leadership change

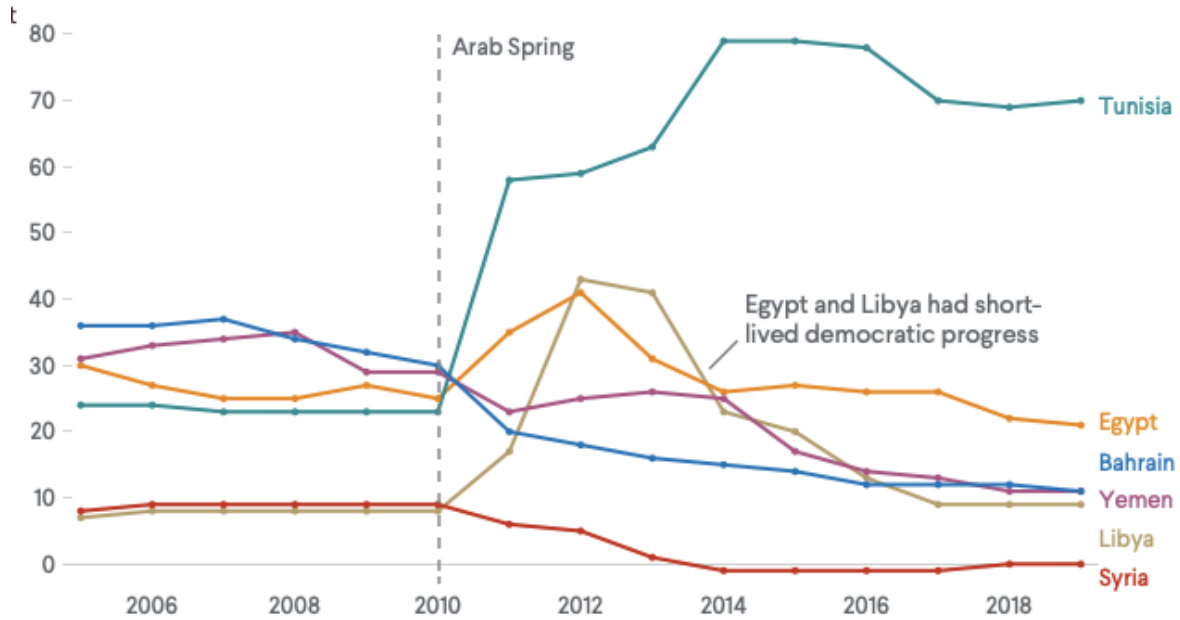


Source: Robinson (2020)

Figure 2:

No Lasting Democratic Progress, Except in Tunisia

Countries' political rights and civil liberties scores



Note: The score is an index by Freedom House with ratings for indicators such as electoral process, political pluralism, and freedom of expression and belief.

Source: Freedom House.

COUNCIL ON
FOREIGN
RELATIONS

Source: Robinson (2020)

Figure 3: Themes, Narrative: Title

Narrative: Titles		
<p>Al-Jazeera</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Clearly Reject Normalization <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Minority of articles Subtly Critical of Normalization <p><i>Despite the condemnation of normalization, an article in the National Interest talks about the "advantages" of the Moroccan-Israeli agreement</i></p> <p><i>After a month of normalization with the UAE and Bahrain, Israel approves building thousands of new settlement units in the West Bank</i></p> <p>➔ Vast majority of articles <u>cast doubt on and criticize</u> normalization</p>	<p>Al-Arabiya</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Clearly Support Normalization <p><i>Emirati Peace... Who criticizes it?</i></p> Subtly Supportive of Normalization <p><i>Beyond the signature!</i></p> <p><i>My opinion on the UAE and Bahrain's Peace with Israel</i></p> Expressed a deeper view about Normalization <p><i>Relations with Israel ... Bahrain is more knowledgeable about its branches</i></p> <p><i>Gulf States and the Palestinian Cause</i></p> <p>➔ Vast majority of articles <u>support and look positively at</u> normalization</p>	<p>Al-Mayadeen</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Blatantly Reject Normalization <p><i>Normalization Give up Before Signing</i></p> Subtly Critical of Normalization <p><i>Signs of Normalization between the Emirates and the Israeli Occupation</i></p> Expressed a deeper view about Normalization <p><i>The Arab Choices Between Fallujah and Kiryat Gat</i></p> <p><i>The Emirati-Bahraini Normalization is an Introduction to Saudi Normalization with the Zionist Enemy</i></p> <p>➔ <u>All</u> articles, either blatantly or through transitive and lexical means, <u>criticize</u> the normalization agreements</p>

Figure 4: Themes, Narrative: Leads

Narrative: Leads	
<p>Al-Jazeera</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Echoes sentiment of titles regarding normalization <p><i>"The last few weeks witnessed a rapid and hasty normalization of relations with "Israel" and a number of Arab countries"</i></p> Expressed their deeper views on normalization <p><i>Normalization "should provoke all Palestinian forces to seriously stop, leave the shouting and wailing under blanket denunciations and look deeply into the current regional and international context controlling the path of the Palestinian cause in search of new solutions that push the issue forward..."</i></p> <p>➔ Majority of articles that had leads <u>reinforced the message in their titles</u> and some <u>expressed deeper opinions</u> on normalization</p>	<p>Al-Mayadeen</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Most Expressed a deeper view about Normalization <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Saudi Normalization <p><i>"The UAE's normalization move is only an introduction to the Saudi normalization step. This is the catastrophe of catastrophes for the Islamic nation, if our analysis is correct"</i></p> Wariness of outside actors <p><i>"Confusion inhabits the minds of some Arab leaders who have been domesticated and educated on the principle that staying in power and seizing power can only take place with a guarantee from the gate of the Zionist movement"</i></p> Arabs should resist normalization <p><i>"Would we exaggerate if we said that we the people can determine the fate of all projects by resisting normalization not only with "Israel" but with its Arab clients?"</i></p> <p>➔ Al-Arabiya leads <u>elaborate</u> on the <u>negative</u> result the agreements will have and who is to blame for them</p>

Figure 5: Themes, Narrative: Presentation of Story

Narrative: Presentation of the Story		
<p><u>Al-Jazeera</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Normalizations will either hurt or have no effect on Palestinians <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Only one dissenting article • Normalizing with a Colonial Relic <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Israel, UAE, Bahrain • Israel's Influence in the Region <i>"The Zionist penetration of the countries of the region."</i> • Deterioration of Arab Unity <i>Internal Conflict "pulls the Arab region away from the Palestinian issue and the Arab-Israeli conflict."</i> 	<p><u>Al-Arabiya</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Normalization Agreements will help Palestinians <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stops Annexation • Opportunity for a state • Change in Approach • Sovereign Right of States <i>"It is we, not the Arabs of the North, nor the Arabs of North Africa, who assess the dangers surrounding us and set the priorities."</i> • Iranian Influence in the Region <i>Normalization is a "realistic opportunity away from the "Brotherhood," Iran, nationalist and leftist word shops"</i> 	<p><u>Al-Mayadeen</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Normalization will hurt Palestinians <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Help Netanyahu and Trump • Normalizing with Colonial Relics <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Israel and US • Geopolitical Considerations of Normalizations <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Curtailing 'resistance axis' • Aiding 'Western-American-Zionist' axis • Turkey and the Brotherhood • Constructivist View of Normalization

Figure 6: Themes, Narrative: Sources

Narrative: Sources		
<p><u>Al-Jazeera</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sources come from non-official figures <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural/Media Figures, Non-Profits • Affirmed the author's view on normalization <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "Peace Now" Org. and Makadi Salem Al-Nahhas (Jordanian Artist) • Countered the author's view on normalization <p>➔ <u>Variety</u> of opinions introduced that <u>affirmed</u> and <u>offered opposing views</u> to that of the author's</p>	<p><u>Al-Arabiya</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Majority Official Sources • Authors cite sources with a similar view on normalization • Cites sources that are against normalization, yet authors use the sources as an affirmation of their support <i>Why does the Palestinian leadership have the right to speak on behalf of the Emirati or Bahraini people and prevent them from taking sovereign decisions that are compatible with their interests?!"</i> <p>➔ Sources are <u>exclusively official figures</u> and <u>all affirm</u> authors' support of normalization</p>	<p><u>Al-Mayadeen</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fewer Sources used as compared to Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya • Mix of official and non-official figures • Authors used opposition figures' statements to prove their view <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gurion and Netanyahu (Israeli Prime Ministers) • Benny Morris' <i>Israel Feels that the Noose is Getting Worse</i> <p>➔ The few sources employed <u>all affirm</u> the authors' views on normalization</p>

Figure 7: Themes, Narrative: Background Information

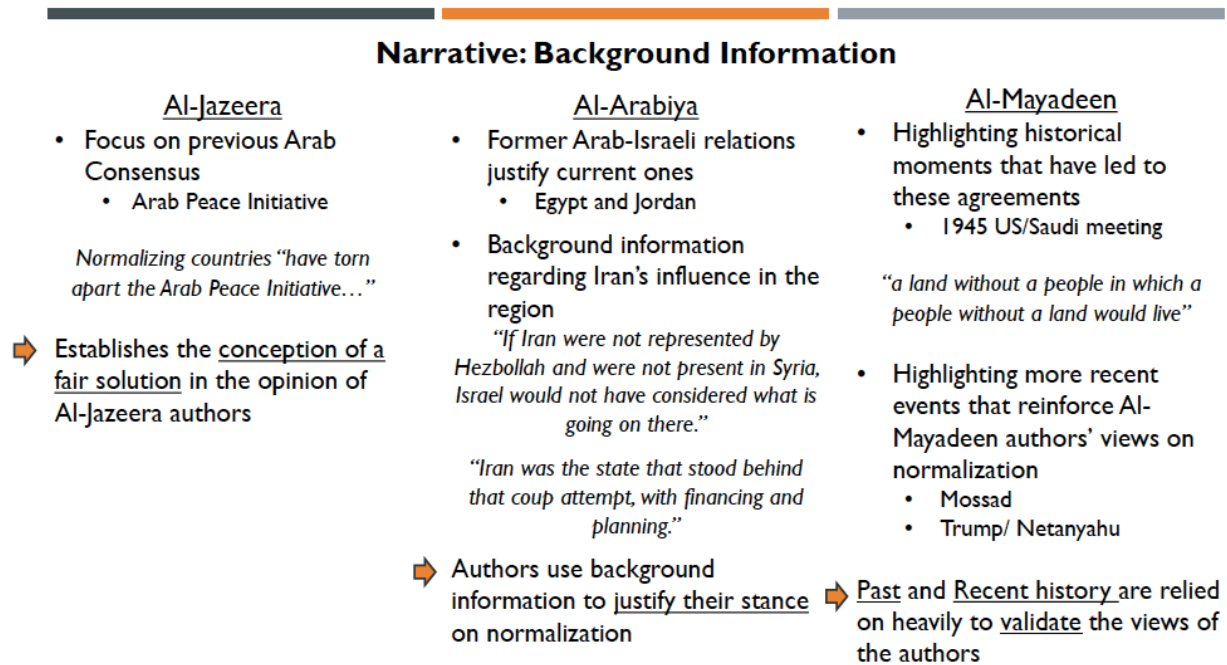


Figure 8: Themes, Transitive: How actions are Construed

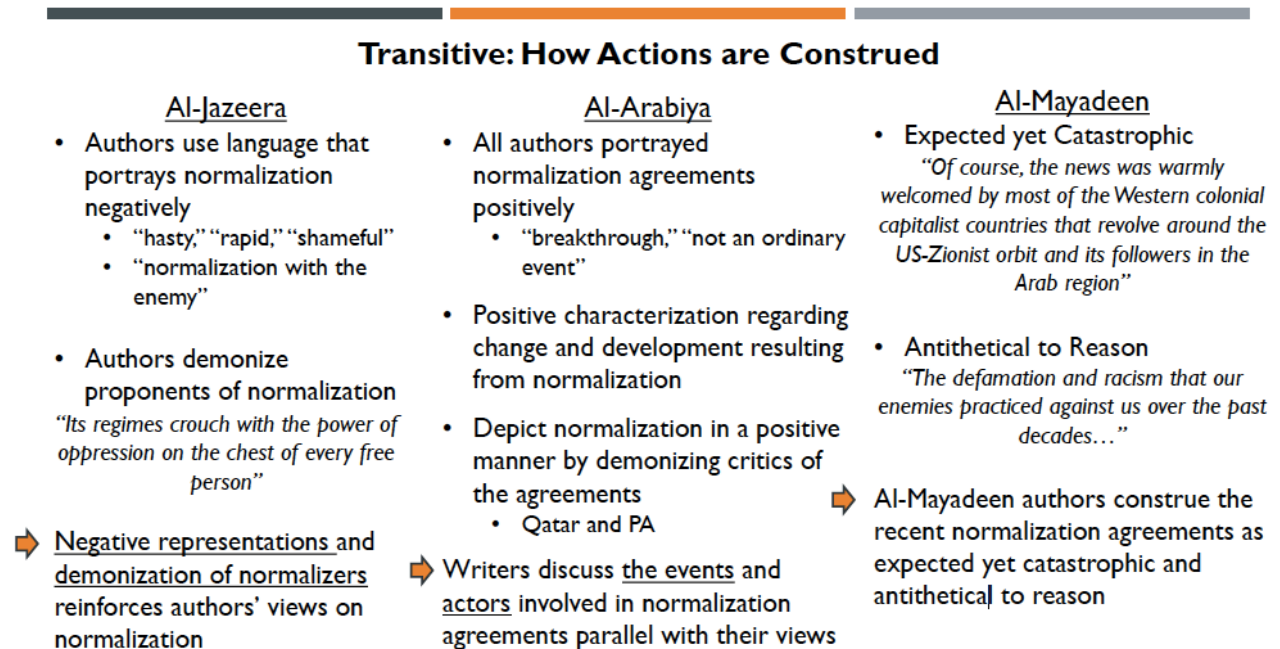


Figure 9: Themes, Transitive: How Agency, Causality, and Responsibility are Represented

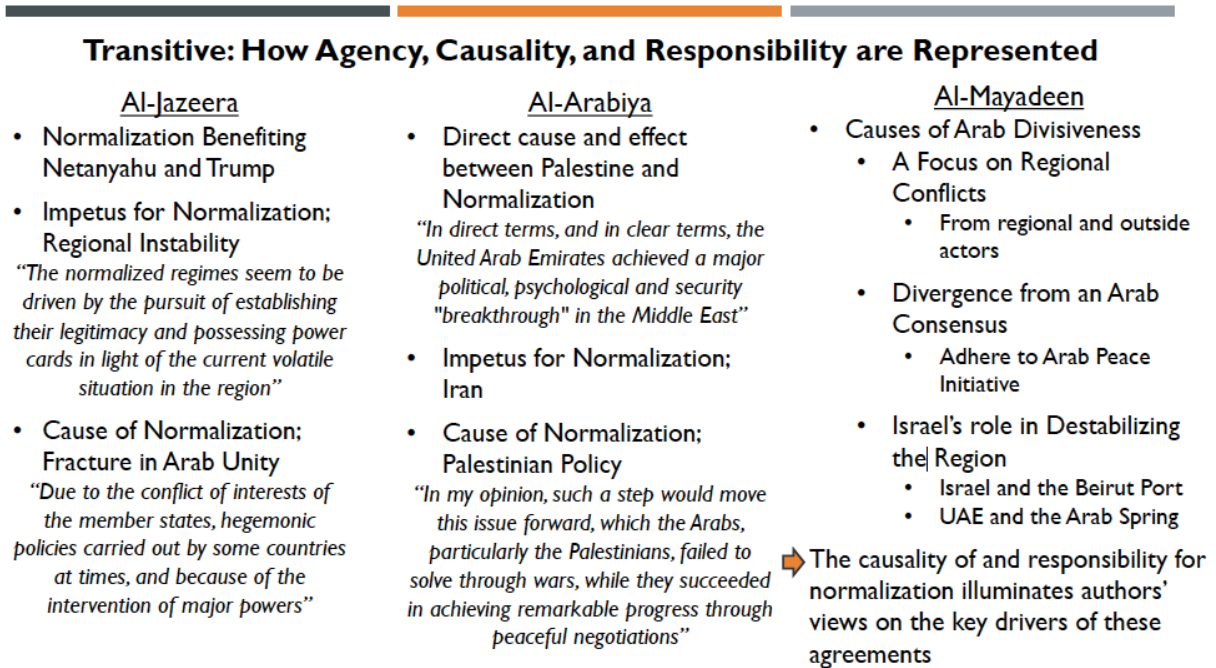
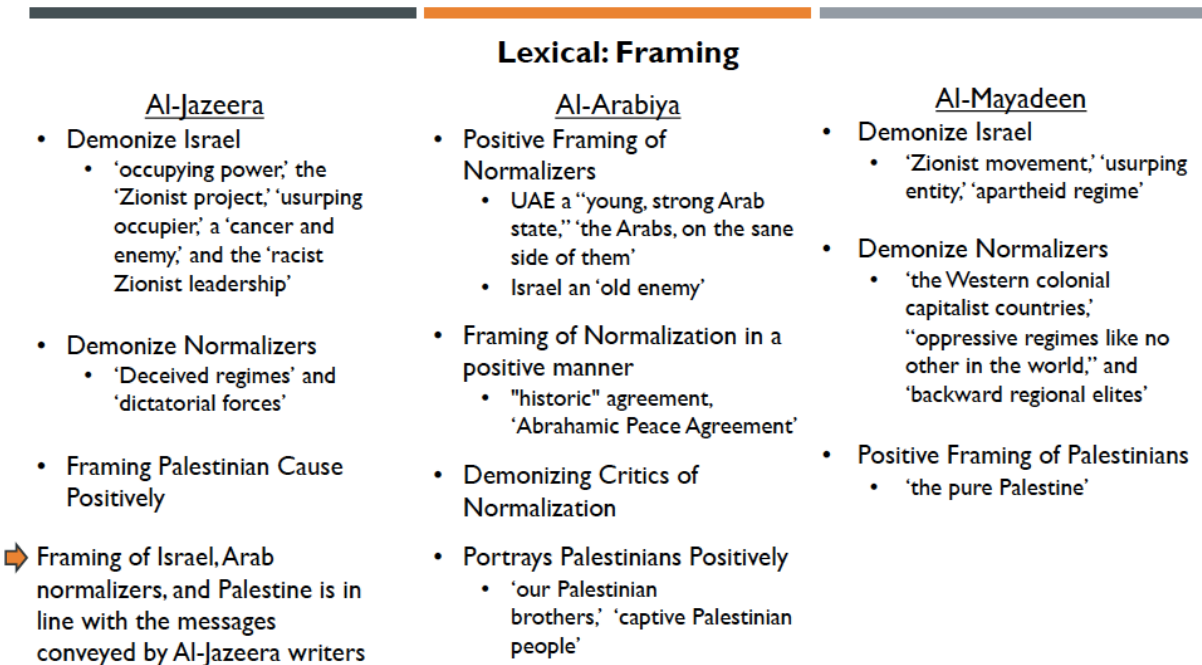


Figure 10: Themes, Lexical: Framing



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Appendix:

	Arabic	English
Title	حسابات خاطئة بخصوص التطبيع	Miscalculations regarding normalization
Author	سعيد الحاج	Said Al-Hajj
Date Published	12/20/2020	----
Publisher	Al-Jazeera	----

Header: The last few weeks witnessed a rapid and hasty normalization of their relations with "Israel" in a number of Arab countries, which seemed like a race against time before the end of Donald Trump's presidency. Some of these countries did not only start political and diplomatic relations with Tel Aviv but expanded on the matter to include "popular" initiatives by visiting and promoting and praising the occupation.

These steps represented a departure from the official Arab consensus, exemplified by the Arab Peace Initiative announced at the 2002 Beirut Summit, which was considered a minimum for what could be accepted; "Not worth the ink it was written with."

The main pretext for this normalizing gasp for some Arab regimes, which leaked "Israeli" sources said will increase soon, is the interest of these special national states, which were marketed as not inconsistent with the Palestinian cause and the rights of their people. Indeed, some of them claimed that their normalization would directly benefit the Palestinians.

There are major mistakes in the calculations of these regimes regarding this path of normalization, its essence, timing, method and results. The most important of which are: The first: the principle. Looking at "Israel" as an enemy or opponent of the Palestinians only, as if the issue is a border dispute between two neighboring countries, and negligence - inadvertently or intentionally - about the nature of the entity as a Western colonial project to subjugate, fragment and control the entire region, and thus hostility and contradiction with everyone in it, states and peoples.

In this sense, it is not correct to say that normalization "will not harm the Palestinian cause," because normalization is harmful both to the state that came before it, and to the Palestinian cause alike. This is precisely the reason for the implicit contradiction in the term "normalization", as it is "unnatural" and unacceptable to establish "normal" relations with the occupying power because of the nature, background and goals of the Zionist project.

Second: the justification. It is not true that there is a real interest in the normalization of the Arab countries with "Israel," rather they are only delusional interests. If there was the slightest interest or benefit that would accrue to this or that country, it would have been obtained by Egypt and Jordan, which signed agreements decades ago, or even the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Even in the case of Morocco, which on the surface seems to have obtained a lucrative return in exchange for normalization, with the United States' recognition of its sovereignty over Western Sahara, this is also an unreal interest. With a new American administration recognition is not guaranteed and permanent. Nor is it binding international recognition or capable of changing all equations related to the issue. In addition

to a mistake, what Morocco sees as its original right is mortgaged to another file, such as normalization, which makes the matter a solicitation or a justification rather than a real interest attained.

Third: timing. Assuming that we have transcended the principle of normalization itself, one of the biggest mistakes these regimes committed is signing and betting on inactive or crisis parties. US President Donald Trump is preparing his last days in the White House and Netanyahu has been suffering for years at home from failure to form a stable government as well as prosecutions.

The requirements of this timing make Netanyahu almost the only one benefiting from the normalization path, and perhaps Trump in a symbolic way, but it severely limits Arab countries from benefiting from it. And if some regimes had previously announced normalization in an effort to maximize Trump's chances in the US elections, the subsequent announcements about the latter's loss in the elections seem more failed, as if someone scores a goal after the referee's whistle.

Fourth: priority. The normalizing regimes seem to be driven by the pursuit of establishing their legitimacy and possessing power cards in light of the current fluid situation in the region. From this standpoint, pragmatically as in principle, the best source for gaining and perpetuating legitimacy is reconciliation or "normalization" with the peoples in a way that serves internal stability, solving the pending problems with neighboring, brotherly and friendly countries in a way that serves regional stability.

