

**TWO-STATE SOLUTION BETWEEN ISRAEL AND PALESTINE: VIABLE OR
OBSOLETE IDEA**

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LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

I certify that this dissertation entitled "Two-state Solution between Israel and Palestine: Viable or Obsolete Idea" was prepared by Bhuwan Paudel under my supervision. I hereby recommend this dissertation for final examination by the Research Committee of Department in International Relations and Diplomacy, Tribhuvan University, in fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of MASTER'S IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND DIPLOMACY.

.....

Santosh Sharma Poudel

Supervisor

March, 2021

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is my own work and that it contains no materials previously published. I have not used its materials for the award of any kind and any other degree. Where other authors' sources of information have been used, they have been acknowledged.

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Bhuvan Paudel

March 2021

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ABSTRACT

Two-state solution between Israel and Palestine has been one of the most contested and old issue continuing since the mid of 20th century and is debated among international communities. The existence of this unsettled matter in the Arab region has tremendously changed the dynamics of power relation, peace and stability in the Middle East, differences between religions and multiple aspects that have changed life of many people since decades. The Balfour declaration of settlement of Jews; UN Mandate of partition, Arab Israeli war of 1948 causing displacement of 750,000 Palestinians and division of territory into the State of Israel; the West Bank and the Gaza strip; war of 1967 with territorial gain for Israel over the Sinai Peninsula and Gaza Strip from Egypt; the West Bank and East Jerusalem from Jordan, and the Golan Heights from Syria; Camp-David accord of 1979 between Israel and Egypt, first intifada of Palestinian in 1987, Oslo Accord of 1993 and 1995, second intifada from 2000-2005, US attempt to revive peace process in 2013, hostility of Fatah and Hamas with Israel, decision of Trump administration to relocate embassy from Tel-Aviv to Jerusalem were the major stances to be looked upon for Israel- Palestine relation. In this context, the course for two-state solution with enduring peace is definitely not an easy task with multiple actors involved with numerous interests. Despite this fact, the efforts manifested by both parties' time and again in the lane of history sprout the seeds of solution where two-states with enduring peace might seem possible despite the odds. In this regard, this study attempts to check the viability of the possibility of two-state solution and the complexity that arises to make this idea obscure.

Key Words: Israel-Palestine, Conflict, Solution, Two-State and Viability.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Context/ Background of the Study

The expectation of Jews and Palestinians for an independent state in historical Palestine can be traced back to First World War as the United Kingdom endeavored to gain support against the Ottoman Empire and the Central Powers. In 1915–16, Britain promised support for Arab independence through Husayn-McMohan correspondence. In exchange, they wanted Arab support against the Ottoman Empire. Although, there was discussion about the territorial extent under Arab rule in the correspondence, Palestine, in particular was not discussed as it was not located along the disputed edges. The Balfour Declaration followed and extended British support to establish national home for the Jewish in Palestine.

After the Balfour declaration, the number of Jewish immigrants increased significantly which was very difficult for Britain to manage. In 1947, as the situation became complicated, Britain withdrew from the declaration and the region was handed over to the United Nations (UN). Palestine was divided into Arab state and Jewish state through a resolution of UN (UN resolution 181, 1947). The partition was accepted by Jews but Arabs had a strong resentment in the division. With the disapproval on UN mandate, the war between Arab and Israel happened on 1948 to 1949. The concept of two-state solution can be traced to the effort of 1937 Peel Commission, which suggested for partition of the then British Mandatory Palestine to stop hostility between Arab and Israel. After the end of war, Israel gained additional territory, whereas Transjordan took control of the West Bank and Egypt took control of the Gaza Strip. Palestinians without any government got fragmented into different separate groups to march with nationalist struggle. In 1964, the establishment of an

umbrella group called Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) which was promoting Palestinian self-determination superseded other nationalist struggle group.

There was another conflict between Israel and Arab in 1967 which lasted for six days. With the end of war, Israel took control of the Gaza Strip and the Sinai Peninsula, West Bank, Golan Height, including East Jerusalem which was left by UN mandate of 1947 to be decided later. The war retreated Egyptian, Jordanian and Syrian army. Among the captured territories, Sinai Peninsula was not claimed by the Palestinians. There was a landmark peace agreement between Israel and Egypt called as Camp David Accords in 1979 in which Israel agreed to give back Sinai Peninsula to Egypt. This comprehensive accord laid the fundamentals for a two-state solution which solidified the idea of "land for peace" as a negotiating principle(Orr, 1985).

The uprising, known as first *intifadah* began in 1987 by Palestinians living under Israeli rule which claimed several Palestinian and Israeli lives and led to- secret negotiations which produced the 1993 Oslo accords. As an interim measure, Palestinians gained limited self-rule under an entity called the Palestinian Authority(Teibel, 2020).However, the two sides were unable to resolve the issue standing in the way of a promised final agreement that would have established a Palestinian state with the occupation in West Bank, Israeli settlement building and violence continued. Though many countries already recognize Palestine as a state, but in the absence of an agreement with Israel, it lacks the requirements of one, notably control over its territory (Allegra & Napolitano, 2011). The major and tough issues to negotiation were where to draw borders, how to share Jerusalem and the status of Palestinian refugees. In 2005, Israel withdrew its troops and settlers from the Gaza Strip. After the withdrawal of Israeli security from Gaza, Hamas subsequently took over Gaza; it became a launch-pad for rockets into Israel. That very decision of

withdrawal later made many Israelis to re-think at the idea of giving the West Bank to Palestinian control. Israel constructed a barrier in the West Bank to control Palestinians from Jewish-populated areas.

The two-state solution has been widely understood and expected to lead to long-standing peace in the region. Israel high security threat would be resolved. The peace talks between Israel and Palestine has been aimed mainly to achieve two-state solution which most governments and international bodies have set as official policy, including the United States, the United Nations, the Palestinian Authority and Israel. Basically, the underlying issues that make it difficult to resolve this issue is borders, Jerusalem, refugees and security. The question also arises what if the concept of two-state doesn't lead to a successful conclusion; will there be an enlarged Jewish state where Palestinian people will always be less than equal or a single territory in which Jews and Arabs will be living together with the state that will be secular.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Basically, the conflict germinated from the exodus of Jews after the end of Second World War with the occupation of historical Palestinian land which Arabs always considered to be the forceful occupation of their land and lead to the creation of totally new religious land called Israel just next to the Palestinians with the recognition of UN mandate which was vehemently resented by the Arabs.

Moreover, the underlying issues that make it difficult to resolve this issue is borders, Jerusalem, refugees and security. There is no clear consensus about where and how to draw the border line, whether to draw border line before 1967 Arab-Israeli war or after that. The settlement of Israel in West Bank after 1967 is widespread and is continuing which ensures that the demarcation of border will be a

scattered Palestine making any future Palestinian state smaller and possibly breaking it up into noncontiguous pieces. The claim of Jerusalem as center of religious worship between Jews, Muslims and Christians on top of each other has led to an unresolved conflict. Israel declared Jerusalem as an "undivided capital" annexing its eastern part as well whereas Palestine strives to control Eastern Jerusalem making it as capital after the recognition of statehood. Large number of Palestinian refugees in 1948 who either fled or were expelled from their home of what is now Israel desires the right to return which is unacceptable for Israeli in any case because more Muslim population would end Jews demographic majority.

The security for Palestinians means the end of foreign military aggression in their proclaimed land while for Israeli's it means non-aggression by rebellion groups in West Bank, Gaza Strip, Eastern Jerusalem, Israel's main land and other growing settlement areas of Israel. O'Malley P in his article explains that the geopolitical landscape in the Middle East bears little resemblance to "facts" back to 1967. The context of negotiations has changed at least four times: first, after Gaza's spin-off in 2006; second, after the Gaza war in 2014; third, because of Israel's increasing religiosity; and fourth, because of the detritus of the Syrian Civil War, ISIS, and Islamic militancy roiling the post-Arab Spring Middle East(O'Malley, 2017).

Therefore, the proposed research strives to examine the viable solution between Israel and Palestine amid the conflict and analyze that whether two-state solution will be possible with enduring peace or it is a high hanging fruit. The potential solutions with different models will be checked upon and the viability for two -state solution will be examined.

1.3 Research Questions

In analyzing the possibilities of two-state solution between Israel and Palestine, the following questions will need to be addressed based on the historical perspective and contextual unfolding of events:

1. What is the cause of enduring tension between Israel and Palestine?
2. What are the potential solutions to Israel-Palestine conflict?
3. Is two-state solution still a viable option? Why?

1.4 Research Objectives

The following objectives will strive to address the research questions that have been identified:

1. To understand the causes of enduring tension between Israel and Palestine.
2. To identify the potential solutions to Israel-Palestine conflict.
3. To analyze the viability of two-state solution as well as other solutions.

1.5 Significance of the Study

There are various studies that have been done in this contested topic by many scholars while the efforts are also underway for the solution though not substantiated. The main reason to conduct this research is because it is still an unresolved issue and any new perspective that comes along with this study will still be tested down the lane of history by other researchers in this topic.

Most importantly, the proper deal can change the fate of Middle East particularly the Palestinians for whom the statehood is the matter of their dignity, identity, existence and glorified history. In fact, two-state solution is not a single thread tangled in the Arab region. It can change the course of relationship between Arab and Israel vis a vis Muslim Population and Jewish population which can enhance the person-to-person relationship between two religions. Also, the regional and international power relation will change after the deal.

Moreover, the tremendous significance of history often called as a "Sacred Land" which is the center of three religions: Judaism, Muslim and Christianity and huge strategic importance of the region in terms of pool of resource called as "Accident of Geography" keeps the region at the intersection of different system of rules and rivals in confrontation for power. The amalgamation of religious faith with the abundance of resources in the region escalates the complexity of the region and different models of solution need to be discussed to achieve peace in the region.

1.6 Delimitation of the Study

Like the title of this dissertation "Two-state Solution between Israel and Palestine: Viable or Obsolete Idea" suggests, this study basically focuses on the efforts put on by these two populations and the endeavor of USA and world organization like UN, however there are multiple actors involved particularly Arab countries in the Middle East and the West moreover like UK, France, Russia but for this thesis these actors will be dealt in very brief which is the delimitation of the study.

