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ONE-STATE SOLUTION FOR ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN

CONFLICT

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I declare that the I have compiled the paper independently and all works, important standpoints and data by other authors have been properly referenced and the same paper has not been previously been presented for grading. The document length is 9699 words from the introduction to the end of summary.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CIA – Central Intelligence Administration

EU – European Union

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

Fatah – Al Fatah (the victory, conquest), formerly Palestinian National Liberation Movement

Hamas – Islamic Resistance Movement (Harakat al-Mugawamah al-´Islamiyyah)

Likud – The consolidation (HaLikud)

Mossad – Institute for intelligence and special operations (ha Mossad le-Modiin ule-Tafkidim Meyuhadum)

PLO – Palestinian Liberation Organization

UN – United Nations

USD – United States Dollar

US – United States

ABSTRACT

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been a focal point in the Middle-East for decades. The major problem in this conflict is geographical dispute. The Jews in the conflict area are keeping the land promised for them by the Torah, but the Palestinian Arabs have lived in the area long before the Zionist movement started. The mass immigration of the Jews to Palestine started at the end of the 19th century and it caused a conflict which is still topical.

Traditionally there have been attempts for decades between Israel and Palestine to build up two-state solution models without success. These attempts have been often supported by external parties such as the UN and the US. The aim of this thesis is to compare one-state and two-state solution models which are gathered from the literature and the latest articles. The advantages and disadvantages of these models are presented to be able to respond to the hypothesis that one-state solution outperforms two-state solution. It is presented that status-quo situation will likely continue in the area. Status-quo situation satisfies completely only Israel and there is a need to find a more permanent solution to all sides. Due to increasing settlement policy of Israel, two-state solution models are getting even more difficult to establish. The conclusion in this thesis is that one-state solution based on modified confederation model is the most suitable in the long term. The main arguments are that there are currently less faith on two-state solution model and one-state solution models, which are hypothetically easier to execute on geographically wise, have gained more attention lately.

Keywords: Israel, Palestine, one-state solution

INTRODUCTION

This thesis covers Israeli – Palestinian conflict, which has its roots since the birth of Zionism, followed by the first major Jewish migration, called *Aliyah*. The conflict started to escalate after the foundation of the state of Israel in 1948. There are presented background, different stages and current status of this conflict. Traditionally two-state solution models have been proposed in this conflict for decades. The statement of this thesis is that one-state solution model outperforms two-state solution model. The major obstacle of one-state solution is lack of democracy in the area. The goal of one-state solution is to stop the Israeli occupation of Palestinian areas, guarantee equal rights for Israelis and Palestinians in a democratic country covering the whole Palestine. This topic is important because two-state solution models have not functioned and one-state solution is less examined if compared with two-state solution model. In this thesis there are examined one-state and two-state solution models, their advantages and disadvantages. The hypothesis of this thesis is that one-state solution outperforms two-state solution, because it has more advantages. This will be proved by using comparison and argumentation between these two models.

The methodology used in this thesis is comparative research, where two different state models are compared. In the traditional two-state solution model there are two sovereign states, for the Israelis and the Palestinians, with national borders, legislation and government. In the ideal one-state solution model there is a single democratic state offering equal rights to both nationalities.

There have been used specific literature and journals to cover historical, economic, cultural, religious and structural state models. The topical part has been covered by journals, reliable internet sources, databases and articles.

The first chapter of this thesis is a cross-section from the Birth of Zionism until to several major peace attempts. In this chapter the roots and the birth of the conflict are covered. In the second chapter the ideologies of Jews and the Palestinians are compared, major terrorist organizations are presented and escalation of the conflict described. In the next chapter the major third parties in the conflict, the United States, the United Nations and media are presented. In the fourth chapter one-state and two-state solution models are presented together with their advantages and disadvantages. In this chapter the thesis statement is proved. The first two chapters were chosen to understand the roots of this conflict. The third chapter is giving the fact that Israel and Palestine won't be able to solve the conflict alone, but important third parties have to be involved into the process. The fourth chapter is the core part of this thesis to demonstrate and prove that one-state solution outperforms two-state solution.