Fifth: style. The recent normalization steps were characterized by a lot of lightness, and the scene brought out a lot of miniaturization of the soul. Starting with gasping for praise, going through exaggeration in trying to show the matter as if it were a popular desire, and not ending with the purchase of a share in one of the most racist "Israeli" clubs and disdain for Arabs for one of the princes of the ruling family in the Emirates.

Contrary to what they think, this degrades their countries and peoples in front of the other side. Indeed, in front of the world, as well as how their people see them, a true view that is not necessarily reflected in the media and social media.

Sixth: attack with the aim of defense. It was noteworthy that some regimes, in the context of justifying their normalization steps, had prepared the Palestinians and sought to distort them, starting with allegations of selling lands in the past, through accusing them of trading their cause, and ending with holding them responsible for their current conditions and evacuating responsibility for the occupation, in addition to accusing some of them of terrorism and subordination to the outside. In addition to this error, falsehood and immorality, it is a very dangerous matter to the awareness of their people and their future, especially in light of the powerful media machine devoted to this goal.

Seventh: reaction. As for the final mistake in the context of this article, it is related to the parties rejecting the normalization steps that have taken place. This is because some people anxiously, angrily and fiercely jump without noticing the square of refusing normalization and criticizing them to the extent of attacking certain people and directing insults at them because of what they see of scenes suggesting a popular impulse towards normalization and what they do not see in terms of clear, strong and popular rejection that was waiting for them.

Perhaps it is self-evident to say that some scenes of "flirting" with citizens of some Arab countries, specifically the Gulf, with the occupation state and showing great happiness in visiting the occupied lands, and dealing with "the Israeli people" is an artificial media scene that does not represent or express peoples. The evidence is that it is a single, unique view that is not matched by a rejectionist or

conservative view, even to a minimum, as well as the absolute control of these regimes over the media space and social media monitoring, and severe harassment of any opponent or objector.

Some of these regimes wanted to suggest that their steps are acceptable to the people, or perhaps a popular demand, by putting us in front of videos in which Gulf Arab youths praise the morals of the occupiers and their "peace culture". These regimes have missed and some critics have missed their steps, that these extreme exaggerations and in record time are the same definitive evidence of the inaccuracy and spontaneity of what was said and photographed, with the logic of "almost suspicious to say, take me." It is not correct for the people of Egypt and Jordan to prove for decades the criminalization of economic, commercial, cultural and artistic normalization, while the Emirati and Bahraini people, for example, promote it within days only.

The most important thing here is that the emotion that prompted some to criminalize or insult certain people is a free service for the path that they reject, in that it widens the gap between them and the people whose regimes have normalized, by offering false pretexts for those who promote false perceptions about the system of friends, opponents and enemies in the region. The "Israeli" becomes a friend, and those who criticize normalization with him are unfriendly opponents.

In conclusion, the recent wave of normalization was shrouded in many errors, reaching the point of sins, with regard to everything related to normalization, the principle, timing, style, price, illusion of interest, and so on.

Finally, if the aforementioned regimes are able to pass an internal discourse that places normalization within the framework of interest and special sovereign decisions that do not harm the Palestinians and their cause, they will not be able to deny the great dangers of this step for their people and their internal front. This is because the first and most dangerous thing that the "Israelis" did after the agreements they concluded with Egypt, the Palestinian Authority and Jordan, is to work on penetrating the internal fronts, espionage and harming all available means, legitimate and illegitimate. It is no secret that the countries that have followed the path of normalization with them recently are not more immune than the aforementioned countries. Rather, they are more fragile and weak for many reasons that cannot be enumerated.

In conclusion, there is still a logical bet on the people's power and its elites to reverse these normalization steps and sustain them while they are in their infancy when possible. Especially in a country like Morocco, keeping it at its political minimum with the regimes without influencing the popular level in other countries. As well as moving to prevent this dangerous step in the country whose name has been leaked and expected in the printing presses soon.

	Arabic	English
Title	هل حقًا سيكون بايدن مثل ترامب في سياساته تجاه العرب وفلسطين؟	Will Biden really be like Trump in his policies towards the Arabs and Palestine?
Author	صبري سميرة	Sabry Samira
Date Published	11/13/2020	-----
Publisher	Al-Jazeera	----

Discussing this topic requires wide areas of writing. It deals with broad and deep issues, fields, levels, and dimensions, but we can provide quick overviews.

In general, it is expected that President-elect Joe Biden will be much better for Muslims and Arabs inside America, as well as foreigners generally. As for preliminary information; Biden is a veteran leader, a man of politics, legislation, foreign and state affairs, a balanced traditional democratic candidate, a diplomat, and he prefers soft power, alliance building and international cooperation. He is not a supporter of wars in general.

Accordingly, Biden is expected to resemble his foreign policies - specifically - much of what was in Obama's time, which he personally had a role in making. Additions are expected due to the different times and prospects in the future, as well as his inherent bias slightly towards more justice and democracy in the world and our region. Because of the increasing power and influence of progressives, feminists, leftists, minorities, immigrants and youth within the rapidly changing Democratic Party, and the fact that his deputy is a woman younger than him, progressive and colorful, gives some indications that he has achieved integration even with what he lacks.

Thus, the general headings of Biden's expected foreign policies towards the Arabs and Palestine may be as follows:

Biden will emphasize that the countries of the Middle East and the Arabs are responsible for solving their problems, and not wait for a magic solution from America. The US will not undertake any major military interventions in the region, and if conflicts and wars continue, he will pursue them according to proxy wars, international and regional balances of powers in the region, and soft and surgical methods of power.

Of course, America has withdrawn a lot from the Middle East as a top priority since Obama, while preserving its major interests in energy, markets, strategic alliance with Israel, military bases, fleets, and support for allied regimes. America's priority since Obama has been to curb and compete with China's rising global economic and technological influence.

As for the Palestine issue, Biden is expected to revert to stressing the importance of the two-state solution and adhering to the previous positions of American administrations, the importance of negotiation between the two sides of the "conflict" and communication with the Palestinian Authority, in general. He will backtrack on some of Trump's fierce policies in all of this. But he is not expected, for example, to cancel the transfer of the US embassy to Jerusalem, and he may be content to announce that the embassy will be in West Jerusalem, and as for al-Sharqiyah, to resolve it according to final negotiations. He is expected to encourage Arab-Israeli normalization to the Palestinians after the Arab threat is removed.

Biden is not expected to be an outlet - as Trump was - to the demands of Netanyahu, the right-wing, and those of his Israeli right. Rather, we may witness tensions with those groups, as it always happened with Clinton and Obama, and Biden as he will be closer to the collapsed Israeli left and is not expected to agree to Israel's project to annex the West Bank or pursue the so-called scandalous deal of the century. Of course, Biden and his deputy will remain as they have always declared and acted as among the most supportive of Israel. But in a way to save it from some of the evils of its greed and its actions as well, and in line with the general American policy in the Middle East, including Israel's violation of Iran, Biden may revive the nuclear agreement with Tehran. The new Vice President Kamala Harris was among those who strongly criticized Trump for canceling the agreement with Iran and putting America's security and interests at risk.

Of course, the Palestinian Authority is breathing a sigh of relief and will stop any implementation of coordination with Hamas, an end to the division and the adoption of peaceful popular resistance, and it will wait for the generosity of the White House. In the next several years we will enter a vicious cycle on the path to a peaceful settlement and, in return, Hamas will also breathe a sigh of relief, expecting America to ease one of its stifling and pro-Israel policies. I hope that it will open up energy for it to communicate with the new American administration after Hamas launched its political document that realistically accepts the two-state solution. The conclusion is like in other Arab issues, Palestine will not benefit greatly strategically from Biden's victory unless change occurs to the Palestinians and the Arabs themselves and to change the balance of power in the region. Biden will not try to change it against Israel because America also has its own calculations and interests and it is not always according to what Israel thinks.

But Biden is expected to greatly ease the pressure on the Palestinians, Jordanians and Arabs regarding solutions to the Palestinian issue. He will tell them, "Manage your situation and solve your many complex internal problems between you and the region." Unfortunately, there are many. Facing the ambitions of the Israeli occupation and its hegemony in the region is the problems of Arab disasters and their civil wars, dictatorships, economic decline, Corona, corruption, and people's demands for freedom, justice, decent living, and many other issues and problems.

Biden is expected to follow Obama's theoretical and practical positions and policies, such as stressing the importance of freedoms, human rights, justice, peace and the transition to democracy. Biden will criticize, under pressure from some of his progressive sectors, some of the transgressions of the ruling Arab regimes. But it will not reach the amount of promoting democracy in the region or supporting any party to bring about a new Arab Spring.

Of course, the repressive Trump allies will be upset, and they will not be comfortable with Biden winning; But they will try to please him and reconcile with him in their usual ways. On the other hand, Biden is not expected to pursue Trump's war on political Islam and the Muslim Brotherhood directly or indirectly. Rather, it may open back lines with them, reject Islamophobia, populism, and racism, and will advocate, even theoretically, for everyone to be accommodated in desirable democracies that satisfy the people. This may also push some regimes to calm their very fierce attack against the Brotherhood except for those that consider them an existential threat, but the Brotherhood will not be able to penetrate much into their people, as they will be subject to harsh criticism from the progressive democrats, and then from President Biden and his administration.

Because of Biden and his policies, it is expected that we will witness Gulf reconciliation and American attempts to find solutions to the wars in Yemen, Libya, Syria and other conflicts. The administration will attempt to find stable legal regimes therein, and pressure Gulf countries towards a retreat from their impulses and interventions in such sensitive files which have caused increased influence by Russia, Turkey and Iran. Biden does not like that and has strong positions that are opposite to all of them. There are several positions by Kamala Harris, who is in the Senate rejecting the futile war in Yemen.

In sum, many may see that there is no difference between Trump and Biden vis-à-vis the Arabs and Palestine. However, methodically and realistically, and without blaming America alone for our disasters, Biden will differ in many important aspects for us from what Trump was. The truth is that Trump was a fierce cavalry that provoked many of the Arab and Muslim peoples and people of color in America and around the world and prone to conflicts of religions, races, peoples, identities and civilizations, according to exclamatory racist theses. As for Biden, it is expected that he will return America, the world and the Middle East to traditional politics and its realistic calculations based on interests and balances, respond to

changes in the region, and follow what its elites, people, systems, governments and opposition may say, detailing their needs to study every file and issue.

And to have the rest of the conversation..

	Arabic	English
Title	عندما يكفر العرب	When the Arabs make Amends
Author	حسن العالول	Hassan Al-Aloul
Date Published	9/18/2020	---
Publisher	Al-Jazeera	---

Header: It seems that the Arabs' faith in the Palestinian cause and its justice has ended in disbelief, as the boycott contract has broken away, and the frantic scramble towards normalization has begun without the slightest shame, preceded by a retreat in positions and the failure of deceived regimes in their support for Palestine without any justification, as it comes in the shadows of a suspicious deal that admitted to the Israelis, with a kiss, the first and second mosques, their third sanctuary, and Mesra, their Messenger, the eternal capital of the occupying entity.

The Arabs have disbelieved and turned away from their religion and Arabism when they betrayed and kept silent on their graves. Part of their belief in the Al-Aqsa Mosque lies in captivity complaining to God whoever neglected it and sold it in the slave market. As for the Arab League, which refused to include the condemnation of normalization with the entity, it participated directly, in disbelief, and struck all her decisions against the wall; In fact, it gave a statement and a green light to other countries that are eagerly awaiting the train of normalization. They have torn apart the Arab Peace Initiative, which was reluctantly accepted by the Palestinian people.

History repeats itself and those who sold Palestine 70 years ago in return for their thrones and chairs, they return once again to the abuse of selling - even if it was at the expense of their dignity, religion, nobility and honor - and this is a natural result of corrupt countries that plunder their people, do not know the meaning of democracy and freedom. Its regimes crouch with the power of oppression on the chest of every free person and, Sharif speaks the truth, the wealth of the Arabs is depleting, and their money is invested in the stock exchanges of the West. Then they search for sacrifices in exchange for their survival and turn a blind eye to their violations, scandals, and their bullying of their defeated peoples, and every time Palestine is the weakest link from their point of view, no account or censor in the shadow of drowning peoples Their worries and distress livelihood.

Enough was over, anguish intensified, and silence was no longer possible in the time of Arab apostasy, there is no place today to beautify words. False slogans have fallen and trampled on the thresholds of the Arab League and the Arab House has become too small to accommodate the great people of Palestine, its sacrifices and solid will.

70 years of struggle and resistance for a people whose land and sanctities were robbed in broad daylight before your eyes, so what did you do other than statements of denunciation and condemnation? And now, Palestine has become a burden on you and on your thrones and chairs. We do not understand what are the reasons for your insistence on normalization with this usurping occupier without the slightest compensation? By God, do not tell us that it is a service to Palestine. In fact, you, with your ignorance

and stupidity, offered a free service to save Netanyahu and Trump before him from falling into the swamps of their corruption. And here they are reaching out to you in order to protect you from this illusion. Unfortunately, you have fallen into a trap, and you will pay the price from your future and the future of your peoples, and here you are participating in making the new Middle East with American planning and care on the Israeli scale.

Do what you want, and you will not only reap disappointments, but history will not remember you except in the black pages of shame. You will leave one day, and only your unclean life will remain, and you are assured that the silence of your people will not be prolonged, and the pressure will surely be followed by an explosion that shatters your dreams. The Palestinian people have never bet on any Arab regime like you helping them, but the bet is on the living peoples who utter the Israeli entity and consider it an enemy and a cancer that ramps up in the body of the nation. Whether you like it or not, congratulations to you for your faith in the Israeli entity, its friendship and the intimate relationships that will bring you together in your fragile capitals. God will not forgive you after you have denied values, principles and morals. You left Palestine alone without blinking an eye, Palestine will remain, and you will inevitably pass away.

	Arabic	English
Title	نظرات وعبارات من السلام المستحيل إلى السلام المُحرّم	Views and Expressions From impossible peace to forbidden peace
Author	محمود عبد الهادي	Mahmoud Abdel Al-Hadi
Date Published	8/19/2020	---
Publisher	Al-Jazeera	---

Header: The agreement to normalize relations between the United Arab Emirates and the Zionist entity, last Thursday, August 13th, and the agreements that will follow after it; It should provoke all the Palestinian forces to seriously stop, leave the shouting and wailing under blanket denunciations and look deeply into the current regional and international context controlling the path of the Palestinian cause in search of new solutions that push the issue forward outside the (impossible) peace path which it has been walking for more than 80 years, which aims to solve the issue on the basis of two states, and to move again to the path of peace (forbidden) based on the one-state basis for the Palestinian and Jewish peoples.

The deterioration of the Arab situation:

The agreement to normalize the Emirati-Zionist relations was not the first - and it will not be the last - as it was preceded by a long list of Arab countries that established relations with the Zionist entity, and another list is waiting. This agreement and its ink is a very natural result of the current deterioration of the Arab and regional context, which no longer allows the Palestinians and the Palestinian cause to rely on it at all, after it has expanded to include everything, and on top of that:

1. The disruption of Arab regional institutions: the first of which is the Arab League, which includes 22 countries, on an area of about 14 million square kilometers, inhabited by more than 400 million people, and its domestic product is more than 2.5 trillion dollars, despite the paralysis that afflicted the League for some time early due to the conflict of interests of the member states sometimes, or because of the hegemonic policies carried out by some countries at other times or because of the interventions of the major powers. But these institutions provide the minimum coordination and understanding on the overall

issues facing the Arab region as a whole. Add to that the disruption of the Arab Maghreb Union and the Gulf Cooperation Council and their consequences and implications.

2. The failure of Islamic regional institutions: headed by the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, which includes 57 countries, occupying more than 30 million square kilometers, of which one fifth of the agricultural lands in the world, and the total domestic product of about 7 trillion dollars. So far the organization has failed miserably in to be an influential bloc at the level of member states and at the international level, or to contribute to achieving coordination, integration, solving problems, and embodying its slogan (the common voice of the Islamic world).

3. The domination of national interests: the natural result of the failure of Arab and regional organizations to achieve coordination, cooperation and complementarity among member states, is that these states retain themselves and begin to establish regional and international relations that suit them, and establish agreements and understandings that achieve their interests, whether at the political, military, economic, or security level.

4. Armed internal conflicts: in Syria, Yemen, Libya and Iraq, which flared up in the wake of what was known as the Arab Spring, in which these countries turned into open battlefields in which regional axes with common external agendas compete, to pull the Arab region away from the Palestinian issue and the Arab-Israeli conflict.

5. The Zionist penetration of the countries of the region: This reality allowed the Zionist entity to openly and actively enter the depth of the components of the structure of the Arab system, and the individual self-interests of the Arab countries or the conditions imposed on them were; It is the main motive behind the acceleration of establishing relations with the state of the Zionist entity, after Tunisia, Morocco and Egypt, especially after the Palestinian leadership surprised the Arab world in 1993 by concluding the Oslo Agreement with the Zionist entity in a single way far from the Arab decision, to open the door wide for Arab countries to conclude Agreements with the Zionist entity, followed by Jordan, Oman, Mauritania and Qatar.

It is expected that the coming months will witness the process of concluding additional agreements between the Zionist entity and a new list of Arab countries, as a political entitlement that enables them to arrange their internal conditions and address their political and economic crises. The agreement has absolutely nothing to do with Palestinian interests, and its impact on the path of the Palestinian cause will not be like the impact of Oslo or Camp David.

Difficult Palestinian Choices:

Does the Palestinian leadership have the right to object to the Emirati-Zionist agreement, or to other upcoming Arab-Zionist agreements, after the Palestinian leadership established this unilateral, self-approach? The Palestinian leadership entered into secret negotiations with the state of the Zionist entity in the late eighties under the auspices of Norway, based on self-interests that the Palestinian leadership decided at the time, and these negotiations resulted in the Oslo Agreement, which the Palestinian leadership defended at the time in a desperate defense, despite the disasters that it caused to the Palestinian cause and its people. The Palestinian Authority dropped the curtain on what was known at the time as the 'steadfastness and confrontation front' that was formed in response to the Camp David agreement between Egypt and the Zionist entity.

Faced with this upcoming political reality, and the political, security and economic consequences that will result from it, which will worsen the current deterioration; The Palestinian leadership finds itself faced with 4 main difficult choices:

The First Option: Helpless waiting

Continuing the same approach that you are currently following, bearing the hypocrisy of the international community, the arrogance of the American administration and its absolute bias towards the Zionist entity, and submitting to the iron upper hand of the Zionist entity and its elusive aggressive policies, and continuing to roam the regional and international forums to raise screams and wails and complaints against the violations committed by the Zionist entity. Someone will respond against it, and betting on what may arise from future regional and international transformations that redraw the map of forces and balances in a way that forces the Zionist entity to implement international agreements and decisions.

This option is the most negative option, since the Oslo Agreement has passed 26 years ago, and the Palestinian leadership is moving from failure to failure at all levels, and it is watching the terms of the agreement evaporate before its eyes without having the power to preserve them. Continuing this option will end with the Palestinian leadership isolated, on a plot of land outside Palestine.

The second option: Acquiescence

Entering into a partnership with the Zionist entity, based on complying with its conditions and accepting the political visions that he offers for a permanent solution, in a way that puts an end to the state of attrition that the issue is going through, the erosion of rights and land, the failure of the Arab environment and the international community, and their inability to force the Zionist entity to submit to legitimate decisions International.

This option the Palestinian leadership may be forced to enter into. But it will not be the choice that will achieve what it has been unable to achieve so far, in addition to which it will not be able to persuade the Palestinian people to enter it.

The Third Option: Comprehensive Resistance

Returning to the option of comprehensive resistance and full engagement in a third intifada, which aims to disrupt the Zionist plan aimed at annexing the West Bank, cancel the decision to annex Jerusalem, spoil the Zionist regional economic and security plans, and restore the momentum of the Palestinian cause again after it has disappeared under the smoke of Arab-Arab conflicts, in Syria, Yemen, Libya and Iraq.

The Palestinian leadership had tried this option before during the first and second intifada, and was aware of its pros and cons. It is a very successful choice in terms of inconveniencing the Zionist entity in the media, delaying its regional plans, and at the level of restoring momentum to the Palestinian cause. However, it will not achieve any new gains in terms of implementing international legitimacy decisions, and the price that the institutions of the Palestinian Authority, the resistance factions and the Palestinian people will pay will be greater than it was in previous times.

The Fourth Option: Turning the tables

Turning the table on the head of its creators, by leaving the (impossible) peace path, which all parties realize that it will not be achieved, and that it carries with it the seeds of its own mortality, which is the path of the solution based on two states for the Palestinian and Jewish peoples, and a return to adopting the (forbidden) peace path based on the notion of one state for two peoples, which is the option adopted by the Palestinian leadership in the 1960s, and the United States rejected it, and the Palestinian leadership warned against adopting this proposal; Because it implies ending the Zionist project.

It seems that this option is the option that will turn the tables on the head of the Zionist entity, and will spark a new political movement throughout the globe, and will put the racist Zionist leadership on the test before the peoples of the world, and will draw the world's attention again to the absurdity of the two-state

solution and the realism of the one-state solution similar to what happened In the State of South Africa. However, the challenges that stand in the way of this option are very large, which are not easy for the current Palestinian leadership and the Palestinian forces to overcome. And it remains the option that political experts assume is inevitable and has a high success rate. But the Palestinian leadership has not yet tried this option.

	Arabic	English
Title	اتفاقية التطبيع بين الإمارات وإسرائيل.. لم يكن مفاجئاً لكنّه كان وقحا	The normalization agreement between the UAE and Israel ... was not surprising, but it was rude
Author	باسم نعيم	Basem Naeem
Date Published	8/17/2020	---
Publisher	Al-Jazeera	---

Header: The announcement of an agreement to normalize relations between the United Arab Emirates and the occupying power was not surprising. But it was rude in terms of form and timing.

Everyone who follows the news of normalization in recent years have noticed that it is no secret that one of the Gulf's, especially the Emirati, persistent and stubborn attempts is to break all the taboos that the Arabs have believed for decades in their relationship with the Palestinian cause, the most important of which is that it is not possible to normalize relations with the occupation state before the issue is resolved. This is the essence of the Arab initiative adopted by the Arab League in 2002, after developing a Saudi proposal at the time, and although the occupation state rejected the initiative, and Sharon, the former prime minister of the occupation, said, "It is not worth the ink with which it was written." They remained attached to it, and repeatedly told the enemy that "22 Arab countries are ready for full normalization with them, as soon as a just and comprehensive solution to the Palestinian issue is achieved."

