

DEAL OF THE CENTURY AND THE IDEA OF AN ALTERNATIVE HOMETLAND

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ABSTRACT

The problem of the study is to search for the relevance between the idea of the alternative homeland, and the deal of the century and this is what manifest the importance of the study novelty and addressing two subjects in one study and the linkage between them, The study assumes that despite the deal provided for the establishment of a Palestinian state in some parts of the West Bank And Gaza Strip, but the implementation of the deal will create conditions for realization of the idea of an alternative homeland, after an analytical study of the postulates and the foundations on which the deal was based, and Discussing the terms, requirements and obligations that the Palestinian Authority must undertake during the trial period in order to recognize the establishment of a Palestinian state, Take into consideration also the call of many Israeli parties, whether governmental or non-governmental, that assures the idea of an alternative homeland as a final solution to the Palestinian issue and The recognition of Israel as a Jewish state, and the study require shedding light on the roots of the idea and its historical developments, with an analysis of the importance of implementing the idea of an alternative homeland in achieving the Zionist project to establish a Jewish state in Palestine between the Mediterranean and the Jordan River, which will be a stage of the realization of the largest Zionist project from The Euphrates to the Nile, in addition to analysing the texts of the deal of the century to clarify the axioms and the foundations upon which to determine whether it includes the idea of an alternative homeland or it confirms the idea of a two-state solution. The study reached after careful reading of the texts of the terms of the deal and the conditions imposed on the Palestinian Authority and the obligations that it must undertake that a Palestinian state will not be established, especially since of the commitment authority duties and the conditions imposed on it is decided by Israel and the United States of America, and that the will be a state lacking supremacy as it well be subject to security and economical control of Israel, and in both cases will be that was his hand to impose the alternative homeland in a non - public, but through one of the scenarios Possible and under humane arguments that the study tries to clarify.

Keywords: Deal of the Century, The Idea of an Alternative Home

INTRODUCTION

Despite the signing of the 1994 Jordanian-Israeli peace treaty, it did not consideration, evidenced by the discussion in the Israeli Knesset in May 2009 of a bill that considers Jordan a homeland for the Palestinians, after the deputy in the Knesset, Aryeh Eldad, submitted a proposal in the name of two states for two peoples on the banks of the Jordan river is the Jordan homeland for the Palestinians, and calls for the granting of Jordanian residents of the West Bank nationality, the Knesset has endorse the this project by a majority of 53 votes on project status on the relevant committees in the idea of the alternative homeland, one of the Zionist ideas that have been posed from time to time in order to get rid of the Palestinians to facilitate the acquisition of Palestine, it has been a demand for Zionism since its first conference to establish a Jewish state in the land of Palestine, which requires exiled Palestinian Arabs of them abroad to the Arab countries surrounding the exception of Transjordan area as part of the Promised land - historical Palestine - but the

circumstances of this vision began to change as a result of change the of the Arab – Israel conflict, since the war of 1967 and after Israel 's confiscation Palestinian land from the sea to the river, including the Palestinian, Israeli strategic thinking started to focus on getting rid of the Palestinian overcrowded areas, and preventing the establishment of an independent Palestinian state as a real threat to the existence of Israel, its future and national security, and if the first proposal is the Palestinian option represented by Palestinian self-rule in some areas of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, the other argument was the Jordanian option as an alternative homeland, considering Jordan is the eastern part of the historic land of Palestine, and Israel will concede it to be a homeland for the Palestinians, while the western part extending from the Mediterranean sea to the Jordan River will hold the Jewish homeland, which is in accordance with Partition decay 181 in 1947 from the point of Palestinian eyes, and had this idea taken the formal nature of public her when he called the representative of Israel in the United Nations body Judas Bloom in a letter to him in front of the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1981 by making Jordan an alternative homeland for the Palestinians, and then perceptions have evolved to this idea and adhered to by Israel after asking the idea of a two - state solution and Israel 's actions on the ground, particularly the construction of the separation wall to prevent the establishment of a Palestinian state, which means the rejection of her There is no two-state solution, and its insistence on recognizing it as a Jewish state, which indicates that the idea of an alternative homeland has become the only solution to the Palestinian issue from an Israeli point of view.

The announcement by US President Donald Trump of the deal of the century in January, 2020 which stipulates the establishment of a Palestinian state in the Palestinian areas in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, does not deny that the idea of an alternative homeland still exists. There are indications in the deal of the century that point to this idea .The deal will wharf the conditions for the implementation of the idea of an alternative homeland, which is what the study tries to prove by clarifying these indications and developing future scenarios for how the idea will be implemented on the ground, so this study is characterized by its novelty, and that it is the first to link the topic of the century deal with the idea of the alternative homeland, depending on the historical approach. When studying the historical roots of the idea of the alternative homeland, the historical development of the idea, and the methodology of text analysis when analysing the religious and Zionist texts of the idea of the alternative homeland, as well as analysing the texts of the century deal to clarify its principles and foundations on which it is based, and finally the approach of future studies when developing future scenarios expected to implement the idea of the homeland The alternative as a result of implementing the deal of the century.

