

American Strategy in the Middle East between the Fixed and Variable in the Era of Trump

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Abstract: *Such as the victory of Donald Trump surprise at the American and global levels, and highlighted his new strategic directions on the outside, especially about the troubled Middle East. Much of the change compared to his predecessor, Barack Obama. This article attempts to predict what the Trump strategy will be in the Middle East, based on Trump's statements and new positions for his administration, both during his campaign and after he took office.*

1. The Importance of Subject

The victory of Republican candidate Donald Trump in the elections in November 2016 raised many questions about the future of the US strategy towards the Middle East, in the light of his statements and positions during the election campaign.

The US strategy towards the Middle East is described in a fixed and changing manner as required by US national interest, and is influenced by political decision making institutions. Accordingly, strategist Donald Trump in the Middle East represented a change from the strategy of his predecessor, Barack Obama, in particular his remarks about canceling the program deal, the Iranian nuclear program, taking a different position from the Syrian crisis and giving priority to the fight against the Syrian regime and its relations with Israel. More alliance, as well as the trend towards rapprochement with Egypt. The strategy for the region was based on the doctrine of the man of deals that followed the mechanisms of supply and demand in dealing with the countries of the region, thus strengthening Washington's position without paying any price to protect its partners, but they are paying for protection, and certainly there are aspects of the continuation of that strategy towards the Middle East.

The following question is asked: What are the limits of the change in the American strategy towards the issues and crises of the Middle East and its strategic alliances during the Trump era? What are the aspects of continuity in that strategy?

From this main question arise several sub-questions:

- 1) What are the objectives of the US strategy towards the Middle East?
- 2) What are the determinants of the American orientation towards the Middle East during the Trump era?
- 3) What are the orientations of the US strategy towards the Middle East during the Trump era?

First: The objectives of the strategy towards the Middle East.

The US strategy in the Middle East after the events of September 11 focused on a range of objectives:

1_ Countering Terrorism: Confronting what is known as terrorism has taken the first place of American interest in the Middle East after the events of September 11. These terrorist

organizations, led by the Islamic State Organization in Iraq and the Levant, have supported the development of their activities in the Islamic world. Middle East systems allied with the United States, so the United States sought to address the threats of those organizations that target their friends and provide the necessary assistance to maintain the stability of the region. On US President Donald H. Trump's counterterrorism strategy calls for US allies in the Middle East to shoulder more of the burden of fighting "hardline Islamists" while acknowledging that the threat of terrorism will never be eradicated, and that the United States should avoid costly " "He said.

2_Preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction: The Middle East is one of the most dangerous regions of the world where the nuclear issue is raised from time to time because of its political, economic and geographic importance in the strategic perception of the major powers. Despite the numerous attempts and efforts to establish a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East , Those efforts and attempts to make this region free of weapons of mass destruction have failed.

Most of the countries in the region, except Israel, are signatory to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), and most of them not only possess weapons of mass destruction but do not even possess nuclear capability for peaceful purposes other than Iran.

One of the strategic goals of the United States in the Middle East is to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction of all kinds. The spread of these weapons threatens US friends in the region, especially the Gulf and Israel, as well as US forces deployed around the region. Under this pretext, the United States occupied Iraq In 2003, and the United States is working to prevent Iran from acquiring such weapons.

For Trump, the world's interest is to prevent and develop the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Therefore, his strategy is aimed at preventing the hegemony of any anti-American force in the Middle East. Trump's administration focused mainly on confronting Iran, and considered it the world's leading sponsor of terrorism by providing Weapons and finance. It also accused it of continuing to develop a long-range ballistic missile program, carrying out malicious electronic activities, sustaining the cycle of violence and

instability in the Middle East and threatening US allies in the region.

3_ Oil Flow at Affordable Prices: In the Middle East, the world's largest oil reserves meet US energy needs for its military, economic and political superiority, so Washington is keen to pump oil from the Middle East at affordable prices.

The policy of oil hegemony required the need to intervene in the affairs of the Middle East. The United States considered OPEC as a source of threat to the free market economies and saw the need to limit its influence by exerting pressure on oil states to adjust its oil policy to the interests of the United States.