The UAE, especially in recent years, dissolved from all the national, religious and historical values of the region, in order to create a place for it on the international map, even at the expense of the peoples of the region and their future. So it allied with all reactionary and dictatorial forces in the region to suppress peoples' aspirations for freedom and dignity. And with force in every counter-revolution, even if the price for that is the slaughter of the people and the theft of their capabilities, as is happening in Yemen today, for example, but not limited to there.

The rulers of the Emirates have endeavored to market and integrate the occupation state in the region, albeit at the expense of the security of the region and the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, with flimsy pretexts, such as confronting the "central enemy" of the Arabs, "Iran." Although, in secret it maintains strong and rooted relations with Iran, especially at the economic level and, in the presence of the international embargo imposed on Iran, the UAE has made no real effort to recover its three "occupied" islands from Iran.

Perhaps the most blatant event in this context is the public participation in Washington in announcing the Trump plan for peace and prosperity in the region, or the so-called "deal of the century", which was unanimously agreed by everyone on the Arab, Islamic and international levels, that it means the

liquidation of the Palestinian issue and the end of any real opportunity for the establishment of an independent Palestinian with Jerusalem as its capital.

The strange thing about this agreement is that the rulers of the Emirates justify their heinous act by taking care of the Palestinians and their interests. He stressed that "the issue of annexation has not been dismissed, but has been suspended temporarily."

Moreover, everyone knows that the occupation government decided to postpone the implementation of the annexation plan at the beginning of last July, for several reasons, the most important of which is the unified Palestinian position in addition to the international position, especially the European position in rejecting the plan, in addition to the troubled American position internally, and the internal Israeli dispute over the form and size of the annexation. Then how the Emiratis claim their concern for Palestinian interests, while they did not consult the owners of the matter themselves, the Palestinians, whether on the terms of the agreement or the timing of its announcement, so the official and factional Palestinian leadership was surprised by the announcement of the agreement, and announced its absolute rejection of the "Betrayal of Jerusalem, Al-Aqsa, and the Palestinian Cause."

There are many events in the past years that aimed to announce the secret policies of the rulers of the Emirates in their strategic relationship with the occupying power, and these events were varied and included all areas of religious, political, economic, sports, artistic and other aspects of life. It is strange that some of these events were motivated by humanity and the promotion of peace and coexistence between peoples, such as reuniting a Yemeni Jewish family that has been separated for more than 15 years, or the opening of the first synagogue or Hindu temple, while opinion activists are being pursued in the Emirates, until the state recorded the worst level of human rights violations at the international level, and thousands of Yemeni families are being massacred in their homeland, stealing their wealth and dividing their homeland, and obstructing any political solution in Libya, by supporting the rebel retired general Khalifa Haftar, albeit at the expense of the lives, unity and future of Libyans.

Normalization with the enemy is not merely a political endeavor. Rather, it is a repudiation of all national and humanitarian obligations towards the fairest issue in modern history, which is the Palestinian issue. Normalization with the enemy is opening the door wide for him to tamper with the security and capabilities of our countries and peoples to serve his settlement colonial project "Greater Israel", especially since he has the ability to do so with his own capabilities or open US cover.

The experience of the Arabs in general, and the Palestinians in particular, with this enemy and the extent of its commitment to agreements and its true desire for peace and coexistence for decades, informs us of what is to come and what will befall us in terms of national disasters, so that it remains on the throne of the region, after its dispersal and the depletion of its capabilities in futile inter-battles.

The rulers of the Emirates do not realize that they are standing on the wrong side of history, and that these miserable attempts to prolong the life of the occupying power will fail, and at that time their people and history will not have mercy on them. Yesterday, as soon as this "shameful" agreement was announced, thousands of citizens, political forces and representatives of Gulf civil society, as well as millions of Arabs and Muslims, expressed their categorical rejection of it and that it does not represent the Emirati people. Even some sources close to the rulers of the Emirates confirmed that it had not been completed. Consultation at the federal level regarding it, and that Abu Dhabi and Dubai took the sole decision.

The rulers of the Emirates must re-read the historical material that we teach our children, especially in Palestine, where we teach them that many colonists have passed by, but no one settled in it, except for its original inhabitants. Palestine is not just a geographical area; But it is an integral part of the nation's will

towards freedom, dignity and independence. Palestine, with its Islamic and Christian sanctities, is part of the nation's faith. Therefore, whatever they try and whatever they invest, the typists will not be able to divert the region's compass from the central enemy of it, which is the Zionist "occupation state," and that it will disappear sooner or later.

	Arabic	English
Title	بعد شهر من التطبيع مع الإمارات والبحرين.. إسرائيل تقرّ بناء آلاف الوحدات الاستيطانية الجديدة في الضفة	After a month of normalization with the UAE and Bahrain, Israel approves building thousands of new settlement units in the West Bank
Author	---	---
Date Published	10/14/2020	---
Publisher	Al-Jazeera	---

Today, Wednesday, the Israeli occupation authorities approved projects to build 2,126 new settlement housing units in the West Bank, for the first time since Israel signed two normalization agreements with both the UAE and Bahrain a month ago.

The new Israeli decision was approved by the so-called Supreme Council for Planning and Building, affiliated to the Civil Administration of the occupation authorities in the West Bank, as part of a comprehensive plan to build more than 5,000 settlement units in the Palestinian territories.

The Civil Administration of the occupation will hold another session tomorrow morning, Thursday, to complete the approval of building thousands of settlement units and projects.

The Israeli government had frozen settlement construction in the West Bank for a period of 8 months, until it completed the stages of signing the two normalization agreements with the UAE and Bahrain, then Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu instructed his government to re-ratify these construction projects.

Commenting on the new move, the Israeli "Peace Now" organization, which opposes settlements, said that this settlement expansion indicates Israel's refusal to establish a Palestinian state, and deals a blow to the hopes of achieving a broader Israeli-Arab peace.

Earlier this month, the Settlements Council in the West Bank launched a special campaign entitled "Sovereignty: No, Freeze: Yes", to exert pressure on the Netanyahu government to continue the settlement project, in response to the news that came from Abu Dhabi that normalizing relations and the Israeli alliance with the UAE and Bahrain. It was mandated to freeze the implementation of the annexation plan for parts of the occupied West Bank.

In order to contain this campaign and pressure and refute the Emirati narrative on suspending the annexation, Netanyahu sent - after the signing of the normalization agreement - an official letter to the settlement leaders, in which he confirmed that the Supreme Planning Council for construction in settlements in the West Bank will hold a meeting after the end of the "Throne Day" holiday on October 11, to approve the construction of 5,400 new settlement units.

	Arabic	English
Title	في انتقاد نادر للتطبيع.. زوجة حاكم الشارقة تهاجم التعاون التعليمي بين أبو ظبي وتل أبيب	In a rare criticism of normalization ... the wife of the ruler of Sharjah attacks educational cooperation between Abu Dhabi and Tel Aviv
Author	---	---
Date Published	1/28/2021	---
Publisher	Al-Jazeera	---

Sheikha Jawaher Al Qasimi, wife of Sharjah Ruler Sheikh Sultan Al Qasimi, criticized the holding of a virtual meeting through visual communication between the UAE and Israeli ministries of education, to discuss cooperation in several areas, including the exchange of student delegations, the care of outstanding and talented students, and joint academic studies.

Sheikha Jawaher said - in a tweet on Twitter, commenting on the ministerial meeting - "their curriculum ... recommends killing and raping Arabs."

***Insert Tweet; <https://twitter.com/jawaheralqasimi/status/1354056249537679361/photo/1> ***

The tweet sparked widespread responses between supporters and opponents, and she said a tweet whose account bears the name of Hadeel Al-Farra - commenting on Sheikha Jawaher's tweet - "It is not only the curriculum, it is a complete ideology firmly in their minds, but it also contains horror and extremist ideas. All I hope is that God protects the Emirati and Arab society from the overt entry of the Zionist entity into their social, cultural and economic fabric. "

Jordanian artist Makadi Salem Al-Nahhas commented, "I respect, Sheikha Jawaher Al-Qasimi, for your great Arab stance that touches the hearts of all the Arab people and represents them."

On the other hand, a number of Emirati tweeters defended this cooperation, believing that the UAE authorities are more aware of the country's interest.

The "Emirates 71" news site stated that Sheikha Jawaher Al Qasimi, immediately after the announcement of normalization between Tel Aviv and Abu Dhabi, re-published a news article from the CNN website entitled "Turki Al-Faisal: Establishing a Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital is the price for Saudi Arabia's normalization with Israel."

It is noteworthy that, last Monday, Israel opened its embassy in the UAE, with the arrival of the Chargé d'Affairs of the Israeli embassy, Eitan Naih, to Abu Dhabi, and the opening came after the UAE and Israel signed the normalization agreement last September, after mediation by the United States.

	Arabic	English
Title	رغم التنديد بالتطبيع.. مقال في ناشونال إنترست يتحدث عن "مزايا" الاتفاق المغربي الإسرائيلي	Despite the condemnation of normalization, an article in the National Interest talks about the "advantages" of the Moroccan-Israeli agreement
Author	---	---
Date Published	12/12/2020	---
Publisher	Al-Jazeera	---

Journalist and publishing director Ahmed Al-Sharai says that as a Moroccan citizen who worked for years to bring together Jews and Muslims, Moroccans and Israelis, he felt "proud and grateful" after yesterday's announcement of establishing new diplomatic relations between Morocco and Israel, despite many Moroccans denouncing normalization.

In his article in the National Interest, he added that he was also astonished at two ways in which some critics disparaged the agreement or its authors, and that they lost key aspects of what the deal meant, in reference to the widespread criticism of the declaration of normalization inside and outside Morocco.

The first criticism, according to the writer, is that the new agreement is considered merely a formalization of an actual 60-year-old partnership between Morocco and Israel, saying, "In fact, the two countries have helped each other dynamically for decades."

He adds that intelligence and security cooperation not only helped Israel defend itself in the 1967 war but also helped Morocco win the Sahara War after a few years. Quiet Moroccan diplomacy proved its role in promoting peace between Egypt and Israel, he said.

Partnership and Cooperation:

These fruitful partnerships and others, according to al-Shari, in turn, stem from blood ties, as there are a million Israelis of Moroccan origin, and King Mohammed VI was appointed "Commander of the Faithful" for both Jews and Muslims in his country, according to what was stated in the article.

Moreover, in recent years the Moroccan government has worked proactively to revive remnants of indigenous Jewish life, as well as promote rapprochement between Jews and Muslims worldwide.

The Moroccan writer believes that the transition to formal relations was not inevitable, because "a third of Morocco's population currently identifies with Islamic movements and parties" that continue to reject Israel's right to exist. The "anti-normalization" activity remains a prominent aspect of their culture, which was expressed less than 5 years ago in a parliamentary bill that makes the involvement of Israeli citizens in any form a crime.

In the kingdom's vibrant, multi-party political system, Al Shari added, steadfast political leadership will be necessary to pursue the diplomatic process, and to ensure that the agreement gains broad popular support.

Al-Sharia added that it is not possible to fully understand the kingdom's new "wonderful" decision without acknowledging a catalytic shift, namely the role that White House adviser Jared Kushner played as a "creative muddle" of decades of diplomatic agreements.

With Morocco now being the fourth Arab country to reach new conditions within several months, Al Shari considered that Kushner's strategic vision for a regional approach - which is widely underestimated as "naive" - has borne fruit, and that policymakers should study and draw lessons from Kushner's approach, according to the Moroccan writer's opinion.

Insert News Clip Video; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AvWajlkJYa4&t=7s> *

Justify the Agreement:

The second criticism of the agreement, according to the article, relates to the American commitment contained in the White House statement to recognize Morocco's sovereignty over the Sahara territories, which is a blow to the Polisario separatists who want to establish an independent state there.

Al-Sharii hinted that peace between Morocco and Israel would surely find it indignant inside and outside the kingdom. But his "solid foundation" of centuries of shared history will ensure that it lasts longer than his critics, he says.

"Moreover, millions of young people in my country are tired of ideologies of extremism and xenophobia, and they want opportunities and benefits that can only bring peace and partnership. They see Israel as a strong partner in developing their economy, spreading opportunities and securing Morocco's future," he added.

The writer added, justifying the normalization agreement that "Palestinians, on their part, can encourage Morocco's distinguished history in supporting their rights and well-being. As Chairman of the Jerusalem Committee at the Arab League for a long time, King Mohammed VI did not surprise anyone by calling President Mahmoud Abbas to assure him that the new agreement with Israel will only reinforce his commitment to the two-state solution."

It should be noted that the normalization agreement is widely condemned in Morocco by opposition figures, as well as popular rejection on social networking sites.

	Arabic	English
Title	تأخرت لأسباب لوجستية.. إسرائيل ترسل أول وفد للسودان بعد اتفاق التطبيع	It was delayed for logistical reasons .. Israel sends its first delegation to Sudan after the normalization agreement
Author	---	---
Date Published	11/23/2020	---
Publisher	Al-Jazeera	---

Israeli Army Radio said that Israel sent its first delegation to Sudan today, Monday, after the two countries agreed on October 23 to take steps towards establishing normal relations.

Sources involved in planning told Reuters that the visit was scheduled to take place last week, but was delayed for logistical reasons, while Israeli officials could not be contacted for comment.

On the other hand, the Sudanese side did not issue any data regarding what was published by the Israeli Broadcasting Corporation about the visit.

Sudan has become the fifth Arab country to agree to normalize its relations with Israel, after Khartoum and Tel Aviv recently announced their intention to normalize relations between them.

Rejection of Normalization:

Several Sudanese political forces announced their categorical rejection of normalization with Israel, including the parties participating in the ruling coalition.

It is noteworthy that on October 23, the White House announced that President Donald Trump had signed a decree removing Sudan from the US list of states sponsoring terrorism, and that Khartoum and Tel Aviv had agreed - with American mediation - to normalize relations between them.

A joint American-Sudanese-Israeli statement described the normalization agreement between Sudan and Israel as historic, and considered it a testament to "the bold approach of the four leaders (US President Donald Trump, President of the Sudanese Sovereignty Council Abdel Fattah al-Burhan, Prime Minister Abdullah Hamdok, and Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu)."

	Arabic	English
Title	احتجاجات في البحرين بعد تعيين قائم بأعمال سفارة إسرائيل في المنامة	Protests in Bahrain after the appointment of the Chargé d'Affairs of the Israeli Embassy in Manama
Author	---	---
Date Published	1/15/2021	---
Publisher	Al-Jazeera	---

A number of Bahraini activists demonstrated today, Friday, to reject the appointment of the acting Israeli ambassador to the country, and to denounce normalization with Tel Aviv. The Bahraini National Accord Society published scenes on its Twitter account for the participants in the demonstration who carried banners rejecting normalization and considers the appointment of a representative for Israel in Bahrain a provocative act, warning of their Highness the Zionists that they will not be safe on the land of Bahrain, as they put it.

The protesters carried banners denouncing normalization with Israel, and pictures showed they were burning Israeli flags. Some of the banners read, "Israel is not a state, but a usurping, criminal entity." Yesterday, Thursday, the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs revealed the appointment of Itay Tagner as the charge d'affaires of its embassy in Bahrain, and this comes as the pace of normalization of relations between Tel Aviv and Manama accelerates, according to the agreement signed by the two sides in Washington in mid-September.

****Insert Tweet****

The ministry said on its Twitter account that Tagner met with the Bahraini Foreign Ministry Undersecretary for International Affairs Abdullah bin Ahmed Al Khalifa. Since the signing of the normalization agreement under US sponsorship, political and economic relations have grown between Bahrain and Israel, and the two sides have signed agreements in various fields.

Last November, Bahraini Foreign Minister Abdul Latif Al-Zayani visited Israel and agreed with its officials to exchange embassies and grant visas to travelers from both sides. On the occasion of the signing of the normalization agreement in Washington, the King of Bahrain, Hamad bin Isa Al Khalifa, considered that the normalization of his country's relations with Israel is a historic achievement that will contribute to advancing the peace and stability process in the Middle East.

	Arabic	English
Title	الاتفاق الإماراتي الإسرائيلي... اختراق لحاجز الوهم	The Emirati-Israeli agreement ... a breakthrough of the illusion
Author	مشاري الذايدي	Mishary Al-Dayidi
Date Published	8/14/2020	---
Publisher	Al-Arabiya	---

In direct terms, and in clear terms, the United Arab Emirates achieved a major political, psychological and security "breakthrough" in the Middle East, after the announcement of the "historic" agreement between the UAE and Israel. An agreement that did not neglect the just Palestinian right to establish its state and preserve Islamic sanctities for all Muslims, and also provided the "realistic" opportunity away from the "Brotherhood", Iranian, nationalist and leftist word shops, and provided an opportunity for the real establishment of the two-state solution.

The UAE reaped a tangible gain for the Palestinian cause, not by slogans, but by work, by stopping the gnawing of Palestinian lands in the West Bank in favor of settlements, which was explicitly stated in the joint tripartite statement between the UAE, America and Israel. The empty speech mill of the mills of Turkey, Qatar and Iran, the general speech merchants, and of course the chaos organizations such as Al Qaeda, ISIS, Houthi, Hezbollah ... etc, will turn against the UAE, and it has already not stopped scattering its black flour against this young, strong Arab state, safe from the causes of auctions.

Before, the "historic" Egyptian President Anwar Sadat was attacked when he saved his country from a bleak fate and the loss of Egyptian land, and he was truly a hero of war and peace, and Egypt is still enjoying the blessings of peace that Sadat brought with Israel. The great King of Jordan, Hussein bin Talal, was also attacked after him when he refused to submit to the bidding market and brought peace to his land and to his country in the famous Wadi Araba agreement. Therefore, and because he is a realistic, responsible Arab leader, Egyptian President Abdel Fattah El-Sisi took the initiative to praise this move between the UAE and Israel, under American auspices, under the supervision of President Trump.

According to a joint Emirati, American, and Israeli statement, this historic diplomatic achievement would enhance peace in the Middle East and preserve the two-state solution on the ground, not the imagination.

In any case, the stations of negotiations, dialogues and agreements between Israel and Arab countries are not new. We remember here, for example, stops; Camp David, Madrid, Oslo, I River Annapolis ... etc. Finally, the expected auctions against the UAE aim to "monopolize" the understanding and negotiations with Israel. May God have mercy on the historical leader ... Anwar Sadat.

	Arabic	English
Title	الإمارات وإسرائيل	UAE and Israel
Author	عبد الرحمن الراشد	Abdul Al-Rahman Al-Rashed
Date Published	8/15/2020	---
Publisher	Al-Arabiya	---

In the world, 193 countries, the international community formed in the United Nations, including 163 countries, all of which have recognized Israel. It suffices to read these numbers to know that what happened the day before yesterday is not a serious issue despite all you heard. The UAE's relations with Israel came 27 years after the Oslo Agreement, 40 years after the arrival of Saad Mortada, the first Egyptian ambassador to Tel Aviv, and 24 years after the appointment of the first Israeli official in Qatar, and the Israeli flag was raised on the attaché building in Doha.

The history of Arab-Hebrew diplomatic, commercial, and sporting relations is prosperous and never stopped. Consequently, the party of attacks and criticisms launched by Qatar, along with some symbols of the Palestinian Authority, reflects the disagreement in the inter-Arab relations, and has nothing to do with the diplomatic move with Israel. Nevertheless, two important aspects must be clarified that we often forget each time the issue of relations with Israel is raised: The first is that no Arab party, individual or state, has the right to impose on the Palestinians how to deal with their cause, or manage their affairs with Israel. These are issues that belong to the Palestinian people alone, through their legitimate authority in Ramallah. They are the ones who decide ... whether they want an agreement with the Israelis on one or two states, or no state. Even in the big details, the Palestinians alone have the right to decide a state in Jerusalem or without it, with or without the return of the refugees, peace or war. The Arab tutelage over the Palestinian decision ended half a century ago, by the decision of the Arab League. The Palestinian decision is for the Palestinians, not for the Qataris, or the Syrians, the Iranians, or the Saudis.

The other thing is that every Arab country has the same right to manage its international relations, including its relationship with Israel. This is a sovereignty issue that every country decides on the basis of its interests, not based on what the Palestinians or other Arabs want. Every Arab country has its own circumstances. When Sudanese President Abdel Fattah al-Burhan asked why he dealt with Israel after the al-Bashir regime was ousted, he said that it is Sudan's supreme interest. The UAE also has its highest interests in today's dangerous regional crises. Why did Qatar open its door early to Israel in 1996 and welcomed Shimon Peres in Doha and opened a commercial attaché? This took place three months after Hamad bin Khalifa turned against his father and assumed power. The reason is clear, he wanted to consolidate his position in power. In a larger strategic framework, the late President Anwar Sadat decided that Egypt's supreme interest is a peace agreement and relations with Israel.

The truth is, the Arabs have passed the stage of dealing with Israel. It is no longer a shock, but an old and boring story. The Israelis landed in all the airports in Arab capitals, and were officially welcomed there, as diplomats, athletes, security personnel, or media professionals. The loser, all these years, are the

Palestinians. It is carried out in their name, and there is no gain from it, there is no return of lands, no recognition of the state, no services or support for citizens. This is the choice of the Palestinian Authority administration, it is content with watching the news and commenting negatively on it! It can benefit from these developments as long as it cannot prevent them, to achieve progress in any field that serves its cause or the needs of its citizens. At the same time, indeed, we grieve when we see Palestinian officials allowing themselves to be a ball in a game other than Qatar or Turkey kicking them against the other parties. The Palestinian losses have never stopped due to the negativity of dealing with reality, and their refusal to understand the conditions of the Arab countries when dealing with Israel, which will be of great help to it.

	Arabic	English
Title	تأخر الجميع غير أن السلام هو حل الأقوياء	Everyone is late, except that peace is the solution of the powerful
Author	فاروق يوسف	Farouk Youssef
Date Published	8/16/2020	---
Publisher	Al-Arabiya	---

What if Israel is not serious about its promises this time either? A naive question blown by the existential changes that have swept the region. There is no new political turn. As for Israel, the story of normalization with the Arabs has become a kind of past. It does not need normalization. Real relations with the Arab countries alone are what puts everything on the balance of Palestinian truth. This would not be opposed by Israel if the Palestinian leaders showed an understanding of what is happening around them. The world has changed and Israel has changed just as the Arab countries have changed. The common danger is not the only thing that unites Israel and Arab countries in the context of acceptance of a new reality, through which everyone will seek to respond to the need to live in peace and exchange development experiences and manpower technologies.