Israel-Palestine conflict is a longstanding conflict with multiple dynamics in which a concise research paper won't be able to accommodate so many factors and so many actors involved in the conflict.

The research focuses on past endeavors for enduring peace, theoretical aspect of complex issues like geopolitics, foreign policy of territories sharing historical complexity, power asymmetry, new negotiation techniques and approaches into foreign policy of Israel and Palestine. However, this study relies on secondary data and literature available in this topic. The major constraint for this proposal is the complexity to understand the issue without visiting the debatable land and analyzing the issues in limited time.

As this research is conducted to fulfill the requirement of Tribhuvan University to gain a Masters in Arts degree, the research has been conducted as per the criteria and regulations set by the Master's Program in International Relations and Diplomacy.

Furthermore, this research does not in any way tests the legality of the occupation of territory and demarcation of borders between Israel and Palestine. Neither does it scrutinize that during the hostility the engagement in violence by any Party either as right or wrong. The hot cake of this issue Jerusalem in this study is not discussed in terms of religious rightness but through the aspect of power asymmetry, entire Jerusalem is a non-negotiable topic for Israel as it intends to make it as Capital while for Palestine, an eastern part of Jerusalem is their thrive to make it as capital.

1.7 Organization of the Study

This thesis is divided into seven different chapters as stated below:

Chapter 1: Introduction

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Chapter 3: Conceptual Framework and Research Methodology

Chapter 4: Cause of enduring tension between Israel and Palestine

Chapter 5: Potential Solutions to Israel-Palestine conflict

Chapter 6: Viable solution to Israel-Palestine conflict

Chapter 7: Conclusion

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

The conflict of Israel-Palestine has multi-dimensional actors and factors. The literature review is further divided into following sections as below:

2.1 Historical perspective, geopolitics and religion

The history, geopolitics and religion laid a foundation for the present Israel-Palestine conflict. The present Middle East was once a Mesopotamia populated by Canaanites, Jebusites, Hittites and Philistines which were ruled by numerous ancient empires. Foreign invasions from time to time by Greeks, Mongols and Romans occurred, among which the Romans are believed to have sown the seed of Israel-Palestine conflict from historical perspective (Sayce, 2004).

The attack of Romans on Jews during 60-80 AD shattered the Jews along with Jerusalem. The reconstruction of Jerusalem as a Roman city called “Aelia Capotolia” during 115-135 AD and substituting the holy site with Jupiter temple completely dismantled Jews(Gray, 1969). Moreover, renaming the land as Palestine in honor of Philistines and shaming the Jews was another foundation for the present crisis.

The Jerusalem was named as Urusalim during the Canaanite period (14th century BCE). The reconstruction of Jerusalem during the Israelite period (9th century BCE) was significant and by the 8th century, it developed into the religious center as well as administrative center of the Kingdom of Judah. The walls were built around Jerusalem during the Ottoman Empire by Suleiman I during 16th century. The walls are the boundaries of today’s old city which are traditionally divided into four quarters- Armenian, Christian, Jewish and Muslim quarters. The Jerusalem at present is inhabited by Jews and Palestinians both(Denova, 2019).

The historical perspective might give a misconception that Jews and Muslim were always at a stage of hatred to each other. In contrary, the Jews, Muslims and Christians in the Middle East were in relative peace until the beginning of 20th century. Although, the conflict is often portrayed as a religious conflict, but the origin of conflict as well as its solution, both are political one.

2.2 The Enduring Tension

The Ottoman Empire was in control of Middle East from 1516 when they seized Syria, Palestine and Egypt. The Ottoman Empire joined Germany against France and Britain during World War I. In an attempt to gain support, Britain made promises to Arabs and Jews in Middle East and Europe which was conflicting to each other. The Arab Sharif of Mecca was promised to create an Arab state occupying most of the Middle East. On the other hand, Jewish in Europe were promised to create a home state in Palestine. These promises were guided by two fears of Britain in case they lost to Ottoman Empire; (i) it would cost them the trade route to Asia (ii) the Eastern European Jews would be out of their control and see Germany as their liberators. Britain could keep its only one promise and proceeded with the later one; creating a home for European Jews in Palestine through the Balfour declaration (Canadians for Justice and Peace in the Middle East, 2017) which laid for the enduring tension since its declaration.

2.3 Peace Attempts

In September of 1978, President of Egypt, Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat and Prime Minister of Israel, Menachem Begin met with the President of USA, Jimmy Carter at Camp David, Maryland, USA to agree on the framework for Peace in Middle East (Jimmy Carter Presidential Library, 1978). This accord was most of the crucial

event for opportunity to establish peace in Middle East. The main part of the peace accord is presented below in its original form:

Egypt and Israel agree that, in order to ensure a peaceful and orderly transfer of authority, and taking into account the security concerns of all the parties, there should be transitional arrangements for the West Bank and Gaza for a period not exceeding five years. In order to provide full autonomy to the inhabitants, under these arrangements the Israeli military government and its civilian administration will be withdrawn as soon as a self-governing authority has been freely elected by the inhabitants of these areas to replace the existing military government. To negotiate the details of a transitional arrangement, Jordan will be invited to join the negotiations on the basis of this framework. These new arrangements should give due consideration both to the principle of self-government by the inhabitants of these territories and to the legitimate security concerns of the parties involved (Jimmy Carter Presidential Library, 1978).

The accord further pushed Israel and Egypt to settle their disputes in a peaceful manner according to Article 33 of the U.N. Charter.

Both the nations had particular interest in signing this accord. For Egypt, Israel would withdraw its army from Sinai Peninsula and have diplomatic relations. For Israel, Egypt would let the Israeli ships to pass through Suez Canal and Straits of Tiran connecting with Red Sea. Both countries would benefit from the billion dollars of annual subsidies from US.

However, the peace accord did not go smoothly as planned. Other Arab states defined it as a betrayal and suspended Egypt from the Arab League for 10 years. The UN also did not accept the accord as the Palestinians were not represented in the

accord process. However, it is true that the accord was able to establish a stable relation between two powerful states of Middle East, Egypt and Israel.

The Oslo Peace Agreement held at Washington, USA in 1993 was another peace attempt which was paved after the formation of Rabin government in Israel in 1992 and led to the path for the negotiations between Israel and Palestine under the mediation of Norwegian mediators. In the negotiation, both sides agreed to find a permanent solution and to recognize the identities of each other. The document was signed in form of Oslo Declaration of Principles which in the beginning states the aim of negotiations:

The aim of the Israeli-Palestinian negotiations within the current Middle East peace process is, among other things, to establish a Palestinian Interim Self-Government Authority, the elected Council (the "Council"), for the Palestinian people in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, for a transitional period not exceeding five years, leading to a permanent settlement based on Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. It is understood that the interim arrangements are an integral part of the whole peace process and that the negotiations on the permanent status will lead to the implementation of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 (United Nations, 1995).

This agreement was the hope for long expected peace in the Middle East. Yasser Arafat and Yizhak Rabin had exchange of letters which showed the intent of peace from both sides.

Similarly, the foundation of Oslo Declaration of Principles led to the signing of Oslo Interim Agreement on September 28, 1995 at Taba, Egypt. This agreement

was supposed to shape an environment for Palestinians so that they could negotiate as an independent party without compelling any side for the outcome.

Although the agreement and whole peace process was a comprehensive plan but it did not work out. Both sides blamed each other for failure. Palestine blamed Israel for settlement expansion while Israel blamed Palestine for the continued terror attacks. The peace process had a major setback right from the beginning when Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin was assassinated in November 1995 by a right-wing Israeli (Segal, 2020). Although both sides attempted in some way to work for peace, it could not yield to any permanent solution. The escalation of riots and start of second intifada by the Palestinians derailed the Oslo Peace process indefinitely.

The peace attempt named Camp David II was mediated by American President Bill Clinton in presence of Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak and Palestinian National Authority Chairman, Yasser Arafat at Camp David in July 11, 2000 (Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2000). However, on July 25, President Clinton announced that the peace plan failed to reach any agreement. Although the official version of what failed in the peace plan was not published, President Clinton admired Israeli Prime Minister Barak for his “particular courage and vision”. It is reported that Barak offered Israeli redeployment from 95% of West Bank and 100 percent of Gaza Strip for creating Palestinian state. He also offered to uproot Jewish settlements from the area that would be transferred to Palestine and control of Palestine over some part of Jerusalem. However, reports claim that Chairman Arafat demanded sovereignty over all East Jerusalem and put maximalist position on refugees (Fact Sheets, 2009).

Palestinians blame the failure of this peace plan as Israelis Prime Minister Barak's non-negotiating approach who wanted to decide and end the conflict right away. They also blamed Americans for lack of preparation and the personality differences between Arafat and Barak.

On 29th July 2013, with initiation by the then United States Secretary of State John Kerry, direct negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians began (Booth, 2013). However, Hamas, the Palestinian government in Gaza, rejected the proposal stating that the Palestinian president Mohmoud Abbas has no right to decide the future of Palestinians (Ynet, 2013).

The negotiations were planned to continue over months and reach a broader agreement by the end of April 2014. The Israeli delegation was led by Justice Minister Tzipi Livni while the Palestinian delegation was led by former negotiator Saeb Erekat (Booth, 2013). The first rounds of negotiations took place in Washington which was later planned for Jerusalem and then to Hebron. However, the negotiation failed at the end of April 2014 without any vague understanding. The mediator United States Secretary of State John Kerry stated that no one side was to blame but that "both sides did things that were incredibly unhelpful" (Los Angeles Times, 2014).

Donald Trump on January 2020, proposed a peace plan which will establish Jerusalem as Israel's "undivided" capital and creating a state of Palestine with capital towards east of Jerusalem. The peace plan further proposed that Israel will have security control in the west of Jordan River. A Palestinian state was proposed to receive desert territory near Gaza as a compensation for the loss of the West Bank. The Jordan valley would be recognized as part of Israel. It also proposed that Hamas should be disarmed and Gaza to be demilitarized (The National, 2020).

