

Review Article
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Reevaluating the U.S.-Israel Relationship in the Context of American Interests in the Middle East: Recognizing a Palestinian State as a Strategic Imperative

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the prospective strategic gains that could result from the United States' recognition of the State of Palestine and a reassessment of its relationship with Israel. It is grounded in the premise that acknowledging the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, and supporting the establishment of an independent Palestinian state, may generate tangible strategic benefits aligned with U.S. interests.

At the same time, the study argues that Israel no longer functions as the strategic asset its proponents within American society claim; rather, it has evolved into a political, economic, moral, and legal liability that adversely affects Washington's interests in the Middle East and beyond. Continued U.S. support for Israel at the expense of broader Middle Eastern concerns, particularly the Palestinian issue has contributed to the erosion of the United States' international standing.

On the one hand, this policy diverges from the preferences of a significant segment of American public opinion and exacerbates the national debt, which has already surpassed \$38 trillion. On the other hand, unconditional support for Israel undermines Washington's credibility as a defender of democracy and human rights, as well as its commitment to upholding international law.

Accordingly, in order to reaffirm its leadership within the international system and enhance its global legitimacy, the United States should undertake substantive steps toward endorsing a two-state solution and recognizing a Palestinian state, as part of a balanced policy aimed at promoting regional peace and stability.

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Received: April 27, 2026; **Accepted:** April 30, 2026; **Published:** May 17, 2026

Keywords: U.S, Israel, State of Palestine, American Public Opinion, Moral Dimension, Economic Return, International Law

Introduction

The relationship between the US and Israel is one of the most complex systems of international relations prevailing between two countries in the world. It is difficult to find any relationship between two countries that resembles that relationship. Under President Harry Truman, the US was the first country to recognize Israel only ten minutes after its declaration in 1948. From that moment on, Washington and for the following decades maintained its unwavering and strong support for Israel. As such, Israel received unlimited support from Washington at all levels, including It includes hundreds of billions of dollars in economic and military aid, unparalleled political support, full adoption of its narrative, and the provision of a shield of diplomatic protection in the international arena. However, Alexander Haig - the US secretary of state during President Ronald Reagan's administration, famously struck the eye of truth with his phrase: "Israel as the world's largest US aircraft carrier cannot be sunk, does not carry a single US soldier, and is located in a sensitive area for US national security [1]."

After the 1967 war, Washington came to view Israel as an asset worthy of funding, economic and military aid, from fighter jets and artillery shells to sophisticated missiles. This level of unlimited support is explained by many perspectives. On the one hand, proponents of the close relationship, including liberals in the Democratic Party, some independents, and supporters of Israel argue that it is one based on (1) shared liberal values, (2) the sharing of the past, and (3) the realization of common interests. The membership that unites the US with Israel is due to (1) the unlimited support of evangelical Christians from an ideological-religious perspective, (2) the lobbyists and interest groups involved in the COP – most notably AIPAC, the lobbyist organization in the US Congress, and (3) colonialism rooted in the brains of the elites and politicians in Washington.

In this paper, the researcher argues that the relationship between the US and Israel, which is usually associated with the argument that Israel will achieve Washington's strategic interests and maintain its national security in the Middle East, is unfounded, and that the costs of this relationship are counterproductive to Washington's influence and credibility, in parallel with the constant threat to security and stability in the region. Israel is now a strategic burden

as a result. As such, the researcher seeks to provide an in-depth analytical insight into the strategic gains that Washington could achieve if it adopts a radical review of the relationship with Israel and pursues a new strategy that begins with the recognition of an independent Palestinian state as part of this approach. According to the dimensions following below:

- Harmony with the trends of American public opinion
- Political Advantages
- The Moral Dimension
- Economic Returns
- Legal dimension.

First: Public Opinion Trends

At the level of the American Domestic – Americans and the Jewish Community

Historically, the two major parties in the US, Republican and Democratic, have alternated to run the country's affairs, dominating the political landscape and forming the backbone of the American party system. The two parties typically swap control of the White House and Congress with both houses of Congress and the Senate, and the results often result in a relative balance of power between them for most periods. However, exceptions may appear in some election cycles, such as President Trump's recent term 2024-2025, which has seen different political dynamics, in which Republicans have controlled the White House and both chambers of Congress.

In assessing the relationship between the US and Israel from the point of view of the American citizen. On the one hand, the results of the majority of opinion polls showed strong support for Israel at the expense of opinion in favor of the Palestinian right. On the other hand, the results of most American public opinion polls mostly showed more sympathy for Israel than sympathy for Arab causes, and the Palestinian issue in particular since the 1967 war. This support has contributed significantly to the establishment and development of a special relationship between the two countries.

In this context, since the 1947 UN Partition Resolution 181, Gallup International has conducted surveys of the US public opinion toward Israel annually, and in periods of violence or special events, several times a year [2]. On March 13, 2018, Gallup released a poll showcasing a comparative analysis of the outcomes observed over the seventy years since Israel's declaration. It highlighted a remarkable improvement in Israel's standing but also pointed to some concerning challenges on the horizon. This type of question is commonly revisited in opinion polls:

In November 1947, a survey indicated that 24% of participants expressed greater sympathy for Israel, 12% for Arabs, and 64% provided alternative responses, including "I don't know." The results of a 2018 poll showed a shift: 64% favored Israel, 19% favored Palestinians, and 20% selected other responses.

With the stalled peace negotiations since 2017, as a result of the refusal of successive Israeli governments to abide by the entitlements signed by the Oslo and Madrid Accords, their continuous evasion towards the implementation of international resolutions and their disregard for the Arab Peace Initiative, and the continuation of policies to destroy the Two-state solution, reaching to the events of Oct. 7, 2023, the clouds referred to in the Gallup report in 2018 began to appear in the attitudes of American citizens, and the features of the scene crystallized in a more consistent and clear manner. According to the results of a Gallup poll conducted from July 7–21, 2025, Americans' approval of Israeli military action in Gaza dropped by 10% points from the previous measurement in Sep. 2024 to 32%, the lowest percentage

since Gallup first asked this question in November 2023, while the disapproval rate reached 60% [3].



Figure 1: A Chart Showing the Decline in American Support for the Military Campaign in the Gaza Strip

Source: Gallup Polls. 2025.

The world witnessed Israel conducting military operations in the Gaza Strip following the events of Oct.7, 2023. Younger viewers responded rapidly to images of this violence that were displayed on TV screens and social media during this time [4]. As a result, young Americans' already precarious support for Israel has drastically decreased. The propagation of messages from youth-led activist movements and the frequent presentation of pictures depicting Palestinian suffering. This decline in support spread among older Democrats and became more critical of Israel as well, isolating older Republicans as the only US demographic that strongly supports Israel. This scene reflected negatively on President Trump, and was translated into numbers in the results of a Gallup poll published in February 2025 [5], where adults in the US who approve of Trump's handling of the situation between Israelis and Palestinians dropped from 45% to 40%. Similarly, the poll showed a sharply split in attitudes among party supporters in their assessment of Trump's performance, and they formed different views on Israel and Palestine. [Republicans are more likely than Democrats to view Israel favorably] (83% vs. 33% dissatisfied), while [Democrats view Palestine more favorably than Republicans] (45% vs. 18%).