The Idea of an Alternative Homeland and Its Historical Roots

1. Definition of the alternative homeland and the concepts associated with it

We can define the alternative homeland as the concept that an individual or group of individuals leaves their homeland in which they reside to another place, either voluntarily or by force, and then they are required or demanded ,or granted the nationality of the new homeland , and they acquire the rights of the original citizens, and they have the same duties (Alnkhal, 2014) but from where the term alternative to the homeland of his/several meanings depending on who you talk about, from Zionism point of view that the division of Mandatory Palestine must be divided into two states ;The first is the state of Israel west of the river, and the second is the state of Palestine east of the river, meaning that Jordan is Palestine, and that the Palestinians of the West Bank are their country east of the river and not its west and therefore the Palestinians from the West Bank to Jordan must be deported (Al-Hamad, 2010) The Jordanian alternative for the homeland - considering Jordan involved in this project - it falls under three meanings :The first sees that the reality says that most Palestinians in Jordan are legally Jordanians with citizenship rights,

and this embodies the idea of an alternative homeland ,and that Jordanians of Palestinian origin obtain high positions in the state, and the increase in Palestinian representation in parliament confirms the idea of an alternative homeland more, and the second opinion The naturalization of more Palestinians residing in Jordan contributes to the conspiracy of the alternative homeland, and that the naturalization of the children of a Jordanian women and the reception and settlement of Palestinian refugees from neighbouring countries is the embodiment of the alternative homeland project, and the third opinion considers that talking about any political or security role for Jordan in the West Bank detracts from The sovereignty of the future Palestinian state also comes within the framework of an alternative homeland, meaning that Jordan represents the Palestinians politically, and that the solution to the refugee problem in Arab countries is at the expense of Jordan (Al-Hamad, 2010) and its associated with the concept of alternative homeland inseparable two transfer (deportation) and resettlement transfer the concept of alternative homeland inseparable two transfer (deportation) and resettlement transfer the concept of alternative homeland inseparable two transfer (deportation) and resettlement transfer or deportation, which usually refers deportation component of a population of place and be resettled elsewhere, while resettlement, in is intended to grant refugee to the nationality of the country resorted to regardless right to his native country (Alnkhil, 2014) and shows the transfer link to the idea of the alternative homeland that the Palestinian land must be evacuate Palestinian Arabs and that require deportation abroad to prepare the land for the reception of Jews and resettled In order to achieve the Jewishness of the state ,as Joseph Weitz, one of the leaders of the Zionist settlement, put it in 1940, saying: “It must be absolutely clear that there is no compromise here, and there is no other way but to deport Arabs from here to neighbouring countries. We do not keep any village or tribe, the deportation should be to Iraq, Syria and Transjordan, and the country Israel will be able to absorb millions of our brothers and solve the Jewish question ”(Palestine Liberation Organization, 1996) and even though the transfer process is not Easy in terms of a to implement, however, Israel does not dispense with it as an essential part of the alternative homeland scenario, and it is of two types: voluntary transfer ;

Type 1 :Which is based on understandings with other cooperating parties ,and is based on creating the appropriate political and economic conditions for the party that accepts these Palestinians by presenting material inducements to the Palestinians, which gains international acceptance and does not contradict the law, and this type is not related to the creation of a political entity For them ,this type was mentioned in the Peel Project of 1937 when it provided for the transfer of the Arab population from the Jewish state to the lands of the Arab state, as it was proposed in the Alon project after the 1976 war, which proposed moving refugee camps to the desert, camps from Gaza to Jordan

Type 2: forced transfer, by using repression and coercion, such as the confiscation of land and narrowing livelihoods and movement, and the expansion of settlements and the construction of the separation wall ,and the demolition of houses and the policy dimensions, so it is not acceptable internationally and legally (Bataneh, 2010) The resettlement is linked to the idea of the alternative homeland to ask Israel to resettle refugees in the Arab countries away from Israel ,on the grounds that the refugees came out at the request of Arab countries without pressure from Israel ,and this requires their participation in finding a solution to him, and prefer Israel to be resettlement away from them geographically ,if not This is possible, as Jordan represents a suitable place for this solution (Younus, 1979), and this is not completed until after the transfer process has taken place.

The Idea of an Alternative Home: Roots of the Idea and its Historical Development

It can be said that the idea of an alternative homeland was born with the launch of the project to establish a national home for the Jews in Palestine under the emblem of a people without a land for a land without a people, because the land is not empty of people, and therefore it is necessary to get rid of them in order to complete and succeed the Zionist project in Palestine in its minimum level represented by monocular Jewish state. In Palestine from the river to the sea, the Zionist movement is certain that the existence of an independent Palestinian entity on any area between the river and the sea will destroy the realization of the idea of establishing the Jewish state, and pose a threat to its continuity and subsequent expansion, and therefore this state will not be achieved except by annexing the lands. The expulsion of the Arab population residing in it and then the replacement of the immigrant Jews in their place, which was understood by Britain and the Zionist movement, so it was necessary to find a way to get rid of the Palestinian Arab population aspiring to determine their political destiny in Palestine, so the idea of an alternative homeland was for the Palestinians, by deporting them to it, and in it. His political ambitions and their economic needs are fulfilled (Bataineh, 2010) and it must be taken into consideration that this idea has its roots in the Old Testament, as it came in the Book of Numbers, chapter 3 3/50 "And the Lord spoke to Moses in the plains of Moab on the Jordan of Jericho, saying, speak to the children of Israel, and say to them that you are crossing into the land of Canaan and expel all the inhabitants of a land from before you." Thorns in your eyes and wrenches on your sides. "Likewise stated in paragraphs 30-32 of chapter 23 of Genesis," A little by little, drive them out from in front of you, and set your borders from the Sea of Souf to the Sea of Palestine, and from the wilderness to the river, for I will drive to you the inhabitants of the earth and drive them out from before you" With the beginnings of the idea, the destination of deportation announced by Zionism included Iraq, Syria and the Arabian Peninsula, and Transjordan was not in the picture as it was considered part of the land that Zionism aspired to extend its project from the sea to the Hijaz railway line, but Jordan has become the preferred destination in The period of the 1930s, when Haim Roro - Chaim Weizmann's assistant - announced in 1930 after his negotiations with the British government that the latter considered Transjordan as a reserve country for transferring Arabs whose lands would become to the Jews in the Land of Israel, and that the British would participate financially to support the settlement in Transjordan (Bataineh, 2010) and became it more openly after the Palestinian revolution in 1936 as the twentieth Zionist Congress adopted in Zurich in 1937 the policy of deportation of Arabs from Palestine, in addition to the launch e Bill project in the same year and which came the idea of the partition of Palestine between Arabs and Jews that The lands allocated to the Palestinians are attached to the Emirate of Transjordan in one country with an exchange of Arab and Jewish populations between the two states with the approval of the Jordanian leadership (Bataineh, 2010), and this project has been implemented. Later after the 1948 war in what is known as the unity of the two banks, where the Palestinian lands in the West Bank were annexed with its inhabitants to the Jordanian state, in addition to that which absorbed all the Palestinian residents who were forcibly transferred to Jordan, and thus Israel was able to get rid of the Palestinian population problem from one side and secure The non-establishment of an independent Palestinian political entity in accordance with Partition Resolution 181, on the other hand, taking into account the annexation of the Gaza Strip to the State of Egypt. And after the 1967 war of Israel found itself it controls the entire Palestinian land from the sea to the river including from Palestinian communities very large does not work with expulsion and genocide, and at the same time form these gatherings threaten the Jewish state to the idea, so and with confirmation of the Israeli statements on Not to withdraw from the lands it occupied in 1967 AD or to return to the previous borders b. Relying on the English text of Security Council Resolution 242, which refers to withdrawing from lands and not from lands J, in addition to its rejection of Resolution 194, which mandates the return of Palestinian refugees, the idea of an alternative homeland returned to the proposal. again in order to get rid of these Palestinian communities, by offering what is known as the Palestinian option or a project of the