The plan further declares there shall be no right of return for any Palestinian refugee into Israel. In an economic perspective of the plan, it claimed that this would be creating 1million new jobs for Palestinians over the next 10 years investing over \$50billion in the new state and tripling its GDP(Holmes et al., 2020).

However, this peace plan immediately met with fierce criticisms from Palestine as well as other Arab states declaring it fully inclined to Israel and American interest.

2.4 Solution of Israel-Palestine Conflict

Israel without being political down sided can propagate economic peace in the region by allowing mobility of people, goods and investment which can boost the shrinking Palestinian economy and may reduce further unemployment, poverty and terrorism in the region. The extended period of calmness in the region can reduce violence and can create better conditions for future negotiations. Since the entire region shares an ecosystem and environment, resource sharing through any future agreement can be done for sustainability and survival. The prospect of freezing settlement map can only yield towards solution. Also advancing democracy in Palestine with resurrection of civil rights, representative and accountable government and independent institutions can only ensure security for Israel and ensure friendly relation (Edward P. Djerejian, 2021).

2.5 Research Gap

While reviewing the different published literatures, the researcher has found that most of the studies are focused on portraying the Israel-Palestine enduring conflict, however, very few researches are concentrated on finding out the viable

solution to the existing crisis. Therefore, this research has been done to fill the knowledge gap on the topic.

CHAPTER 3: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Conceptual Framework

To simplify, the conceptual framework in this research, it would be explained by realpolitik and normative theory. Realpolitik often understood as the realist approach to foreign policy is based on practical objectives rather than on ideals, in diplomacy it is associated to pursuit of the national interest, also known as Machiavellian approach. Normative theory depends on various approaches and theories to explore moral expectations, decisions, and dilemmas in world politics.

Here, the viability of the proposed solution has been analyzed across three dimensions: realpolitik, fairness, and sustainability. Realpolitik as an analyzing factor has been expanded under the concept of realism. Similarly, fairness as an analyzing factor along with constructivism has been used under the concept of normative theory. And, sustainability as another analyzing factor stems from the idea that peace should be sustainable. Accordingly, these analyzing factors have been used in the paragraphs below.

In this dissertation, viability means an agreement which is acceptable to both the nations, serves the security interest of both the nations, and ensures peace in the region.

The acceptance to both the nations means there are some complex issues like demarcation of borders, the ownership of Jerusalem, settlement in West Bank, settlement of refugees, political credibility of Hamas etc. which both parties should come into a common ground and without its resort solution is not possible.

Another element of viability is security perspective. For a solution to be viable, it has to serve the interest of both the nations. Israel is more concerned of the security perspective from Palestine. The role of Hamas is treated by Israel a terrorist organization. The missiles launched from Palestine bother Israel. Meanwhile, Israel's settlement in West Bank has security threat to Palestinians and they take it as an encroachment of their main land. The dilemma in security needs to be resolved in order to reach towards viability.

Establishing sustainable peace in the region is important factor of viability to end enduring conflict between Israel and Palestine. It means the Arab countries should come to a common resort of recognizing Israel, establishing friendship as well as dealing with the complex issues like Iran, Syria, Yemen, Lebanon etc.

3.1.1 Realist theory

The realist theory concentrates the state on the central while other factors such as identity, culture, values, people and ideas etc. are considered either as a secondary player or a product of the state. Power is the most important resource in realist theory. The realism can have many variants; classical realism, neo-realism and neo-classical realism being the most common theories. In another dimension, the realism can be distinguished as defensive realism and offensive realism.

The classical realism as explained by political philosopher Thomas Hobbes comes from the power-seeking or power pursuit of human as a source of state behavior (Korab-Karpowicz, 2017). In other words, state is a sum of each individual's nature of power pursuit. The neo-realism, on the other hand, do not place individual nature in center but explains that the anarchic nature of international system pushes each state for accumulation of power to seek its own security and balances the power

(Waltz, 2010). The neo-classical theory as explained by Gideon Rose and Randall Scheller combines both theories of realism and neo-realism. They explain the nature of international system is the cause for broader international outcomes and patterns while varying foreign policies of each state comes from the individual level (Korab-Karpowicz, 2017).

Realistic theory can be explained in another dimension as defensive realism and offensive realism. Defensive realism explains that states accumulate power not to seek dominance over other but to be secure from the threats they face (Pashakhanlou, 2017). The offensive realism, just in contrast to defensive realism, advocates that states accumulate power to cast dominance over other states not knowing how much power is sufficient over one another (Mearsheimer, 2014).

3.1.2 Constructivist theory

Constructivist theory explains the role of non-state players and organizations where culture, identities, ideas, experience and values are given a place (Peltonen, 2017). The theorists, Nicholas Onufin and Alexander Wendt are among the pioneers of this theory. This theory highlights that the value of one state to the people of other is shaped by the interactions and experiences they share between each other. The constructivists do not see the power resource as the material power of state but see in the ideas, beliefs and experiences they share. For example, same action from state A to state B and C will be treated or interpreted differently by state B and C based on their experiences and social interactions they share. The international politics is guided by social circumstances and historical processes according to constructivists (Peltonen, 2017).

3.1.3 Bounded Rational Choice

This model introduced by Herbert Simon allows making decisions that are rational based on the limited information available. The decision is not based in consequences but for other reasons such as ethics, fairness, social norms etc. The model of bounded rationality/cybernetic decision making assumes an order-sensitive search process by which the sequence in which alternatives are considered will influence the selection of a choice (Simon, 1957). Rather than maximize with respect to a goal, decision-makers are thought to employ a satisficing selection rule – the first alternative that is deemed satisfactory is adopted. In terms of information processing, the model assumes that decision-makers limit the amount of information considered at any given time to that deemed relevant to the single alternative under consideration, eliminating the complexity associated with pair-wise comparisons of all available alternatives (Steinbruner, 2002).

3.2 Research Methodology

The methodology used in this researching process is tracing. It can be used to build and test theories of processes that link causes and outcomes in a bounded population of causally similar cases and complementary use of comparative methods, to gain an understanding of the causal dynamics that produced the outcome of a particular historical case.

Similarly, the framework of bounded rationality is used to test the viability of two-state solution which might ensure long term peace in the region. Simon proposed a model of bounded rationality (Simon, 1957). According to the model, individuals possess cognitive constraints on their information-processing capacities such that it is impossible for a decision-maker to identify all potential alternatives and adequately

assess their implications. The problem is further complicated if a dynamic model of sequential decision making is considered. Simon suggests that a decision made today may yield optimal benefits for the current problem, but the current decision may actually work against an optimal outcome in subsequent decision problems (Simon 1957; Rhodes & Hart, 2016).

3.3 Sources of Data

Primary and secondary data are used in the research. Primary data are collected from government offices, speeches, press statements and official government publications of Israel-Palestine, USA declassified documents while secondary data are taken from relevant books, journals, dissertations, scholarly articles, magazines, newspapers, internet sources, etc. Most of the primary and secondary data are retrieved electronically with few manually searched articles in library. Data available only in English are used with no restriction to the date of origin of data. Few important letters, speeches, declarations and agreements are presented as they in this manuscript.

3.4 Data Analysis

Descriptive method is used in the analysis of the data collected from different primary and secondary sources. Whenever possible, the results drawn from the research are presented in charts, figures and diagrams. In depth description and explanation of the findings are done to fulfill the research objectives.

CHAPTER 4: CAUSE OF ENDURING TENSION BETWEEN ISRAEL-PALESTINE

The challenges and obstacles which are the enduring causes of Israel-Palestine conflict are discussed in the subsequent paragraphs.

Border was always an issue since the beginning of Israel as a state and Palestine struggling to achieve statehood. The UN Mandate of 1947, of demarcating borders for Israel and Palestine while leaving Jerusalem for later settlement, was accepted by Israel and rejected vehemently by Palestine. With the Arab Israel war of 1967, the demarcated border for Israel was extended further with their victory in war. Again, the resentment of Palestine was at its highest peak. Among the borders of Palestine, maximum area of land is under security control of Israel and civilian control of Palestine which makes Palestinian realize they are not sovereign. The scattered border of Palestine of West bank and Gaza along with unsettled Jerusalem and disputed settlement of Israelis in Palestinians land is escalating the dispute between Israel and Palestine. The New York Times writes "Israel has constructed barriers along and within the West Bank that many analysts worry creates a de facto border, and it has built settlements in the West Bank that will make it difficult to establish that land as part of an independent Palestine. As time goes on, settlements grow, theoretically making any future Palestinian state smaller and possibly breaking it up into noncontiguous pieces"(The New York Times, 2016).

Security is one of the most important concerns in conflict resolution of Israel and Palestine. Israel was surrounded by very hostile Arab neighbors right from the establishment who always fights for the defeat of Israel to gain land for Palestinians. Tel Aviv, the main city of Israel is just 11 miles from border of Israel in West Bank. Moreover, other cities including Jerusalem are also within the artillery range of

Palestine. It is therefore Israel keeps on demanding the guarantee that the Palestinian state will not entertain any foreign army, mainly Arab states within its borders. The ongoing violence in Gaza strip is seen as terrorist activities by Israel which is a major security concern for them (Eiland, 2008).

From Palestinians perspective, full sovereignty with an end to on-going foreign military occupation in Palestinian land is security. From Israeli perspective, it would limit the armed activity of Hamas in Israel and mostly the West. Also, protecting Israel from attack by other Arab states through Palestine is also major concern for security(Fisher, 2016).

Jerusalem is another enduring issue in the conflict. The issue of Jerusalem in resolution of Israel Palestine conflict is so complex that the UN mandate of 1947 and Oslo Accord of 1993 could not address properly and was left unsolved. It is because of the historical, religious and emotional importance of Jerusalem to both sides. Both sides consider Jerusalem as a sacred place and as a center of religious worship and cultural heritage(Boshnaq, Chan, Garshowitz, & Tripoli, 2017).

Both Israel and Palestine have been claiming Jerusalem as their capital. A typical case of two-state solution demands division of Jerusalem into an Israeli West and a Palestinian East. However, the complexity is that the holy sites of Jewish, Muslim and Christian overlap to each other and it is extremely difficult to draw the borderline. Israel has already declared Jerusalem its “undivided capital. Also, the Trump led administration has shifted its Embassy from Tel- Aviv to Jerusalem which is followed by many other countries. The recent Trump’s peace plan also proposed the Jerusalem control completely to Israel. These issues have intensified the bitterness and remain another major challenge in peace process(Fisher, 2016).