Israel had to initiate early efforts in the direction of dismantling its isolation and opening up the Arabs, not by making concessions, as some believe, but by understanding what the Arabs think in the stage that followed the fall of national regimes, the collapse of the old countries, and the emergence of Iran on the surface as a blind enemy force. They have a pessimistic mood that does not differentiate between the state and its political faith. What stood in the way between Israel and its openness to new conditions of life in the region was the populist noise about normalization as a surrender trap. Therefore, it turned on itself and was only interested in the immediate danger posed by the armed groups that the Iranians are setting up in Syria. If Iran were not represented by Hezbollah and were present in Syria, Israel would not have considered what is going on there, especially after the agreement with Russia.

Israel did not interfere in the affairs of any Arab country, except that it closely monitored Iran's interference in the affairs of Arab countries. If the Arab regimes had not been taken by storming old slogans, they would have realized early on that an Iran-dominated future could have been avoided by returning to the reality of the existence of Israel without continuing to submit to the emotional principles that have proven their failure. The Arab peoples have been conquered with emotion, so the distance has moved away to "Palestine" after Iraq and Syria were destroyed and Hezbollah's domination of Lebanon. The alternative was the emergence of states and Emirates controlled by religious organizations and gangs

calling some of them to fight others under loyalties controlled by financial funding. The Palestinian Hamas movement that kidnapped Gaza is only one of those organizations.

Israel was not directly affected by that tragic transformation, but it became surrounded by chaos. This will not be accepted by a country that has been able, in an exceptional time, to prove its superiority in all fields of human activity, especially scientific activity. Therefore, it can be said that Israel was late in opening up to the Arab countries. Israel had to undo the magic of emotion-drenched slogans and take the Palestinians to the critical region to reveal the truth. I do not think that the two-state solution would pose a threat to Israel. At the same time, the lands annexed by Israel can be replaced by a solid peace with the Arabs.

Israel should not have realized early on that the establishment of a Palestinian state next to it would end many problems in the region and endow it with an exceptional position in its natural surroundings. On their part, the Arabs, on the sane side of them, had to pay attention to the Iranian game, which is based for the most part on brainwashing in Jerusalem and hostility to Israel in order to score points up to the moment of the coup, in which caution is useless. The two sides, the Arabs and Israel, made a mistake when they delayed reaching the region in which their joint presence would prevent Iran from dominating the region.

	Arabic	English
Title	شجاعة إماراتية.. ومزايدون	Emirati courage ... and bidders
Author	خير الله خير الله	Khayr Allah Khayr Allah
Date Published	8/17/2020	---
Publisher	Al-Arabiya	---

Political courage, in part, requires not yielding to the bidding and the bidders, and puts the national interest above all else. The modern history of the region is nothing but a series of disappointments caused by the auctions that led to the 1967 war, a war the Arab world has not yet recovered from its effects. The Emirati will to reach a peace agreement with Israel in exchange for “suspending” the process of annexing a new section of the West Bank reflects a clear desire to bypass the auctions and the bidders who spent their lives trading in the Palestinian cause. The Emirati-Israeli agreement is not an ordinary event. Rather, it is an event that will have repercussions for the entire region, from the ocean to the Gulf.

Few in the region did what the UAE did, starting with the founder of the state, Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan, may God have mercy on him, to Sheikh Muhammad bin Zayed, Crown Prince of Abu Dhabi. Throughout the history of the relationship between the Emirates and Palestine, the Gulf state has never had any goal but to help the Palestinians. Is there anyone who can say that the UAE once placed a condition, of any kind, on the Palestinians in exchange for what it offered them and the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization? In light of some, but not all, of the Palestinian reactions to the Emirati-Israeli agreement under the auspices of the United States, it is feared that the French proverb would apply to this group of Palestinians: There are services that are so great that they can only be answered with a gratitude!

The UAE could have sufficed with a road map in order to reach a peace agreement with Israel that included an exchange of ambassadors between the two countries and the normalization of relations

between them. It was able to ignore Palestine and the Palestinians for considerations of a regional and international character in a region where Arab priorities have differed, especially since the year 2003 when the George W. Bush administration handed Iraq over on a saucer of silver to Iran. Iraq is not a peripheral country in the region. It is a Middle Eastern country and a Gulf state at the same time, in addition to that Iraq was in the past a balance factor with Iran.

After 2003, Palestine was no longer the central issue, neither for Arabs nor for non-Arabs. It is no longer only an Iranian or Turkish issue that is used in a game of a commercial nature mastered by the Iranian, who the Turkish man walked on after the arrival of Recep Tayyip Erdogan to the presidency. What has Erdogan done to Palestine and the Palestinians other than consecrating the Israeli blockade of Gaza and its people and turning it into an open-air prison? In 2010, the Turkish President tried to lift the siege on Gaza, sending a ship containing a number of volunteers and relief materials. What was the result after Israel hit the ship? Erdogan retreated and returned relations with Israel to normal, while the people of Gaza are still languishing in their big prison with the protection and care of " Hamas "!

The Emirati move revealed Turkey and Iran at the same time, and revealed that there is still a place for the auctions and the Arab bidders. Likewise, it revealed that there is a lack of maturity among some Palestinians who did not remember that there is no Palestinian preference over the Emirates. Undoubtedly, there are Palestinian personalities who played their role, in an advisory capacity, in the stages of the establishment of the state and for years that followed that are still extended today. This applies to Palestinians, Lebanese, Syrians and Iraqis. This is one thing, behaving snappily toward the UAE is another thing that is not related to politics and gratitude.

It remains that the announcement of a road map that paves the way for an Emirati-Israeli peace agreement sponsored by the United States is an occasion to go back a little. Egypt did not regain its land until after the signing of a peace agreement with Israel in March 1979 under Arab objection led by the Syrian and Iraqi Baathists. It was in Syria, Hafez al-Assad, and in Iraq it was the duo Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr and Saddam Hussein. The two rival Baathists forced the other Arabs to boycott Egypt. Preventing the Palestinians from reaping any fruits from the 41-year-old Egyptian-Israeli agreement. The Palestinians were not guaranteed any gains at the time, but their staying outside the Egyptian-Israeli agreement prevented them from playing a political role, and instead preferred to remain in the captivity of the Lebanese quagmire. Had Yasser Arafat possessed leadership qualities at that time, he would have been able to rebel against Hafez al-Assad instead of remaining in Lebanon captive of geography. Who remembers that the Camp David Accords of 1978 were in fact two agreements, one concerning Egypt and Israel and the other for the Palestinians and the autonomy of the West Bank, which was not filled with settlements as is the case now.

Abu Ammar did not realize, despite his long experience with Hafez al-Assad, that the latter was never interested in retaking the Golan. The occupied Golan is a trade for him, just as Jerusalem is a trade for Iran. Well, the Palestinians missed all the opportunities that had existed for them since the partition resolution in 1947. It is true that Israel is not a pregnancy, but it is also true that they never realized that they must take what they can take, including the 2000 Camp David summit days in which President Clinton participated. Yasser Arafat and Ehud Barak. But what can be done when they have no idea about the importance of the balance of power in the region and the world and what they can and cannot do?

Why did the Palestinians, who signed the Oslo Accords not learn from King Hussein? King Hussein knew in 1994 that the opportunity available to Jordan, at a time when Yitzhak Rabin was prime minister, would not be repeated? He hastened, may God have mercy on him, a speedy agreement with Israel to guarantee Jordan's rights to land and water and to confirm that it is not an alternative Palestinian state. The Emirati convoy is traveling. It will not be affected by some of the poor Palestinians who had to thank Muhammad

bin Zayed for his focus on how to find a way to keep the two-state option alive, even if with difficulty ... knowing that he was in need of that and any cover for an agreement with Israel.

The UAE will not be affected by the senseless words of Erdogan, nor by the Iranian auctions. If Iran had any credibility, of any kind, it would not have been silent when Bibi Netanyahu visited the Sultanate of Oman during the reign of Sultan Qaboos, may God have mercy on him, and the Islamic Republic would have changed its stance on its occupation of the three Emirati islands. This occupation has been going on since 1971. It reveals that Iran remains Iran and that its expansionist policy is still the same. Nothing has changed after the shah's heart, except that Iran has become more aggressive and more opportunistic in everything related to trade in Palestine and the Palestinians ... and Jerusalem in particular.

	Arabic	English
Title	السلام الإماراتي.. من ينتقده؟	Emirati Peace... Who criticizes it?
Author	عبدالله بن بجاد العتيبي	Abdullah bin Bajad Al-Otaibi
Date Published	8/18/2020	---
Publisher	Al-Arabiya	---

Emirati peace is a true historical decision that affects the future of the UAE and its future generations, as well as affects the countries and peoples of the region, and it represents a rejection of the absurd situations that existed for decades, as well as a real hope for a better future for the entire region, and it restores a great balance to the strategic power equations in the region. Support for the Emirati decision enjoys great support from the Arab countries, and from the peoples themselves, especially among the youth, which is the largest group in the Arab peoples, after the previous failed slogans revealed a great loss and a clear defeat.

For many years, the UAE has insisted on the future, development and human building, and achieving major civilizational breakthroughs on earth and in space alike, and from the peaceful nuclear "Barakah Reactor" to the "Probe of Hope" bound for Mars, and last but not least, making a courageous peace with the State of Israel. The state that was an old enemy, and here are the present most dangerous enemies canceling its danger with greater danger, and canceling it before and after the common interests and imminent dangers. Some Palestinian leaders have lost their compass, and their arrows are blinded, not for the sake of the Palestinian people and their cause, but rather for their own pockets and interests, and the pyramid that blinds them to the true interests of the Palestinian cause that they have failed through decades of opportunism, and their inability to penetrate problems and build peace.

Our Palestinian brothers, who are many in the Gulf countries, should focus on their lives and their successes and the positive balance they have built with their diligence, and not be led by the corrupt who trade their cause, and fill the world's banks with the inflated stocks and long property that they will bequeath to their children, neither Palestine nor its people, and how much it will be a loser. We support those who lose their future and the future of their children, only to inflate the assets of a minority that are not concerned with him or his family in any way. The blatant contradictions are no longer acceptable, for all your budgets to be from the Gulf states over decades, then align themselves with their new enemies in the region and the hideous occupiers of Arab countries. This is a blatant contradiction that is no longer a possibility. To be a Brotherhood terrorist, and insist on that in Gaza, and break the Palestinian ranks, and you are allying with the enemies of the Gulf in the sectarian project or the fundamentalist Turkish project,

the sanctity of the Palestinian cause will not protect you, and you will have to know that every political position has a price.

There are hostile countries in the region that occupy parts of Gulf countries, and we have never heard a Palestinian position rejecting this occupation and rejecting the occupier, and the land of Palestine is not more sacred than any inch occupied by a foreigner in the Arab countries, and the pain that the Iraqi people suffer from the occupation of their land and homeland are not less than the pain The Syrian people are suffering, in addition to the new pain of the Libyan people, from which the leaders of "Hammas" are eager to take the nationalities of that foreign occupier. The heinous campaign that some have launched without being held accountable, will soon regret it when the peace stream becomes sweeping in the Gulf countries and in the entire Arab world, and previous contradictions will be under the microscope, and the bidders and the corrupt will lose, and what they think is a campaign of terror to reject peace will become a heavy burden on these contradictors, and it will take them out. The Palestinian people are completely out of the picture, refer them to retirement, and take over their case by themselves and with their youth.

Intransigence in rejecting solutions, and insistence on blackmail that only lead to a solution, is what is required to directly support the Palestinian cause and to achieve the achievements of the Palestinian people, such as what the UAE has done by preserving the lands of Palestine. The UAE achieved a miracle and a real breakthrough in serving the Palestinian cause, and serving its national and Arab priorities at the same time.

	Arabic	English
Title	الدبلوماسية الإماراتية والقضية الفلسطينية	Emirati diplomacy and the Palestinian issue
Author	سالم سالمين النعيمي	Salem Salemeen Al-Nuaimi
Date Published	8/19/2020	---
Publisher	Al-Arabiya	---

There are some countries that openly practice political hypocrisy and brag to the contrary, such as the country that wants to lead the Sunni Islamic world, and a caliph for the Muslims emerges from it, and it is the second largest country in terms of selling its weapons to the Israeli side after the United States, and it exports to Israel more than two million tons of cement annually, to build settlements, which was the first Muslim-majority country to recognize Israel as a state in 1949. And here we are addressing minds, and the rest of the countries that denounce and condemn it! So what did it offer the Palestinian people the most? And what has changed the reality of the Palestinian cause on the ground, except for calling for emergency meetings, denunciations, protests, speeches in international organizations, and the collection of donations and support for more than half a century ?! Where is the result of this support? And how did the Palestinian people benefit from it in regaining any of their rights ?!

Israel has annexed Jerusalem in the ears and eyes of the Arab and Islamic world, which did not move a finger, except in condemnation. The settlement construction projects have not stopped, and Palestinian and Jordanian lands will be seized by hand, even if they do! We will denounce and protest, and then what? A bitter reality that belies all the statements and statements of Arab and Muslim politicians, selling illusions to the people, losses and disappointments continue, until the UAE came, which is the most active and smartest actor today in the Arab arena, and is courageous in taking unemotional stances to stop Israel

from laying a hand on more Arab lands in Palestine and Jordan. If it did, we would not have been able to stand up to it, in the state we are in today of fragmentation and weakness.

We were destined to coexist with the conditions in which we are today the weakest link, and to resort to diplomacy in order to achieve gains through unconventional methods, re-entry of Muslims to Jerusalem, and open new horizons for the Palestinian people to build a true state in a state that is ruled by law, and that has enough strength to become a par with any other country in the region. And, that a decent life be available for the people, not relying on the sayings of leaders who do not starve or thirst, and have assets in all the world's banks, who talk about the right to return and liberate lands while others die from hunger, destitution, unemployment, disease and deprivation, and factions calling: “Whatever is taken by force will only be recovered. By force », and they are fighting and killing each other in permanent disagreements since we knew these factions, and the victim is the Palestinian people, who did not see on the ground anything but promises.

The dream of Palestinian national unity, and collecting the diaspora in a national homeland, have not and will not be achieved by continuing actions and practices that have proven unsuccessful without any doubt, and a doctrine of return without a realistic, sustainable and achievable plan, and confronting oneself before blaming others. Honor in a government, consisting of sub-governments in which they have neither a camel nor camel, and I wonder here: Where is this strategic causal link between the constants of the Palestinian cause, the opportunities, capabilities, flexibility and competence required, to make it crystallize on the ground? People should not be deceived by mere sermons closer to pre-Islamic poetry commentaries, and we know very well that they are just words on paper.

Are we today in a position of Arab and Islamic unity, and are we superior in the balance of power in our favor? Do we have our national decision and our free patriotic will? The answer to these questions is the beginning of the path of political realism, especially after the withdrawal of the United States from the region, an apparent enemy and a hidden one, and the geopolitical rivalry resulting from that gap, not to mention that all the major Islamic countries are in a cooperative relationship with Israel, even if it is not declared!

	Arabic	English
Title	دول الخليج والقضية الفلسطينية	Gulf states and the Palestinian cause
Author	مصطفى الفقي	Mustafa Elfeki
Date Published	8/20/2020	---
Publisher	Al-Arabiya	---

The Gulf states were and are for the most part genuinely supportive of the Palestinian right, but the control of Iranian policy in recent decades and its ambitions in the Gulf region has somehow dispersed the degree of Gulf focus on the Palestinian issue, and the Palestinian leadership's support for the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait added a secondary factor in the degree of absolute Gulf support To the Palestinian people. I must admit here that the position of the State of Qatar, which is close to the Israeli policy and who tweets out of tune for known reasons, has also played a negative role in the essence of the Gulf support for the Palestinian cause despite Qatar's ostensible positions in support of Hamas and the Palestinian struggle, as everyone understands that the Qatari policy plays the role of ‘cat's claw’ for Israeli ambitions and foreign pressures, and I must admit here also that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and other

Gulf countries have supported the Palestinian cause with enormous numbers financially and huge efforts diplomatically, as those who read the minutes of King Abdulaziz's talks with President Roosevelt at the Bitter Lakes Conference, mid-nineteen-forties, they realized that the Palestinian issue is a core issue in the Gulf conscience in general and the Saudi conscience in particular. Sheikh Zayed Al Nahyan is aware of these facts.

After his departure, many conditions have changed in the region and conditions have changed because water has flowed and bridges have collapsed, and the Arab Spring came, and the conditions of many countries in the region were transformed with it by ideas from outside, but some countries remained difficult to fall, foremost among which is Egypt, and some Gulf countries have also transformed. I took into account the matter and made a great distance between it and the ideas of the Arab Spring, protected by visa restrictions and entry conditions to those Gulf countries to protect their security and fear of the incursion into them, especially from the Muslim Brotherhood, which was historically stationed in some Gulf countries when Abdel Nasser chased it in Egypt and found its members in those countries a haven and shelter. But they betrayed it and acted against it and, when those countries, led by the United Arab Emirates, discovered the truth of their affairs, their suspicious activity, and their ideas that do not express the true nature of Islam, things began to change and conditions fluctuated.

The covenant with the Gulf states in general, exemplified by the decisions of the Gulf Cooperation Council, remained very supportive of the Palestinian cause and the rights of that people who paid one of the most expensive bills of struggle in recent decades. But there were also breakthroughs in the body of the Palestinian resistance, striking the unity of the Palestinian people between Hamas and Fatah and allowing the infiltration of countries in the forefront. Iran used to tamper with the issue and use it to its advantage under the umbrella of Islam and claims of solidarity for the sake of Palestine. In that, Iran used Hezbollah in Lebanon, which expresses its policy and embodies its ambitions in the region, and the question remains: Where do we put the last agreement between the United Arab Emirates and Israel under American auspices? Here I take the initiative and say: I am not one of the dervishes who delude things and think that talking with the Israeli opponent is a crime or that negotiating with them is a sin, but what is required is the content of that conversation and the essence of that negotiation, for whoever agrees with Israel as a guarantee of a Palestinian right or a guarantee of his land that attempts are being made to annex it is a legitimate claim.

Our convictions must change, for dialogue with the opponent and attacking him in the language of peace and natural interaction may be more beneficial and more beneficial. We have tried the language of siege and boycott for many years and the result was as we see now, as the Palestinian cause has shifted internationally from the stage of political support to the stage of human sympathy, from the issue of existence to the issue of borders, as expressed by some Arabs. I see the latest Emirati-Israeli agreement from this perspective, provided full vigilance and awareness that our brothers in that dear Arab country are not lacking, realizing that a beginning will often follow other Gulf countries. There is nothing wrong with Netanyahu visiting Muscat and meeting with the new rulers of Sudan. The berries have fallen and the positions have become public, and I prefer clear communications about secret actions. History will mention that Anwar Sadat landed at Lod Airport in Israel in front of the cameras of the whole world with clarity and transparency. Whether we agree with him or disagree, the clear and declared act is the honorable one that does not hide secret contacts or side bargains, and everyone knows who does this with Israel through the Jewish lobby in the United States of America. However, I look at what happened between the Emirates and Israel as a huge step and a major shift in the history of the Palestinian cause and the Arab support for it. And, I see it as the beginning of a new strategy that may be more beneficial and better than its predecessors. I am sure that the peoples of the Gulf are holding their support for the Palestinian people, clinging to their inalienable rights, raising the relevant legitimacy decisions in the face

of all those who bid Arabism is an indivisible whole as work in broad daylight has supervised dozens of times the buzzing of stray flies and the roosts of dark bats.

	Arabic	English
Title	حول التطبيع بين الإمارات وإسرائيل	Concerning normalization between the UAE and Israel
Author	فيتالي نعومكين	Vitaly Naomkin
Date Published	8/21/2020	---
Publisher	Al-Arabiya	---

With the UAE and Israel reaching an agreement, as stated in the joint statement of US President Donald Trump, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and the Crown Prince of the Emirates Sheikh Mohammed bin Zayed, on the full normalization of their relations, they made this event one of the most important events in the Middle East region now. The number of comments is overwhelming, although only time will tell how the situation will evolve with the implementation of this agreement. Once again, events divide the Arab and Islamic world. For some, the UAE's agreement to normalize relations with Israel, which the Emirati leadership considers a great achievement, believing that it saves the chances of establishing a Palestinian state and is a historic breakthrough, and for some critics, describing it as closer to "flattery". And this, according to a number of commentators, is not peace for land, what they used to talk about in the past, but rather peace without land, which does not take into account the interests of the Palestinians.

My American colleague, Professor at Princeton University and former US ambassador to Egypt and Israel, Daniel Kurtzer, believes that the agreement reached places before the United Arab Emirates three questions, which I will briefly include, regardless of whether we agree with the professor's judgment or not. First, will this agreement help or hinder the UAE's pursuit of a leadership role in the region? Especially since Trump had placed the UAE on an equal footing with Israel, describing it as a "great friend" of the United States? Third, what will the UAE do if Netanyahu decides, for domestic political reasons, to annex the West Bank? I think that questions, including very important ones, in fact, could be raised a lot more than those mentioned by the former ambassador, who, by the way, is an obstinate critic of President Trump's policies, including those in the Middle East. I will suggest three of the most important of them.

The first, it seems to me, is whether the UAE will be able to turn this agreement into the beginning of a broad regional political process that will change the entire situation in the Middle East, or will it simply be limited, at least in the near future, to the fact that the Arab countries that are recognizing Israel. It will not be three, as it was until now (Egypt and Jordan, and let's not forget the Palestinians themselves), but four. In other words, will other Arab countries join the Emirates, and if so, when will they join? We do not know if there were, at the stage of preparing the agreement, any agreements on this between the UAE and its partners in the Gulf Cooperation Council. My fellow experts also wonder about the fate of the Arab Peace Initiative, which was approved by the Arab League in 2002 and confirmed in 2007.

The second important question is: Does this agreement ultimately serve the long-term interests of the Palestinians? Or, on the contrary, increases the unattainable? In other words, will the UAE enter history as a winner who was able, at the expense of a settlement with Israel, to prevent the annexation of a new part of the Palestinian territories, which is confirmed by the Emirati leadership, or on the contrary, will

the agreement that was finally reached bury the hopes of the Palestinians in obtaining their national rights?