In this regard, Trump linked US support to the Middle East countries and reduced oil prices, calling on the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) on Thursday to reduce the price of crude, saying that "his country provides security to the Middle East producing countries,

4_ Stability of friendly regimes: The United States is keen to maintain relations with the political regimes in the Gulf Arab, Egypt, Jordan and Morocco, and keen to satisfy those States' political demands in the region, Washington met with support and support.

For Trump, his position on these friendly regimes is the importance of the participation of countries in the region, particularly the rich ones, in bearing the financial costs of the region. He said that the United States spent \$ 7 trillion in the Middle East over 18 years, Bear the responsibility for this enormous cost, and the countries of the region to pay this price.

5. The security of Israel: The United States has long cared about Israel's security because it is the only country that practices Western democracy and is biased to US interests in the Middle East. The United States is working to establish this state and create conditions with Arabs and Muslims to end the Arab-Israeli conflict and establish lasting peace in the region. By virtue of its geographical location in the region, Israel also acts as a guardian of the stability of existing regimes and in preventing any radical or religious transformation that may harm its interests and the interests of the United States of America in the region.

For US President Trump, one of the most important American presidents is an expression of Israel's bias and of seeking to strengthen the alliance with it. Trump wrote in October 2016 on his social networking site: "I have said on many occasions that under the Trump administration, the United States will recognize that Jerusalem is the only and real capital of Israel."

Which was already in 2018 and the transfer of the US Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, and also supports a strong alliance between his country and Israel. "

Trump also accused his predecessor, Obama, of sabotaging relations with Israel. He stressed his commitment to Israel's security, stressing the need for the Palestinian Authority to

recognize Israel as a Jewish state and stop all terrorist attacks against it.

6. Promoting democracy and human rights: The United States employs democracy and human rights as one of the means to serve its interests in the Middle East, and specifically uses this means to serve its purposes. The United States may see the strengthening of democracy as damaging to its interests when one of the Islamic currents reaches power by The election.

Trump believes that supporting democracy in the Middle East, and rapprochement with Islamic currents led to instability, the spread of civil wars in many Arab countries, and the rise of terrorist organizations such as "Daash", and the Front of victory and others. Trump therefore has a realistic perspective on regional issues, which means a decline in the promotion of democracy on Trump's Middle East agenda. Trump also rejects the idea of an "American exception" and the American moral leadership role in the world. Hence, the principle of regime change is rejected by force, the spread of democracy or human rights, the tendency to isolationism, and the focus on internal affairs.

It is also expected that the new US Congress (with a democratic majority in the House of Representatives) will increase its concerns about human rights and democracy and seek to adopt legislation that links economic and military cooperation with the countries of the region with political conditionality. In contrast, the Trump administration will certainly emphasize the interests of the United States with its allies in the region Within the framework of the "America First" strategy.

Second: determinants of the American orientation towards the Middle East in the Trump era.

There are a number of internal and external determinants that form a framework for the management of President Trump's strategy towards the Middle East, and have a significant impact on the direction of the strategy and the limits of change.

1. Internal determinants:

A: The establishment of the American strategy: Although the personality of President Trump, and his personality and his convictions play an influential role in the direction of the US strategy, in addition to the control of the Republicans on the US Congress, both houses of Representatives and the Senate, gives greater movement and flexibility to Trump in dealing with strategic issues, Making and making decisions is a product of the interaction between US institutions, including the president, his national security adviser, the foreign and defense ministries, Congress, pressure groups, and research centers, a complex process governed by the size and interrelationships of the mother's interests Lycia in the region, which imposes limits on the possibility of radical changes, in light of the weakness of the political experience of Trump, and not to his knowledge of the complexities of the Middle East crises.

Trump's appointments to his cabinet and subsequent changes have highlighted a trend by the Trump administration to take a different stance on Middle East crises and issues.

Democratic control of the new House of Representatives is not expected to lead to a structural shift in the direction of the US strategy toward the Middle East, and President Trump will continue to play the biggest role in foreign policy. On the other hand, the new House of Representatives is expected to put limits on the President's initiatives that require the approval of the House of Representatives (House and Senate), especially those that require financial budgets, such as funding foreign aid programs. And to seek greater influence on foreign policy through its oversight role. Monitoring tools such as investigations, information requests and hearings will be used to ask foreign policy executives and questions about the region and its countries.