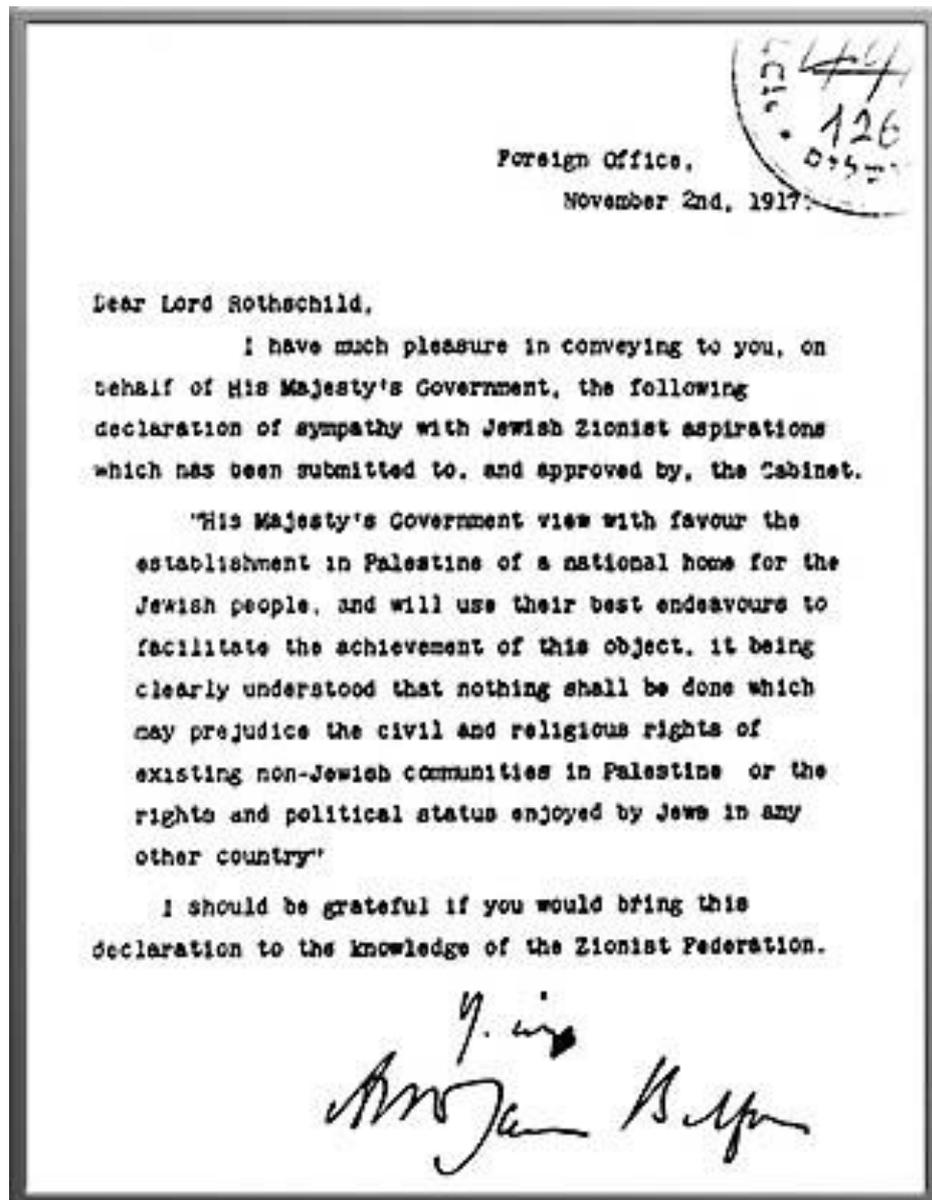
Similarly, settlement of refugees is another contentious issue between Israel and Palestine. With the Mandate of UN and creation of Israel, hostility between Jews and Arabs intensified and led to 1948 Arab-Israeli war. During the war, huge numbers of Palestinians either fled or were expelled from their home land. The refugees and their descendants are now estimated to be around five million. In every negotiation, the Palestinian negotiators demand a right to return of these refugees. Considering huge number of refugees to return, this issue has always become a key point in negotiation. This is a big challenge for Israel as too many returnee refugees outnumber Jews demographic majority. This amalgamation will hamper the desire of Israelis to establish a Jewish state (Asser, 2010;Fisher, 2016).

The subsequent political events and its repercussions has intensified the tension between these two countries.

4.1The Balfour declaration

The Balfour declaration, in November 1917, issued by was an attempt to address the promise made to Jews for the creation of their homeland. The declaration came in form of letter which was addressed to Lord Rothschild on request of a Zionist organization, mainly by Dr. Chaim Weizmann in Britain (Figure 1). This declaration, although motivated by Zionist organization was a strategic movement by Britain for few reasons. Firstly, they wanted to international Jews community to be in their favor and secondly, they feared that Germany would provide such declaration. The declaration promised to create a national home for Jews in Palestine with a condition that they will protect the civil rights and religious rights of the non-Jewish population (Tahhan, 2018).

Figure 1. The first letter of Balfour declaration.



(Balfour as cited in MFA Israel, 2020)

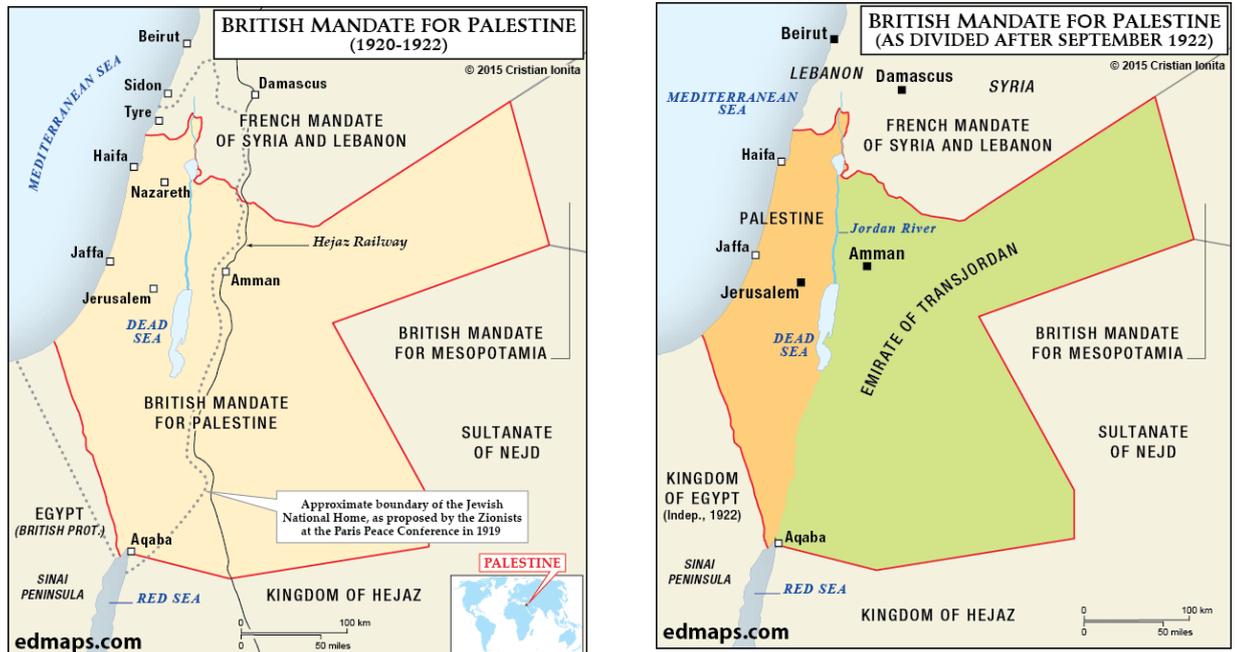
The letter was written by Arthur James Lord Balfour on behalf of British cabinet in support of Zionist movement of Lord Rothschild on 2nd November, 1917.

The Paris Peace conference in 1919 was another milestone for Balfour declaration. The Ottoman Empire was divided among the victors. British wanted to

keep Palestine with themselves and asked for implementation of Balfour declaration. The Arabs disagreed the declaration claiming that the Palestine was their land. The Zionists were lobbying for the implementation and presented their case and somehow reached a signed agreement with Arabs in support of Jewish national home. The plan was adopted with division of rights between Britain and France for Syria and Palestine (Tahhan, 2018).

The area for the British mandate was much larger than what Zionists expected (Figure 4). The area of mandate extended east and west of River Jordan. The Zionists were lobbying for an eastern border to the west of Amman. The British intention at that time might be that they will give some part as a Jewish state and remaining will be under British control. The plan was disrupted by the action of Abdullah, son of King Husayn who moved towards the Transjordan territory and occupied the entire area. The Britain, in 1922, limited the boundary of Palestine to the area west of the river (Figure 4). The eastern area was declared as a separate British mandate which was later given independence to form Jordan.

Figure 2: British mandate for Palestine



(edmaps.com, 2020)

The left map was for the period of 1920-1922 while right map represents after 1922. The Balfour declaration was time to time opposed by the Arabs. The major riots and revolts occurred in 1920, 1921, 1929 and 1936. The Arabs mainly feared that the swelling Jewish immigration will displace the Arabs from Palestine which was actually occurring at the same time. The Britain under Prime Minister Ramsay, in fact, tried to stop the overwhelming immigration of Jews to Palestine through Passfield White Paper (recommended by Hope Simpson report) but could not do so following criticism from British MPs and Zionists organizations. However, later in 1939, the British limited only 15,000 Jews per year up to 5 years to be allowed to enter Palestine which would be subjected to Arab's approval after completion of 5 years. The immigration during the World War II in fear of holocaust occurred in an organized way by Jewish agency which led to a swelling of Jews in Palestine.