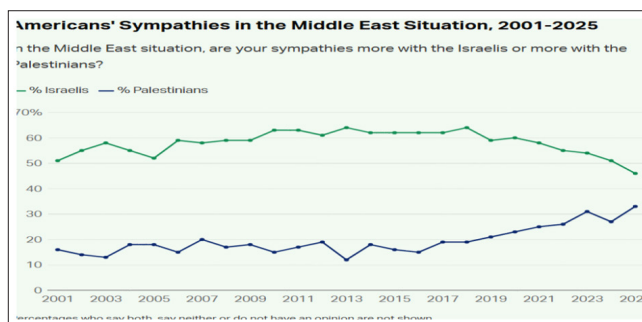


Figure 2: Shows a Decline Among Americans Sympathetic to Israel, Which Is Offset by a Significant Rise in Favor of Palestine Source: Gallup5

In a related context, a poll published by The Economist/YouGov magazine on Aug. 5, 2025, revealed clear results of American respondents' dissatisfaction with Israel's destructive policies in the Gaza Strip, with 41% of respondents believing that Israel's ongoing attacks on Gaza are unjustified (p. 41), and 44% have a negative attitude toward Netanyahu's policies toward the Gaza Strip, compared to 24% (p. 7) [6]. However, 78% of them supported an immediate ceasefire, while only 4% opposed it (p. 44). The results of the poll indicate that more than 70% of people confirm that there is a famine in Gaza (p. 41). Consequently,

there is substantial support for providing additional humanitarian aid to the Palestinians. Additionally, the poll shows that 43% of US respondents think Israel is conducting genocide against Palestinians (p. 43); this opinion is prevalent among independents and moderates as well as Democrats and liberals. However, this decline in American public support for Israel did not happen overnight, but rather the result of a negative accumulation of Israel's nihilistic policies over the years, and Israel deliberately drowning out any viable solutions to end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and bring peace to the Middle East.

In Washington, the American Jewish electoral vote has historically been seen as the Democratic Party's popular base and has an electoral value of 60-65%. However, compared to the general electorate, Jewish voters continue to lean significantly more Democratic. Jewish support for Democratic candidates has been 21-34 points greater than the overall electorate's since 1984 [7]. Statistically, there are approximately 15 million Jews in the world, and the United States is the largest concentration of this community. There are approximately 6 million people, or 2.4% of the US population. In a Pew Research poll conducted in mid-May 2021 [8], the survey's findings, 80% of American Jews believe that Israel is a crucial component of what it means to be Jewish. Nearly 60% of them said they have an emotional connection to Israel, and the same proportion said they keep up with Israeli news at least somewhat. Conversely, the findings revealed that less than half of the respondent's rate Netanyahu's work as excellent or very good. Under the headline "The majority of American Jews love Israel, but they don't like Netanyahu," Nadav Tamir wrote on *The Jerusalem Post* on Aug. 21, 2024 [9]. "In 1997, during my first stint as a diplomat in Washington, D.C., I was very impressed with the support we received from Jewish organizations. This support for Israeli diplomacy has enabled a small country in the Middle East to influence the policies of the world's most important power."... he added, "Later, I noticed that Jews continued to distance themselves from established Jewish organizations because of their tendency to side with right-wing Israeli governments and support their policies, whether right or wrong. These organizations have become less representative of the vast majority of American Jews."... "When I served as Israel's consul general in New England - a six-state northeastern US- from 2006 to 2010, I was appalled by the widening gap between the so-called mainstream organizations and the majority of American Jewry. Many Jews no longer see Israel as it was after independence, but now see it as a wealthy military power that is not interested in peace with its neighbors." He wrote.

In this context, the results of a poll conducted by JStreet on the night of the 2020 US election showed that 57% of American Jews support restricting aid to Israel so that it is not used for further annexations [10]. While, the percentage jumped to 68% in the 2022 survey. Similarly, the 2021 JEI poll showed equal results, with 71% of respondents believing that it is important for the US to "provide financial assistance to Israel," but only on the condition that Israel's use of that aid is regulated. 58% of respondents supported restricting U.S. aid so that "Israel cannot spend it on expanding settlements in the West Bank," with only 25% opposing it [11].

The International Level

International perceptions of Israel and Prime Minister Netanyahu were poor, according to the findings of a Pew Research survey carried out in 24 countries worldwide in the spring of 2024. Between March 2022 and March 2025, the proportion of adults who had a bad opinion of Israel increased by 11 points. In Australia,

France, Germany, Greece, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, and Turkey, at least 75% of respondents lack trust in Netanyahu. The majority of them expressed their complete lack of trust in him. Additionally, according to the survey, 58% of Israelis believe that their country is either not respected at all or not respected at all [12].

Second: Political Advantage

When scrutinizing the official US position, until the first Trump administration, US presidents of both parties supported the Two-state solution path, as the basis for ending the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, in accordance with the decisions of international legitimacy. However, with Trump entering the White House during his first term (2017-2021), a new direction emerged in US foreign policy that embraces the full vision of the extreme right in Israel of de facto annexation and permanent occupation of large swathes of West Bank territory, and to abort any attempts to establish a Palestinian State. These positions were embodied in Trump's "Deal of the Century" announced on Jan. 28, 2020, however, the Democratic Party has maintained some of its cohesion towards the principle of a Two-state solution. With Trump's return in January 2025, ideas and plans have expanded to include not only the annexation of the West Bank, but also plans to displace Palestinians from the Gaza Strip, all the way to Trump's 20-point plan for a ceasefire. The fire in the Gaza Strip means, among other things, the establishment of an International Peace Council and the deployment of multinational forces. While ensuring the flow of all forms of support to Israel, instead of drawing a path that ends the Israeli occupation and, paves the way for recognize the State of Palestine.

The American positions that are biased towards Israel have faced continuous criticism and condemnation by International organizations and most of the countries, peoples of the world, including Washington's closest European allies, and effective International diplomatic activities led by Saudi Arabia and France have emerged, which resulted in the holding of the "Peaceful Settlement of the Palestinian Issue and the Implementation of the Two-State Solution" Conference in New York from July 28-30, 2025. Later, during the 80th session of the UN General Assembly in September, about 11 countries announced their recognition of the State of Palestine, including France, Canada, and Britain. These recognitions mark a historic turning point in the political positions of Washington's closest allies, and put Palestine in a better position for any future talks by changing the long-accepted sequence of statehood as an end rather than a starting point.