Palestinian self - rule based on a Palestinian partner for a political qualified and able to cooperate with the Israeli leadership in the establishment of a Palestinian self - rule in the densely populated areas of the Palestinians, with taking Palestinian civil affairs administration of educational, cultural, health and economic in a confined area, which does not involve the establishment of a Palestinian political entity independent sovereignty to Israel retaining full Sovereignty over the Palestinian territories, and has the failure of the project at the end of the sixties of the loan in the past after the failure of Israel to convince any personal Palestinian in the West Bank to cooperate with (Bataineh, 2010) offering the other was to be Jordan is the alternative homeland with a must talk about the Jordan River as a natural Israel state and claim the eastern Jordan stopped as part of the Promised land, Zionist vision become the of a list that Palestine is two side of Jordan River and can divided between two people , Arab and Jewish, in the west of the state Judaism, and in the east of the river is an Arab state, so Jordan is an emergency entity that was deducted from the land of Palestine, and since it is part of Palestine, and its residents are Palestinians, whether they are indigenous or displaced residents, it is a Palestinian homeland, and there is no justification for claiming a homeland or state for them because their state is in Jordan (Alnkhal, 2014) and represents this idea in the project, Yigal Alon, who launched after the 1967 war, and which is based on Israel to Jerusalem retain the uniform in addition to other areas less densely populated, and re - densely populated areas to Jordan with corridor linking the West Bank in Jordan, provided that the bank is disarmed, and the Israeli forces remain in the Jordan Valley, and the establishment of a joint authority for the refugees (Bataineh, 2010) and there has become a consensus among the leaders of Israel that there are no three countries in historic Palestine. Golda Meir, the Israeli Prime Minister in the 1970s, repeated that no There are only two countries in the Mediterranean and Eastern Sahara; The state of Israel and other Arab is Jordan, and the Palestinians can find themselves home in Jordan (Riad, 1989) also Aba Ayan Israeli Foreign Minister of the former in his speech to the Geneva 1973 conference confirmed of the two countries, which They represent the original region of Palestine: Israel with its capital united Jerusalem, and an Arab-Jordanian-Palestinian state in the east of Israel, especially since most of the inhabitants of East Jordan are Palestinians, and therefore the Palestinian personality can find the same within an independent state (Riyad, 1989) And this idea is still being raised from time to time, with different scenarios, even after Jordan signed a peace treaty with Israel in 1994.

The Idea of an Alternative Homeland: Foundations and Objectives

The Foundations of the Idea of an Alternative Homeland

In the Zionist vision, the idea of an alternative homeland was linked to the idea of a Jewish state stipulated in the Declaration of Independence, in which it was stated, “It is within the natural right of the Jewish people to be an independent nation in its sovereign state like all other peoples of the world....., and by virtue of According to the United Nations General Assembly resolution, we announce the establishment of a Jewish state in the Land of Israel, which is the State of Israel....., the State of Israel will be open to Jewish immigration to the diaspora the Judaism state of the most important issues highlighted by the Zionist thought, in his book 1896 ,Jewish state focused on Herzl that the Jews constitute a distinct nation (Herzl, 1971)That is he linked the concept of nationalism and the Jewish religion, for Judaism expresses a specific nationality and religious identity for a group of people who are the Jews and made them a nation that does not differ from other nations, so it was natural to associate it with some religious slogans such as the holy people, and the people of God. The chosen one ,and as long as the national identity refers to a relationship between a people and a land, the holy Jewish people are linked to a holy land referred to by a divine promise ,and they must return to it and settle in it in order for the diaspora problem to end, and

this means the existence of a state belonging to them that they all relate to, whether they all migrate to it or Most of them (Zahra, 2012) The Jewish people in the diaspora are looking forward to returning to the Promised Land based on the Jewish belief to establish a Jewish state that is pure and pure from any non-Jewish element .Therefore, the realization of the state's Jewishness project depends on the fulfilment of three interrelated matters, the first of which is the achievement of strength. Jewish population; it requires to be the doors of the state is open to the immigration of Jews from all over the world, second it must be the Palestinian expulsion of the n and deported to outside Palestine ,and drop the right of return of the Palestinian people, and finally that Israel is seeking to find a solution for these displaced Palestinians through resettlement projects abroad ,and the most important of the idea of the alternative homeland project is achieved in which the Palestinians and the political, economic and administrative ambitions.