I would like to stress that the Israeli side only "freezes", and does not cancel plans for large-scale annexation of lands. Netanyahu described this as a "suspension of sovereignty over parts of the territories" and a "temporary delay" of these plans, not for the sake of the Arabs, let alone the Palestinians, but rather in response to President Trump's request. Why Trump needs this is understandable: the glories of the Middle East peacemaker are a good and winning card in the upcoming and very close presidential elections in the United States, because, in general, everything related to Israel, as it is generally believed, in the United States is not an issue. It concerns only foreign policy, but also domestic policy. Perhaps the Middle East will help in this, after the Corona virus and the economic recession have spoiled the president's game. In Israel, even a temporary freeze on annexation plans disturbs the far-right camp of settlers, whose representatives consider this change in Netanyahu's position as treachery. However, it will remain profitable either way; If Biden comes to power, which is not at all unlikely despite all the trump cards of the current president and his new, damaged reputation, then he will have no reason to disagree with Netanyahu over the "deal of the century."

Of course, if the Arabs, with the help of the Americans, succeeded in getting Israel to permanently cancel the annexation plans, and not temporarily delay their implementation, the situation would look much better. Third, how will this agreement affect the internal political process among the Palestinians, if it has any effect? It is not surprising that the Palestinians, who based their regional strategy on isolating Israel, condemned the UAE's decision. But we do not yet know what steps they will take after the dust raised by the deal is gone. The damage to Tehran should not be overstated, as normalization would help its opponents unite their efforts. As Ghaith Al-Omari wrote on the NBC News website, Iran with its criticism of the UAE, such as Turkish and Qatari media, will try to isolate it in regional organizations, for example in the Organization of Islamic Cooperation.

The ball is now in the Palestinians' court. Time is not for emotional responses, although I, as a loyal old friend of the Palestinians, understand these emotional responses, but time is for balanced and sober decisions. Summoning the Palestinian ambassador from Abu Dhabi is unlikely to help resolve the Palestinian issue. The main thing is to restore Palestinian unity as quickly as possible, which is what Russia has always called for. Her position has not changed. In this regard, I would like to draw the reader's attention to an important clause in the letter of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs dated August 14: "We are in favor of achieving a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East, the main component of which must be a just and sustainable solution to the Palestinian issue, based on the legal framework." That was approved by the United Nations, including UN Security Council resolutions, the Arab Peace Initiative, and the basic principle of the two-state solution."

Russia considers the suspension of the extension of Israeli sovereignty over a part of the occupied West Bank of the Jordan River to be important, because its implementation will lead to "wasting the prospects for the establishment of a viable, integrated, continuous and undivided Palestinian state." These circumstances refer to "concerting international and regional efforts" in the settlement, and they state that the stability of the situation in the Middle East must take place in the first place through resolving the "priority Palestinian issue".. I confirm: priority, which is completely contradictory to the position of those who no longer consider the Palestinian issue centralized. Russia is ready to work in the quartet of international mediators, but the question remains: Are all its other members ready for this? Can the Quartet really play a role?

	Arabic	English
Title	إسرائيل وتغيرات الرأي العام العربي	Israel and the changes in Arab public opinion
Author	جيمس زغبي	James Zogby
Date Published	8/23/2020	---
Publisher	Al-Arabiya	---

Opinion polls are important, because we have to pay attention to what people think about vital issues. They open a window that enables us to hear public opinion voices and make prudent policy decisions, and sometimes opinion polls confirm what we think is correct, and we feel satisfied with that. But other times, the results contradict our expectations and we face a dilemma. Then we can either examine why our assumptions are wrong or ignore the results that contradict our expectations, and challenge the pollster.

It is true that shooting the messenger may make a person feel comfortable, but by ignoring the information we do not like, we risk increasing the humiliation mud. What made me write this article is that I read criticism of the peace agreement between Israel and the UAE, many of which raised alleged points of concern about Palestinian rights and Israeli immunity. But what worried me was the saying of these critics that this agreement is not in harmony with the "overwhelming majority of Arab public opinion" regarding how to obtain Palestinian rights, and this unfortunately is not true. The tendencies of public opinion throughout the Arab world have undergone many changes in the past few years. Understand this new political reality. Over the past two decades, surveys have been conducted to monitor Arab views across the region.

Palestine has always been one of the constant issues in these polls. In 2002, for example, we found that this issue occupied, along with unemployment and health care, one of the top three political points of interest in most Arab countries, especially in Egypt and Saudi Arabia, and remained a high priority until a few years ago. But in September 2019, we conducted one of our comprehensive surveys throughout the Arab world at Zoabi Foundation for Research Services, and it was much of what we had come to expect, with regard to Syria, Iraq, the failure of the "Arab Spring" and concern about Iran's behavior in the region. But this time, I was appalled by the great change in tendencies towards the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. It has become in the lower class of priorities in every country, and our results showed that most Arabs still hold Israel and the United States responsible for the failure to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and they still support the Arab peace initiative. It is true that a large number in all countries confirmed their support for the Arab Peace Initiative, but they also said that the Arab countries should do more to support this initiative, and what is interesting is that large majorities in Egypt, Jordan and the Emirates stated that it is acceptable for some Arab countries to pursue the path of relations with Israel. Even without peace.

There is also deep disappointment with the Palestinian Authority and a feeling that Israeli normal relations with Arab countries may gain some pressure on Israel, which may help obtain the rights of the Palestinian people. In June 2020, amidst the threat of Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu to annex a large part of the West Bank, we returned to the field to survey Arab public opinion on the issue of normal relations with Israel before achieving peace. The Emirati ambassador to the United States had published an opinion piece in an Israeli daily newspaper, warning that Israel could not normalize and annex the territories at the same time. And the Jordanian monarch, King Abdullah issued a severe warning about the consequences of the annexation, 19 ministers from the European Union threatened to impose sanctions if it went ahead. Netanyahu, in the annexation plans, sent prominent "democrats" in the

US Congress, a letter expressing their opposition. We conducted the opinion poll in five Arab countries, which are Egypt, Jordan, Palestine, Saudi Arabia and the Emirates, in addition to Israel.

And we found that large majorities believe that the solution to the conflict is important, and they have hope that a solution may be reached in the next five years. These two factors together led to the majority in the five Arab countries, except for Palestine, saying that they want to explore new means to convince the Israelis of the benefits of peace with the Palestinians. Therefore, some prefer normal relations with Israel as a way out of the impasse, and with this in mind, majorities in these same countries stated that they support the initiative presented by the Emirati ambassador to confront the Israeli threat of annexation.

Decisive majorities expressed the strong vision that if Israel embarked on annexation, any step towards relations with it should end. The Palestinians who were surveyed were less supportive of normal relations and only a third of them supported the idea. Despite this, approximately six out of every ten Palestinians said: Normal relations would be acceptable if they lead to boosting trade and investment in health care and education, help promote common interests in water and food security, and the result in Israel was amazing. The Israelis also felt that resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict was important, but they crossed over about their pessimism about the possibility of achieving peace in the near future.

Opinions were divided on the question of annexation, but the Emirati initiative and the warnings of the Jordanian monarch, King Abdullah, changed the opinion of those who supported the imposition of Israeli sovereignty over parts of the West Bank from support to opposition, and only 16% were left to support the annexation. In fact, when they were asked about what might be the overwhelming reason for opposing annexation is the cause of concern about exclusion of Arab countries higher than the loss of support from the Europeans or even from American political leaders. And, as someone who has spent the past five decades vigorously defending justice for the sake of the Palestinians and has an interest in Arab public opinion in the past two decades, I admit that these results baffled me, but I knew at the same time that they must be taken into account and understood. Any evaluation of the Israeli-Emirati agreement must take into account this context of the development of Arab opinion.

It must be recognized that the Emirati initiative has already affected Israeli public opinion and Israeli policy. The Arabs still care about the fate of the Palestinians, but attention must be paid to their disappointment with the Palestinian Authority and their concern that the strategies tried so far have failed. Their desire must also be taken into account in trying to try out a new approach to achieving peace. There are good reasons for Palestinian supporters to worry that Israel might seize this move toward normal relations with it and then continue its oppressive rule of land grabbing. This Emirati initiative will in no way end our opposition to Israel's behavior towards the captive Palestinian people, especially when there are major changes in American public opinion in favor of Palestinian rights. It is very likely that the UAE will have some pressure cards that it can use, not just to stop the annexation but also changing the behavior of Israel and achieving justice for the Palestinians is what Arab public opinion has told us that it hopes to happen.

	Arabic	English
Title	معاهدة السلام.. ومستقبل السياسة الأميركية	Peace Treaty ... and the future of American policy
Author	جيفري كيمب	Geoffrey Kemp
Date Published	8/29/2020	---

Publisher	Al-Arabiya	---
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The peace treaty between the United Arab Emirates and Israel enjoyed the support of "Republicans" and "democrats" in Washington, and it also enjoyed support from within the European Union. But the treaty has come under criticism from pivotal neighboring countries, especially Iran and Turkey. The best possible outcome for the UAE and Israel is carefully negotiating a final status that may include formal recognition and exchange of diplomats, along with a number of initiatives from both sides, leading to greater cooperation in tourism, science, technology, education and joint cooperation to address the regional problem of providing adequate supplies of clean water at cost. Reasonable. If resolving these issues yields clear benefits for both parties, support for the agreement will increase within both countries, and it will be a strong incentive for other Arab countries to enter into relations with Israel. This would also be a powerful incentive for the Israeli government to refrain from moving forward with plans that ultimately annex other areas of the West Bank.

The immediate reaction of the Palestinians was a feeling of fury and anger, despite the fact that the treaty saves the lives of Palestinians who still support the "two-state solution." Had it not been for the treaty and strong pressure from the Trump administration, the Israeli government would have gone on the path to formal annexation of large sections of the West Bank, including the Jordan Valley, later this year. Because this option has now stopped, the Palestinians and Jordan avoided facing an existential crisis. And if Trump loses the elections in November to "Joe Biden", the new US administration will likely put greater pressure on Israel to thwart the annexation plans, and to resume negotiations regarding the two-state solution. The regional ramifications of the deal are likely to be far-reaching. Iran and Turkey denounced the agreement, and each party, in its own way, will do everything in its power to obstruct and impede further moves in the Arab world to establish relations with Israel.

It is clear that Tehran views the closer cooperation between the UAE and Israel as a military challenge, and views these developments as additional evidence of a broader US strategy to exert more pressure on Tehran to abandon the military elements in its nuclear program. This vision will push Iran to strengthen its relations with China in trade, politics, culture and security. This counterpart closer cooperation with China may include important oil deals with the Asian giant, to help Iran's stagnant economy out of its predicament.

Turkey, like Iran, was angered by the announcement of the deal, and threatened to downgrade diplomatic ties with the UAE. Ankara has long claimed that it is the protector of Palestinian interests and so it was expected to denounce the agreement. Although Turkey feels that the direct threat posed by the agreement on it is less than it poses to Iran, Turkey's ability to play a role in spoiling developments in the region is great.

The broader effects of the agreement will likely depend on the future of US policy in the region and this will not be known until after the presidential elections in November. Will Donald Trump, or Joe Biden, be ready to provide more of the strong American presence in the region, and ready to challenge not only Iran, but Turkey, China and Russia as well? Or will the United States continue its withdrawal from the Middle East to witness, in this case, the rise of a new type of strategic relationship that will not likely achieve regional stability, but rather will encourage more discord and possibly military conflict?

Source: A11	Arabic	English
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Title	العلاقات مع إسرائيل... البحرين أدرى بشعابها	Relations with Israel ... Bahrain is more knowledgeable about its branches
Author	سلمان الدوسري	Salman Al-Dossary
Date Published	9/13/2020	---
Publisher	Al-Arabiya	---

When diplomatic relations were announced between Abu Dhabi and Tel Aviv, Arab and international reactions began to follow about this peace agreement, but the remarkable reaction actually came from the Palestinian side, officially and from the people. It was an aggressive, offensive response by the components of the Palestinian state and totally undiplomatic by the Palestinian leadership. What matters to us here is that the angry reaction sent a message that the UAE was right in its sovereign decision to search for its vision of peace in the Middle East after it had directed its positions for more than five decades with grudging and denial. And today, Bahrain is doing it again, the same aggressive response is repeated from the Palestinian components and leadership against Bahrain.

The fact that the aggressors must confront is that time will not turn back, insofar as the feverish attack on the new Bahraini-Israeli peace agreement confirms, not only for Bahrain but rather for the rest of the Gulf peoples in particular that support the cause for long decades has yielded nothing but aggression, attack and ingratitude that there is more than one path to peace. It is not a requirement that it be from the gate of the Palestinian Authority, which is itself one of the first to establish relations with Israel. Now the Palestinian Authority comes to consider this a stabbing and insidiousness of the cause, only because it does not come according to their passions or desires.

When Bahrain faced the most dangerous events in its contemporary history in 2011, and the endeavors to ride the wave of the Arab Spring revolution and demand the overthrow of the regime, real positions appeared and everyone proved his metal. At that time, Iran was the state that stood behind that coup attempt, with financing and planning, and the leaders of Hamas and the Palestinian components. They do not stop strengthening their relationship with Iran and continue their visits to Tehran without timidity or shame. While Bahrain witnessed hundreds of positions in support of the Palestinian cause throughout its history, not a single Palestinian demonstration in support of Bahrain came out in the face of those who wanted to overthrow their country. After all, Bahrain does not have the right to search for its interests in front of everyone who abandoned them and to proceed with its vision of peace in the region according to its perspective?

It goes without saying that the relationship with Tel Aviv regarding Manama is not directed against the Palestinians, as much as it is a necessity necessitated by the circumstances of the world stage and the countries' search for peace and stability in the region. I completely agree with Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas in his statement when he said: "The UAE or any other party has no right to speak on behalf of the Palestinian people. The leadership does not allow anyone who was to interfere in the Palestinian issue or report on his behalf in his legitimate rights in his homeland." By the way, it is a statement that will be repeated with Bahrain, but the natural response, in return: Why does the Palestinian leadership have the right to speak on behalf of the Emirati or Bahraini people, and prevent them from taking sovereign decisions that are compatible with their interests?!

Certainly, the scenario will be repeated, and the Palestinian Authority will call a meeting of the League of Arab States following the establishment of Israeli-Bahraini relations, which can be considered a baseless

invitation. As the normalization of relations between the two states remains their own sovereign right and it is a matter that the Arab League and other organizations have no right to interfere with. Unfortunately, the Palestinian Authority has no other option but to accept the regional realities surrounding it and to deal with them instead of rejecting them, or at least to stop aggression towards them.

Of course and as usual, the Bahraini flag and pictures of the Bahraini leadership will be burned. The Bahrainis will be insulted. There is no objection to including the Gulf people with them as well. Aggression, not rationality, will continue in response to a sovereign decision in which Bahrain is not contested, then the pens will dry up and newspapers will be folded, and this reaction will remain proof that countries have delayed searching for their way to reach the desired peace, instead of wasting decades of loyalty to a cause that has harmed its owners more than others.

	Arabic	English
Title	رأبي في سلام الإمارات والبحرين مع إسرائيل	My opinion on the UAE's and Bahrain's Peace with Israel
Author	محمد آل الشيخ	Mohammed Al Sheikh
Date Published	9/16/2020	---
Publisher	Al-Arabiya	---

After the peace agreement between the UAE and Israel, Washington announced that the Kingdom of Bahrain will be the second Gulf state to sign a peace agreement with Israel. Such a decision is a sovereign decision, which relates exclusively between the two parties to the agreement, and no one has anything to do with it. These two states are the only ones who assess the requirements of their interests and take the decision, and no one has the right to interfere in this political matter related to sovereignty. As for the allegations of the Christians who are Islamists, and those who wrapped the group understand that it is a forbidden practice, it is a claim for which there is no evidence for it but rather many non-politicized jurists, such as Sheikh Ibn Baz and Sheikh Ibn Uthaimin, may God have mercy on them, have issued a fatwa permitting reconciliation with Israel, which cancels this claim from the ground up. In my opinion, such a step would move this issue forward, which the Arabs, particularly the Palestinians, failed to solve through wars, while they succeeded in achieving remarkable progress through peaceful negotiations.

Anyone who reads the history of the Palestinian-Israeli issue from 1948 until now, a lifetime extending to seventy-two years, will find that the Palestinian cause is in continuous deterioration, and the dominance throughout that period is in favor of Israel. So, the area of Israel originally in the partition decision was approximately 49% for the Palestinians and 51% for the Israelis. Now Israel has seized nearly 80% of the Palestinian geography, meaning that the wars that took place between the Israelis and the Arabs were all won by Israel, while Egypt and Jordan, as well as the Palestinians themselves, were able to obtain lands that were actually occupied by Israel.

Israel is no longer the first enemy for us, the Gulf, as it was before the Persian Safavid mullahs crouched on Iran in 1979 and began exporting the revolution, nor before Erdogan assumed the presidency in Turkey and worked to restore the Ottoman occupation of the Arab world who tasted the Arabs, and this country in particular. It is we, not the Arabs of the North, nor the Arabs of North Africa, who assess the dangers surrounding us and set the priorities. The problem of most northern Arabs, and all Palestinian

factions, insist on guardianship over us and define these priorities and claim that the mullahs' Iran, as well as Erdogan's Turkey, do not pose a threat to us compared to the Israeli danger. This is an arbitrary tutelage that is rejected by us altogether.

The other matter, which does not exist in the dictionaries of those who reject peace and normalization with Israel, is that we in the Gulf place the comprehensive development of our countries as a major issue that comes on top of our priorities, and a country like Israel is an advanced and superior country in all fields. By creating a space for peaceful cooperation with Tel Aviv, we believe that we will benefit from its progress and supremacy, while those who oppose Israel do not care at all, neither in development nor modernization, as much as they care about revolutionary slogans and empty agonies, which made them developmentally at the bottom of the world in terms of modernity and development. Just compare the economic growth we have achieved, stable security, stability and urbanization. With what the Arab rejectionist states have reached in all fields, you will find that the gap between us and them cannot be mistaken. We are certain that our cooperation with the superior Israel, and behind it the sponsor of this peace, the United States of America, will definitely affect our national interests and it will have the best impact on our national security, specifically towards our enemies. It will positively reflect on our development, which for us, and indeed for all countries of the world, is tantamount to 'legitimacy' for survival and continuation.

	Arabic	English
Title	ما بعد التوقيع!	Beyond the signature!
Author	محمد الرميحي	Mohammed Al-Rumaihi
Date Published	9/20/2020	---
Publisher	Al-Arabiya	---

As for the peace agreement between the UAE and the Kingdom of Bahrain and Israel, it was signed with an American guarantee, talking about the past is a foregone conclusion. Rather, it is necessary to talk about the future! However, a deserved quick introduction shows the human feelings, which is that I have every respect for the Palestinian people, not only because of human and national sympathy, but also because I at one point became a refugee like the majority of Palestinians when the Saddam's Iraqi regime occupied Kuwait. We lived 7 difficult months, at which time my sense of what increased it felt like to be a Palestinian individual from the hardship, except that I am very sympathetic before and after this time with this issue, for which it has not found a harbor until today. Be an Arab, there is no harm in that. The sympathy of a Jew in Brooklyn, New York with the Israeli people is just as natural as my sympathy other Arabs have for Palestine. The future is what matters, so the signature of Sheikh Abdullah bin Zayed on behalf of the Emirates and Mr. Abdul Latif Al-Zayani with Benjamin Netanyahu, and in the presence and signature of the President of the United States, last Tuesday evening, is unlike other peace treaties. The first treaty (Egypt), the second (Jordan) and the third (the Palestinians - Oslo) were all concluded between Israel and a neighboring country, and at some point in war. As for what happened last week, it is between countries relatively far from direct conflict. This sends a very important message, which is that the time of the "ghetto" has to be reconsidered.

Regardless of its military, intelligence, and even political power, Israel cannot certainly feel security, and this is not an abstraction, but rather a reading of reality. Today, Israel surrounds itself in most points of contact with the Palestinian territories with high walls. It is in fact "besieged" on the one hand, and is

imposing "The siege" on the other hand. Therefore, Israeli society does not feel safe. This feeling was fed by Israeli politicians for many decades, whose goal may have been to close the ranks of the newcomers and always remind them of the Holocaust that the Nazi regime committed against them in a human tragedy that the history of mankind will never forget. The final agreement must come back for everyone to examine the policy of the mutual "ghetto," for Israel is a state recognized by everyone in its vicinity and here are relatively distant countries extending their hand for peace. Therefore, the mobilization of Israeli public opinion against Arabs and Arab culture in teaching or media programs, even political discourse, must be reformulated in Israel. And on the other hand, programs in education, media and Arab political discourse must be reformulated towards the withdrawal of the "myths" that have been planted over the passage of decades towards Israel, which has influenced the thunderous rhetoric from some today towards the signing of the last peace in the White House. This loud noise is an expected result of the accumulation of a huge amount of misinformation among the Arab public, so we had only a small amount of research centers to know the other person as he really is without exaggeration or underestimation. Eating from the capital sought from the recent agreements. On the Israeli side, a feeling of real security drives away extremism and increases the broader demand for moderation.

The reaction of the Palestinian brothers, unfortunately, is expected, and mostly emotional and exaggerated. Some of them have shifted from political, as usual, to personal (low-rhetoric), which are behaviors that the time has come for everyone to abstain from! Especially from the leaders. An example of what was previously mentioned, Mahmoud al-Zahar, a Hamas leader, who was recorded saying that the Corona epidemic is only for Americans, Israelis and the normal Arabs. How can such leaders restore their credibility? Who are you talking to? As for a group of Palestinian brothers, they are asking other Arab countries to achieve an impossible equation, which is "My enemy is your enemy, but your enemy is my friend." Everyone knows that Iran and Turkey also want to impose hegemony on this region, apparently under shiny slogans, and in fact seeking to control resources and people. But the relationship between some of these organizations and these expansion projects is suspicious, and at the expense of their brothers in our region. Weeks ago, Arab colleagues organized a remote meeting with Ismail Haniyeh, head of the political bureau of "Hamas" movement. The purpose is an attempt to advance Palestinian unity, which for any sane person is an urgent necessity for all Palestinians to face the challenges at this stage.