The positions of American isolation in the international arena due to its propensity towards Israel cannot be counted, such as the recorded vote adopted by the UN General Assembly by a majority of 128 votes to 9, led by the US and Israel, on Dec. 21, 2017, in response to Trump's announcement of his country's recognition of "Jerusalem as the capital of Israel"[13]. Despite the political and financial pressure exerted by the Trump administration, European countries traditionally of Washington such as Germany, France, Britain, and Italy voted in favor of the resolution rejecting the US move. This unified European position was a slap in the face to Trump on the Palestinian issue, and showed that support for a Two-state solution and the status of Jerusalem as a shared capital is a diplomatic red line for Europe [14].

Similarly, in the UN General Assembly vote in Sep. 2025, the New York Declaration aimed at implementing the Two-state solution was voted on, which was supported and sponsored by France and Saudi Arabia [15]. The results of the vote showed broad support

for this declaration with 142 countries, while the US opposed it along with a limited number of countries under US hegemony, including Israel. This vote reflects a marked shift in attitudes. The growing disparity between global trends and US policies in this context is highlighted. Most of the world's major countries, including the State of Palestine, the Arab League, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation and the Secretary-General of the UN, have declared their rejection of the Deal of the Century announced by Trump during his first term in office in 2022, as it does not meet the minimum aspirations of the Palestinian people [16].

Third: The Moral Dimension

The constitutional and historical principles contained in the founding documents of the US express strong support for the idea of liberty, self-determination, and popular sovereignty, the most important of which is the Declaration of Independence of the Thirteen American States, issued by Congress on July 4, 1776; Clearly stated that "all human beings are created equal, and that their Creator has endowed them with certain inalienable rights, including the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness [17]." This principle was enshrined in the statement of the US Secretary of State under George W. Bush, Condoleezza Rice, on 18 Feb. 2008, when she declared her country's recognition of Kosovo's independence as "the best solution in light of the conflicts of the 1990s" and that "independence is the only viable option to promote stability in the region"; However, Washington relied on the International Court of Justice's (ICJ) advisory opinion in this regard [18], issued at the UN General Assembly's request, which unequivocally declared that Kosovo's declaration of independence on Febr. 17, 2008, complied with international law [19].

In a similar vein, Washington strongly condemned what it called the "deviant operations" carried out by the Soviet Red Army that led to the annexation of the three Baltic republics, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, in June 1940. The US administration at the time considered these actions to be a flagrant violation of the fundamental principles underpinning the modern international order, including respect for national sovereignty and justice, to ensure global security and stability"[20];

The advancement and defense of democracy, human rights, and fundamental freedoms are defined by US law as "major" and "important" goals of US foreign policy at the domestic level. When US President Carter stated, "Values are not salt in our bread, but our bread itself," in his departure speech on January 14, 1981, these ideas were codified. "We must continue to master the rights and ideals we stand for around the world if we wish to remain a beacon of human rights," he added in his statement"[21].

The justice contained in US statements and positions toward enemies or friends has focused on the principle of the rule of law; the protection of democracy and human rights; as well as the right of peoples to self-determination. But these declarations are immediately absent when it comes to the justice of the Palestinian cause. For example, the US has criticized what it called the "breadth" of the opinion of the ICJ, the highest court in the UN, that Israeli settlements are illegal and unlawful. Israel's occupation of the Palestinian territories, and the need to end this situation as soon as possible, at this point, the US State Department declared that this decision would "complicate conflict resolution efforts

and be "contrary to the established framework" for resolving the conflict [22].

One of the most prominent American positions that contradict the principles of the US Constitution, specifically freedom of speech and association, is the passage of laws in several US states to punish those who support the Boycott Israel (BDS) movement. These laws require individuals or companies to sign a pledge not to boycott Israel as a condition for obtaining government contracts. These conditions violate the First Amendment to the US Constitution, which guarantees freedom of speech, peaceful protest, and association, which was upheld by US Supreme Court [23]. Texas is one of 27 states having anti-boycott legislation designed to prevent boycotts in support of Palestinian rights. For instance, to be compensated for their services, contractors in Texas must sign a pledge not to boycott Israel. In this regard, the Lone Star State has faced harsh criticism after a city requested that Hurricane Harvey victims. To be eligible for public assistance, you must sign a vow of allegiance to Israel; an Elementary school speech pathologist, Bahia Amawi's contract could not be renewed because she refused to sign a vow not to boycott Israel [24].

As soon as there were almost any signs of it, it faded and those who were even thinking of announcing it disappeared. Under the Biden administration, there were signs of an expected change in US foreign policy, when a senior US administration official revealed to NBC News that the president's administration is working to develop options that push for the implementation of the Two-state solution, after the end of the war on the Gaza Strip, a move that could give the Palestinians political, legal, and symbolic power and increase international pressure on Israel to enter into serious talks for a long-term peace [25]. But President Biden's bad luck did not last long, and his perceptions with him left the White House's decision-making.

Fourth: Economic Returns

Israel has long been the largest recipient of US foreign aid, including military aid. Although there is no mutual defense agreement between them, as is the case between the US and its allies such as Japan and NATO member states. However, Israel is on a short list of "major non-NATO allies" and has the privilege of access to the latest US military platforms and technologies. Israel is the largest cumulative recipient of US foreign aid. From its founding in 1948 until 2022, Israel has received about \$310 billion in economic and military aid [26]. The State Department's Immigration and Refugee Assistance Account (MRA) began providing Israel with payments totaling around \$1.74 billion to aid with the resettlement of Jewish immigrants in Israel in 1973. The Jewish Agency for Israel receives the money from the United Israel Appeal, a private charity in the US. The US contributed over \$460 million to the resettlement of Jewish refugees in Israel between 1973 and 1991. MRA grants to Israel rose to over \$80 million annually (\$630 million total) between 1992 and 1999 following the fall of the Soviet Union and the resettlement of hundreds of thousands of Jewish immigrants in Israel. Since then, the number of Jews moving to Israel from the former Soviet Union and other regions has decreased, at least in part. Jews who left Ethiopia are currently primarily subsidized by MRA help [27].

Table 1: Levels of Immigration Funding and Refugee Assistance to Israel. US Dollars Received in Millions

Fiscal Year	Total in Millions/ USD
FY2000-FY2012	519.3
FY 2013	15.0
2014	15.0
2015	10.0
2016	10.0
2017	7.5
2018	7.5
2019	5.0
2020	5.0
2021	5.0
2022	5.0
2023	5.0
FY2024	5.0
Total	614.3 USD.