1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The complexity of the conflict can be reviewed through history. There are involved different religions, cultures, ideologies, and failed attempts of two-state solutions in the area. Zionism and Arab nationalism are covered because of being main ideologies for parties involved. There are several important historical milestones and peace attempts presented including failures of two-state solutions. Islam, Judaism, and Christianity are all from the Middle-East, which have made it impossible to avoid conflicts between ideologies, cultures and religious believes.

1.1. Zionism and Arab nationalism

Zionism is a political ideology and a Jewish nationalist movement. Zionism can be defined as a Jewish perspective, which states that Jews need to have an own national state, but currently Zionism means supporting and protecting the state of Israel. Today the Zionist ideology is clearly seen for example in Israeli landowning policy, as 90% of Israel's land is owned by the state. (Päivinen 2004, 38-39) Zionism was very effective until 1967, when Israel occupied the West Bank and Gaza. After that Zionism has had little success, since Israel's capacity to establish successful settlement policy has decreased significantly compared to before 1967 policy (Veracini 2013, 28). This is one of the reasons why the current status-quo situation still continues and makes two-state solution more difficult to establish. There are many different flows of Zionism, such as Labour Zionism, Liberal Zionism and Revisionist Zionism. The common denominator among all Zionists is the claim to *Eretz Israel* as the national home of the Jews and as a legitimate focus for Jewish national self-determination (Shimoni 1995)

Theodor Herzl is considered as a founder of Zionism. He published a writing, "The Jewish State", which is considered to be the most focal text regarding Zionism. The idea of "The Jewish State" pamphlet was to encourage Jews around Europe to acquire land from Palestine in order to create a state for the Jews, and by doing this avoid anti-Semitism. Herzl states in his book, that once the Jews would settle to their own state, there were no enemies for them and that once having their own land, diaspora cannot be reborn (Herzl 2008, 154).

The Arab counterpart for Zionism is Arab Nationalism, which emerged in Greater Syria in the second half of the 19th century. Arab Nationalism is influencing all over the Arabic world and ideological core values are Islam, history, culture and Arabic language. One has to take into consideration, that around this conflict area all are Muslim countries and the Arab Nationalism has

been raising during the last years. Both Zionism and Arab Nationalism got popularity at the same time, which can be a reason why these ideologies collide.

The core of Arab Nationalism is the nationalistic ideology stating that, all the Arabs are one nation, highlighting Arab achievements, glorifying Arab civilization, the Arab culture and establishment of a political union in the Arab world (Dewisha 2003).

Palestine plays an important role in the Arab Nationalist ideology, as it connects the Arab world by linking Egypt and the Arab Maghreb with the Arab East. The location gave Palestine a chance to act as a cultural link between the different wings of the Arab world. (Ayyad 1999, 4)

The ideology of the Arab Nationalism is the foundation of an Arabic State. Palestinians have been active within the broader Arab Nationalist movement. In order to provide a tool in the fight against Zionism, they simultaneously acted as Palestinian Nationalists (Ayyad 1999, 7).

1.2. Important milestones to peace attempts

During the first World War Britain occupied Palestine, which led later to the foundation of the British Mandate of Palestine in San Remo Conference in 1920. British Mandate were supporting Zionism, which created a foundation for the upcoming state of Israel. Lloyd George and Balfour were able to push through the Balfour Declaration which favored the establishment of national home for the Jews in Palestine. (Sebag Montefiore 2011, 506)

The British decided to depart from Palestine and requested the United Nations to solve the conflict in 1947. The UN solution was two-state model, with the exception of Jerusalem being an international area. Israel declared its independence in 1948, just before the British Mandate over Palestine ended. Current Palestinian refugee crisis is mainly based on the 1948 Israeli-Arab war when over seven hundred thousand refugees had to leave their homes (Sebag Montefiore 2011, 570) In the aftermath of the Israeli independence many Jews were not dare to speak about Palestine or the Palestinians, since they were afraid that the legitimacy of Israel could be disputed. Palestinians among the other Arabs corresponded to this by calling Israel "Zionist entity." (Tilley 2010, 34). Another refugee crisis occurred, when approximately half a million Palestinians were forced to leave their homes during the Six day war. During war the United Nations accepted resolution 242, which stated that Israel should leave the occupied territories in peace.