Moshe Dayan has expressed about it during the Rafi Party conference in Jerusalem, the end of November 1968 ,saying" : We are seeking to keep the state of Israel maintain its population and the Jewish character, and continue Jewish state, the undisputed, (Riad, 1989), as Shimon Peres noted so also in response the Jewish character and continue Jewish state, the undisputed, (Riad, 1989), as Shimon Peres noted so also in response to a question from Robert Lee hill about the danger to Israel 's future ? His answer was that the danger lies in the Arab population density and that the Jewishness of the state requires the existence of a non-Jewish neighbouring state (Rober, 2000), and based on the foregoing, the realization of the idea of an alternative homeland according to the Israeli vision rests on the following foundations:

First: The establishment of a viable and sovereign Palestinian state in which the issue of Palestinian refugees will be solved is an Israeli necessity, but its establishment in the land of Palestine between the sea and the river is impossible because of the conflict, with the realization of the Zionist project, A Palestinian state between the river and the sea, and at the same time promoting the idea of an alternative homeland for the Palestinian entity as a necessity for a final solution to the Palestinian problem.

Second: The choice of Israel for the alternative homeland state is not a matter necessarily related to the approval or rejection of the state concerned, but rather to Israel and its ability - that is, Israel - to impose it on it through the creation of material and political conditions on the one hand, and to the extent of the concerned state's ability to resist the idea and effectively thwart it on the ground (Bataineh, 2020).

Third: The most popular idea of Zionism is that Jordan is the alternative homeland on the basis that Jordan represents the eastern part of Biblical Palestine or historical Palestine that includes eastern Palestine - Jordan - and western Palestine, and therefore Israel adopts the Zionist project at its minimum in western Palestine and excludes Eastern Palestine - Jordan - is part of the Zionist project, which is in accordance with the Zionist vision with the partition resolution issued by the United Nations General Assembly No. 181 of 1947, which provides for the establishment of Arab and Jewish states in Palestine, and it constitutes a legal basis for the establishment of the Palestinian state east of the river Jordan as the land constitutes the eastern part of Palestine with its boundaries biblical ,and the view of Zionism that it's a bias for the Arabs because there land will be larger, it is a Zionist point of the borders of historic Palestine is the same Palestine biblical ,which includes Jordan ,or what is known as the East Palestine (Bataineh, 2010) but all this does not preclude the idea of sharing the alternative homeland between two Arab countries are Jordan and Egypt in the case of subjoin the West Bank to Jordan, and the Gaza Strip in Egypt as was the case after the 1948 war.

Fourth :The realization of the idea of an alternative homeland requires negotiations between the concerned parties, internationally and regionally, as this state must be a consensual product with an international decision that is represented by the will of the United States of America after the latter and the Western countries are convinced of losing the hope of establishing a viable and

sovereign Palestinian state on the land of Palestine. The Mandate, in addition to the arrival of the settlement of the Palestinian issue and the issue of refugees went to a dead end, and this achievement depends primarily on Israel, which is what it is doing on the ground to create all conditions for the elimination of any possibility for the establishment of a Palestinian state, and the death of all peace projects supporting two-state solution, and so Eliminate any possibility for refugees return ,and on the other hand the realization of the idea depends on the strength and cohesion of the target parties, Jordan and the Palestinians, in terms of the material and realistic ability to resist the idea and thwart it ,accept and coexist with it, and also in terms of making sure of the inability of the Palestinian factions In Gaza, to thwart the implementation of the idea.

Fifth: The idea of the alternative homeland has several scenarios through which it can be applied. This will be discussed later when studying the deal of the century and its relationship to the idea of the alternative homeland.

Israeli Goals in Achieving the Idea of an Alternative Homeland

First: Confirming the Jewish historical allegations about the historical right to the Promised Land, the land of the forefathers and grandfathers, and promoting the idea that Jordan is Palestine, as expressed by the Israeli MP Ediha Eldad, who said: “Practically there is an existing Palestinian state and it exists in Jordan. Jordan is Palestine, and all who claims other is a traitor” (Al-Nakhal, 2014).

Second: International recognition of Israel as a Jewish state as stated in Partition Resolution 181, given that the realization of the idea of an alternative homeland from the point of view of Israel is the implementation of the decision to divide Palestine into two Jewish states located in Palestine west of the Jordan River and the second Arab located east of the Jordan River.

Third: Getting rid of the two-state solution scenario (Palestinian and Israeli in Palestine between the sea and the river). Israel seeks that there is no solution to the Palestinian issue by creating a Palestinian state between the river and the sea.

Fourth: Promoting the idea that the Palestinian people exercise their right to self-determination through their presence in Jordan. Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu considered the Palestinian state to be in Transjordan and in it had a decisive Palestinian majority (Al-Nakhal, 2014) and Ehud Barak confirms this idea. Saying: "they are demanding a homeland for the people, where this people? They are Jordanian citizens, representing more than 70% of Jordan’s population, and their Jordanian rights and their duties” (Alnkhal, 2014).

Fifth: Getting rid of the Palestinian demographic burden, whether the Palestinians of 1948, or the Palestinians in the lands they occupied in 1976, which is the big problem that made the idea of an alternative homeland unavoidable. Shimon Peres referred to that in his response to a question about the danger threatening Israel, saying: "In Indeed, the age was killed by the Arab population density, and even remain a Jewish state we need a state of non - Jewish "(Robert Thiel, the future of Israel: Talks with Shimon Peres, National Publishing and distribution, (Amman, 2000), and confirmed the document Herzliya was first held in late 2000 on the necessity to find a way out of the Palestinian demographic problem outside Palestine by settling them in Transjordan (Ihsan-Murtada, 2009, www.lebarmy.lb/en/content).