Source: Congress. Gov

During Barack Obama’s presidency, military relations between the US and Israel were strengthened through the signing of a new memorandum of understanding that is the largest in the history of US military aid. The memorandum, which runs from 2019 to 2028, included a total of \$38 billion in support, at an average of \$3.8 billion per year. This agreement represents a significant increase over the previous \$30 billion memorandum of understanding. This aid was aimed at strengthening Israel’s military capabilities by obtaining Advanced technologies and equipment from the US, reflecting Washington’s commitment to supporting Israel’s security

in light of regional and international challenges [28]. Additionally, the US approved the permanent export of over \$12.2 billion worth of defense products to Israel through direct commercial sales starting in the fiscal year 2018–2022. These products included launch vehicles, guided missiles, ballistic missiles, torpedoes, bombs, mines, gas turbine engines and related equipment, and aircraft [29].

In 2024 alone, However, the US government sent Israel at least \$17.9 billion in military funding from US taxpayer funds to enable Israel to continue its mass murders against the Palestinian people [30]. As of April 2025, Washington had 751 active military sales with Israel worth \$39.2 billion; including F-35 joint fighter jets; CH-53K heavy helicopters; KC-46A aerial refueling aircraft; and precision-guided munitions. The Base for Reprogramming Actions report, published by the Department of Defense in the spring of 2025, included \$500 million for missile defense for Israel, \$47.5 million for the US-Israeli anti-tunneling program, \$55 million for the US-Israeli counter-unmanned aerial systems program, and \$20 million for “emerging technologies” cooperation [31]. In early March 2025, the Pentagon announced that it had approved a deal to sell bombs, demolition equipment, and other weapons worth about \$3 billion to Israel [32]. However, a Congressional Research Center report dated May 28, 2025, states that since the events of Oct. 7, 2023, and the Israeli conflicts that followed in Gaza, Lebanon, and Iran, Congress has given Israel emergency supplemental military assistance, allocating funds beyond the annual memorandum of understanding for joint US-Israeli missile defense programs. For instance, Public Law No. 118-50 (Allocation of Emergency Supplementary Appropriations for the Fiscal Year Ending Sep. 30, 2024, and for Other Purposes) was passed by Congress in April 2024. Among other things, this law allocated \$5.2 billion for missile defense and \$3.5 billion for Israel’s military [33].

Table 1: U.S. Foreign Assistance Commitments to Israel during the Period 1946-2025

Fiscal Year	Military aid	Economic Aid	Missile defense	Total/Millions
1946-2020	104,506.200	34,347.500	7,411.409	146,265.110
2021	3,300.000	-	3,800.000	3,800.000
2022	3,300.000	-	1,500.000	4,800.000
2023	3,300.000	-	500.000	3,800.000
2024	6,800.000	-	5,700.000	12,500.000
2025	3,300.000	-	500.000	3,800.000
Total	124,506.200	34,347.500	16,111.409	174,965.110

Source: Congressional Research Service

However, table (2) shows the US military aid to Israel, from Oct. 7, 2023 – Sept. 24, 2025, in millions of US dollars [34]

Foreign Military Financing	\$8,115.1 Million
Offshore Procurement	\$1,994.9 Million
Missile Defense	\$6,200.0 Million
Replenishing Arms Delivered to Israel from U.S. Stocks	\$4,400.0 Million
Ammunition Procurement	\$801.4 Million
Boosting U.S. Arms Production Capabilities	\$198.0 Million
Total	\$21.7 Billion

Sources: Binder, S. (2025, September 10). Extraordinary Sums and Privileges: U.S. Security Assistance to Israel Since October 7, 2023; and Congressional Research Service (updated 2025, May 28). U.S. Foreign Aid to Israel: Overview and Developments Since October 7, 2023.

According to a report by the Brown University War Costs Project, the US spent billions of dollars on the operational operations of its forces deployed in the region, during the period from Oct. 7, 2023 to Sep. 30, 2024, Washington spent at least \$22.76 billion on military assistance to Israel and related US operations in the region; this figure includes \$17.9 billion in security assistance for Israeli military operations in Gaza [35]. This amount represents only a fraction of the financial support Washington has provided during this war, including against the Houthis in and around Yemen. According to the report, this funding does not include any other economic costs. The study also showed that the direct burden on the US military budget was calculated. It does not include indirect costs, “such as increased US security assistance to allies in the region, and costs to commercial airlines and US consumers. The millions included in the study did not include the time frame for Israel’s ground invasion of Lebanon, nor the interceptor missiles launched to shoot down Iran’s missiles aimed at Israel, which cost about \$400 million. In addition to the \$1.3 billion cost of allied missiles to counter Iran’s missiles, Congress later appropriated an additional \$5.2 billion for Israeli missile defense.

These figures also do not include the cost of the US Navy’s 80 cruise missiles that the US has directed at Yemen during the world in 2024. In addition to missile defense assistance, the April aid package included another \$2.4 billion for US military operations in the Middle East, including the deployment of two aircraft carriers at an operational cost of at least \$4.4 billion, double the \$2.4 billion already earmarked for regional defense. The US has also bombed Iraqi militias to prevent them from launching drones, and clashed with those militias in Syria and Jordan.

Another report by the Costs of War project issued on Sep. 1, 2021, revealed that the 20 years of war following the events of Sep. 11, 2001 cost the US an estimated \$8 trillion, including \$2.3 trillion in the war zone in Afghanistan and Pakistan, at a rate of \$300 million per day for 20 years [36]. According to the report, even with the US withdrawal from Afghanistan, estimates of the costs of the war suggest that Americans are not yet done paying the bill for the war on terror, which is still going on multiple continents. The total cost of military intervention in the war zone in Iraq and Syria has risen to \$2.1 trillion since Sep. 11, 2001, and the military presence in other countries, including Somalia and a few African countries, has been funded by an additional \$355 billion Dollar. The costs of war will continue to rise, and a whopping \$2.2 trillion is being spent on future care for veterans, and the costs of the environmental damage caused by wars for future generations. The report estimates that between 897,000 and 929,000 people have died, including US military personnel, allied combatants, opposition fighters, civilians, journalists, and humanitarian workers killed as a result Directly to war, whether with bombs, bullets or fire. The researchers noted that this number does not include the many indirect deaths caused by the war on terror through disease, displacement and loss of access to food or safe drinking water. In short, since the events of September 11, 2001, Washington has spent as much as it has:

- \$5.4 trillion: Spent on direct military operations.
- \$1 trillion: dedicated to caring for veterans over the coming decades.
- \$1.6 trillion: represents the interest on debt related to the financing of wars.

Furthermore, the War Costs Project report cites astronomical figures spent by Washington during the period 2020-2024, private companies received \$2.4 trillion worth of contracts from the Pentagon, nearly 54% of the department’s estimated \$4.4 trillion

spending during that period. The report notes that U.S. military expenditures have risen dramatically, including Pentagon funding and military activities funded by other agencies, from \$531 billion in 2000 to \$899 billion in 2025. Despite the withdrawal of the US military from Afghanistan and the end of the war on terrorism and al-Qaeda [37].