B - The isolationist trend in the American strategy: Trump adopts the policy of constructive isolation, and the principle of "America first," which represents a major shift in the American strategy in the manner of the former President Monroe in 1821. The strategy is to activate the potential resources. Whether natural, human, or technological, To rebuild the United States as a key player in the international order and not to indulge in regional conflicts, as in the Middle East.

C- Trump Doctrine and the Concept of the Deal :The Trump Doctrine is based on the principle and concept of the deal in dealing with foreign policy issues and is based on the fact that America's involvement in world affairs and the Middle East in particular will be linked to the economic benefits of the United States. The mentality of a businessman who deals with the logic of gains and losses, which emerged in his remarks in reviewing cooperation with NATO, defending friendly countries, the deal of the Iranian nuclear program, opening up to Cuba, partnership with the Pacific, and his rejection of globalization. USA And did not achieve the desired benefits.

D - Change in mechanisms, not objectives: There are constants in the American strategy is a continuation of it, regardless of the nature of the US administration, a republic or democracy, and that change is always always in the mechanisms, between resorting to solid mechanisms such as war, military intervention and sanctions , Often associated with Republicans, and between soft mechanisms such as diplomacy, negotiations, and aid, often linked to democratic administrations. But there is agreement among all administrations to achieve those constants, which are related to how to achieve US interests.

Although Trump's positions and statements indicate his intention to make a major change in the direction of the American strategy in the world towards isolation, rejection of globalization, free trade agreements, and the revision of US foreign partnerships, the Middle East is one aspect of continuity in the US strategy. And that the change will be within the scope of the mechanisms, relying on solid mechanisms, especially the use of military force in the fight against terrorism, organizing "calling" through air raids while avoiding direct military intervention, as well as the use

of sanctions against some countries, N, rather than diplomatic and aid mechanisms.

2_ External settings:

A - Falling demand for oil: The year 2018, the arrival of the United States to the position of the largest oil producing country in the world, and increase its oil exports from imports, as a result of new oil discoveries in rock oil, a historic transformation will certainly affect the direction towards the Middle East, US President Trump, in an interview with the Washington Post in December 2018, "Oil is gradually losing its importance as a reason for our survival in the region because we are producing more of it. So, as you know, we may suddenly reach a point where we do not need to stay in this region." He said.

In this context, 2019 will witness the continuation of the American debate within official and non-official institutions about the strategic importance of the Middle East region and the relevance of the relationship with the major allies in the Arab region. But it is also expected to continue the US goal to invest the relationship with the Arab oil producing countries to achieve the goal of maintaining a reasonable price for this commodity and avoid turmoil and instability in the world oil markets.

B- Going to Asia: The United States has sought to increase interest in the Asian continent, whether to participate in the fruits of growth in this economically promising continent or to counter the rising Chinese strategic influence that threatens the American presence in Asia. The signing of a peace deal with North Korea over its nuclear program by pressing through the economic sanctions that have borne fruit in the context of the US-Korean summit in Singapore, the Korean leader has announced the cessation of nuclear testing and the beginning of dismantling some of the facility for nuclear testing, To return to the Association Agreement across the Pacific with some Asian powers after his withdrawal from them when he took office in January 2017.

Thus, the American approach to Asia, which began under Obama and continued in the Trump era, necessarily means rearranging America's priorities in the world, and redistributing the degree of American strategic interest and potential away from the Middle East and near Asia.

C- Limited Effect: The United States is no longer the only player in the Middle East, unlike in the years following the end of the Cold War and the fall of the Soviet Union. In the past five years, major players have emerged, such as Russia, which has become active in many crises and issues such as the Syrian crisis. This Russian rise was a direct result of the Obama administration's erroneous strategy, its doctrine of not directly engaging in conflicts in the Middle East and repositioning elsewhere in the world, such as East and South Asia.

There is no doubt that the limited role of the US will impose restrictions on the movement and options of the American strategy, and push it to convergence and coordination with international players, such as Russia, and regional players, such as Turkey and the Gulf countries when dealing with crises and issues of the region, such as the problem of

terrorism and refugees. Moscow, for example, has taken a foothold in Syria that has increased its military presence by establishing new military bases that could be used as strategic axes in the transfer of energy from Moscow to the Western Europe through Syria, as well as the deployment of air defense systems (S400) (S300). On the other hand, if Trump is more confident than his predecessor, Obama, and seeking to build stronger relations with him, the gap between him and the US military and intelligence elite will increase.