The Zionists felt that the huge number of deaths in holocaust was somehow result of the immigration restriction to Palestine imposed by Britain. This led to anti-British sentiments in the Zionists and was focused on immigrating the displaced Jews who resided on the camps to Palestine. The hopes of Zionists were high when Labor party formed a government in Britain in 1945 who had promised to overturn the 1939 White Paper and allow the migration of Jews into Palestine. However, the Labor party did not keep the promise which led to the unification of underground Zionist group who pledged to force the Britain out of Palestine. This resulted in bombings of trains, headquarters and clubs and kidnapping of British officials. There was surmountable pressure from political parties of Britain to resolve this situation and protect the lives of British people. Also, there was pressure from international community, mainly US to overturn the 1939 White Paper while Arabs pressured to stop the immigration. All these situations finally led Britain to return the Palestine mandate to United Nations.

4.2 The United Nations' partition

The UN formed UN Special Commission on Palestine with a mandate to recommend the partition plan for Palestine. The commission recommendation was approved by UN General Assembly on November 1947 as UN Resolution (GA 181)(A/RES/181(II) of 29 November 1947). The plan divided 53 percent of land to establish the Jewish-majority state while 47% to the establishment of Palestinian-majority state. Jerusalem would remain independent from both Jewish state and Palestine state and would be governed by Special International Regime (Figure 3).

Fig. 3. The map of UN partition plan, 1947

The Jews were in favor of the plan as it fulfilled their dream of having a homeland since long time. The Arabs opposed this partition; Egypt, Jordan and Iraq opposed so strongly that they even made threats of arms against the partition. The reason for Arabs to oppose this partition was that they thought the division was completely unfair as the Jews who had only around 30 percent of population at that time were given 53 percent of the land. Another reason Arabs might have felt that Jews were newcomers and got everything but the Palestinian Arabs who had lived there for centuries got neglected. Whatever the reasons were, Arabs felt depossessed from their own land from the newcomers and this model of UN started a new way of conflict between newly formed two nations (A/RES/181(II) of 29 November 1947).

(edmaps.com, 2020)

4.3 The “Nakba”

The British mandate formally ended in May 14, 1948. Few hours later on the same day, Jewish leaders formally founded their long-dreamt homeland- state of Israel. Civil war intensified between Israel and Palestine with Arab nations (Syria, Egypt and Jordan) invasion. With many ceasefires and resumptions of war, the war ended in 1949 with victory to Israel. Israel gained control over 78 percent of the total land and extended its territory to the west of Jordan river, annexing the territory of Jordan. The internationalization of Jerusalem also failed which led to division of Jerusalem



between Israel and Jordan. The Palestinians had very few left it when Egypt further started governing Gaza strip and Jordan administered the West Bank. The war resulted in about 700,000 Arabs forced out of Israel to the Arab countries to stay in camps in Gaza, West Bank, Jordan, Syria and Egypt. The conflict also resulted in Jewish refugees who were forced out from Arab countries. Overall, this situation was a catastrophe for Palestinians Arabs and refers to it as the Nakba- the disaster (Stanislowski, 2016).

The UN meanwhile attempted peace between Arabs and Jews by implementing armistice agreements for border disputes. The Arab nations refused not only to recognize these borders but also Israel as a state. The political dynamics also started changing gradually. The USSR which supported Israel before was in favor of Arab nations and provided military aid. US support to Israel was limited to existence but did not receive any arms or military support.

The Arab nations employed economic boycott against Israel which were supported by many countries and continued for decades.

4.4 Fatah and 6-day War

In 1957, Yasser Arafat, an Egyptian Palestinian along with others formed Palestine Liberation Committee which was later named as Fatah. The Fatah called for revolution and criticized Arab nations for their inability to act against Israel. In parallel, Egyptian President Nasser formed an alternative organization to minimize the dominance of Fatah called Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Syria immediately joined in form of its armed attacks against Israel which credited Fatah for those attacks. This was followed by several meetings of Arab leaders in 1964 and formally agreed for the approval of PLO. The provocations from both sides followed

which indicated that war was imminent. Arab nations, mainly Syria, Egypt and Jordan had modern arms during that time from USSR but the Israeli ammunitions were thought to be relatively old. The 6-day war began on June 5, 1967 with Israel attack on Egypt. Within few hours of the war, the airspace was in total control of Israel. The Israeli troops captured Sinai Peninsula and Gaza within very short time. Israel was also able to have control over West bank, Jerusalem and Golan Heights. At the end of 6-day war, Israel extended its territory massively, many times larger than the territory during partition (Figure 4). This completely changed the route of Israel-Palestine conflict. Yasser Arafat, the head of Fatah was declared as the head of PLO which was recognized by Arab states. The PLO was later recognized by UN formally as the representative of Palestine (Bowen, 2017).

Figure 4: Map after Israeli's expansion after 6-day war in 1967.



(edmaps.com, 2020)

The 6-day war was followed by few other wars. The war of attrition was started by Nasser on Suez Canal which ended in a ceasefire. The October war on the day of Yom Kippur by Egypt and Syria against Israel completely surprised the Israelis and

suffered heavy losses at the beginning but later became dominant against Arabs. The war also ended in ceasefire but forced changed the Prime Minister. The oil embargo was imposed by Saudi Arabia in support of other Arab states, mainly on US and Netherlands for being supporters of Israel which ended in 1974. The oil chaos up roared as the price increased. This put Arab nations in charge of the oil diplomacy which eventually played a role in inviting the PLO leader Yasser Arafat to the UN.

After the conclusion of 6-day war, the area was relatively peaceful. People could move from one state to other freely and Israelis made a perception that this is going to work. Israel was not interested to work and find a long-lasting solution to Israel-Palestine conflict as agreed during 1978 Camp David Accord (described in other section). The dissatisfaction was growing among Palestinians as their territory was being captured by Israelis. The dissatisfaction was not limited only with Israel but with PLO as well as other Arab states which could not lead Palestinians to what they wanted.

These dissatisfactions led to the formation of an extremist group “ Hamas ”. The Friday sermons were used by Imams to provoke resistance against Israel and these teachings were aggravated by the violence from the Israel side. The consequence was the beginning of the first Intifada at the end of 1987 which means “ shaking up ” referring to the uprising. The beginning of first Intifada was marked by the killing of Israeli salesman in Gaza which was then followed by response from Israeli by allegedly killing four Palestinian refugees in what was called as traffic accident by Israel. This led to eruption of mass riots throughout Gaza, West Bank and Jerusalem but was limited to throwing of rocks and leaflets. This uprising was unplanned by the Palestinian organizations and got no time to organize them. The killings of PLO leaders and civilians amplified the Intifada and rise of terror groups such as Hamas

and Islamic Jihad. The uprising continued until Oslo Accords (described in other section) killing between 1000-2000 people from both sides.

CHAPTER 5: POTENTIAL SOLUTION TO ISRAEL-PALESTINE CONFLICT

5.1 One state solution

Based on realistic approach, the two-state solution seems a challengeable task. This is because Israel from the beginning of conflict had upper hands which make it difficult for Palestinians to get all of their demands fulfilled. A one state solution has been an alternative to two-state solution from initial days of conflict. However, this option was always dominated by two-state solution. With complexities in border, Jerusalem, settlements and refugees for Two-state solution, this option has been circulating for peace attempts since recently.

On February 2017, US President Donald Trump hinted that one state solution in Israel-Palestine conflict would also be an acceptable one. He said “I am looking at two-state, and one-state, and I like the one that both parties like”. This view was an indication of important shift in US policy towards Israel-Palestine conflict. The Trump Peace plan was the reflection of this shift, as many believe, it steered international community's away from two-state solution. The proposal for Jerusalem as capital of Israel and bypassing the leaders of Palestine was clear indication of US pushing the two-state solution away (Djerejian, 2018)

On considering one state solution as an option, the most important question is what kind of state it would be. Some modalities are discussed:

5.1.1 Single unified model

This would be an ideal model considering equal rights to people of both Israel and Palestine. The equality in rights to all individuals without discrimination based on ethnicity or religion would be a long-lasting peace solution. However, this model, although guarantees individual right, cannot fulfill the collective rights. The Israelis has dreamt a separate Jewish state since long and same is with Palestinians. It would be unacceptable to large number of people from both sides to dilute their identities. Moreover, the fear of Israelis for the Palestinian dominance in few decades complicates this model.

5.1.2 Federal or bi-national model

As a single unified model is unable to fulfill the collective rights on identity of people of both states, a federal model could be implemented. A liberal secular state could be created with Arabs and Jews as its citizen where the federal structure would guarantee the identity of each ethnic group and religion. This binational model would fulfill the statehood demand of both states. Another model within federal model could be not limited to two nations but multiple states based on multiple ethnicities with local autonomy. However, there are concerns that this model would shift the ongoing conflict beyond border to conflict within the boundaries of unified state.

5.2 Two-state solution

The concept of two-state solution is probably the most discussed among all the solutions. Among, Israelis and Palestinians public also, this model is something both parties can agree. However, both parties have their version of this model. The INSS National Security Index showed that 55% of Israeli public supported two-state

solution in 2017. Another study showed that 43% of Palestinian supports the establishment of Palestinian state in 2018.

A two-state solution would create two-states for two people. In ideal condition, People of Palestine would get a state what they have been demanding since long time. The Israelis would be able to retain their established Jewish territory with security what they wanted since the conflict began. However, this would come with a price from both sides.

The borders between the two-states essentially need to be drawn in a way that adheres with the international legitimacy as articulated in UN resolutions and establish a Palestinian state which consists of the West Bank and Gaza meeting the criteria of independence, viability, governability and contiguity within the West Bank. The borders would follow the 1967 armistice lines, with minor, mutually agreed-upon adjustments, based on an exchange of West Bank territories that contain most of the Israeli settlers for Israeli territories of equal size and value, and with a secure link between the West Bank and Gaza. Acknowledging the central importance of Jerusalem to the national identities of both peoples, it needs to be shared by the two-states both having their claims as capital. The Jerusalem's Jewish neighborhoods would be under Israeli sovereignty and its Arab neighborhoods under Palestinian sovereignty, with joint administration of arrangements for security, freedom of movement, municipal services for the entire city, and governance of the Old City. A plan of shared or joint sovereignty would be negotiated for the holy sites, allowing each side control over its own sites and assuring free access to them from both parts of the holyland (Kelman, 2011).