Sixth: to get rid of the refugee problem, the resolution refused to 194 judge the return of Palestinian refugees under the pretext that this solution constitutes a danger to the Jewish state, so Israel has been providing projects based on the resettlement of refugees in the Arab countries, and to improve their living conditions, in the point of view of Israel that the solution The issue of refugees is by resettling them far from Israel, and recognizing Jordan as a Palestinian state means that Jordan is the best place to settle refugees, which may require an improvement in economic

conditions in Jordan by injecting aid and attracting investments so that Jordan becomes eligible to receive and resettle refugees from the West Bank, Gaza and Lebanon. And Syria (Nakhal, 2014).

Seventh: To entrench Israel as a normal state in the region after resolving the Palestinian issue and ending the state of conflict with regional parties. Rather, it will have a leadership role in the region with its economic, technological and military power, which was confirmed by Shimon Peres in his new book, *The Middle East*.

Eighth: The division of the Palestinians and the melting of the Palestinian identity, especially if the scenario based on the annexation of the West Bank to Jordan and Gaza to Egypt are applied. It is a scenario that Tzipi Livni talked about that among Israel's goals is to completely separate the West Bank from the Gaza Strip in the presence of two conflicting governments in Ramallah and Gaza until the expulsion is completed. Collective Palestinians n re - attaching the West Bank, Jordan (Alnkhal, 2014).

Ninth: Security objectives of controlling all of Palestine from the sea to the river with the exception of some unimportant areas, which achieves the borders but the blessings that it demanded after the 1967 war and the settlements had a fundamental role in drawing the secure borders, which contributed - that is, the settlements - to separate the West Bank. West Bank from East, and the fragmentation of the West Bank, and modify the green line, Netanyahu confirms that the Jordan Valley must remain under Israeli security control in any settlement as the first line of defence (Alnkhal, 2014).

The Deal of the Century: A Palestinian State or an Alternative Homeland

The Axioms of the Deal of the Century and Its Implications for the Idea of an Alternative Homeland

A careful reading of the pages of the Deal of the Century can be said of this deal based on a set of axioms and the most important of which are:

First: The aspirations of the Jewish people in the historical land of Palestine - the Land of Israel - the historical homeland of the Jewish people are legitimate aspirations.

Second: The Palestinian presence in the land of the Jewish people is an emergency, and it should not affect or detract from the historical right of the Jews.

Third: Any Israeli surrender of any of the Palestinian rights guaranteed by international legitimacy decisions is an Israeli concession, which may be temporary or interim.

Fourth: The heart of these axioms aims to create the Jewish state in the land of the Jewish. Therefore, it can be said that these axioms are derived from the Zionist ideology, and are based on two dimensions : The first dimension is the regional or territorial dimension ; It is intended for the historical land of Palestine to be exclusive to the Jews, by talking about the historical right of the Jews and their legitimate aspirations in the land of Palestine, which means that any Israeli concession is a temporary concession that corresponds to the stage of Zionist action in achieving the goals, and the second dimension is the demographic or demographic dimension. ; Speaking about the Jewishness of the state, which means the right of the Jews only to the land, which means the systematic emptying of the land from the Palestinians to the nearest land, which is Jordan and perhaps Egypt, and this can be explained by the fact that the text of the deal on the Jewishness of the state is linked to the Palestinian demographic problem, and based on that the desire The Israeli establishment of a Jewish state, and the unwillingness to establish an independent Palestinian entity, the logical conclusion is that Israel will seek, by all means, to get rid of the largest possible number of Palestinians and push them towards Jordan (Muasher, 2020) (<https://carnegie-mec.org/2020/01/02/ar-pub-80726>), and that the Israeli pursuit of not establishing a de facto independent Palestinian state by blowing the two-state solution is evidence that the alternative

homeland solution scenario is still present in the mind-set of the Israeli decision-maker, and that Jordan will bear this greater population burden in light of the presence of a million Palestinian refugees in Jordan who do not carry Jordanian citizenship will deal with them from a legal perspective sooner or later, in addition to the presence of a percentage of the population of Palestinian origin, and what helps in this is a set of factors, the most important of which are:

The First Factor: The Decline of the Geological Functional Role Jordanian Strategist in the Region

Since the inception of the Jordanian state, it had a functional security role represented in protecting the land borders with Israel from any attacks resisting the British and Jewish presence in Palestine (Khallah, 1983) in addition to isolating Israel from some Arab countries such as Iraq, and containing the preparation of Palestinian refugees with carrying economic consequences and political in the West Bank, and has this role continued that Jordan signed a peace treaty with Israel in 1994 as it became his role going and improving Arab - Israeli, especially the economic ones through a series of conferences Davos relations, which were held at the Dead Sea However, regional developments revealed secret Arab-Israeli meetings, especially with the Gulf states, which began to appear in the open with the development of some of these relations to reach the stage of cooperation, alliance and recognition, which was reflected in the neglect of Jordanian interests and the ruling elite in them, as the United States of America did not consult With Jordan when it recognized Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, or when it recognized Israel's annexation of the Golan, not when the Bahrain Economic Workshop was held, nor when it announced the deal of the century, which gives Jordan some security roles and Jordan no longer has the role of mediating between Israel and the Gulf states, and Netanyahu confirmed this during an interview with the right-wing Hebrew newspaper, Mako Rishon, saying that he would implement the deal of the century and annex areas in the West Bank, and that the possibility of dissolving the authority and cancelling the peace treaty from The Jordan side is something that does not concern him (Al-Quds Press International News Agency, Monday 3/20/2020, 8.35 am, <https://www.qudspress.com/>).