US-backed military and political interventions in the Middle East are one of the main factors that have contributed to fueling conflicts and increasing the suffering of peoples. Washington’s substantial financial and military support to Israel has led to the continuation of violent practices, including massacres and forced displacement, especially in the Gaza Strip. These policies have caused massive human losses of hundreds of thousands of dead, wounded, and missing, as well as Nearly 2 million people are displaced in the Gaza Strip, resulting in a continuous deterioration in the humanitarian and social conditions in the region. Moreover, the effects of these conflicts have spread to other countries such as Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, and Yemen, where these countries have suffered heavy losses in lives and infrastructure. This was also evident in the 12-day war between Israel and Iran, which has had devastating effects at the regional and international levels.

When comparing the massive financial expenditure from the U.S. Treasury on wars and adopting the figure documented in September 2021, \$8 trillion as a baseline, plus the costs of the post-2021 wars that are still ongoing, we can put the figure of \$10 trillion in direct and indirect military spending in a warm position. Thus, answers to the questions raised about why the U.S. debt pyramid continues to rise, which has reached about 37,226,409,026,478 \$, 291 billion in July 2025, up \$47 billion from the July 2024 deficit of \$244 billion [38,39].

The aforementioned financial statements indicate that when the volume of US spending on wars (not less than \$10 trillion since the events of September 11, 2001, of which at least \$7 trillion was spent in the Middle East), in addition to the size of the debt incurred by the US, which reached more than \$37 trillion, in addition to the deficit in the trade balance that amounts to about \$300 billion, these data inevitably push us to refute the argument that the US is seeking To control oil and gas sources and want safe and continuous flows in their industries, and to reinforce this claim, the researcher found the following facts:

As of 2024, U.S. imports of oil and natural gas from the Middle East have declined significantly, as a result of increased domestic production and diversification of import sources.

Oil Imports from the Middle East

The percentage of US crude oil imports from the Middle East fell to about 10.8% of total oil imports in 2024, compared to 24.6% in 2018. The main suppliers were concentrated in Saudi Arabia and Iraq, with their imports together accounting for 8.81% of total US oil imports in 2024 [40].

Import Cost: The average cost of oil imported from OPEC countries, including Middle Eastern countries, was around \$66.25 per barrel in April 2025. The highest price per barrel was \$111.88 on May 31, 2022 [41].

Approximately 10.15 million barrels of oil per day were shipped by the US to 173 nations and three US territories in 2023 (American Samoa, Puerto Rico, and the US Virgin Islands). Approximately 4.06 million barrels of crude oil were sent daily, making up 40% of all US oil exports. The US was a net exporter of 1.64 million

barrels of oil per day in 2023, with total net oil imports (imports minus exports) being approximately -1.64 million barrels per day. Canada, Mexico, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and Brazil were the top five nations from which the United States imported crude oil in 2023 [42]. According to oil import data in the US of America, the total value of U.S. oil imports in 2024 was \$58.71 billion (8.42 million barrels per day, of which 1.3 million barrels were from OPEC), down 15% from the previous year. The US imported \$11.90 billion worth of petroleum in the first quarter of 2025, according to US petroleum import statistics [43].

Total, all countries	8.51	10.15	-1.64
OPEC countries	1.34 (16%)	0.03	1.31
Persian Gulf countries	0.86 (10%)	0.01	0.86
Top five countries ¹	Top five countries ¹		
Canada	4.42 (52%)	0.80	3.62
Mexico	0.91 (11%)	1.17	-0.26
Saudi Arabia	0.44 (5%)	0.00	0.44
Iraq	0.32 (4%)	0.00	0.32
Brazil	0.26 (3%)	0.24	0.02

Data Source: U.S. Energy Information Administration, Monthly Oil Supply Report, February 2024

Note: The ranking in Table 3 is based on total imports by country of origin. Net import volumes in the table may not be equal to total imports minus exports due to independent rounding of data (27).

Historical Comparison: US oil imports from Saudi Arabia have seen a significant decline, reaching more than 1 million barrels per day in the early 2000s, and falling to an average of 336,000 barrels per day in 2024[44].

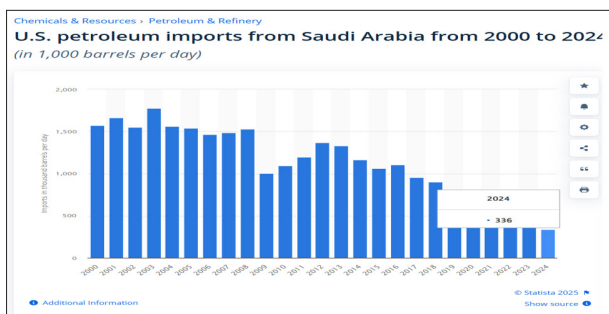


Figure 3: The Rate of Significant Decline in U.S Oil Imports from Saudi Arabia
Source (29).

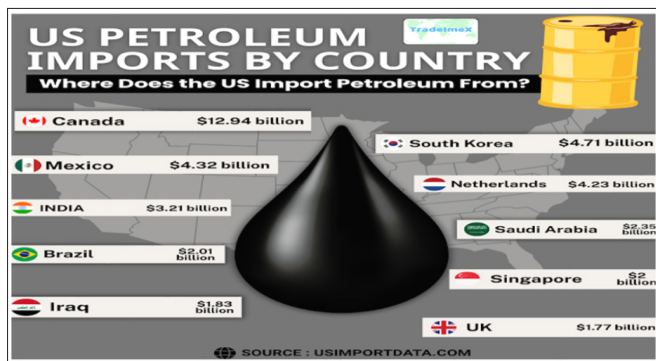


Figure 4: Shows the Source of U.S Oil Imports by Country: Where Does the U.S Import Oil from? 2024-2025
Source (28)

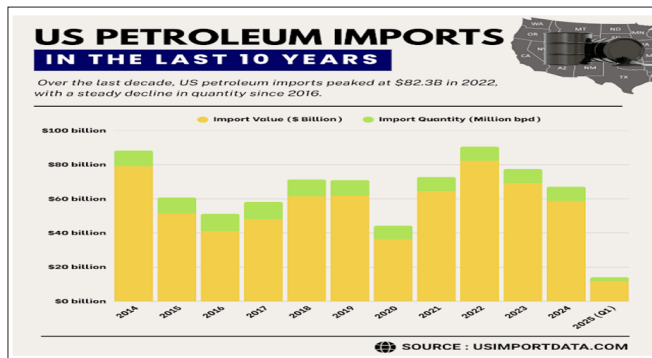


Figure 5: Shows a Significant Decline in the Rates of US Oil Imports from the Countries of the World During the Period from 2014 to 2025
Source: (28)

Natural Gas Imports from the Middle East

The continuous growth in domestic natural gas production in the US over the past two decades has reduced the demand for LNG imports and created opportunities for its export. Indeed, the US is currently one of the world's top exporters of liquefied natural gas; the main ways that natural gas is imported and exported are by ships carrying liquefied natural gas and pipelines carrying gas. Trucks are used to import and export small amounts of compressed natural gas (CNG) and liquefied natural gas (LNG); According to available statistics, the US imported 3.02 trillion cubic feet of natural gas in 2022–2023 while exporting up to 6.90 trillion cubic feet [45].