In addition, the Middle East, the world's hottest region, is in a state of extreme liquidity and chaos, especially after the eruption of the Arab revolutions, and the outbreak of many crises and civil wars in many countries, such as Yemen, Libya, Syria, Iraq. These crises have no clear horizon towards a political solution, and the internal parties are intertwined with the regional and international parties

Therefore, the instability and change in the rules of the game put limits on the American role in dealing with these problems, and make them less effective in directing military tracks or political settlement, which requires the US administration to build alliances with the actors in the region, such as Russia, Turkey, Iran, and Saudi Arabia, and Egypt, which also faces many challenges, in light of the conflict of positions and interests among these countries in many of these crises, as clearly highlights the Syrian crisis, in addition to the multiplicity of fronts open to Trump in America and the world will limit the Options on the Middle East.

These reasons have become the determinants of the United States' tendency to reduce its link to the Middle East, in other words, avoid getting involved in the region's problems and not playing a leading role for it.

Thus, this framework will significantly affect the direction of Trump's management, its handling of Middle East issues and interactions, the pattern of its mechanisms and alliances, and the quality of its options.

Third: The orientations of the American strategy towards the Middle East during the Trump era. The direction of the US strategy toward the Middle East cannot be separated from Trump's vision of the world, which was based primarily on the principle of "America First," and Trump's talk that with every decision and every action his administration makes, the US interests will be at the forefront.

Trump's strategy towards the Middle East focuses on a number of key issues, some of which were included in President Trump's speeches and speeches during his tenure, such as the War on Terror and the Da'ash Organization, the Iran Nuclear Program Agreement, relations with the Gulf states and Egypt, and the strategic alliance of the Middle East, and as these attitudes have shown a trend towards changes in the US strategy towards the issues and files of the Middle East, what are the features and limits of this change?

1- War on Terror: The United States considers the jihadist terrorist organizations as the most serious terrorist threat to the American nation and the American way of life, and that the Middle East remains home to the most dangerous

terrorist organizations in the world. The US National Security Strategy adopted the goal of defeating the "Priorities.

Trump's opinion that the US invasion of Iraq in 2003 was the reason for the emergence of the organization "Daash," pointing out that the withdrawal from Iraq in 2011 was also a big mistake on the part of America, because it did not leave any soldier in Iraq, and that one of the mistakes of America in Iraq is also left Petroleum, the source on which the terrorist organization relied to provide financial sources of funding. Trump, therefore, came out of a principled anti-terrorism and "lobbying" position. He accused both Obama and Hillary Clinton of supporting a "preacher" and never of a different approach to the US approach.

But Trump did not propose a comprehensive strategic vision and specific mechanisms to combat terrorism. His position on Islamic extremism is general, the absence of a specific vision, and a repetition of George W. Bush's strategy. There are also challenges facing the Trump administration in fighting the Da'ash organization. The air raids did not succeed in eliminating the organization completely, and this requires the dispatch of ground forces to fight on the ground, and through the strategy of guerrilla warfare and cities, which places a restriction on the possibility of sending the United States to land forces, which announced in his electoral program, and will rely on troops from countries. Which means that Trump's strategy on fighting terrorism and organizing a "preacher" in Iraq and Syria will be an extension of the Obama administration's strategy, with slight differences in allies. Trump will rely more on Russia and Turkey.

By the end of 2018, President Trump announced the goal of eliminating the organization "Daesh" Has been achieved, and accordingly issued his decision to withdraw US troops from Syria. The United States' attention to the issue of counterterrorism in the region is expected to decline in 2019, especially as the US feels more safe from terrorist attacks at home, and the belief that it was defeated after being driven out of most of the territory it controlled in Iraq and Syria.

2- Agreement on the Iranian nuclear program: Trump announced, more than once, the rejection of the nuclear program agreement with Iran, promising him a threat to the security of the United States, and Israel's security, and promised to cancel this deal, and the search for a new deal on terms better for the United States, Benefiting from the lifting of sanctions against Iran, especially in the field of oil extraction, but benefited from European and Russian companies.