For a peaceful two-state solution, Israel needs to recognize the refugee problem and the right of return are central to the Palestinian national identity and national narrative and admit its share of responsibility for the plight of the refugees. Concretely, the refugee problem need be addressed in all its extent, with inclusive plans for financial compensation, regularization of the status of refugees in host countries, and resettlement when needed or desired. Refugees have to be granted citizenship in, and the right of return to, the Palestinian state. Only a limited number, however, would return to Israel proper, in order to allow Israel to maintain its character as a Jewish-majority state (Kelman, 2011)

The role of UN is very important as the UN mandate established Israel. The settlement of Israel in West Bank and the annexation of now scattered lands of Palestine, controversial control over whole Jerusalem by Israel is highly condemned by UN and its member states and urge Israel to abide and adhere to international law have been repeatedly requesting not to use any kind of violence either in the form of extremist group of Palestine against Israeli or Israel military against Palestine civilian. The role of UN seems more of a liberal perspective and two-state solution may happen in future with tremendous role of UN(Khan, 2017).

5.3 Other Possibilities

Since Yossi Beilin, a contributor to Oslo process hinted that Israelis and Palestinian should think for cohabitation in a confederation, the concept of overlapping states has been advocated. Many variations of this model have been explained from time to time (Djerejian, 2018).

Mossberg and Levine explaining their version of this model writes:

We call it a “parallel states” scenario because it envisions Two-states existing in parallel, with overlapping sovereignty across the entirety of historic Palestine, from the Mediterranean to the Jordan River. The Two-states would retain their separate identities, national symbols and political structures. But they would be distinguished by their lack of internal borders, allowing free movement and access to land, resources and economic opportunity for the citizens of both states. A joint defense policy, economic policy and legislative policy would replace existing divisions and ensure the fundamental interests of both states (Mossberg & Levine, 2014).

Many claim that this model is too complex and has no practical application in conflict resolution.

Jordanian option is a remote option whose applicability has been discussed in few instances. The supporters of this model suggest that the West Bank could be delivered back to Jordan and Gaza to Egypt.

One State Model with Jewish characteristics proclaimed by some far-right Israelis would establish one state but the Jewish characteristic of Israel will be preserved by not granting full rights to Palestinians. In this model, Israel would no longer be a democratic state (Fisher, 2016).

With the complexities in border issues, fragmented West bank along with Israeli settlers and two different leadership not so friendly to each other in Gaza and West Bank, three state solution could also be possible claiming full autonomy with their land (Ben-Ami, 2019).

The maintenance of status quo would also be an option which Mr. Netanyahu may have been seriously considering. It may be more peaceful, stable and face-saving option for Israeli leadership who is very much skeptical to take a risk for uncertain Two-state solution offering physical land to Palestinians for an unguaranteed abstract peace deal or an one state option where cohabitation might be extremely difficult with such level of animosity. Also, Netanyahu government is very much well aware of the fact that risking political career for highly uncertain solutions may outrage right wing parties who currently are in coalition with the government and seriously oppose Two-state solution to the current status.

Further there are handfuls of reasons to assume that status quo might continue. The Palestinian leadership is divided into two governments that don't come into terms." The leadership in the West Bank lacks the political legitimacy to make far-reaching but necessary concessions, and the leadership in Gaza does not even recognize Israel, whose citizens it frequently attacks. The United States, which has brokered talks for years, has taken more than a few missteps (Fisher, 2016).

CHAPTER 6: VIABLE SOLUTION TO ISRAEL-PALESTINE CONFLICT

Viability to the proposed options depends upon the current power dynamics between Israel and Palestine, fair solution based on global norms and morals and solutions ensuring long term peace in the region.

The realist and constructive approach as a theoretical framework are applied for possibility of solution between Israel and Palestine. For a methodological framework, bounded rationality choice is used.

The viability depending on current power dynamics will be checked through the realistic approach. The power politics theory is based on assumptions that people are basically selfish and competitive, meaning that egoism is the major characteristic of human nature. And, the state-system operates in a context of international anarchy, in that there is no authority higher than the sovereign state (Donnelly, 2014)

The fundamental idea of realist theory is that egoism and anarchy equal power politics. Some have suggested that this formulation betrays a basic theoretical fault line within realism, dividing it into two distinct schools of thought. One school of thought – classical realism – explains power politics in terms of egoism, while the other – neo-realism or structural realism – explains it in terms of anarchy. Conversely, these alternative approaches reflect more a difference of emphasis within realism rather than a division into rival ‘schools’, as the central assumptions of realism are common to most realist theorists, even though they may disagree about which factors are ultimately the most important (Heywood, 2014).

The Israeli occupation of Palestine can be well explained through the lens of Kenneth Waltz’s theory of structural, or defensive, realism. He explains that the world

on the international stage consists of anarchy, and the unipolar distribution of capabilities on this stage is American hegemony. The American domination of the international system, and America's close alliance with Israel, allows Israel to take debatable actions, such as the occupation of Palestine, without having to worry as much about the reactions of other states surrounding it. According to defensive realism, the international system of anarchy produces states that are defensive in nature, and that pursue policies designed to maximize their security, not their power. This is seen in Israel's occupation where the occupation can be characterized not as an exertion of power over Palestine, but as a protection of Israeli interests, amid the fear of security threats coming from Palestine when Israel loses its control. Further, defensive realism predicts that cooperation between states is difficult due to a concern about relative gains on either side. Both Israel and Palestine are reluctant to make too many concessions to the other, and the lack of a peace deal has been the price both are paying. According to a poll conducted by Panels Research in 2017, 78% of Israelis believe that there is no chance of reaching a peace deal with the Palestinians. Hence, for the immediate future, prospects for peace and ending the occupation look remote (Connoroke, 2018).

Neo-realism/structural realism differs from the classic realism in a way that it places state and its security at center unlike classic realism which places the power-seeking nature of individuals at center. The security concerns of Israelis from Palestinians, and the state or land demands of Palestinians are the fundamentals of neo-realism in Israel-Palestine conflict. The interest of third parties for security of Israel and Palestine should also be taken into the consideration. Israel is well protected by United States while Arab states mainly Egypt and Iran are concerned for the security of Palestine. The peace plan as proposed by Donald Trump recently is an

example how United States protects the Israel and its political interest ignoring the voice of Palestinians.

The realistic solution model of Israel-Palestine conflict is very harsh. It is harsh in a sense that Israel has upper hands-on Palestine in every possible way. Israel is able to control Palestinian's life, security and even the leadership. The only major concern to Israelis is their security from the Palestinian extremists.

The interest of west mainly US is central to Israel Palestine relation. The relentless support of US to Israel since its inception with the support of financial, technological and military aid makes Israel secured in the region while Palestinians struggle to achieve statehood. The proposal of two-state solution from US side was strongly advocated in Clinton regime with the Oslo Accord. Further, the aggression of Israel towards Palestinians was strongly condemned by Obama regime due to which there was an irritation between Netanyahu and Obama at that time. It was the only time when Israel confronted US policy wise. With Donald Trump's presidency, golden days of Israel were back with strong support from Trump which made Palestinians suspicious and furious of US role. Policies like shifting of capital from Tel-Aviv to Jerusalem, Middle East peace plan without much take of Palestine agitated Palestinians and two-state solution remains far from reality (Robinson, 2020).

The thrive of statehood for Palestine is equally supported by Arab states condemning Israeli occupation, settlement and domination over Palestinian rights. However, the recent normalization of relation of Israel with UAE and Bahrain, and Oman in line changed the relation dynamics of Israel and Arab states (Ahren, 2020). The realistic approach of few Arab states towards Israel continues to dilute and Palestine are on the edge of insecurity.

In 1964, the PLO which was represented by the largest Palestinian faction, Fatah, proposed a one-state solution. However, PLO, in 1988, accepted a state on 22% of historical Palestine, namely the Gaza Strip and the West Bank (a two-state solution). The proposal was rejected by realists in Israel, while the PLO considered it a compromise “in which it gave up 78% of historical Palestine” (Allegra&Napolitano,2011; Ladjal& Nor, 2018).

For the above mentioned moves of PLO, Israelis adopted a realist approach. The Israeli rightist disapproved both two-state solution and the one-state solution as considered by the PLO in 1964 and 1988. The long-lasting peace, mostly a hope of having their own state by Palestinians was started to be thought as tough to achieve because of repeatedly failing peace talks between the Israel and Palestine. This led to the formation of Palestinian Civil Society Call in 2005 advocating for BDS (Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions), a total boycott of Israel until it abides by International Law. They also call for a one state entailing same rights to every Arabs and Jews with the return of Palestinian refugees (Ladjal& Nor, 2018).

The issue of border, security, Jerusalem and refugees are the challenges for two-state solution. The concern of security is higher for Israel while for other remaining variables Israel has the upper hand and realism theory advocates that Israel will continue to enjoy state security with the grip of other variables. These are the variables which will severely challenge for two-state solution and may tend to enjoy the status quo.

For a one state solution, Israelis fear of being at minority in few decades to come. For a two-state solution, Israelis think that losing so much might not be worth of what they gain. The Israel holds all the card for solution now and any compromise for them

might be too expensive for them to pay. Borrowing words from an essay by Chazelle (2008), Israel enjoys the status quo because of the above-mentioned reasons. Chazelle has given three reasons for this:

1. Israeli aims are intangible (eg, promise of peace) but Palestinian objectives are concrete (eg, land handover);
2. Settler withdrawal is irreversible, whereas a lull in violence can be broken at any time;
3. The two-state solution is an asynchronous trade, ie, an exchange of a present good (land) for a future one (peace).

Instead of addressing these deal breakers head-on, the Road Map tossed in a goodie bag full of sops (eg, governance reform, trade offices, demonstration of good faith), which only gave Israel political cover for sitting on its hands. Incrementalism runs against Palestinian interests as well because what they have to offer, peace, is not splittable into tradable chunks.

In status-quo, viability is definitely not any agreement or solution between Israel and Palestine. This dissertation is looking for a solution rather than maintaining status-quo.