The Second Factor: The Unreality of Establishing a Future Palestinian State

Reviewing the standards on which the future Palestinian state will be based and the conditions and obligations required of it in the deal of the century suggests that this state - as stated in the thirteenth annual conference of the Israeli National Security Research Institute - will not be established within the five -year period ,because these criteria and conditions do not allow the establishment of a state. Palestinian viable life (report news ,deal century annexation of the Jordan Valley is dedicated alternative homeland 8,/2 2020 /<https://180post.com/archives/8325>) ,It is the most important of these criteria and the conditions and obligations:

First: The drawing of the Palestinian-Israeli borders must take into account Israel's legal and historical demands and security requirements. Therefore, most of the Israeli settlements will be integrated into the neighboring Israeli lands, which include 97% of the settlers, while the settlements inside the Palestinian lands that will house% 3 of the settlers will be linked. With a transportation network in Israel and under Israeli security control, the Palestinians who remain within the borders of the State of Israel will be given the choice between staying and moving to the Palestinian state.

Second, will be an area father ululation Palestinian only 6000 km 2 of out of 27 thousand km 2, after Israel's annexation of settlements, and nearly 40% of the territory of the region c, annexation of the Jordan Valley, which is something crucial to the security of the national Israeli,

and therefore are not involved international borders East with Jordan, this country will be divided into:

- Areas of the West Bank :It is a group of areas - cantons - geographically isolated from each other ,and communicating between them through a network of tunnels ,bridges and roads that are subject to Israeli security control.
- Gaza Strip: Which will be expanded to include two agricultural and industrial areas on the Egyptian border, and will connect with the West Bank with a proposed security corridor that passes through Israeli territory, and is subject to Israeli security control.

Third: Jerusalem will remain the unified capital of Israel, with the organization of the opening of the Noble Sanctuary for all religions. As for the capital of Palestine, it will be in a part of East Jerusalem in the areas east and north of the security fence in the villages of Kafr Aqab, Shuafat and Abu Dis, which helps Israel to get rid of 200 thousand Palestinians in Jerusalem, so that there are 12% Palestinians and 88 % Jews.

Fourth: The existence of a Palestinian entity - even if it is temporary - next to Israel should not possess the elements of power in order not to threaten Israel, which requires placing restrictions on the sovereign authorities of the Palestinian state, which was confirmed by the deal of the century. Q network tunnels, bridges and roads linking the assigned s Palestinian in the West Bank, the security corridor proposed between the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and the crossings linking the state of the Palestinian both Egypt and Jordan, all of which are subject to security control of Israel, in addition to full sovereignty over the air fields and sea, and thus can Whenever Israel wants to close any area and cut off parts of the Palestinian state, the Palestinian state will be completely demilitarized with the exception of the police forces (internal security), provided that Israel takes over the affairs and costs of defending it, and the security responsibility diminishes as the Palestinian authorities prove their ability to assume this responsibility by preventing terrorist attacks Within the Palestinian state and against Israel, Egypt and Jordan, as well as its ability to disarm the Palestinian factions in the Gaza Strip, which is considered one of the difficult and nearly impossible tasks, which may herald a Palestinian civil war that weakens the Palestinian state and hastens its collapse.

Fifth: Among the conditions imposed on the Palestinian authorities is not to pay the salaries of the families of martyrs and detainees in Israeli prisons. Hamas and Islamic Jihad cannot participate in any Palestinian government until after they recognize Israel, and the Palestinian authorities must recognize the Jewishness of the state of Israel, and the Palestinian state is not entitled to join any organization Only after Israel's approval.

Sixth: Israel's control of water resources, quarries, and the resources of the Dead Sea after annexing the Jordan Valley, which is a strategic, security and economic area, and is considered a food basket in the West Bank, in which 56,000 Palestinians live, from which the Palestinian state will be deprived, and more than a million Israelis will replace the Palestinians. It will make the Palestinian people live in a state of geographical and economic hardship, which leads them to search for work inside Israel or in surrounding countries such as Jordan and Egypt, especially if these countries are economically rehabilitated by improving their economic conditions, or by creating Jordanian-Palestinian economic and cooperative zones to be Attracting Palestinian immigration.

In return, if the Palestinian state fails to meet all or any of the required criteria and conditions at any time, then Israel will have the right to increase its security presence in all or any part of the Palestinian state, and it has the right, under the security pretext, to end the Palestinian state, and to control historic Palestine from Sea to river. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/Peace-to-Prosperity-0120.pdf>

The Third Factor : The Deal Transacts With the Refugee Issue

The Deal of the Century has a Special Vision for the Refugee Issue that Includes:

First: Jewish refugees They are the Jews of the diaspora who have the right to return to Israel, in addition to Arab Jews who were expelled from Arab countries ,Israel and calls for the implementation of a just solution for them through an appropriate international mechanism separate from the peace agreement of Israel ,and most likely will be represented by remaining in Israel 's investigation into the concept of The Jewish state ,with compensation paid to them from the Arab countries for their expulsion and for their property that they left in their countries.

Second: Palestinian refugees: the deal approved to end all claims for refugee status, since there is no provision to recognize the right to return or the right of self - determination, and emphasizes ending the work of UNRWA ,and give the Palestinian refugee three option: Either absorbed and merger into the host countries with the approval of these countries, or absorbed into the countries of the Organization of Islamic cooperation with the approval of these countries, or absorbed in the Palestinian state 6000 - km 2, which the absorption will be for limited numbers, which will not exceed the ceiling determined by Israel and according to security arrangements specified that the most important It does not constitute a demographic threat to Israel, which is considered part of the Israeli national security.

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/Peace-to-Prosperity-20.pdf>

Consequently, the return of numbers of refugees, with the presence of a Palestinian population density on a small area ,and the presence of difficult economic conditions, will contribute to the displacement of Palestinians in an invisible way abroad, especially to Jordan, perhaps Egypt.