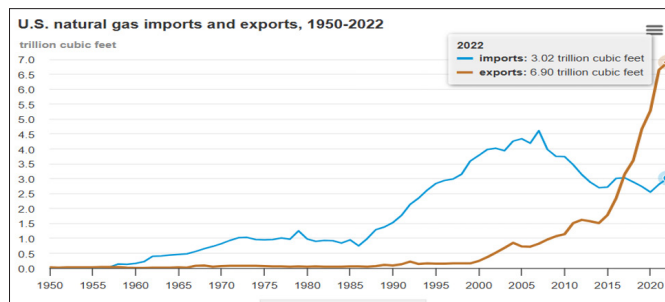


Figure 6: Shows that the US is a Global Exporter of Liquefied Natural Gas to the World
Source: (30)

Future Directions

As the US continues to boost its domestic production of oil, natural gas, and liquefied natural gas, and expand its export network, its imports from the Middle East are expected to continue to decline. This change represents a shift in US strategy toward reducing reliance on outside sources and attaining energy self-sufficiency.

When comparing the volume of US oil imports from the Middle East with the volume of spending on wars in the region between 1980 and 2025, a large disparity emerges that highlights the unbalanced fiscal burden of US policy in the Middle East:

First: Oil Imports from the Middle East (1980–2025) Golden Period (1980–2005)

- The US was heavily dependent on Gulf oil, especially from Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and Kuwait.
- During the 1990s and early 2000s, oil imports from the Middle East accounted for about 30–40% of its total oil imports.
- Over the decades, America has imported hundreds of billions of dollars of oil from the region.

Modern Period (2005–2025)

- Thanks to the boom in shale oil production, America’s imports from the Middle East have declined
- By 2025, it will account for less than 11% of total oil imports
- According to the data, annual spending on oil imports from the Middle East in recent years has been only about \$4-6 billion.’

Estimated Total (1980–2025)

- The value of oil imports from the Middle East is estimated at \$1.2-1.5 trillion during this period.

Second: US Spending on Wars in the Middle East (1980–2025)

- **First Gulf War (1990–1991)**
 - Direct cost: about \$61 billion (mostly covered by Gulf allies).
- **Iraq War (2003–2011, onwards)**
 - Estimates: \$2.9 trillion.
- **Afghanistan War (2001–2021)**
 - About \$2.3 trillion.
- **The war against ISIS, operations in Syria, Yemen, and others**
 - Estimates: More than \$500 billion.
- **Additional costs (veterans’ care, interest on debt, etc.)**
 - Up to \$2.5 – \$3 trillion.
- **Approximate total (1980–2025)**
 - Spending on wars in the Middle East exceeds \$8 trillion.

Direct Comparison

Table 4: Shows the: Volume of U.S Spending on Wars During the Period 1980-2025 Compared to the Amounts of Oil Imported

Item	Estimated Value
Oil Imports (1980-2025)	\$1.2-1.5 trillion
Spending on wars	\$8 trillion
troupses	\$6.5 trillion

Source: Prepared by the researcher with the help of AI in estimated calculations.

These Figures Refer to the Following Facts

- The US spent more than 5 times more on wars in the Middle East than it spent on oil imports from the region.
- These figures show that the wars did not have a tangible economic return, but on the contrary, they constituted a huge financial bleeding for the US treasury.
- The strategy based on “protecting oil interests” has turned into an economically unjustified strategic burden, especially after the decline in dependence on Middle Eastern oil.

The figures mentioned indicate the large amount of spending that the US has allocated to finance wars, especially in the Middle East, where the value of these expenditures has exceeded \$7 trillion. This figure reflects the impact of military policies on the US economy and raises questions about the country’s strategic priorities. In light of this huge spending, options to reconsider the allocation of financial resources seem more urgent, both by reducing the funding of military operations and directing these funds towards domestic development projects aimed at Promote international cooperation in peaceful ways. Balancing national security and economic interests requires a comprehensive assessment of the consequences of these policies, with a focus on achieving sustainable stability that serves the long-term interests of the US and the world, including the countries of the Middle East. By consolidating the state of stability, Washington is able to divert this unbridled spending towards supporting profitable economic

development for American companies, and this is reflected not only in the provision of these huge sums for the welfare of the American citizen and the taxpayer, but also in the injection of billions of dollars into Washington’s coffers due to the return from trade exchanges.

According to a June 2011 analysis, military operations in Afghanistan and Iraq had direct costs of \$1.1 trillion through 2010 and were in their ninth and tenth consecutive years; - Since 2001, the federal budget has been in deficit, Edwards (2011) argue that, by the end of 2010, the public debt had increased by almost \$5.7 trillion, or more than 60% of GDP. The 2008 recession and the extraordinary response to the financial crisis’s fiscal policy are largely to blame for this sharp rise. However, there have been serious repercussions from using deficit spending to fund military operations. Up until 2011, post-9/11 war expenditures elevated the public debt-to-GDP ratio by 9–10 percentage points, or about one-third of the overall growth since 2001, increased debt by \$1.3 trillion, or roughly \$4,000 per person, and may have raised long-term interest rates by 30-35 basis points [46].

Fifth: The Legal Dimension

The US position on what happened in the Gaza Strip and the ongoing Israeli aggression on the territory of the Palestinian state raises many questions about the extent to which Washington adheres to international law and humanitarian standards. Supporting or turning a blind eye to such acts is not only a violation of international law, but can also be considered a form of complicity in crimes that amount to genocide; Security Council resolutions, such as those affirming that boycott, occupation, and settlement are contrary to international law, constitute an international legal reference that must be respected by member states, including the United States. In this context, the supposed role of the United States as a world superpower requires it to abide by the principles of international law and work to achieve a just and comprehensive peace; Its credibility as a sponsor of peace or an honest mediator reinforces the international divide over the politics of power versus the rule of international law.