Viability depending upon fair solution based on global norms and morals is explained through constructivism perspective. According to this perspective, it would be a fair solution to the continuing conflict for both the parties based on global norms if the complex issues like refugees, settlement, security issue, terrorism are agreeable to both the parties to be resolved in a negotiating table. The current position Israel is holding in the region is definitely not a fair solution to Palestine based on global

norms. Palestine doesn't have statehood with large number of refugees at stake, settlement in West Bank by Israel is engulfing part of Palestine and the number is increasing day by day, Palestinian civilian life in terms of border and movement is controlled by Israeli security which is bothering Palestinian. The terrorism issue very near to Israel is bothering Israel. The fair solution based on global norms and morals may not be acceptable to Israel as it tends to lose multiple things it has gained from Palestine by compromising Palestinians morals. The resolving of issue like returning major parts of Palestinians land which was taken from them by Jews or British mandate will be a fair solution which is unacceptable to Israel at any cost.

Furthermore, constructivism highlights that the value of one state to the people of other is shaped by the interactions and experiences they share between each other. Based on the interaction, experience and relations, Israelis will consider the United States as their friends while consider Egyptian and Iranians as their enemies. The reverse becomes true in case of Palestinians(Muyo, 2015). A constructive approach to any conflict management might be a slow process but a stable one in long run. This is because, a cultural shift is required among both parties which will shape the beliefs, attitudes, norms and values they have to each other. Another approach of constructivism is the post materialism where democracy, tolerance, softness toward sovereignty gives more liberal insight to the conflict management (Akaou, 2013).

The identity issue can be the major determinant of conflict resolution between Israelis and Palestinians from constructive perspective. From Israelis perspective, Jerusalem is the historical identity to them which connects their Jewish identity to their homeland. From Palestinian perspective, Haram esh-Sharif is their historical identity connecting them to their Islamic identity and homeland. As an example, a visit to Haram esh-Sharif known as Temple mount by Ariel Sharon in 2000 was

considered by Palestinians as a humiliation and threat to their identities which led to the uprising with heavy casualties on both sides. This shows how intolerant both sides can be in issues regarding their identities. The issue of identities is not easily compromised during the negotiation and remains a major hurdle each should pass for a two-state solution.

On discussing the identity on historical perspective, the Palestinians were relatively tolerant during the initial days of Jews immigration until around 1930. With increasing immigration and land acquisition, Palestinians somehow felt fear of their identities being lost creating a gap between two communities. The Holocaust and anti-Semitism in Europe exponentially increased the migration of Jews to Palestine. The Zionist ideology during the time that Palestine is the birthplace of their religion and civilization and they have full right over the land has been a guiding principle of how Israel treats Palestine now.

Identity might also happen to be one of the reasons for both Israeli and Palestinians that rather than to amalgamate in a mixed identity within a single state, it would be much better for both populations to respect each other's identity and create a solution of Two-state recognizing each other sovereignty. Respecting each other doesn't always mean cohabitating together in the same territory; it can also be living next to each other giving space to each other's identity. The historical complexity, political decisions and a deep sense of attachment to the land for both the parties created a level of animosity and hostility for so many years that living together might also be hurtful. So it would be better to live next to each other and respect each other's identity which can be a remedy and can create a solution.

Past experiences are another factor of social construction. Experiences are an important factor which shapes the relation between two parties in international relation. The attitude and behavior to each other will be based on what they have experienced for years. Both Israelis and Palestinians have gone through a long history of painful memories. The Holocaust experience of Jewish and its memory make them to be at a state of threat from even a small conflict. The Holocaust trauma and experience has been replaced by Palestinian threat now for many Israelis and perceive it as an attempt to eradicate Jews. Moreover, occasional allegations from Israelis leaders to Palestinians being a Nazi supporter during Holocaust are bitterness to relation. This psychological insecurity generated from their memory and experience makes them difficult to compromise on any solution. For Palestinians, years of war have replaced them from their homeland, stripped them off their property and changed the way they have lived since ages. The agony that “new comers” have thrown them out of their homeland has been persisted for years. These painful experiences make them difficult to believe Israelis on any solution.

The same experience might give a solution for two-state existence. The bitter experience both parties faced throughout the lane of history for each other might be a realization for both parties and a lesson that hostility always creates a suffering for civilians. So, for a better future, both parties can opt for a peaceful two-state solution with a sense of compromise, concessions, withdrawals etc.

Material conflicts such as border, security, territory and interest of other parties do not have much space in constructivism. Of course, these conflicts are vital to any solution but these issues are thought to be resolved easily once each party began respecting each other’s identities, values, ideas and beliefs. However, in a complex situation like Israel-Palestine conflict, these material issues also play a role. This is

because these material issues are intertwined with issues of identities from both Israel and Palestine side and prevents an easy solution(Namli, 2018).

For constructivism, the concept is to idealistic and is based on abstract things which might take decades or even century to change. We believe and stand in the ideals of constructivism but both Israel and Palestine cannot afford to wait for decades or century to achieve enduring peace.

Viability for solution majorly depends on the factor ensuring long term peace in the region which is explained by Bounded Rational Choice model that is applicable for decision making. Primarily in decision making there are two models: Rational Model and Bounded Rational Model. Among the two, rational model decision maker attempts for optimizing the decision by selecting the best possible alternative. Their outcomes are consistent with the goals. This model doesn't evaluate whether an actor is behaving morally or ethically but whether an actor has set goals to achieve the desirable outcomes or not (Simon, 1957).

In this dissertation, Jerusalem would be considered a major decisive factor in analyzing proposed viability of solution. The dissertation will be based on the idea that until Jerusalem issue is resolved by both the parties, long term enduring peace cannot be achieved. The viability will be checked with and without Jerusalem resolve.

Also, the bounded rationality model explains that the rationality of decision makers is limited by the information they have, cognitive limitations, time constraints, degrees of uncertainty about the circumstance makes the decision makers difficult to take decisions and moreover stands on moral or ethical grounds rather than setting goals for the desirable outcomes (Hernandez & Ortega, 2019).

Israel's ultimate goal is security from Palestine. A peaceful neighbor can only ensure peaceful Israel. The intelligence they operate against Palestinians for securing themselves might have lots of flaws and limitations on information which perhaps on multiple occasions may have led to the death of many Palestinian civilians. The claim of Israel as terrorists from Palestine several times leading to the killings have been condemned by Palestine and other international community as the killing of innocent civilians. This incident occurs with the limitation about factual information happening on ground. An example of how limited information can have negative outcome is the attack of US on Iraq in 2003 with the suspicion of nuclear weapons was limited by the falsified information American agencies carried which led to the destruction of many innocent lives as well. Also, with the limitation of information on the intention of Palestine for a peaceful solution, Israelis version of decision differs according to the position they hold on government whether they are far-right wing, right wing or left wing.

Cognitive limitations are formulated with the ideology any leaders carry. The decisions that Rabin made for Oslo Accord in 1993 and Barak made for Camp David II in 2000 significantly differs from right wing Mr. Netanyahu on pursuing perception about Palestine. Had Mr. Rabin or Barak been in power then the settlement on West Bank wouldn't have happened and the relation may not have been too complicated.

While Mr. Rabin signed on the Oslo Accord, there might have been some time constraints to discuss within the internal politics. A far-right Israeli protestor killed Mr. Rabin for the decision he took. Had he known the level of resentment within the country then there was a chance that decision would have been different.

The support from Trump led republican government to Netanyahu delivered a decision that the embassy will be relocated to Jerusalem. This is a moment of triumph for Israeli government. Israeli government might have understood the constraint of time US Trump led government persists since its four-year tenure and a next session of democratic led government's decision might significantly vary.

Palestine in thrive of statehood knows the importance of decision making. The mandate of UN in 1948 provided Israel with 53 % and Palestine with 47% territory. The rejection of Palestine led to more land annexation to Israelis through war which gave Israel strategic victory. Ultimately the territory was settled to 78% for Israelis and 22% for Palestinians but couldn't be materialized even that as well. Had Arab leaders forecasted the scenario that statehood would become a high hanging fruit for Palestinians then the decision making would have been different. There was an information limitation from Arab leaders to take Israel as a weak country. In the war of 1967 supported by Russia, Arab leaders mainly Egypt, Jordan and Syria didn't realize that Israel might have modern aircrafts and ammunitions and projected that they would be victorious easily which was bounded by their cognitive limitations. The decision for war against Israel would not have been taken if they knew the scenario.

Analyzing from the methodological framework of bounded rational choice of decision making, Israeli government might consider Palestine with a two-state solution. The state of Israel definitely won't lose its Jewish majority demography by proposing a one state solution. Based on limited information about the unclarity of what could actually happen by mixing of two populations in future with debatable Jerusalem, unclear demarcation of border and the placement of Palestinians refugees, it is very unlikely they would propose a single state solution. Also, Rabin and Barak had counterparts like Arafat where all of them had excellent negotiation skills with all

of them to offer as well not only to take. While Netanyahu had a counterpart like Abbas who is equally adamant in the leadership skills and might be more rigid than Arafat so offering something to Palestine should be of worth so that Palestine comes in agreement. The degree of uncertainty that is within the Israel-Palestine conflict might make the decision makers to take a risk on both sides and recognize each other with territorial integrity and sovereignty. Standing on the moral and ethical ground, it might force Israel to propose a two-state solution as international community is closely seeing the case and urging Israel time and again to abide by all the international law.

Bounded rational model of decision making has high chance to yield two-state solution because cognitive limitation, time constraint and uncertainty are those important factors that make Israel-Palestine leadership realize that the best alternative to end enduring conflict and achieve sustainable peace is only two-state solution.

The two-state solution might happen because there is no other viable option. The major alternative being proposed now, a one-state solution has slim likelihood of ending the conflict because it has minimal support in Israel, and has no prospect of gaining such support. The proponents of one state solution believe on vision of democracy with true equality, and how with such a vision a mass movement might be built. But that mass movement, if it were to take shape, would only emerge in the United States. It would be politically very momentous, but the chance of bringing any Israeli government to agree (even under U.S. pressure) to add 5 million Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza to the Israeli voter rolls is too minimal. It is as unlikely as the idea that in a referendum Israel will, someday, agree to the return of 7 million Palestinian refugees(Segal, 2020).