In the meeting, I raised the concerns of his brothers in the Gulf about that relationship with Iran, and that it transcended common interests in order to negatively affect the interests of others. The answer was general, but my letter arrived with real concern. The Arab position, especially the Gulf states, throughout the history of the case have been the most and deepest in political and economic assistance, since Ambassador Abdullah Bishara gathered in 1979, and the representative of Kuwait and its representative in the Security Council, Mr. Andrew Young, the representative of the United States with the representative of the PLO at the time, Zuhdi Tarazi at the dinner table to discuss the issue. At the time the organization was acting as an observer, after that Mr. Ying lost his position after the media learned of the meeting! In addition, the Arab Safety Network approved by the Arab League for the management of the Palestinian administration's \$100 million per month, most of which comes from the Gulf states. If the signing of last Tuesday will push the different Palestinian groups and dissenters to unite, then he deserves to be thanked, because it was the motive, even if I am closer to suspicion, because between the factions there are thick walls of different interests! Unfortunately.

To another turn, the Palestinian Authority calls on the Arab League to condemn the UAE because of its agreement with Israel, in a blind reading of the existing Arab reality, and an imprudent perception of the Emirati move. If there was a logical reason to compare that the Arabs welcomed the Oslo agreement that the Authority concluded with Israel at the time without consulting the Arab League or its knowledge, that was recognition of Israel. Rather, the call for a two-state solution is recognition in itself.

The recent move of the UAE and Bahrain could have been read as it should be read. If it were a "crisis" that carries with it an opportunity for the cause and gains political ground in light of the current and global prevailing circumstances, then it is a step that can be employed in the direction of what is desired from Israel, as it is hoped that some Israeli politicians will get out of the common ghetto trap, to deal with countries that are not enemies. And, as the UAE Foreign Minister said in his speech on Tuesday at the White House; He did not fail to mention the issue and mention the thanks to the Israeli prime minister, who froze the expansion and seizure of the land because it is Palestinian. We must remember that the peacemaker will be targeted and perhaps there are pockets that will be revived by Iranian money or directed media in order to create many crises. Therefore, the prevention file must be placed before all who want to peace to avoid the worst.

The last words ... the body language during the signing of the peace agreement with Israel ... where Sheikh Abdullah was consistent with his moral level and gentleness of behavior when he presented Abd al-Latif al-Zayani more than once in class or pictures despite his seniority. It is the morals of the knights.

	Arabic	English
Title	رسالة إلى «الاتحاد» حول سلام الشجعان	A message to the "union" about the peace of the brave
Author	جلال بنا	Jalal Buna
Date Published	10/23/2020	---
Publisher	Al-Arabiya	---

The signing of the Abrahamic Peace Agreement between the United Arab Emirates and the State of Israel under American auspices is nothing but a new and important era in the history of international politics, especially relations and stability in the Middle East, as it is not possible to ignore or overlook the motives that contributed and helped to accelerate the conclusion of the Abrahamic Agreement. The first and perhaps the most important one is the opposite and correct vision that characterizes the leadership of the United Arab Emirates. Undoubtedly, the agreement is the most important of the three peace agreements concluded between Israel and Arab countries, as it will have the largest positive impact on the course of affairs in the eastern region. Its first positive results were for the Palestinians to freeze the decision to annex Palestinian lands to Israeli sovereignty, and the most important thing was to promote stability and progress in scientific, economic and technological innovation.

Among the feelings of pride and joy and the first results of the peace agreement was the landing of the first plane from the United Arab Emirates at Ben Gurun International Airport with the finest sons of the Emirates on board, as millions of people were overwhelmed with hope. Here it is necessary to quote His Highness Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum, may God protect him: "History is written by men and peace is made by the brave", because peace needs, first and foremost, strength, courage, tolerance and a clear and different vision. What is important is for clean hands, as peace cannot be established on the basis of suspicion and lack of confidence.

Here, by observing matters, we see that the leaders, politicians, and even the public who oppose the "Abrahamic Agreement" prefer looking to the past and not to the future, without realizing that change is

inevitably in the future and not the other way around, and it is not possible to continue opposing peace and reconciliation by taking a convulsive stance, not subject to discourse, discussion and understanding.

There are those who considered during the last hundred years of the Arab-Israeli conflict, specifically during the last five decades, that is since 1967, that the basis of this conflict is the Palestinian issue, and perhaps the matter is somewhat correct. But is it reasonable to prevent any move by any sovereign Arab state? And independence? The vision and decisions of the leaders of the United Arab Emirates were different. Undoubtedly, the future and history will prove that its decisions were correct, especially since over the course of three decades of direct Palestinian and Israeli negotiations no solution has been reached. I do not want to say that the failure is the failure of the leadership, it was the ally of all attempts at reconciliation.

We have entered the twenty-first century AD, and with the technological and scientific development in the world, and in light of an attempt to change the balance of power and an attempt to force the Middle East region by dark parties, their various arms moved towards destruction and devastation, tampering with the security and safety of the region, through the arms race, especially with weapons. Total destruction and non-traditionalism, we as peoples must see things completely differently as the leaders see them and put peace, coexistence and rapprochement between peoples as an aspiration and a basic goal. It is not possible today, as it was in the past, to control by force, especially over other peoples. The real power in the world today is the power of science, development, technology, innovation and the power of control through the economy more than it is controlled through the influence of geography. The wise leadership is the one who sees strength in the minds of its people through their scientific and technological creativity, support for humanity and saving lives, not the other way around, and this matter we see through the simplest data, which is the growth of the gross domestic product of each country.

	Arabic	English
Title	إسرائيل.. فتاة الأتراك المدللة !	Israel ... the spoiled Turkish girl!
Author	محمد الساعد	Muhammad al-Sa`d
Date Published	12/24/2020	---
Publisher	Al-Arabiya	---

During the past months, Israel's relationship with some Arab countries has received various reactions, the protagonist of which was the Arab street, journalists, politicians, parties and civil organizations. Journalists, intellectuals and Palestinian leaders rushed into canned reactions to insulting and accusing Bahrain and Abu Dhabi and demonizing them, and of course on the way, Riyadh was the permanent victim, noting that it was not printed, but the divorcees of Qumjiya, the remnants of the Brotherhood, and the thugs of the parties want that.

He surprised them while they were in the parties of insults and weddings of vulgarity, that Sudan was normalized, then Morocco ... so how did they overlook and how they acted, that in particular summarizes the relationship of the oil-rich Gulf ... and the northern Arabs and the rich Egyptians as well, but with other wealth they squandered and carried the burden of their failure. They believe that the Gulf politicians are minors and that those who have the right to tactics, maneuver and build relationships based on interests are the Palestinians, the Lebanese, the Syrians, the Turks, and the Moroccans. As for the other side of the Arabs, or the so-called Bedouins of the Arabian Peninsula, they are not accepted.

Resisting Lebanon and the owner of the resistance theory also held direct and public talks with the "enemy" as they called it, but the "house" sat face to face with the generals of the Zionist army, so that Israel's northern borders with the resistance state would be eternal, recognized and deposited in the United Nations. It has a case ... They sell us words and drink tea and coffee at the Zionist tables.

Ankara also represented another form of "intimate" normalization with Israel, but the model of the Turkish relationship with Israel has another story. Although it was a betrayal of the Palestinian cause that Erdogan trades with day and night, it is, in fact, a deep and influential strategic alliance in the region, and not as Arab normalization is just a media "show" and pictures in Tel Aviv. The Arabs, even the printers, are emotional and place the Palestinian issue as part of their talks.

Indeed, the former Turkish navy chief called in an article published by an Israeli studies center for an alliance between Ankara and Tel Aviv to acquire gas and oil deposits in the Mediterranean. The Turkish general says, "No one deserves to lead the Mediterranean basin except Israel and Turkey, and no one deserves the revenues other than their two peoples."

The article would not have been published had it not been an expression of the Turkish way of thinking and broad ambitions that it would establish on the ground to build its bases in Libya and seize popular sentiments in Palestine and on the Arab street. Its false propaganda feeds the Muslim Brotherhood and the remnants of the nationalists. It is the division of the territory between the Turks, the Israelis and the Iranians, and of course, achieving the interests of the major powers. It is important to pay attention to the Turkish model in the relationship with Israel that is acceptable to the Palestinians and among the leaders and followers of the Brotherhood and the masses. Indeed, many donate to defend the Israeli-Turkish relationship with justifications that even the Turks did not think of.

The Turkish model is based on the following axes: firstly, building a direct relationship with Israel without paying attention to the popular Arab reactions, and if it takes place, the media machine of the Brotherhood and its financiers in the region is capable of extinguishing the fire. Second: Justifying that relationship as being in the interest of the Palestinians, despite the fact that all Ankara did was send a small boat to the Gaza Strip loaded with cans of peas and expired beans, yet it used propaganda to stop at sea. Third: Feeding the Arab and Islamic street against any conciliatory position similar to the Turkish position, as if Israel is the girl of the pampered region that does not want Ankara nor Ramallah, Tehran, or Gaza associated with it.

	Arabic	English
Title	دلالات التطبيع بين الإمارات والاحتلال الإسرائيلي	Signs of normalization between the Emirates and the Israeli occupation
Author	عبد العزيز بن حبتور	Abdul Aziz bin Habtoor
Date Published	8/16/2020	---
Publisher	Al-Mayadeen	---

Header: Confusion inhabits the minds of some Arab leaders who have been domesticated and educated on the principle that staying in power and seizing power can only take place with a guarantee from the gate of the Zionist movement.

Unveiled on Thursday August 13, 2020 AD, on the already existing warm relations between the sheikhdom of the United Arab Emirates and the state of the Zionist entity that occupies the land of Palestine, as this new diplomatic and political relationship was announced by the American White House in Washington through a press conference moderated by the American President Donald Trump.

Of course, the news was warmly welcomed by most of the Western colonial capitalist countries that revolve around the US-Zionist orbit and its followers in the Arab and regional regions. But at the same moment serious objections and protests appeared against this agreement, which was described as an event of a new black day and an additional catastrophe facing our Arab and Islamic nation and all peoples of the Free World.

The tragedy of the Palestinian people is an intense collection of an international crime forged by the colonial West, which divided Arab land into frail states, cantons and sheikhdoms, and on top of this and that, the land of Palestine, with its holy capital, Al-Quds Al-Sharif, its monuments, and its Islamic and Christian Arab heritage was given to an unclean religious group collected from the corners of the land to plant it in the richness of a land. The pure Palestine, under the sinister slogan that Palestine, “a land without a people in which a people without a land would live in it,” this is how the Zionist rabbis promoted the occupation and usurpation of the land and the displacement of more than 7 million Palestinians spread across the globe, meaning that you will not find a country in the whole world without Palestinians refugees and displaced persons, and their lives are difficult.

The Palestinians in the diaspora and within the occupied Palestinian territory are still suffering from two things in their livelihood, housing and their future even though they are the smartest, greatest and most generous people in our entire Arab nation. They succeeded in all specializations, and Yemenis knew them as vanguards of education as teachers since the beginning of independence, liberation, and the building of the national Yemeni state. Not only that but they were present throughout the entire Arab world as doctors, engineers and specialists qualified in all professions and business. They are also professors of thought and leaders of solid resistance in the face of Occupation. Yes, these are the Palestinians, in a very brief way, whether they are in the diaspora all over the world, or they are fixed in the occupied land, Palestine, which are dear to the world's free people.

I remembered those dark days - and how many of them are for the great Palestinian people - I remembered in childhood the day of the Palestinian and Arab setback on June 5, 1967, when we were students in the school of our remote village (Ghurair) in Ghail Habban, Hadramout region, sitting next to an old radio for our great teacher, the poet Ahmed Mohamed Bamabed, may God have mercy on him. We were listening to the Voice of the Arabs radio from Cairo and the BBC in Arabic, which conveyed to us the news of the great catastrophe that befell Palestine and our Palestinian people who were subjected to extermination and displacement by Haganah gangs and Zionist gangs who practiced the most heinous types of killing, torture and forced displacement of our people in Palestine. This incident happened in our generation and we were living witnesses of that injustice that befell the Palestinians, meaning that the event is still fresh in the nation's memory from the ocean to the Gulf.

The morally and psychologically defeated will say that we still speak and write in an ancient wooden language whose time has passed and that we are still haunted by the hatred of the past. Or, that we have frozen our thoughts and our attitude towards those events since more than five decades ago, and that there are developments, positions and events that we could not overcome and interact with dynamically. This

indicates that we did not understand reality, I am surprised by those meager these sick defeatist ideas that these typists have adopted and I will not say traitors as a political or moral judgment.

Look and understand what the leaders of the Zionist entity say and repeat today and yesterday, including the Zionist butcher Benjamin Netanyahu, Benny Gantz, and before them Menachem Begin, Yitzhak Shamir, Ehud Barak, Moshe Dayan, Shimon Peres, Yitzhak Rabin, and before all of them, the first prime minister of the occupied Zionist entity, Ben-Gurion, the old crone Golda Meir, and their famous Zionist theorist Theodor Herzl. Read what they said and listen to their conversations about Palestine, the Palestinians and the entire Arab nation. They have not changed their rhetoric, practices, or racist ideology against Arabs since they embraced the Zionist ideology but the problem inhabits the mind of some Arab leaders. Those who were imprisoned and educated on the principle that staying in power and seizing power can only take place with a guarantee from the gate of the Zionist movement, this is the most complex problem. The most prominent indications of the timing of the announcement of the agreement between the Israeli enemy and the sheikhdom of the United Arab Emirates are as follows:

First: The Sheikhdom of the United Arab Emirates has waged aggression, occupation and siege on Yemen for nearly six years. This brutal aggression has caused great human losses amounting to hundreds of thousands of martyrs and victims and massive destruction of infrastructure. It has committed war crimes that are held accountable by international law, and the UAE believes that the normalization of political and diplomatic relations with the Zionists - under the umbrella of the United States of America - will protect it from human, international and divine justice.

Second: We have indicated in more than one previous article that the sheikhdom of the Emirates falls within the Western-American-Zionist project in the Middle East region and thus, it falls within the scope of that orbit from which it cannot depart from or disavow its obligations towards this geostrategic project.

Third: The Sheikhdom of the Emirates was designed as a state project within the British colonial idea that suffers from a crisis of national identity, as it is newly established (1971 CE), and falls within the scope of the Omani geography and was called until recently the northern coast of Oman. The British plan uses this geographic given and national identity for its strategic objectives.

Fourth: The sheikhdom of the Emirates is struggling with hostility and ferocity with the emirate of Qatar over political and economic influence in the region and suffers from the influence of the policy of regional pivotal blocs. Fearing for its future from assimilation into any future project for the region, it believes that its protector is the Zionist entity.

Fifth: The state of the Zionist entity is also in a state of internal turmoil and even the external threat from the Lebanese resistance and the resistance in Gaza and the West Bank. There is an explicit accusation to it by a number of Lebanese and foreign parties and political figures that it had a hand in the explosion and disaster of the Beirut port. This accusation increased as much evidence has begun to emerge regarding the involvement of the Israeli enemy in that horrific crime that killed 200 martyrs and wounded more than 5,500 others, destroying half of Beirut. The announcement of the normalization deal may divert the direction of the news from its course.

Sixth: Many media sources talked about this agreement between the UAE and the occupying enemy that it had been completed over a year ago. The successive elections in the enemy's entity were not successful and a government was not formed over the past months because Sheikh Mohammed bin Zayed Al Nahyan's partner in signing the agreement is also under Israeli public and legal pressure via charges of corruption, abuse of office, treason and other accusations. The agreement came to help him alleviate the internal ordeal of Mr. Benjamin Netanyahu.

Seventh: President Donald Trump is living a critical period in the electoral campaigning process at home, as public opinion polls indicate that he is not encouraging and reassuring due to the intense competition by his bitter Democratic opponent, Mr. Joe Biden, and because of his failure in health policies towards the Corona pandemic and his rude dealings with protesters in American society, who rose against the hidden racist policies that have a negative impact on African-American citizens in the US. Therefore, he needs the moral support of the American voter and the Jewish lobby in particular.

Conclusion: The historical human, legal and moral rights of the Palestinian people in their land and homeland cannot be restored by such a ridiculous agreement between an Arab entity that was originally involved in the blood of Arab peoples from Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Libya, Algeria, Tunisia and Yemen, and perhaps other Arab peoples will be added to the aggressive agenda of the Gulf sheikhs. This agreement with an Israeli Zionist entity, an occupying element of the historical land of Palestine, between them applies to the Yemeni popular proverb, 'Coldness falls on the nude.' That is, it is an agreement that will not protect neither the Emirates nor the Zionist entity from the wrath and revenge of the free, and will not liberate the usurped Palestinian land except by hearing the roar of bullets coming from the barrel of the free resistance rifle, and God knows best of us all.

	Arabic	English
Title	سقوط الأقنعة	The fall of the masks
Author	بثينة شعبان	Buthaina Shaaban
Date Published	8/17/2020	---
Publisher	Al-Mayadeen	---

Header: The first concept that has fallen into the general Arab context today is the concept of neutrality or self-distancing. It is clear that all Arabs are being targeted.

There is nothing new in the Emirati-Israeli agreement except its timing. The timing was carefully chosen by the Americans and Israelis to serve the Trump election campaign and enhance Netanyahu's chances to continue to head the government. Beyond that, it has existed for decades in secret and different ways until the Israeli minister visited Abu Dhabi and toured around Sheikh Zayed Mosque. Israeli sports teams and other steps were received, some of which were mentioned in the media, and most of them passed under the table.

The only new thing today is the announcement of convictions, behaviors, and relationships governed by an equation imposed on the Gulf states by creating an illusion of hostility with Iran and, the aspiration to weave friendly relations with a deceitful enemy who insults the dignity of all Arabs by violating their rights, identity and history in Palestine and the rest of the occupied Arab territories. They surrendered and signed a treaty with the enemy.

The problem that still persists is what President Bashar al-Assad called the "state of denial" that has been dragging on our history for hundreds of years and is largely responsible for the setbacks in this history. Since the Saudi King Abdulaziz bin Saud met the US President on a ship in 1945 and agreed that Gulf oil is in exchange for protecting their thrones, and that the only currency allowed to be used to sell the enormous oil wealth is the dollar, Gulf oil and the fate of the Gulf people have been put in the service of the United States. Since the correspondence of "Hussein-McMahon" and the reconciliation conference in

Paris and Lawrence and the like, they write texts and sign them by Arab officials, who follow their whims of thinking, trust their desires and ignore the reality that continues to slap them again and again on their faces. Since that date the matter has passed and it has been impossible to change any of the equations.

Today we are living in an exact duplicate of the episodes that our ancestors lived and that brought the Arabs to this fate, so that the UAE claims that, with this agreement it halted the plan to annex the Zionist enemy to the Palestinian lands. While Israeli officials confirm that this is not true and that the annexation plan was postponed a little at the request of Trump. No doubt it will resume after the American elections and after the end of Netanyahu's internal controversy, especially as it will benefit him by breaking another Arab cycle and weakening another Arab country. Soon Gulf countries will undoubtedly follow suit, which welcomed the agreement and will take the same path with the usurping entity.

But the most important thing about the issue, which may not stop at it or even the signatories of the agreement themselves realize, is that the enemy will never treat them peer-to-peer, and that they alone live in the illusion of friendship and parity while the enemy considers them servants to his plans. Such agreements are a sure evidence of "Israel" strength and its growing regional position. The weakness of the Arabs, their scattered ranks and the collapse of their regional and international status, and one of the reasons for this collapse is the wars they waged against their brothers in Iraq, Libya, Syria and Yemen; Do not forget that the first planes that bombed Baghdad took off from the UAE, Qatar and Saudi Arabia, and that if these countries were committed to preventing the American planes from using their airspace to strike Iraq, Iraq would not have become an easy prey for the aggressors. And, that if Iraq, Syria, Libya and Yemen were at their highest power, the enemies would not be able to impose their conditions on the Emirates and those who will follow it from the Gulf states to surrender to the Zionist entity.

The second fact, absent from their minds, is that the Israeli does not differentiate between them and the Palestinians. According to him, all of them in the end are Arabs and he is driven by hatred for them and their history and civilization. He has greed for their land and wealth and, if he had the slightest intention to respect those who signed an agreement with him today, he would have proven before his respect for the terms of the Camp David, Wadi Araba and Oslo Accords, which the Zionist enemy applied what suits him, and neglected everything that could achieve the interest of the other side. However, those who sign with him either do not read these chapters of history. Or, they do not want any real or historical matter to be disturbed by the euphoria of their delusions that what they are doing can have dire consequences, unaware that they judge themselves, their countries and their generations above all with weakness, dependence, weightlessness, and value in the present and the future.

The problem is that they are doing all of this after the regional and international developments have provided them many international options. After this stage revealed the fragility and weakness of Western countries, and opened the door wide for other options represented in China, Russia, and poles capable of presenting all alternatives, while preserving the dignity and decision of independent states. And if the written is to be read from its title, then the entity's relations with the Gulf states are summarized by its secret history, which was based on the visits of former Israeli Mossad heads to these countries decades ago. Today, the visit of the first Israeli delegation to the Emirates headed by the head of the Mossad will indicate the type of relationship the entity is looking for. To build it with these countries, which are relations in which the Israeli is the master; The rulers of the Gulf have only to receive orders from the head of the Mossad, who will spare no effort to weaken these countries, fragment them and turn them into marginal entities that plunder their wealth and enslave their people.

Insulting and weeping over the ruins will not help at this stage, but what is important is to put this event in its proper context, and to give it only what it deserves of analysis and thinking, starting with what is imperative to do today not only for Palestine, but also to save the Arab presence in all its countries and

sort the chaff from the fat in words and deeds after highlighting the concepts, behaviors and procedures that brought matters to their way.

The first concept that has fallen into the general Arab context today is the concept of neutrality or self-distancing. It is clear that all Arabs are targeted and that the goal is not only to swallow Palestine but also to extract any factor that could allow any Arab country to aspire to be a regional power and transform these countries one by one into countries ravaged by internal conflicts, blocs and crises. Turned into failed states, it is easy for the usurping entity to extend its military, economic and political control over the entire region.

And the statements of the new Ottoman to sever his relations with the Emirates because of the agreement are very hypocritical and immoral. He is the one who enjoys the strongest relations with the usurping entity, and works in parallel with him to break up this nation and turn it into Zionist "Brotherhood cantons" that serve the new poles in the region and buries the Arab identity under the clutches of occupation. Turkish, Zionist, American, colonialism, settlement and betrayal.

In this historical detail, it must be recognized that the tools used for Arab reunification have never succeeded for subjective and objective reasons, and that relying on these tools will not be of any benefit. It is imperative to pause boldly and honestly with the course of history, confront all the causes of failure, and work with the sincere, honest and believers in Arabism and resistance, no matter how small their number is today. It is necessary to rely on true allies to restore life and consideration to an axis that takes all these distress, difficulties and challenges into account. And it builds on new foundations, with the belief that the beginning is difficult but it is definitely better than wandering between the pages of a past that has only offered us to move from bad to worse, because the corner of the true independent decision was missing, and because the state of denial and the lack of recognition of the truth of what is happening and its potential repercussions on future generations, represented the most general and comprehensive practice in the history of the Arabs.