Future Scenarios for the Alternative Homeland

The Outlook for the Future Results of the Deal of the Century Centered Around Two Realities and Three Scenarios:

The first of the reality of a Palestinian state, and this is actually the scenario of federalism is linked: This scenario is based to meet the Palestinian Authority requirements, conditions and obligations of a Palestinian state, and that means the proclamation and recognition of a Palestinian state, which is believed to be difficult to occurrence as noted under the title unrealistic establishment of a Palestinian state, but assuming this happens if the opinion of the Israelis that inevitably create a sovereign Palestinian state, The scenario closest to the development of this event is the emergence of a union between the two countries the Palestine and Jordan They form one united kingdom with a mutual name, one federal government, an elected parliament from the two peoples, one army and security forces, a federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, thus the idea of an alternative homeland gives Israel the following benefits:

First: Gaining international public opinion by announcing the establishment of a Palestinian state, which would facilitate its recognition as a Jewish state.

Second: Israel has bypassed many of the demands of the Palestinian people and their national rights in determining their own destiny, especially if this union was with the approval of the Palestinian Jordanian leaderships, even if it was without the will of the Jordanian and Palestinian peoples.

Third: Israel will lose small parts of the West Bank - as indicated in the deal - and this does not significantly affect the national project from the sea to the river.

Fourth: Israel will get rid of the issue of the return of refugees by resettling them in the federal state, especially in the Jordanian section.

As for the Gaza Strip, as soon as it is linked with the federal state through the security corridor or tunnel to which the deal referred, and either, and we believe that it is the closest to being

attached to the Egyptian state, because this achieves for Israel the goal of dividing the Palestinian people and melting the Palestinian identity between the Palestinian federal state and the state Egyptian.

Indeed, the second failure of the Palestinian entity's ability to move to a Palestinian state stage independent recognized for her internationally : It is the result of the inevitable because of the lack of authority the ability of the Palestinian on the fulfilment of the obligations and conditions and standards required of them, which could lead to a state of chaos that may be associated war, a Palestinian civil as if Palestinian Authority tried to disarm the Palestinian factions weapons in Gaza, and in this case, Israel will exploit it to achieve the alternative homeland within the following two scenarios:

The first scenario: joining the Jordanian state (returning to the scenario of the unity of the two banks); This scenario is based on the annexation of the rest of the West Bank lands with its residents to the Jordanian state under humanitarian arguments and justifications as a result of the poor living conditions that the residents live in the Palestinian areas. As for Gaza, what was mentioned in the previous scenario applies to it by attaching it to the West Bank through a security corridor to be affiliated with the state. This annexation may be a step in order to facilitate the migration of Palestinians to Jordan by using the means of voluntary and forced transfer, by making Jordan an attractive area for the population after its economic rehabilitation in comparison with the living conditions in the Palestinian areas, especially by establishing cooperative economic zones between Jordan and the Palestinian areas, and this scenario help Israel to join the rest of the land in the West Bank, and the clearance of the refugee problem in Jordan them for resettlement, in addition to the lack of a Palestinian state.

The second scenario: It is the continuation of the situation, which is Palestinian self-rule in the Palestinian areas with the imposition of Israeli sovereignty over them, and with the continuation of the process of evacuating the Palestinian population from their areas using the methods of voluntary and forced transfer, provided that the destination of the transfer is Jordan based on the existence of Jordanian-Palestinian economic cooperation areas, As for the refugees, it is possible to agree with the regional parties to resettle them in the places where they reside, provided that the majority of them will be resettled in Jordan, and that this scenario helps Israel not to establish an independent Palestinian entity, in addition to its intensification of settlements and their expansion as a security belt over the governing area. It also aims to gain time to annex the lands and impose restrictions on the Palestinian population and push them to emigrate to alleviate their demographic pressure. Therefore, Israel does not want this scenario to settle for more than one stage in which it serves the land annexation process. Perhaps the best example of this scenario is the autonomy that stipulated Accordingly, the 1993 Oslo Agreement, which was supposed to end the establishment of a Palestinian state, did not suggest that the reality on the ground after Israel built the separation wall that It contributed to reducing the lands of the Palestinian territories, making them fragmented areas that could be separated from each other and not viable by restricting the lives of the Palestinians.

It is noted that what helps to realize the idea of an alternative homeland in Jordan and Egypt based on the previous scenarios is what was stipulated in the deal of the century of job roles for Jordan and Egypt, the most important of which are: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/Peace-to-Prosperity-0120.pdf>.

- The security role of the Jordanian Armed Forces in the Palestinian territories.
- The Jordanian cooperative role with the United States and Israel in controlling the crossings between Jordan and the Palestinian territories.
- The Jordanian role in the alleged regional security cooperation organization ,and this role will be on the side of Israel, Egypt, the Palestinian Authority, Saudi Arabia and the UAE.
- Expanding the Gaza Strip by creating two agricultural and industrial zones along the border with Egypt.

- The economic role by establishing a free economic zone with Israel, and another area inside Jordan for the disposal of Palestinian and Israeli goods abroad, in addition to leasing part of the Aqaba port to the Palestinian side to ship the goods.
- A proposal to establish a framework for tripartite economic cooperation - Benelux - that brings together Jordan, Israel and the Palestinians, to be a bridge for greater economic cooperation with the Arabs.