But there were also restrictions on the cancellation of the Iranian program, which was under the auspices of the United Nations and the ratification of the UN Security Council in the "five plus one" deal. The other five signatories to the agreement expressed their reservations about Trump's intention to cancel it. On the other hand, the intersections of politics, and Iran's prominent role in Syria, may lead to contacts and understandings between the two countries regarding the organization of "Daash." Trump can not build an international consensus against Iran, even if he believes

in the abolition of the nuclear deal, unlike President Obama, who was able to build an international coalition supportive of his policy towards Iran on the nuclear file, and to reach this agreement

Trump also accused Iran of supporting and sponsoring armed groups in the region, and stressed the re-tightening of economic sanctions on Tehran. Therefore, these positions will lead to an increase in American-Iranian relations, after having witnessed a state of cautious rapprochement under Obama, after the signing of the nuclear agreement.

In this context, the American exit from the nuclear agreement with Iran and the return of the United States to impose strict economic sanctions on Iran, including the imposition of strict restrictions on oil exports in order to deprive them of the main source of income. In 2019, the United States is expected to give priority to the Iranian file and step up economic sanctions.

In any case, the relations between the two countries will remain in a state of tension and tension, according to the calculations of regional interests and interactions, the files and crises of the region in Iraq and Syria, and the equation of relations between America and the Gulf countries on the one hand, and America and Iran on the other hand.

3- Relationship with Allies

Trump has spoken more than once that countries in the region must pay a fair price for the United States' defense, and that the United States should not be held responsible for this enormous cost, and the countries of the region must pay that price. The US president announced at the end of 2018 that Saudi Arabia would bear a large part of the reconstruction in Syria.

But many of Trump's positions, and his political convictions, especially with regard to dispensing allies, privatizing security, and forcing allies to pay for the defense of their regions, whether in the Gulf, Korea, or Japan, lack realism and lack of understanding of the intricacies of the relationship between America and these countries, which is based on the exchange of interests in various forms, as the US military cooperation with the Gulf aims primarily to achieve US interests, and reap many economic benefits, arms deals, and intelligence and security cooperation in the fight against terrorism.

Take the Saudi ally, for example, who has a lot of pressure to deal with any negative developments in relations, such as the threat of massive Saudi investment in the United States and the cessation of security and intelligence cooperation in the fight against extremist groups. On the other hand, Trump's hard-line stance against Iran and his threat to scrap the nuclear deal, which most Gulf states opposed, could push the Gulf-US rapprochement to contain Iranian threats in the region, especially in Iraq and Yemen. Therefore, there is no expected divergence or tension in the US-Gulf relations, despite Trump's hard-line statements.

It is expected that the US administration will continue this approach during 2019, and ask its allies in the Middle East

to pay the bill for the development of the Palestinian territories or reconstruction in Syria and Yemen.

On the other hand, in the light of the continued security challenges in the Middle East, both those related to international terrorism, represented by the organization of Daqash, the Nasserist Front (Fatah al-Sham), the remnants of al-Qaeda in the Levant, extremist organizations in Libya, In the Strait of Hormuz and Bab al-Mandeb, US President Trump sought to correct the imbalance in Egyptian-American relations under Obama.

In fact, the relations between the two countries are governed by mutual strategic interests, which have always set a ceiling and limits to the level of escalation or clash between them. These are the preservation of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, the American military traffic in the Suez Canal, and the security cooperation and intelligence in the fight against terrorism. Of the Obama agenda on democracy and political reform in Egypt after June 30. However, military cooperation between the two countries has continued, and military aid, estimated at \$ 1.3 billion, remains unchanged. The Obama administration also released the military aid it froze in the wake of the outbreak of the fourth uprising in August 2013, while economic aid has fallen since Bush's presidency.

US demands for reform and democratization in Egypt, which had strained ties between Bush and Bush under Obama, trumped Trump's calculations of realism, interests, and abandonment. Egypt's diversification of its foreign policy, and its eastern orientation towards Russia and China, give it greater independence and loyalty to the United States than it did during the Mubarak era.

Thus, the Egyptian-American relations represented one of the areas of change in the Trump management strategy, especially at the level of the political discourse, as it moved from the period of cold and cooling, witnessed during the Obama administration, as a result of its positions of the June 30, 2013 revolution and the issue of democracy and freedoms in Egypt, From the convergence and coordination with the President of the Sisi on regional issues, especially the file of counter-terrorism, and the situation in Libya and Syria.