Since this dissertation is looking for a solution rather than a model, two-state would be the best possible alternative since it only opts for the resolution where each party agrees. One state wouldn't be option for both parties because both of them will lose their Jewish and Muslim state identities. Status quo is definitely not a solution; if it was then this dissertation wouldn't have been necessary to propose a peaceful solution. The major crux of two-state solution is to which extent both parties will agree for concessions, offerings, withdrawals, adherence to international law.

The approval from Palestine for two-state solution would be a lot easier to gain from UN or Quartet led process than from one led by US or direct Israel-Palestine negotiation. The U.N Security Council (or the General Assembly, if the U.S. government will not agree) could draft a detailed peace agreement that would be in line with the Arab Peace Initiative, which offered Israel normalization dependent on its agreeing to a Palestinian state based on the June 4, 1967 lines, a capital in East Jerusalem and a just solution to the refugee issue.

With the presidency of democratic led US government, rather than pursuing the Oslo efforts of the Clinton and Obama administrations, Biden should do as Bevin did in 1947 and announce that there is a little likelihood that further efforts based on the existing framework would yield a solution. Bevin plan was Britain's final attempt in the mid-20th century to solve the troubled situation that had developed between Arabs and Jewish people in mandatory Palestine. The plan maintained the principle of canonization suggested in the Morrison-Grady Plan, whilst proposing that Palestine be placed under a five-year trusteeship regime. Biden could then balance Trump's recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital by recognizing a Palestinian capital in East Jerusalem. Also, he could work to deepen Hamas's pledge to stand for by a

Palestinian referendum. And most importantly, he could ask the U.N. Security Council to re-establish UNSCOP to propose a comprehensive solution (Segal, 2020)

The Arabian states namely Saudi Arabia reaffirms with their foreign counterparts a justful two-state solution for Palestinians and Israeli. Meeting with Italian counterpart on February 2017, Saudi Foreign Minister Adel Al-Jubeir said: “You have a peace deal which essentially calls for a settlement based on Two-states living side by side in peace and security”. He added: “(A) Palestinian state with East Jerusalem as its capital, and the just settlement of refugees and just sharing water resources. This is the settlement that we believe is a fair and just settlement (Arab News, 2017). From this statement a common understanding can be drawn that Arab countries unequivocally believes in two-state solution.

Russian President Vladimir Putin on May 2017 supports the resumption of dialogue between Israel and Palestine, as his US counterpart, Donald Trump, prepares to visit Israel.

President Putin said Russia “will continue to give its full support to the resumption of direct dialogue between Palestinians and Israelis”, following talks with Palestinian leader Mahmoud Abbas in the southern Russian city of Sochi. “The peaceful coexistence of the Two-states – Palestine and Israel – is an indispensable condition to ensure genuine security and stability in this region,” Mr. Putin said (The National, 2017)

Figure 5: Disappearing Palestine.



(Marshall, 2015)

Figure 5 demonstrates the position of Palestine in UN Plan of 1947 and the squeezed geography afterwards. What Palestinians might have realized is that world bodies like UN has a definite role in shaping the legitimacy of state. Had Palestine accepted the proposal of UN in 1947, the development could have been completely different.

In a book "Contested histories," each party sees itself as an innocent victim; Israel views itself as the result of a dignified national movement, whereas the Palestinians think of it as an appalling model of colonialism. After attempting to define the conflict, Caplan describes the conflict from the rise of Zionism and the early stirrings of Arabism to today. He also discusses Israel's "new historians" and the understandably more muted historical revisionism from the Palestinian side -- and emphasize on the need to go beyond "nationalist" history (Caplan, 2010).

Gideon Levy, an Israeli Journalist also called Zionist tango defines Israel-Palestine conflict not as a conflict but as apartheid of Israelis towards Palestinians. Two populations sharing same piece of land one with every right in the world while other with not even basic amenities like water and electricity cannot be called a conflict, its apartheid according to him. If Israel wants two-state solution, then it has to withdraw 700000 settlers from West Bank (Gideon Levy on Oxford Union debate).

Yiftah Curiel, career diplomat of Israel says withdrawal of Israel from Gaza led to a terrorist organization called Hamas. The same could happen with the West Bank if the settlers completely withdraw from it.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

	Current Power Dynamics	Fair solution based on global norms	Ensure long term peace in the region	Viability
One-state	√	X	X	Not Viable
Two-state with unresolved Jerusalem	√	X	X	Not Viable
Two-state with resolved Jerusalem mutually agreed	√	√	√	Viable
Status-quo	√	X	X	Not Viable

Among three factors of viability, the figure clearly depicts that for one-state solution, the current power dynamics prevails where Israel is dominant. But it cannot ensure fair solution based on global norms because one-state would tend to lose the geography, identity and statehood thrive of Palestinians which they desire since the beginning. With this resentment of Palestine, the long term peace in the region cannot be ensured in the region. So one-state option doesn't look viable in this dissertation.

For a two-state solution with unresolved Jerusalem, the current power dynamics prevails where dissatisfied Palestinian without their religious heartland i.e. East Jerusalem will feel that the fair solution based on global norms cannot be established. With the existing approach of Israel for Jerusalem as the undivided capital, long term peace cannot be ensured as losing whole of Jerusalem is a non-negotiating idea for Palestine. So the option seems not viable to the solution.

In status-quo, the current power dynamics prevails without fair solution based on global norms. It cannot ensure long term peace in the region. Israel will be concerned with the security threat as always and Palestine will be worried about their borders, settlement, identity, refugees etc. This model doesn't seem viable to the solution.

For a two-state solution with resolved Jerusalem mutually agreed upon, the current power dynamics prevail with fair solution based on global norms. Israel and Palestine will come to the agreeable terms when the issue of refugees, settlement, security and terrorism will be settled. The portion of Jerusalem divided on mutual agreement can only ensure long term peace in the region with respect to each other's land, religion, identity and statehood. So this model seems viable to the solution.

The control of the West Bank and Gaza continues to be highly costly in terms of resources, limits strategic and economic opportunities with regional and international actors, breaking into intermittent conflicts and raising significant issues for Israel. Notably, the prolongation of the status quo will ultimately compel Israel's identity as a Jewish state and a democracy—the very vision on which the state was founded. If not anything but after the Oslo Accord of 1993, Israeli leadership is ready to accept the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of Palestine though certain conditions are laid down. Israel too wants security and peace in the region so from this viewpoint what can be assumed is that if tactful negotiations are done two-state solution is for sure possible and will be in the benefit of both parties.

For a peaceful two-state solution, the position of Palestine basically is that negotiations on territory and on the final recognized and secure border between Israel and Palestine should be based on the 1967 lines, armistice lines from before the Six

Day War. Any form of modifications to the border must be agreed to and be based on equitable and agreed-upon territorial exchange in accordance with the imperative needs of both sides, including territorial contiguity and demographic considerations. A settlement halt, either comprehensive or outside the areas to be incorporated within Israel's borders, as mutually agreed by the two parties in any final settlement need to be implemented.

A comprehensive resolution of the Palestinian refugee problem needs to be discussed and agreed upon by Israel and Palestine. Major regional and international assistance will be required in addressing the issue in order to offer refugees significant choices and rehabilitations. What both parties should consider is that refugee settlement is not any easy task and always a win-win situation in negotiation won't work if both party desires for an attainable peace.

For holy city of Jerusalem, the metropolitan area will host the respective capitals of the two-states adhering to 1967 borders with recognition that Jewish neighborhoods should become part of Israel and Palestinian neighborhoods should become part of Palestine. For all religions, freedom to worship and full access to holy sites need to be granted, and the Old City within the walls has to come under a special regime. After the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Palestinian territory comes into implementation, a non-militarized Palestinian state and special security arrangements, including the possibility of deployment of a multinational force in the Jordan Valley, need to be agreed upon between the parties, associated with the creation of regional security arrangements in line with the obligations referred to in the Israeli-Egyptian and Israeli-Jordanian Treaties of Peace. The resolution of the conflict has to include a justifiable and reasonable allocation of all shared trans boundary resources. For the construction of physical and institutional infrastructure within the State of Palestine,

extensive support should be offered to sustain a stable, prosperous, contiguous, secure, and democratic Palestinian state. For the promotion of a wider, far reaching and comprehensive peace between Israel and all Arab and Islamic nations as drawn in the Arab Peace Initiative of 2002 at Beirut Summit, progression and improvement in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process will be a primary part in determining whether the stable Middle East is attainable or not (Djerejian, Muasher & Brown, 2018).

Few leaders, policy makers and scholars might assume that two-state solution is destined to fail. They may be logical on their understandings but basically, they are moreover pessimists because every problem has a solution and doesn't last forever till eternity. Israel- Palestine two-state solution might seem little far from reality instantly for a months or years but not on a decade to come.

The level of expansion of Israelis settlers in West Bank has halted the deal between Israeli and Palestinians. Settlers might proclaim themselves as natives and might be highly attached to the land no matter at the cost of life as well. But what must be seriously considered is that the settlers went to West bank only because of political commitment of Israeli leadership and hence the same level of commitment could be shown to return settlers to Israel potentially using the economic incentives.

For a superpower like USA a two-state solution would greatly benefit its strategic objectives in the changing Middle East. The Israel-Palestine conflict provokes Islamic militancy and threatens the stability of the region, while a resolution would better allow the United States to shape Egypt's future political role; boost the tormented Jordanian government; diminish the influence of Islamic extremists in Syria and remove a powerful political lever for the otherwise isolated Iranian government (Farrington et al., 2012).

As the dissertation is looking for a comprehensive solution, any other options proposed above in the thesis other than two-state solution might just be a model for state formation but definitely not a solution. It can only be called a solution if both parties agree on a negotiation, not only gain but also accepts to concede, withdraws and make some substantive concessions which may be seen unworthy to lose in the short term but would endure tremendous dividend of peace in the long run and for future generations to come. Neither one state model nor status quo or any other models except two-state would work because the aspirations, the glorification of history and their very existence attached with their identity cannot be addressed by these models. So, two-state is not only a proposed model but a solution which can only endure peace if Israel and Palestine desires to achieve sustainable peace.

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