This is not a call to despair. On the contrary, it is a call to sharpen enthusiasm and to realize the magnitude of the risks and challenges, but with the conviction in the necessity of proper and balanced action and the introduction of effective tools. Because time is decisive and the battle is fateful for the future of all Arabs, not just for the future of Palestine, with the absolute conviction that victory is always the ally of the people determined to live freely and with dignity, and defeat the enemies and the greedy no matter how hard they might be.

	Arabic	English
Title	التطبيع تحلّ قبل التوقيع	Normalization give up before signing
Author	حياة الحويك عطية	Hayat Al-Hawaik Atia
Date Published	8/22/2020	---
Publisher	Al-Mayadeen	---

Header: Would we exaggerate if we said that we the people can determine the fate of all projects by resisting normalization not only with "Israel" but with its Arab clients?

Camp David also represented a treacherous historical turning point in the history of the Palestinian cause represented in the overthrow of the principle of the Three No's and the breaking of the psychological barrier between the usurping entity and the Arab peoples. This principle, which, according to the Hebrew strategy, was the title of the post-Oslo period and the Wadi Araba accord.

In 1996, I was participating in the Cairo International Book Fair, to sign the book "A Sufi World", and according to an established tradition, a dialogue session was held between a number of guests and President Hosni Mubarak, during which one of them asked him a question about normalization, and he replied: "We came to power and our country already has a formal agreement that has been signed and we are bound by it as a government. As for normalization, it is another matter. " Then he turned to the late Saad Eddin Wehbe, president of the Union of Arab Artists, who was very firm and effective in resisting normalization, saying, in his Egyptian dialect: "For example, if I said to Saad and Heba, print, they will not print it, so what."

This was the embodiment of a contradictory equation that prevailed throughout the Arab street, even in Jordan and Palestine, after the treaties. "Israel" was not able to penetrate the consciousness or erase the rejection and hostility of the people, nor did the rulers impose on people what they signed on paper. On the contrary, the momentum of the committees to resist normalization and popular support for them increased everywhere. (So far, no Israeli has participated in any cultural, sporting or artistic event in Jordan, for example).

The Lebanese model presented another equation: there is no point in imposing a treaty by force and occupation, as long as there are active popular forces that reject it and as long as there is a large, effective border state that is capable and determined to thwart it. Therefore, the enemy moved to a new strategy. At the level of the ring countries, it is necessary to start besieging and suffocating Syria in order to gain its power. And, on the general level, it is necessary to work on normalization with the peoples - in collusion with the governments wherever possible - before reaching the signing of any agreements. Thus, two basic things will be achieved for regimes that are subject to cooperation with the Hebrew state, and two things are achieved with regard to the rejectionist systems:

For those who want to cooperate, the first: Ensuring that treaties bear fruit and are not limited to steps that people resist, reject and fail. The second: stripping the negotiator later of any power cards.

As for the opponents: the first is to narrow down the group of states that support their choice and thus besiege them more and more, whether at the Arab, regional or international level. The second is to facilitate the process of their penetration, as it takes place through Arab tools linked to them by a web of relationships and interests at various levels. Together, they fall within the framework of a ruined structure called the League of Arab States, which does not move and will one day destroy an Arab country or an Arab cause.

And because working on perverting peoples' awareness is not an easy and quick matter, the best option was to start with countries whose peoples do not constitute a significant human mass (numbers that only number in the hundreds of thousands, whether in Bahrain, the Emirates or Qatar) getting lost in the middle of millions of expatriates who have been screened over the course of years so long that they correspond to the next. This is in addition to oppressive regimes like no other in the world, and under the cover of heavy steel silence that even foreign media and human rights organizations are totally dependent on the lobby, only when pressure is needed to pass a deal. Then things calm down as if nothing had happened.

Based on all of this, it becomes clear why the "Arab Spring" represented the demonization and destruction of Gaddafi's dictatorship, and no one struck a dictatorship in any of the Gulf states. Rather, why was the inevitable first step before all that was the destruction of Iraq, so that Syria's role immediately began. Why did the tremendous pressures on Syria coincide with the great temptations of President al-Assad, especially from the French side, authorized by the US and in coordination with the Israelis, from 2003 (the date of the fall of Iraq) until 2011 (the date of the outbreak of the military war on Syria) and it is clear why the main demands of President Al-Assad were concentrated in three: Agreeing to disengage from the resistance and Iran, to pass the Qatari gas pipelines to the Mediterranean, and why the principle of normalization before the signing formed the complex of negotiations in addition to the land and the resistance. Why was both Qatar and the UAE working at the same time on the programmed economic penetration of the Syrian situation throughout the years before the war, to turn to financing the Syrian opposition and terrorist groups during the war, and for the UAE to return today with a dress of friendliness and economic cooperation, to form a spearhead in the final stage. This is what it is doing in Beirut with its declared French ally and its silent Israeli ally, perhaps it might possess the port.

As for Turkey, it tried to be the umbrella of a Syrian-Israeli agreement. It preceded it by sweeping penetration of the Syrian markets and crossing it into Arabia. In order to kill two birds with one stone, it imposes itself as the godfather of a project to be completed by the Muslim Brotherhood in the geography of the dream of the Ottoman Sultanate. However, Turkey is anticipating this by reserving its role in front of the bulldozer of Israeli economic and cultural normalization, and in the seas' riches in terms of gas and strategic sites.

Lebanon remains, for it is the loin that appears soft, but all events have proven that the flaccid part of it is less effective than its solid part, despite all that the first of the tonic needles that are suitable for racing horses is injected into it. Therefore, his targeting did not stop. Among all, Palestine is the sacrifice of the Eid, which was divided into two halves and every part was given to an axis, so that it would not reach a day of healing.

If any geopolitical understanding is to be had, it is necessary to place the issue in the framework of three spheres, the local, the regional, and the international. The choice of the UAE as a launching pad is not only due to internal justifications or to Arab justifications, but rather it is a choice that falls within a regional framework that is concerned with the Israeli struggle over influence with Turkey and over existence, project and influence with Iran. The first is taking place behind an axis that found its tremendous fuel with the Brotherhood movement and the second is behind a resistance axis that extends from Tehran to Beirut, and both axes enjoy broad intertwined international alliances. All the way to the international framework, where the conflict falls within the framework of an extremely complex interlocking of relations and interests: the Cold War between the United States and China on the one hand and between Russia (or rather Eurasianism) and NATO on the other hand, and between the West and other blocs and international axes, some of which have been formed and some are taking shape - we do not mean by them only the BRICS countries and the Shanghai Organization - but rather, the matter goes beyond the conflict that began to unfold within the Atlantic itself between Europe and the United States, is nothing but a translation to form two new global lines: the line of return to national protectionism and the line of reproducing globalization in new formulas.

Conflicts centered, in essence, on the economic dimension, which in turn focuses on three aspects: technology, gas and sea control. In all of this comes the UAE's step of great significance, Israeli technology needs Gulf money, gas is concentrated in the seas, and with it it understands the conflict of two lines: French - Emirati - Israeli - Turkish - Qatari (by Israeli implication). The greatest danger is represented as Israel's public and official access to the Indian Ocean, the Arabian Sea and the straits, and its participation with the Dubai Ports Company in controlling the African coast, will constitute the

greatest weight in confronting China and the Belt and Road project. The UAE did not delay in controlling this area and imposing it by force, by financing and employing separatist local opposition militias, as happened in the Somaliland region, in violation of the decisions of the Somali federal government in Mogadishu.

A struggle in which the UAE, with the recklessness and arrogance of its leaders, imagines that it will be the primary interest in it, but in fact it will do nothing more than implement the slogan of Shimon Peres; The convergence of Arab capitals with the "Israeli mind", as he put it, is to serve the hegemony of "Israel" over the region and the world. Would we exaggerate if we say that we the peoples, or part of them, can determine the fate of all projects by resisting normalization not only with "Israel" but with its Arab clients and by activating the popular forces to support the steadfastness of those who are steadfast until the balance changes?

	Arabic	English
Title	الخيارات العربية بين الفالوجة و"كريات جات"	The Arab Choices Between Fallujah and Kiryat Gat
Author	صائب عريقات	Saeb Erekat
Date Published	9/7/2020	---
Publisher	Al-Mayadeen	---

Header: The Palestinian people cannot accept a fictitious state that is severed its enclaves, linked to each other through bridges and tunnels, and subject to the continuous Israeli control and domination of its crossings, borders, airspace, and resources.

The masses of our Palestinian people were distressed by hearing the news of the tripartite agreement according to which full normal relations would be established between the United Arab Emirates and "Israel", the occupying power. We, as Palestinians, as we adhere to safeguarding the independence of our national decision, respect at the same time the right of every Arab country to make its own decisions, but this should not be a justification for shirking the obligations dictated by Arab solidarity and deviating from the decisions of the Arab summits that were taken unanimously, violating the Arab peace initiative that constitutes Arab consensus framework.

The Arab nation today is in dire need of preserving these bonds of solidarity and respecting the obligations dictated by the face of the serious challenges that beset it from every side, and in order to put an end to the state of internal rupture, intra-civil wars, and sectarian conflicts. The Palestinian people are in dire need of the support of their Arab brothers today as they confront the Israeli annexation plan, which is an integral part of the Trump administration's falsely named vision of the Deal of the Century.

It is not true that this danger has become beyond our throats as a result of the tripartite declaration or as part of it. Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu openly affirms that the annexation plan is still part of his government's program. A temporary measure that comes as a result of a combination of a number of factors, including the Palestinian and Arab rejectionist position and the international consensus it created to condemn this Israeli move as a violation of international law and international legitimacy resolutions.

Because of these obstacles that the annexation plan faces, the Trump administration sees an interest in achieving progress on another axis of its plan, which calls for the establishment of a regional alliance in which "Israel" plays a pivotal role alongside Arab countries in order to protect US interests in the region. The Trump administration desperately needs such a breakthrough as it is on the verge of a difficult election battle that seriously threatens the fortunes of a second term.

Today, we are witnessing how this tripartite agreement is being exploited and the ongoing attempts to expand it to include other Arab countries and exploit it as a key element in Trump's record of achievements promoted by his election campaign. This step of normalization also meets the vital interest of Netanyahu who is facing growing popular opposition and a raging internal crisis with his allies in the government. He is facing a judicial trial on charges of corruption. In addition to the gains achieved by the normalization step for "Israel" on various levels, it also constitutes a rescue step for Netanyahu from his worsening crisis.

This is completely understandable, but one wonders what is the interest of the United Arab Emirates in taking such a step? Especially since the leaders of "Israel" do not hide their ambitions to control Arab wealth through the so-called normalization. Their position on the issue of selling advanced American weapons to the Emirates indicates that what they really want is control over the region, control of its capabilities, and the extension of their influence outside the borders of Palestine to the wider Arab space. When the Palestinian people demand to abide by the decisions of the Arab summits, they are not only defending their rights and their cause, but also the interests and future of the Arab nation and protecting it from Israeli expansionist ambitions.

We defend Jerusalem because it is the eternal capital of Palestine but also because it is the treasure of the sanctities of the Arabs and Muslims, the first of the two qiblahs and the third of the Two Holy Mosques. And the American lie that the Emirati-Israeli normalization agreement will open the door for Muslims to pray in Jerusalem reveals the truth in Kushner's statements that support of the malicious Israeli plan to change the legal and historical status quo will alter the spatial and temporal division of the blessed Al-Aqsa, and Judaize it under the pretext of freedom of worship in it for all religions, similar to what happened and is currently happening in the Haram Brahimi.

This comes in the context of a feverish escalation of the Israeli campaign aimed at Judaizing the Holy City, erasing its Arab, Islamic and Christian identity, and abolishing the Palestinian presence in it. The Netanyahu government is not satisfied with keeping the annexation plan on its agenda, but rather continues to work diligently to put it into practice by imposing expansionary facts on the land, which specifically targets the Jerusalem area as a priority in these plans through building thousands of settlement units in the "Greater Jerusalem" area. Especially given settlement projects, "A" 1 were nominated before others to be formally annexed and apply Israeli sovereignty over them, thus eliminating any possibility for the establishment of a Palestinian state, independent and sovereign.

Not to mention the confiscation of lands and the continuous excavation operations to shake the foundations of the Al-Aqsa Mosque, the forced displacement and the continuous demolition and forcing the Jerusalemites to demolish their homes by their own hands, the expulsion of citizens from the blessed Al-Aqsa Mosque and from the city, the summoning and arrest of its official and religious national figures from the sheikhs and priests, and the continuous assault on Christian and Islamic sanctities and the education and health sectors, assault on and confiscation of citizens' property in conjunction with the intensification of terrorist attacks by settlers and intimidation of safe Palestinian citizens.

All this at a time when the trend of infection with the new Corona virus increases in Jerusalem and its camps and the Old City, during which the occupation authority prevents UNRWA staff and the Palestinian Ministry of Health services from reaching their beneficiaries. In conjunction with the frenzied attack on UNRWA and the attempts to close its facilities and expel its institutions from the city, in line with Trump's plan to liquidate UNRWA and the rights of Palestinian refugees.

The Palestinian people cannot accept a fictitious state whose isolations are linked to each other through bridges and tunnels, and subject to continuous Israeli control and domination over its crossings, borders, airspace and resources. A state like the one stipulated in Trump's plan is nothing more than a "Bantustan" similar to the one that existed under Pretoria Apartheid System in South Africa.

We have not fought for a full century to become subjects of an apartheid regime in the shadow of "Greater Israel". There can be no peace and stability in the region without achieving the independence of the State of Palestine within the borders of June 4, 1967, with East Jerusalem as its capital, and resolving the refugee issue in accordance with international legitimacy resolutions, and the Palestinian people's will to continue to struggle for this goal regardless of the difficulties.

We do not want our Arab brothers for support that exceeds their capacity. We want them to adhere to the initiative that they unanimously agreed upon, and to implement the decisions of successive Arab summits, including decisions related to the financial safety net for the State of Palestine. Since the beginning of the year 2020, the economic and humanitarian situation has become increasingly difficult and cruel for the Palestinian people, especially in the Gaza Strip, whose residents suffer double due to the illegal Israeli blockade, the dire economic situation and the spread of the Covid 19 epidemic.

This is at a time when most of the Arab countries have stopped paying their obligations to support the Palestinian budget, as scheduled in the successive Arab summits, not to mention their disavowal of fulfilling the safety net pledge in accordance with the decisions of those summits, and under a compelling financial circumstance in which "Israel" practices cheap extortion of clearing funds, In it, countries, led by the United States, stopped aid from UNRWA. We are heading to the next meeting of the Council of Ministers of the Arab League, and we hope that it will take the decisions that will ensure bridging the gap created by the Israeli-Emirati normalization agreement, and the renewal of commitment to the Arab Peace Initiative and the decisions of the Arab summits, the most recent of which are the Dhahran and Tunis summits.

We view with satisfaction the positions announced by many Arab countries by affirming their commitment to the Arab peace initiative, especially what was issued by our brothers in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the Arab Republic of Egypt, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, the Moroccan government, the Sudanese government, brotherly Algeria, Kuwait, Qatar and other countries that repelled the American pressure aimed at Fatah to open the paths to the normalization process.

This position constitutes an entry point to respond to Netanyahu's statements, according to which he considered that joining the Arab countries in the normalization process will prove to the Palestinians that they are wrong, and we assure Netanyahu that the Arab peoples will not allow this shameful joining, just as no force on the ground can convince the Palestinian people that they are wrong with their insistence. To stand firm and continue the struggle for his rights to self-determination, independence, freedom and the return of refugees.

We realize that we have a duty to strengthen this steadfastness and amplify the image of this struggle through salvation from the flawed division that our national movement has suffered over the past years. Today we are taking steps that we hope will lead to the closing of this tragedy through the Palestinian

leadership meeting in which the trustees participated. The general public of all Palestinian factions under the leadership of President Mahmoud Abbas, who will inaugurate an in-depth national dialogue process aimed at building on the unity of the position against annexation and normalization through the elaboration of a unified national strategy and organizational foundations for everyone's partnership in the institutions of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the only legitimate representative of our Palestinian people, which has no alternative nor Parallel leadership to drive it.

Personally, I was distressed by the scene of the Israeli plane landing on the grounds of Abu Dhabi airport, and next to the false peace slogan, it carries its colonial settlement name "Kiryat Gat." "Kiryat Gat" is a settlement established on the ruins of Iraq Al-Manshiyya and Al-Fallujah, whose steadfastness opened during the siege of the nationalist leader Gamal Abdel Nasser, a bright new chapter in Arab history. I am distressed because, like all the Palestinian refugees of my people, we are still living the tragedy of the Nakba and its political and humanitarian repercussions until this moment. I tell you clearly that you will not find a single Palestinian who neglects these basic rights: self-determination, independence and return. Whatever the enemies' plots, the caravan of the Palestinian struggle will continue to carry its triumphant flag until the dawn of independence.

	Arabic	English
Title	التطبيع الإماراتي البحريني مقدمة للتطبيع السعودي مع العدو الصهيوني	The Emirati-Bahraini normalization is an introduction to Saudi normalization with the Zionist enemy
Author	عبد العزيز بن حبتور	Abdul Aziz bin Habtoor
Date Published	9/12/2020	---
Publisher	Al-Mayadeen	---

Header: The UAE's normalization move is only an introduction to the Saudi normalization step. This is the catastrophe of catastrophes for the Islamic nation, if our analysis is correct.

Events in our Arab region are accelerating and intensifying due to the unsurprising announcement of the so-called Abraham or Abraheem Agreement, between the sheikhdom of the United Arab Emirates and the Israeli-Zionist entity, under the direct auspices of the administration of US President Donald Trump. The agreement was announced by the White House during extensive media coverage.

The accounts and speculations differed about the content and timing of this agreement between Abu Dhabi and Tel Aviv, as some observers and analysts were surprised just to hear the news, and the other dealt with it as if it was a collection of relations that existed in the first place. What happened is the stage of announcing the agreement, that is, raising the file in its entirety from under the table. Moreover, these warm relations had previously appeared in many cultural, sports, tourism and commercial stations, and were recently evident in the field of intelligence and security espionage, before the official disclosure of this agreement - the scandal between the sheikhdom and the entity.

It is worth recalling that the alliances and projects that are trying to control the entire Middle East region are old and new projects that struggle over the region due to its strategic, economic and spiritual importance. Due to its sacred religious and historical heritage, it is a given that opens the appetite of all parties to dominate and control the heart of the world and its artery. Pointing out again that political,

military, security and cultural alliances and projects are struggling for hegemony over our region due to the sensitive vital facilities that this geographical area enjoys. What are these projects?

First: the Western Zionist capitalist project pact led by the United States of America. This project is financed from the oil assets of the Gulf Cooperation Council countries. Not only does this alliance intersect the components and contradict different interests, but it is an umbrella headed by the United States of America and NATO. These discrepancies were evident through the fierce Gulf Arab boycott of the Emirate of Qatar, represented by its brothers, especially Saudi Arabia, the Emirates and Bahrain, in addition to the sharp disagreement over the sharing of gas and oil interests in the eastern Mediterranean between France, Greece and Greek Cyprus on the one hand, and Turkey and the Turkish part of Cyprus on the other hand. This is something that has happened repeatedly throughout history among members of the same alliance.

Second: The pan-Arab national project was sworn in under the leadership of the eternal leader, Gamal Abdel Nasser, which disappeared due to direct and indirect conspiracy against it by the tools of the first project, leaving only a few hundred honorable nationalist and libertarian elements, who meet in a limited forum every year almost every year. An Arab capital that allows them to meet and renew the covenant and loyalty to the Arab national cause, so that the flame of the faith remains alive and burning in order to transmit it to the emerging Arab generations, based on values and data that the enemy has not changed and the occupier has not changed. Hegemony and subordination are the same and nothing has changed from the scene except for distorted vocabulary to convince the Arab masses to believe in the idea of normalization with the usurping Israeli Zionist entity, which is "Israel".

Third: the alliance of the project resisting the Western capitalist hegemony and the Zionist occupation of Palestine, led by the Islamic Republic of Iran. This project arose out of the rubble of oppression, suffering, displacement, settlement and humiliation of all kinds, and rose to resistance against the most ferocious, oppressive and tyrannical Western regimes and against their Arab followers who are zealous in the region and those working against our Arab and Islamic nation. This project achieved victory for Lebanon in its honorable battle, led by His Eminence Sayyid Hassan Nasrallah, against the Israeli enemy which forced them to withdraw from southern Lebanon in the year 2000. It achieved a great victory for him in 2006 and it has now guaranteed the balance of relative strategic deterrence with the Zionist entity that was arriving and roaming in Lebanon undeterred by its army, which was once called, 'the army that cannot be defeated and invincible.' On the other hand, this alliance of Arabism to Syria achieved the great victory and the steadfastness of the state with its borders and its glory under the leadership of the wise President Dr. Bashar al-Assad and civilized Iraq achieved a sweeping victory over the terrorist organizations (ISIS and al-Qaeda). The besieged Palestinian Gaza and its heroic resistance achieved the victories for which the Zionist enemy has a strategic account. Accurately, the great Yemen achieved steadfastness and victory after a war of aggression and an unjust siege that lasted nearly 2000 days of resistance. Had it not been for the will of God Almighty and the support of the resistance alliance and the guidance of the wise leadership of the beloved leader of the revolution / Abdul Malik bin Badr Al-Din Al-Houthi, all these victories against the Saudi-Emirati aggression and its Yemeni agents and mercenaries in Yemen would not have been achieved.

The fourth project alliance is still made up of the two eastern superpowers, namely China and the Russian Federation, because they are directly targeted by the first Alliance (the Western alliance led by the United States of America). The United States of America has ignited the commercial cold war against China and launched the frontier threat battle backed by the NATO alliance, which deployed Western strategic and tactical weapons to reach the borders of the Russian Federation in Poland, Romania, Ukraine, and even Georgia, which is considered the soft Russian side. The almost daily harassment of US military ships and aircraft carriers in the South China Sea is one of the signs of an attempt to impose the US military will on

China as a rising economic power, which after a decade may become the largest economic power in the world. That is why the union and alliance of the two giants Russia and China is imperative to avoid the arrogance of America and the West due to the influence of this alliance on the Middle East region through China's strategic economic project (Belt and Road) and through Russia's direct military presence in Syria and the eastern Mediterranean.