CONCLUSION

The idea of an alternative homeland began with the beginnings of the Zionist project, which aims to establish a national home for the Jews in the Promised Land, on which the 1897 Conference settled as Palestine, which means the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine as announced in the Declaration of the State of Israel - the Declaration of Independence - in 1948, The Jewishness of the state is linked to the idea of an alternative homeland, because the interpretation of the meaning of the Jewishness of the state is that the state of Israel must be a pure Jewish state of any non-Jewish element, which also means expelling all non-Jewish components from the Jewish state, and here is intended to expel the Palestinians, so Israel worked and works to expel them through what is known of transfer, as expanded and Israel is seeking to find a solution for those displaced through resettlement projects that started and the most important of the idea of the alternative homeland is the recognition of the Jewishness of the State of Israel requires first that does not non – Jews live in the Jewish state, and secondly to get rid of the elements of the non-Jewish and third drop the right of return of Palestinian refugees, and fourth the need to create an alternative homeland for the Palestinians in any place outside of Palestine from the sea to the river, and the unanimous official Palestinian positions and informal, especially after the war in 1967 that Jordan is the right place to make it an alternative homeland for the Palestinians for several considerations, the most important of which are : The claim that most of the inhabitants of Jordan are Palestinians or of Palestinian origins in which they enjoy all the rights of citizenship, the first of which is the right to nationality, on the one hand, and on the other hand, considering Transjordan as part of the extended historical land of Israel On the banks of the Jordan River ,or what is known as eastern Palestine, and the Jews gave it up to the Palestinians to establish their state in it. As for the Jewish state, it would be established in western Palestine from sea to river, and according to Israel's viewpoint, the implementation of Partition Resolution 181 of ,1947 which divides Palestine into two existing Arab states. East of the Jordan River, and a Jewish state located west of the river, and therefore the idea of an alternative homeland from an Israeli point of view is the only and optimal solution to the Palestinian issue and the Arab-Israeli conflict, because it achieves several goals for it, the most important of which are : recognition of the state's Jewishness, and getting rid of the Palestinian population burden, and Finalizing the issue of the return of refugees, separating the West Bank from the Gaza Strip, if the first is attached to Jordan, and the second annexing to Egypt, which means separating Palestinian unity and dissolving the Palestinian identity, in addition to The two countries, Egypt and Jordan, should bear the remnants of the Zionist project and its effects, and this solution will facilitate the recognition of Israel in the Arab and Islamic worlds and the establishment of normal relations with it in various fields, which qualifies it to have the role of regional leader.

And the announcement of the deal of the century, which provides for the establishment of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, may suggest to some that Israel will retreat from the idea of an alternative homeland and its acceptance of the two-state solution, but a careful reading in the texts of the deal will give another impression based on that this deal will pave the way for the realization of the idea of an alternative homeland ; .The axioms of the deal confirm that the aspirations of the Jewish people in the historic land of Palestine - the Land of Israel - are legitimate aspirations, on top of which is the creation of the Jewish state and its recognition on

this basis, and that any Israeli handover of any Palestinian right guaranteed by international legitimacy decisions is an Israeli concession that may be temporary. Or temporary, and that the Palestinian presence in the land of the Jewish people is an emergency, and it must not affect or not detract from the historical right of the Jews, as well as a careful reading of the conditions imposed on the Palestinian Authority and the obligations that it must undertake, on top of which is the disarmament of the Palestinian factions. In Gaza, it will give the impression that this state will not be established, especially since it is Israel and the United States of America that decides the extent to which the authority will abide by its duties and the conditions imposed on it, and even if this state is established, it will be placed in wills over it by Israel, which will control all matters related to it. Security and sovereignty, just as the economy of this state will be subject to Israel, and there will be no sound economic conditions for all Palestinians on an area of 6,000 square kilometres. In both cases, and for humanitarian purposes, the solution will be to impose an alternative homeland from during several scenarios, the most important of which are:

- The first scenario: In the event of a Palestinian state, the scenario will be based on the establishment of a federal union between the Jordanian and Palestinian states to form a united kingdom in a common name, with one federal government, and an elected parliament from the two peoples, with one army and security forces, and a federal ministry of foreign affairs, and for the Gaza Strip Either it will be linked with the federal state on the side of the security corridor or tunnel to which the deal referred, and either, and we believe that it is more likely to be attached to the Egyptian state, because this achieves for Israel the goal of dividing the Palestinian people and melting the Palestinian identity between the federal state and the Egyptian state.
- The second scenario: In the absence of a Palestinian state ;It is the scenario of joining the Jordanian state (returning to the scenario of the unity of the two banks) .This scenario is based on the annexation of the rest of the West Bank lands with its residents to the Jordanian state, under humanitarian pretexts and justifications, as a result of the poor living conditions that the residents live in the Palestinian areas. As for Gaza, what was mentioned in the previous scenario applies to it by attaching it to the West Bank through a security corridor to be affiliated with the Jordanian state. Or by appending it to the Egyptian state.
- The third scenario: It is the continuation of the situation, which is Palestinian self-rule in the Palestinian areas, with the imposition of Israeli sovereignty over them, and with the continuation of the process of evacuating the Palestinian population from their areas using the methods of voluntary and forced transfer, provided that the destination of the transfer is Jordan based on the existence of Jordanian-Palestinian economic cooperation areas. For the refugees, it is possible to agree with the regional parties to resettle them in the places where they reside, provided that the majority of them will be resettled in Jordan, and this scenario helps Israel not to establish an independent Palestinian entity.

The application of these scenarios will facilitate the migration of Palestinians from the West Bank to Jordan, and from Gaza to Egypt, using the methods of voluntary and forced transfer, by making Jordan an attractive area for the population after its economic rehabilitation in comparison with the living conditions in the Palestinian areas, especially with the existence of cooperative economic zones between Jordan And the Palestinian territories, and through the annexation of the Gaza Strip to Egypt if this scenario is applied to Gaza, and what helps to implement these scenarios is that the reality on the ground does not suggest the possibility of a Palestinian state after Israel built the separation wall that contributes to reducing the lands of the Palestinian territories, This is an Israeli response to the two-state solution project, as this wall works to make the Palestinian areas fragmentary, separable from each other and not viable by restricting the lives of Palestinians, in addition to the security and economic roles stipulated in the deal of the century for both Jordan and Egypt.

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