Numerous international-law experts and scholars contend that Washington’s enduring backing of Israel without binding stipulations breaches international law, the 1949 Geneva Convention, and its Additional Protocols, which enshrine the core limits on wartime brutality. This framework safeguards noncombatants (civilians, medics, aid workers) and those rendered unable to continue fighting (wounded, sick, exhausted fighters, prisoners of war); which Israel has not adhered to since its inception and increased its brutality after the events of October 7, 2023, where Israel killed and injured more than 300,000 Palestinian civilians [47]. Similarly, Washington violates the US Leahy Law, which prohibits The US government refuses to use funds to assist units of foreign security forces when there is credible information indicating that the unit is involved in serious human rights abuses; the U.S. government considers torture, extrajudicial killings, enforced disappearances, and rape under the law to be serious human rights violations when implementing the Leahy Act [48].

On Nov. 18, 2019, US Secretary Mike Pompeo declared that the US would revise its stance on Israeli settlements in the West Bank, signaling that the future establishment of Israeli civilian settlements there would be “not inconsistent with international law in itself.” This stance clashes wholly with international law and Security Council resolutions, notably Resolution 2334, which deems the settlements illegal and calls for their removal. The

move provoked anger among Washington's closest allies, led by Germany, which on Nov. 20, 2019, issued a joint statement with Belgium, France, Poland, and the United Kingdom. The five EU member states of the Council reiterated their firm position on Israel's settlement policy in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem: "all settlement activities are illegal under international law and undermine the viability of a two-state solution and the prospects for lasting peace, as reaffirmed by UN Security Council Resolution 2334"[49].

In the context of its policies of persistent violations of international and local laws and human rights violations, Washington has vetoed hundreds of UN resolutions calling for an end to the Israeli occupation, in addition to calling for an immediate ceasefire in Gaza, reflecting its refusal to abide by resolutions calling for an end to the occupation or the protection of civilians. According to Amnesty International's US report, the weapons provided by the US to the Israeli government have been used in serious violations of international humanitarian and human rights law, and in a manner that is contrary to US laws and policies. The organization is calling for an immediate halt to arms transfers to the Israeli government [50]. This report is very similar to the US State Department's report to Congress, which revealed "deep doubts about Israel's compliance" and that it is "reasonable to conclude" that the weapons it provided to Israel were used in ways that are "inconsistent" with international human rights law, but that this is neither a justification for the cessation of military aid nor a sufficient justification for cutting off the arms supply [51]. These positions expose a tension and inconsistency in the application of international law: on one hand, acknowledging the risks; on the other hand, sustaining the flow of support without corresponding practical accountability. Although formal policy stipulates cessation of aid to agencies or units convicted of human rights abuses, evidence indicates that the US administration has granted Israel exceptional facilities, thereby illustrating a pattern of systematic discrimination in practice.

The issuance of arrest warrants by the International Criminal Court (ICC) for Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu and former defense minister Gallant was met by President Biden with characterized disapproval, describing the decision as "disgraceful" and affirming that "the US will always stand by Israel." This stance aligns with a long-standing pattern of positions articulated by Washington within the UN, the Security Council, and various international organizations, which appears aimed at constraining international efforts to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict through a two-state framework. Notably, these efforts intersect with Security Council initiatives addressing the Israeli assault on the Gaza Strip, which has persisted since October 2023 [52]. These pro-Israel positions and denial of the rights of the Palestinian people, foremost of which is their right to freedom and independence, have exposed the double standards of the US and undermined the credibility of the work of international legal institutions, in addition to freezing the basic functions of the UN Security Council, foremost of which is the maintenance of international security and stability.

Israel is a Burden, not a Strategic Asset for the US

The US is undoubtedly Israel's most important ally. Israel is also the most loyal and reliable friend of the US. But there are those who strongly believe that Israel has become a strategic burden on the US, and that without America's biased support for Israel, peace would have prevailed in the Middle East for decades.

In this regard, many academics and politicians have pointed to the power of the Israel-lobby to bend US foreign policy toward Israel's

interests, without even considering Washington's interests. This view is confirmed by the great scientists Mearsheimer and Walt. This lobby controls American politics. The American-Israeli Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) is one of the strongest arms of control over the decision, as well as the so-called "neoconservatives," some of whom are already Jewish. They exert almost magical influence over policymakers, including congressional leaders and the US president himself. Some even say that the Iraq war was promoted by the Israel lobby, and that the president was persuaded to declare war on Saddam Hussein, not to defend the US or advance its interests, but to advance Israel's interests in the region.

This relationship damaged the US standing in the Arab and Muslim worlds, increased anti-Americanism, and once led to the Arab oil embargo in 1973, the US-Soviet intervention in 1973 that almost led to a nuclear war, in addition to the numerous attacks that targeted the US and its interests in the Arab region. This violent intervention by the U.S. military resulted in the devastating bombing of the US Embassy in Beirut in April 1983 and resulted in US civilian and military casualties. Israel did not stop at this point, and continued to pull America towards its lines, Israel pressured the Americans to organize the Iran-Contra affair that damaged the credibility of the US around the world [53]; Israel also pushed the US to engage in a war against Iraq and later the invasion and occupation of Iraq, and embroiled it in a war against Palestinian civilians in the Gaza Strip, a direct war against Iran, as well as in most of its wars in the Middle East.

According to scholar John Mearsheimer, the relationship with Israel has occupied a central place in US policy in the Middle East in the decades following, and most notably since, the Six-Day War of 1967. The steadfast US endorsement of Israel, together with efforts to promote democracy across the region, has mobilized Arab and Muslim public opinion and, in turn, imperiled both US security and the security of much of the international system. This prompts a foundational question: why would the US concession its own security-and the security of numerous allied states-to advance the interests of another nation? Conventional expectations might attribute the alignment to convergent strategic interests or to compelling moral obligations; however, neither framework satisfactorily accounts for the magnitude of material and diplomatic support extended by the US [54].

Results

The relationship between the US and Israel is one of the most contentious on the international stage, with many analysts arguing that this partnership casts a shadow over vital US interests, particularly in the Middle East. Unconditional US support for Israel is causing a series of endless wars in the region, negatively impacting Washington's image and role as a neutral mediator in regional conflicts. With US military bases scattered throughout the region, questions are growing about the extent of the need to rely on Israel as a strategic ally to achieve American goals. Therefore, it is necessary to reassess this relationship to ensure that it is in line with US national interests and respect for international law, for the following reasons:

- The Poll results show a broad public rejection of Israel's policies by large segments of the American and international public, including American Jews, who make up a large percentage of Diaspora Jews. This rejection is affecting Trump's popularity in the United States. This rejection is attributed to what many see as a continuation of an approach that contributes to fueling conflicts and instability in the Middle East, as a result of unconditional US support for Israel; American non-recognition of the legitimate

national rights of the Palestinian people. These policies keep the region in a state of instability. As such, US recognition of the State of Palestine will contribute to:

1. Unifying American society, narrowing gaps around positions between the two major Democratic and Republican parties.
2. Creating a state of cooperation among minorities in American society, especially Arab, Muslim, and Jewish minorities, to resolve most domestic issues.
3. Reducing hate speech and to bridge the gap in American society.
4. It strengthens the relationship within the same party: at the level of the democratic party, between the progressive left-wing pro-Palestine movement and the traditional pro-Israel current.
5. At the level of the Republican Party, it helps bridge the gap in the divergent positions that have begun to emerge within Trump's MAGA movement, and helps implement the administration's electoral agenda.