4- Century Deal: The US administration has declined to be a neutral intermediary in the process Peace between the Palestinian people and Israel and therefore adopted unbalanced and different policies of the administration of "Obama", which tried not to confront the countries of the region by bias towards Israel, where the Trump administration recognized East Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and ordered the transfer of the US Embassy in a surprise move Which led to the increase and increase of violations against the Palestinians as a result of the United States abandoning its being a neutral mediator in the administration of the peace process to being a biased party contributing to the liquidation of the issue. In return, Israel issued a law on Jewish nationalism.

In September 2018, President Trump announced, on the sidelines of his meeting with Israeli Prime Minister

Netanyahu, that his administration would present a Palestinian-Israeli peace plan in the coming months (two or four months), bringing the issue of the "Century Deal" back to the fore Trump pointed out that the "two-state solution" is the best option for a Palestinian-Israeli peace agreement and that he hopes to conclude it before the end of his first term. Although details of the American vision to settle borders, settlements, Jerusalem, refugees and others are not yet clear, The states are thrown out This vision is united this year, and although the announcement of new elections in Israel in April may postpone the launch of this initiative, the Americans will depend on the friendly Arab states of the United States to convince and encourage the Palestinians to negotiate the ideas that will respond to this initiative, From the beginning.

5- Strategic Alliance for the Middle East: President Trump announced in his address to the General Assembly of the United Nations (September 2018) that his country is working with the Gulf Cooperation Council countries, Egypt and Jordan to establish a regional strategic alliance to achieve security in the Middle East, followed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs to meet with his counterparts from To prepare for a summit hosted by the United States to discuss the establishment of this alliance, which has become known as the "strategic alliance of the Middle East."

Initial reports indicate that the alliance includes not only military cooperation but also economic and diplomatic cooperation, coordination of action to end the conflict in Syria and Yemen, confronting Iran and addressing new threats, such as cyber attacks on infrastructure. While Obama was not enthusiastic about such a kind of alliances, especially if they target Iran's threats to the region and went to the understanding that not confrontation with Iran to solve the problems.

But there are also a number of questions that may still be debated on the nature and limits of cooperation in other areas, including the military, and is expected to launch the initiative on the establishment of this alliance during this year.

Conclusion

Trump's strategy towards the Middle East has seen some relative changes from the direction of the Obama administration's strategy, in light of his statements and positions, but they will not be a clone of the direction of the Bush administration's Jr. strategy and the experience of neo-conservatives. There are limits to the size and extent of the change in the American strategy towards the region during the Trump administration, due to the complexities and conflicts of interests, the developments of events on the ground and the emergence of new variables such as the escalation of terrorism, the emergence of active players and the map of new alliances in the region, The change will be limited compared to other shifts expected by the administration at the international level, both in US relations with Europe, NATO and the Pacific, or its position on globalization.

The change will also be limited to mechanisms, with more reliance on solid mechanisms, such as the use of military force, air strikes and sanctions. Trump will be more assertive about Obama's handling of terrorism and extremist groups. With regard to the Iranian nuclear issue, Trump has adopted the goal of confronting Iran, Of US strategy in the Middle East, which is certainly a qualitative shift,

Trump also believes in dealing with countries and sees them as the center of stability in the region, such as close ties with Russia in Syria and openness to Egypt. Is different from Obama, who came to Cairo to address "Islamic peoples". But radical changes are not expected for the remaining issues. In any case, Trump's administration will constitute a new and different phase of the US strategy toward the Middle East.

On the other hand, the Middle East and its crises will remain one of the priorities of the American strategy, and it is difficult to fully disengage with them or to withdraw from them, as a result of the calculations of US interests in the region. Such as Eastern Europe, and Central Asia.

So this approach has not and will not mean the full withdrawal of the United States from the Middle East. The United States will maintain some interest in this region for several reasons. First, the United States is a major power in the world and will continue to be interested in playing a role in the Middle East. The second reason concerns Israel, and its commitment to preserve the existence and security of the Jewish state, one of the constants of the American strategy. The third reason concerns the price of oil and its impact on the global economy. The Gulf region continues to play an important role in determining the price of oil as a global commodity subject to supply and demand requirements.

But the importance of the region to the United States is certainly declining, so its willingness to get involved or play a leading role on its issues is also declining.

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