All of these projects and alliances draw their strings and plans in the geography of the Middle East, but the story of normalization between the sheikhdom of the Emirates and the Zionist entity has its "reasons" associated with the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council, including:

(A) The sheikhdom of the United Arab Emirates suffers from the dilemma of interfering in the aggressive war on Yemen, as it committed atrocities and brutal crimes against the Yemeni people that it cannot easily disavow or acquit itself due to the prosecutions it has committed against citizens, the perpetration of kidnappings, enforced disappearances, organized assassinations, and the opening of torture prisons. All of these crimes are documented in legal and human rights files at home and abroad. Of course, the sheikhdom of the United Arab Emirates was practicing these disgraceful acts directly or through its agents from the Yemeni separatists who made them criminal security belts and who chose them from the backward regional elites. All crimes are known and documented in audio and video, and their victims are known.

Likewise, the leadership of the sheikhdom of the Emirates enjoys an excess of monetary financial power resulting from the sale of oil and its derivatives, money laundering operations and contraband smuggling at the international level. However, this huge surplus is accompanied in return by a severe lack of knowledge and ethical accumulation in the management of states and human societies, as it is a new country and it is made colonial. In 1971, the UAE did not have the slightest experience in all fields, so it took the initiative to bring in consultants from all countries in the world, who are people who are being pursued with serious moral charges. In the end, this lackluster declaration of normalization is not intended by the sheikhdom of the Emirates only, as stated by the leaders of the Zionist movement, but rather the main purpose of this declaration is to draw the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to normalization, which is the state that embraces on its topography the most important and most precious of the two sacred spots of the Islamic world, namely Makkah Al-Mukarramah and the pure Medina. The passage of the Zionist plane coming from Tel Aviv for the first time over Saudi airspace in public on Monday, August 31, 2020, bound for Abu Dhabi is nothing but an announced first step with the aim of the open Saudi-Zionist-Israeli normalization. This plane was carrying Mr. Jared Kushner, the son-in-law of US President Donald Trump and his special advisor, along with Mr. Robert O'Brien, the American National Security Adviser, the terrorist / Meir Ben Shabat, the Zionist-Israeli National Security Adviser, and a large crew of spies, experts, American and Zionist advisors. Note that the indications of the Emirati-Zionist rapprochement have appeared in the past few years in the form of friendly handshakes between Prince Turki Al-Faisal Al Saud, the former director of Saudi intelligence, and leaders of the Zionists at a political conference, and the famous visit of the retired Major General / Anwar Ashqi, and other overt and secret visits. This rapprochement became familiar to Arab and Islamic public opinion, especially when they heard the imam and preacher of the Holy Mosque of Mecca (Sheikh) / Abd al-Rahman bin Abdul Aziz bin Abdullah bin Muhammad al-Sudais and the general head of the affairs of the Grand Mosque and the Prophet's Mosque, who vocalized in the Friday sermon from a pulpit The Messenger Muhammad, may God's prayers and peace be upon him, paving the way for normalization with the Zionist Jews, and he is the one who drives with usual impudence to that new road, from the Muslim capital and accepted by Mecca to occupied Tel Aviv. In conclusion, the UAE's normalization step is only a prelude to the Saudi normalization step. This is the disaster of catastrophes for the Islamic nation, if our analysis is true.

(B) The normalization step from the Zionist corner is a way to drag Saudi Arabia into the square of normalization treachery, of course, as we mentioned above, with the aim of saving the Zionist criminal / Benjamin Netanyahu from a series of moral scandals, corruption and betrayal of trust in his Zionist state, and it is also an electoral support for US President, Donald Trump in his election campaign against the Democratic candidate, Joe Biden, whose chances of success are increasing according to recent polls. The story of peace and the insertion of the name of the Prophet Abraham, peace be upon him, is nothing but a laugh at the beards, for the Palestinian people are the ones who are meant to lose their cause forever.

(C) When the former Egyptian President, Mohamed Anwar Sadat decided to restore relations and normalization with the Zionist entity in 1978, the Arab rulers decided to expel the Arab Republic of Egypt from the Arab League, and the headquarters of the Arab League was transferred to the Republic of Tunisia. We all followed the condemnation and denunciation of the Cooperation Organization and remember well how the Arab world and its vast masses raged from the ocean to the Gulf against Sadat's decision. Of course, the weight of Arabism and its great position in the conscience of the Arab nation is very large, compared to the rest of the other countries of normalization, and the parallel to sadistic normalization will not hold weight, value or prestige except for the normalization of Saudi Arabia, as it is the land of the Two Holy Mosques and the headquarters of the International Islamic Organization, and the fortress of the petro-dollar that has distorted our entire Arab and Islamic world.

Saudi normalization with the Zionist enemy is summarized by an attempt to achieve the equation of ascending the throne of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and standing above it. Despite all the shortcomings of the young Prince Mohammed bin Salman, the latter considers that the satisfaction of the American Zionist administration is a guarantee of protection for his smooth transition to the royal throne, and an additional guarantee for the victory of the Republican US President Donald Trump in his tumultuous electoral battle against the Democratic candidate, Mr. Joe Biden. And God knows best of us all.

	Arabic	English
Title	محميات النفط.. التطبيع بحد ذاته	Oil reserves .. Normalization in itself
Author	موفق محادين	Mwafak Mahadin
Date Published	9/20/2020	---
Publisher	Al-Mayadeen	---

Header: The oil reactionary movement was closely linked with the Zionist movement, and their objective alliance sought to strike the centers of the nation, especially Nasserism, which tried to encircle the aforementioned alliance with courageous initiatives.

An extension of Camp David, Oslo and Wadi Araba, and after recognizing the Zionist enemy in exchange for the illusion of peace (the solution of one or two states), and opening the enemy's first consulate in Doha in 1996, we ask: Was the Gulf normalization a sudden and shocking matter to public opinion? Or is it that what is surprising about this normalization is that it has been so late compared to all of its peers (Camp David, Oslo and Wadi Araba)?

Over the long decades since the establishment of the Zionist entity, and the political and intellectual literature of the entire Arab and international liberation movement linking the emergence of this entity with imperialist interests, especially oil and its protectorates, talking about this became synonymous with

talking about the Zionist entity as a security-military arm of imperialism and its interests and tools. In this sense, the oil reactionary movement was closely linked with the Zionist movement, and their objective alliance sought to strike the centers of the nation, especially Nasserism, which tried to surround the aforementioned alliance with courageous initiatives, by interfering in Yemen, the southern oil line and its ports, passing through Syria - the unity that forms with Egypt the most important strategic arc held the oil ports, roads and passages.

In this context, Cairo - Damascus - Baghdad continued to be targeted throughout the known stages of the conflict and its bitter stations, especially during the era of the Syrian secession in 1961 and then the Zionist aggression in June 1967. These reactionary and American climates that followed the aggression did not come for nothing. Al-Nasser raised his hand from the PLO and replaced its leaders close to him, and stopped the campaigns against the oil reaction in the name of unity, instead of his previous slogan, unity of purpose.

The great catastrophe for the entire nation was the sudden death of Abdel Nasser in 1970 before he completed the review of the Nasserite experience for its own sake and worked to deepen it. Upon the fall of Egypt in the grip of Sadat, who proved to be one of the secret men of Kamal Adham and the American intelligence, he hastened to replace the entire Nasserist policies with completely counter policies (dynasticism, privatization, Americanization, and support of American Islamic groups) in preparation for the thunderous fall in the Zionist embrace that led to the collapse of the pivotal role. To Egypt and to transfer the nation's decision from its historic urban centers (Cairo, Damascus, and Baghdad) to oil and gas reserves, the culture of American Islam, and full subservience to global imperialism.

This alleged cultural dimension of civilization soon spread and became popular in the corridors of festivals, awards and cultural events distributed among the reserves, such as the media, its channels, networks and reporters. All this happened side by side with the marginalization of the nation's centers. A confusion of contradictions took place and the rival contradiction with the Zionist enemy was replaced by an imaginary one with Iran, as an introduction to strengthening the objective of the Zionist oil alliance. As noted by the late great journalist, Muhammad Hasanain Haykal. It is the alliance that Tel Aviv wants for two reasons: first, to build what is called "Greater Israel" and finance its infrastructure, as Peres wrote in "The New Middle East", and secondly, to approach the Iranian borders. On the other hand, the resistance and opposition camp, which is facing a new form of rules of engagement, must work on two levels:

The first, at the regional level, is through grouping ranks with the significance of the law of contradictions, which are essential with global imperialism, especially the United States, and the main one with the Zionist enemy and its various manifestations (dependency and reaction), and translating this into a comprehensive resistance strategy.

The second, at the nation's level, is to re-regard the culture of engagement, as well as the nation's centers and historical bearers represented at this moment in Syria and the line of resistance.

It is true that Damascus today is wounded and depleted, but the great ordeal of the fire that it has experienced has re-produced it as a composite force between the state and the resistance, just as it happened with Abdel Nasser after the islands of 1967, when it was discovered that "The War in the Land of Egypt," which is the name of a novel by Youssef Al-Qaid, coincides with the war launched by the Zionist enemy on its borders.

	Arabic	English
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Title	الإمارات والبحرين.. الترانسفير ويهودية الدولة؟	Emirates and Bahrain .. Transfer and the Jewishness of the state?
Author	حياة الحويك عطية	Hayat Al-Hawaik Atia
Date Published	10/11/2020	---
Publisher	Al-Mayadeen	---

Headline: The information indicates a brilliant solution contained in the deal of the century, which is that the Emirates work to restrict Arab workers and gradually replace them with labor from the Palestinians of the 48 lands, so that Israel will be emptied of them, and the state's Jewishness will be achieved.

In 2009, while world public opinion was shifting its stance on the Hebrew state following the "Cast Lead" operation on Gaza, the Zionist media circles mobilized their important voices in the West to justify the aggression.

In this context, the New York Times published, in its January 2nd issue, an article by Benny Morris, a historian and professor at Ben-Gurion University, whose translation was published simultaneously in most European media with the title: "Israel feels that the noose is getting worse." In it, Morris analyzes the dangers facing the Jewish state in order to implicitly justify its resort to violence. He begins by saying that "Israel" feels that "the corridors and walls of history are striking against it, as it was before the 1967 war, despite the fact that its Jewish population at that time did not exceed two and a half million compared to five and a half million today, and even though it did not possess nuclear weapons."

Morris expresses "this fear and pessimism, which is due in the first place to the fact that the Arab and Islamic world has never accepted Israel as a legitimate entity, despite the peace agreements it signed with Egypt and Jordan." In the second place, he attributes this feeling to "the Western public which is becoming less and less supportive of the Israeli cause - something that officials cannot continue to ignore in democratic countries. That is because Europeans view with resentment Israel's treatment of the Palestinians under its authority. In contrast, the memory of the Holocaust has begun to fade little by little, while the image of the Arab countries gets stronger and stronger."

As Morris goes on to define the series of dangers facing the Jewish state, he summarizes them: "In the east, Iran is developing its nuclear program. In the north, Hezbollah is strengthening its armament." Here, he focuses in detail on the missiles that could hit Tel Aviv and Dimona. "In the south, Israel must confront Hamas, which possesses a number of missiles, most of which came from Iran through tunnels. The fourth danger is the Arab minority, numbering a million and a half, most of whom have turned into radical groups in recent years, which supported Hezbollah in 2006. On the other hand, If the statistics are correct, they will turn into a majority between 2040 and 2050, and thus the Palestinians will become an overwhelming majority in all of Palestine, extending from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean. This, while the hostility between Arabs and Jews is intensifying which large numbers of young people expressed during the uprising in 2000."

In a simple conclusion, the man identifies the two main goals on the Arab and international arenas: the acceptance of "Israel" by the Arab and Islamic world as a legitimate entity, and the revival of the Western public's support for "Israel" by reducing coverage of direct acts of violence against the Palestinians and preserving the memory of the Holocaust. In order to achieve the goal on the Arab and regional arenas, the

list of obstructing targets is clear and specific: Iran - Hezbollah and its missiles - Hamas and its tunnels - the Arab minority inside "Israel" - the hostility between Arabs and Jews.

Acts of violence against the Palestinians ensured to reduce the severity of their impact in the West, many measures including security coordination in the West Bank, demonization of the image of the resistance fighters, and a more dangerous strategy represented by what Salam Fayyad crystallized as "economic peace", among them the proxy wars in which the Arabs have ensured themselves on other arenas which presented heinous, barbaric and violent pictures that go beyond Israeli violence, attributed to Islam, which were frantically marketed by the Western media, to highlight the demonization of the Iranian threat, in an attempt to justify many of the Israeli acts of aggression.

As for the maintenance of the memory of the Holocaust, the European circles themselves will take care of it, and we will see Arab and Islamic campaigns that reinforce the mission. Abdullah bin Zayed's visit to Auschwitz was nothing but the first whistle, and then comes his funny, crying statement: There will be no Holocaust after today; It is funny because we imagine the UAE offering this guarantee, and weeping, because the accurate translation of the Zionist propaganda is marketed to the Western public that Zionism has only established "Israel" as a refuge to protect the Jews from the Holocaust. Meanwhile, this propaganda focuses on Arab Nazi cooperation. In recent years, these propaganda circles have been active in publishing a number of books and articles in this field. (The author has a book on Zionist Nazi cooperation, published in 2000).

As for the youth and the spirit of hostility, the Zionist circles did not wait to sign with anyone to launch their widespread attack on Arab youth in order to remove the spirit of hostility, whether it was at the top level, related to some current leaders and political parties associated with the West and the Gulf countries, at the level of their media and political plans, or also at the grassroots level, through several means, not the least of which is the role of civil society organizations funded by Europe and the United States. These organizations had spread by tens of thousands and did the act of wood mites in the Arab world: cultural, social and sports institutions funded by Western or Gulf agencies (such as awards, festivals, research centers and matches), not the least of which is also the tireless work of the Israeli digital diplomacy unit that exploited social networking sites to network with more than two million young people across the Arab world, whose ages ranged between 18 and 22 years old.

It is a breakthrough that had the biggest role in transforming the popular explosion against oppression, corruption and backwardness in pursuit of reform in the Arab world into corrupt, oppressive and backward explosions that sought to destroy the state and drag it towards more backwardness and devastation that paralyze the capabilities of the resistance. This climate provided a fertile ground to pass the normalization processes before signing, and even created a state of fatigue and a loss of standards that led the public mood in many times to accept anything and the unwillingness to take more on major issues, amidst cultural and political ignorance that prevents people from understanding that the loss will be caused by abandonment. In the long run, it will be much bigger and more dangerous.

And if the process of confronting the Iranian threat, Hezbollah and Hamas, each needs space, then the fourth danger that Benny Morris talked about is the one known as the demographic bomb that threatens the entity and threatens its basic ideological project: the Jewishness of the state, about which plans have often been circulated around the idea, "Transfer to Jordan." But it was plans that always collided with the risk of civil war or at least security disturbances on the entity's long borders with the Kingdom of Jordan, which is linked by a peace agreement with the entity, and in that case Jordan would have a Palestinian majority.

On this subject, the information today indicates a brilliant solution contained in the deal of the century, which is that the Emirati authorities work to restrict Arab workers and gradually replace them with labor from the Arabs of the 48 lands, so that the state of "Israel" will be emptied of them, so that the Jewishness of the state will be achieved without demographic or objectionary risks.

At the same time, legal pressure is being exerted on the UAE to naturalize large numbers of foreign workers, in which numbers of dual-national Jews and a number of investors, administrators and advisors affiliated with Israel, are passed in, directly or in a convincing way (triple nationality). This explains one of the reasons for choosing the UAE and Bahrain to start the project that will turn the Arabian Gulf into new, humiliating colonies. Israel does not need to make settlements because it was never part of the great map of Israel, and it is sufficient for it to play the role that strict Jewish jurisprudence gives it to the Ajmawat: serving the Jews. This will actually translate on the ground to serve the survival of "Israel", its security, safety, Judaism and its economy.

This is what was meant by the dream of Shimon Peres to collect Arab wealth from the Arab labor force to the Israeli mind. This is what Miri Regev, the Israeli Minister of Transportation, expressed after the signing of the agreement to open Jordanian airspace to Israeli aviation, which she said is "regional economic peace."

	Arabic	English
Title	سماء وأرض السودان	The sky and the land of Sudan
Author	بثينة شعبان	Buthaina Shaaban
Date Published	10/26/2020	---
Publisher	Al-Mayadeen	---

Header: Is it too late to do anything that would save this nation and rid it of the tusks of the beast that pounce on it after it has spread toxins in the minds, consciences and will of some of its children?

Commenting on the agreement with Sudan, the enemy Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said, "Sudan's skies are now open to "Israel," allowing for direct and shorter flights to Africa and Latin America. He had said a few days ago, commenting on the accelerating agreements with the Gulf states: "We have become an important air and sea junction in the region." And what did Sudan get in return for that? He got a "promise" from Trump to remove Sudan from the list of "state sponsors of terrorism" after Sudan paid \$ 335 million in funds for victims and families of victims of the attacks on the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania.

What the Israeli enemy and the American master think of, of course, is Sudan's open sky, its benevolent land, its enormous wealth, its water and its money, to pounce on and plunder all this wealth in exchange for "promises" to withdraw its name from the list of "states sponsoring terrorism." We know the American and Israeli promises - and how many of them there are - that were given to the Arabs in general, and to Egypt, Jordan and the Palestinians in particular, before normalization. The United States will open the doors to Sudan and bring them good things, while all the good things are in their land. But, Sudan has not invested well in its rich, good land that contains treasures that arouse the ambitions of opponents.

The enemies of Sudan are covering their plans by pummeling its goods through agreements of normalization, friendship or verbal affection, while they do not see a people on that land and do not respect any of the Arabs in any of their countries except as they respect the Palestinians. Their main motive is their greed for the goods of these countries, so they set plans, thought, promoted and managed to convince the weak-minded first that the road to Washington passes through Tel Aviv and that signing agreements with "Israel" would make a leap for the signatory countries in terms of progress, technology, agriculture, industry and science.

Despite the existence of evidence proving the opposite, especially the experience of countries that normalized decades ago, the basis of all this terrible defect and deadly illusion is due to the enemy devoting important time to planning before implementation, while the planning stage has not yet entered the real Arab dictionary, for most of their policies are responses to what the opponents and enemies are planning for them. Their project is based on trying to repel the other and confront him in the best case, rather than their project being an independent project with clear goals and a specific timetable. At a time when the housewives of normalization are accelerating from one country to another, "Israel" has frozen the granting of entry visas to UN human rights employees so that they do not record its crimes against the Palestinians, and so that Maher Al-Akhras's photos and details of his suffering does not leave a stain on the brutal occupation.

When I read the accelerated news about normalization with the enemy, I remembered the joint Arab action formulas that included institutions and organizations emanating from the Arab League and bilateral joint committees between two countries, holding periodic meetings and discussing plans, exchange and cooperation, but all of this did not lead to anything at all because the planning stage was not real or serious, the timetable was open for a year, a decade, or a century, and because the evaluation and accountability components were also absent from any operational work program.

Thus, the collapse of attitudes that we are witnessing today towards the enemy is not the result of the hour, but rather the result of accumulation over decades. No group, party, union, institution or organization has the courage to raise serious and deep questions about the outcome of this work and its future purpose and the real reason for not achieving the objectives envisaged by it is if there are goals drawn in advance.

After all the defamation and racism that our enemies practiced against us over the past decades, we will begin to discover today, and on their tongue, the value of what we possess in terms of geography, history, wealth, civilization, and heritage, but only after they claim it to themselves and become the masters of the situation. Just as Netanyahu began with the sky of Sudan as if it had become the property of his flights, providing him access to Africa and Latin America, their constituencies will talk about agriculture in Sudan and the fertility of the land and the enormous products that they will produce there, but after they have become the heroes of production and not the Sudanese themselves.

Many Arabs and in their various countries have contributed to campaigns of self-flagellation and underestimation of Arabism and Arab nationalism and the tremendous capabilities that this nation possesses from its surroundings to its gulf, unaware that they are only repeating what the enemies want them to repeat and believe in, from self-contempt and the search for solutions by those who target their presence and aspire to seize their sky, land, money and history.

The question today is: Is it too late to do anything that would save this nation and rid it of the tusks of the monster that peck on it after it has dispersed toxins in the minds, consciences and will of some of its children? It is certainly not too late, especially if we remember that the largest percentage of the work that the enemy is doing falls within the framework of propaganda and media. We have to pay attention to the

fact that it depicts the reality as if the peoples of these countries which they signed normalization agreements with have gone out of their minds and cheered and welcomed the unprecedented steps with them, we must know much better than that. The educated and Arab people of Sudan with a long history, rooted in their identity cannot be what the enemy portrays to us.

Is it permissible for us to draw our thoughts and opinions on a brotherly people, from an enemy who has a great interest in promoting their own views and plans? Even if one of the official website owners signs an agreement with "Israel", this does not at all mean that the entire Sudanese people agree, and it does not mean that this situation will last forever, nor does it mean that the free will of the people is unable to revolt against normalization agreements and to propose new ways to restore them. The people have their say in deciding their future at a time when the Trump administration is cheering for a number of Arab countries that will embark on the train of normalization.

Believers must focus their cause on another path: the path of unifying the will of those who reject all this dishonor, even in the normalized states themselves; Because what is happening today can never be the end of the conflict, but rather a round in a long battle in which it is forbidden to despair or abandon it as a result of the cosmic propaganda that our enemy wants to nourish minds with so as to weaken the wills of people even before it gathers its strength to respond with a line of vision or a project that fails their dreams and ambitions.

Can the course of events today be the thunderbolt that awakens the Arabs to get rid of the illusions of their past work and to think about modern methods of work that will restore them to the status they deserve and reinvest their strengths even if it takes years? The conflict is open and there is no specific time for it to end except when a party decides to withdraw or achieve victory.

What is happening today in the Arab arena confirms two things that are not tertiary: The first is that the fierce attack on the Arabs and the fabricated terror sent to them is the result of greed for their geography, history, land, location, wealth and civilization. The second is that the Arab methods of work since independence until today have proven their failure and therefore, the conclusion must be the necessity to develop methods of resistance to include thinking, planning, building and taking advantage of the latest products produced by human thought, including evaluation and accountability, armed with self-confidence, land, history and determination to defeat enemies and achieve victory even after a while.