• The US recognition of the Palestinian state is a central step that reflects a profound shift in Washington's traditional foreign policy, as it strengthens its position as the sole international power that upholds the principle of the rule of international law and respect for UN resolutions. This step would contribute to strengthening US relations with Arab and Muslim countries and increasing its lost credibility with some. It opens the door to broader cooperation in all fields and limits the influence of local and international powers that Washington sees as competitors in the region, such as Russia, China, and Iran. This recognition also reflects a serious commitment to the concept of the "two-state solution," a framework that has long been seen as the only and optimal path to achieving a just, lasting and comprehensive peace in the Middle East. Through this policy, Washington can reshape its relationship with Israel, ensuring:

1. Avoid further security risks and threats to the region that negatively affect Washington's interests.
2. Restoring the role of an honest mediator: in leading the peace process, after years of blatant bias toward Israel.
3. Strengthening their relations with Arab countries: Many Arab and Islamic countries that have alliance or friendship relations with Washington feel very embarrassed by the US position and the worsening of the situation after the events of October 7, 2023, and the subsequent massacres committed by Israel against the Palestinian people in the Gaza Strip. Therefore, the step of recognizing a Palestinian state will be widely welcomed by Washington's allies in the region.
4. Normalizing relations: If Washington recognizes a Palestinian state, it will be easy for the Trump administration to launch the train of normalization of relations between Israel and Arab and Muslim countries.
5. It will reduce the negative perception of the US in the Arab and Muslim streets, and the people of most countries of the world.
6. Peacemaking instead of war: directing Washington's vast resources and massive military spending in the region toward peace and prosperity, as Trump always repeats.
7. Washington is restoring confidence in its relations with its European allies, fostering consensus within the West and weakening divisions in foreign policy.

This step is not just a symbolic measure, but a long-term investment in regional stability and global security that serves US and geopolitical interests in a balanced and responsible manner.

• US recognition of the independent State of Palestine would be a major moral shift, confirming the US administrations' commitment to the rules of international law and the principles of the US Constitution, and confirming the claims of Washington's political elites who market their country as a beacon of democracy, liberalism, and human rights. It would also restore balance to Washington's foreign policy and push for an improvement in its image globally. This step carries strong implications and provides Washington with the following advantages:

1. Improving the Moral Image: This includes respect for American values that demonstrate enduring compliance with the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination, which is one of the pillars on which America was founded, and reflects a genuine commitment to human rights and international justice, rather than selectivity in its application.
2. Getting Rid of the Burden of Bias Towards Israel: Recognition limits moral criticism of Washington for supporting an apartheid occupation and condoning crimes against Palestinians.
3. Improving its Image in the Arab and Muslim Worlds: Recognition will be seen as a courageous but belated step toward justice, easing public anger and restoring some respect for Washington's global role
4. Recognition Stirs Political Stalemate: it gives Palestinians political hope for a better future, and it puts an end to Israel's crimes and aggressive policies.
5. Creating an American Model for Resolving Conflicts Peacefully: Washington becomes a sponsor of a genuine political solution, not a party to the conflict, encouraging similar settlements in other regions of the world based on the fairness of international law.
6. Supporting the Spread of Democracy and Human Rights: Promoting the Establishment of a Democratic Palestinian State, Establishing a Stable and Pluralistic Palestinian Political System, Good Governance...
7. Demonstrating that everyone, including Israel, is equal before international law, which strengthens confidence in Washington's leadership of the international system, gives it greater ability to lead peace and justice efforts, and restores trust with its European partners and developing countries.
8. Ending the Image of Double Standards: Recognition shows that Washington does not only defend human rights when it serves its interests, but adheres to them as a comprehensive principle.

• The US recognition of the State of Palestine represents a strategic step with economic dimensions at the regional and international levels. This recognition will contribute to reducing tensions and conflicts that drain financial resources and human resources, thereby reducing the costs of war to zero levels. In turn, these trillions of resources can be directed towards investing in sustainable development, strengthening infrastructure, and supporting technological innovation in line with the demands of the modern era. This step will also contribute to reducing unemployment and creating new jobs, thereby achieving global economic stability by eliminating the inflation that weighs on major economies. new economic and trade cooperation between the countries of the region and the US, which reflects positively on the American economy. As such, Washington would benefit from recognizing a Palestinian state, by:

1. Attracting more investment in the US economy
2. Supporting regional trade and economic integration
3. A safe and stable environment that reduces risks to investors
4. Stimulate the same U.S. investors in the energy, technology,

- and infrastructure sectors... In the region
5. Contracts for reconstruction projects, extensive reconstruction projects (infrastructure, energy, housing, telecommunications) are needed. The US companies can receive major contracts with international or Arab funding, especially in Gaza, Lebanon, Syria, Yemen...etc.
 6. Drafting new trade agreements, or common economic zones.
 7. Strengthening economic and trade partnership with Arab and Islamic countries at the expense of its trade rival Beijing.
 8. Strengthening Washington's relations with wealthy Gulf states, which could translate into trade deals, mutual investments, and joint ventures involving Palestine.
 9. Reducing security risks and conditional support for international projects
 10. Improving the image of US brands
 11. Improving the image of the US in the Arab world, which is reflected in the reputation of American companies and the demand for their products and services.
 12. Israel's involvement in the regional economic structure.

• The recognition of Palestinian statehood by the US of America is a pivotal step that reflects a genuine commitment to the principles of international law and human rights, especially the right to self-determination. In addition to its consolidation of domestic laws-Leahy's Law. This recognition is not only a political measure, but also carries legal and moral dimensions that enhance the credibility of the rules-based international order. It also re-highlights the importance of the role of international institutions, such as the Security Council, in ensuring global peace and security away from double standards.

The findings indicate that Israel no longer operates as a strategic asset as claimed by its advocates within American society; rather, it has become a political, economic, moral, and legal burden that inflicts considerable harm on Washington's interests in the Middle East and globally. Persistent support for Israel at the expense of the Palestinian pursuit of justice has undermined Washington's international credibility and its professed commitment to international law. Moreover, this alliance appears to generate new adversaries for the US and to elevate regional tensions without demonstrable strategic benefits. To restore its leadership position within the global order and improve its international standing, Washington would benefit from adopting substantive measures that endorse a two-state solution and acknowledge a Palestinian state, thereby pursuing a balanced policy that advances peace and regional stability [55-56].

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