One of the most essential moments in the 1980's in Israeli-Palestinian conflict was the first *Intifada* in 1987, also known as first Palestinian uprising. The mutiny started, because Israel was trying to expand their influence over the Arab populated areas. The uprising started in Gaza, but soon

expanded to the Arab populated Western Bank. This resistance continued until the Oslo Accord, where PLO recognized Israel´s right to exist and in return PLO was ready to give up terrorism. Israel and PLO were committed to two-state solution and Palestinian administration, police and own legislation were formed.

There was another agreement signed by Israel and PLO, called Oslo II Accord signed in Taba in Egypt, which gave opportunity for PLO to move in Palestinian territory and finalized the first part of the peace process. There were attempts to achieve progress in the peace process later on which failed mainly due to terrorism. (US Department of State 2017) Israel continued the settlement policy in the West Bank and built a separation barrier which provoked Palestinians and caused an uprising of the Palestinian Arab population from 2000-2005. This uprising is called the second *Intifada*.

Even though there have been several serious attempts towards peace, such as Oslo Accord, Oslo Accord II, Wye-agreements and the Road map peace plan, violence and terrorist attacks continued, which has paralyzed the peace progress. One of the reasons why these peace plans have failed, could be the fact that within Palestinians and Israeli people there are heterogenic and in some cases extremist groups, which can terminate good peace plans by violent and terrorist attacks. The basis of the negotiations have time to time been unequal. If the other side has easily more power than the other, this stronger side usually decides the terms when negotiating and finishing (Gordon; Cohen 2012, 2).

2. COMPLEXITY OF THE AREA

The complexity of the area consists of several factors such as geographical, economical, and cultural diversity. In addition natural resources are divided unequally in the area. These variables are important to highlight as they support more one-state than two-state solution. Geographical overlapping of Israeli and Palestinian populations further complicates the foundation of the two-state solution.

The Palestinian areas, Gaza and the West Bank, are separated from each other as a result of first war in 1948-1949. On the top of that, the control of the West Bank is split by Palestinians and Israelis. Strengthening Zionist movement caused the Jewish mass settlement to Palestine and planned the foundation of a Jewish state in its historical homeland. Jerusalem, which is a holy city for Judaism, Islam and Christianity, makes the geographical situation even more complicated. Especially Palestinians would like to split up Jerusalem and one of the borderlines, which has been proposed, is the cease-fire borderline in 1949. Palestinians wanted to have Gaza, the West Bank and Eastern part of Jerusalem. Israel, which has the territory sized half of Denmark, has Arabic neighboring countries Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and Egypt. Israeli people can be considered to be Western influenced culture, because many of the Israelis came from the European countries. Palestinians are Arabic, majority being Islamic and minority Christian. Taking into the consideration that two such a different cultures and people are living in the area where cultures are geographically overlapping, there is a potential for the conflicts. Other factors influencing to conflict are natural resources, such as fresh water in the region, economic situation, nationality and national rights, religious differences and discrimination. The natural resources and the economy of both nations are split unequally and this is presented below in detail.

2.1. Fresh water and major inequality in economy

Economic inequality between these nations is remarkable. In 2017 (Trading Economics, Palestine GDP Forecast) Palestine's GDP is approximately 7.7 Billion USD, which is close to its highest GDP level, which was 8 Billion USD in 2016. Israel's economy at this moment is approximately 318,5 Billion USD (Trading Economics, Israel GDP Forecast).

The shortage of the fresh water started already five years after Israel's declaration of independence. Later, Israel decided to redirect the Jordan river to the desert of Negev. This action annoyed people of the Arabic areas as their living standard was reduced. Naturally this action influenced negatively

to the security of the area. As an example, Israel consumed 95,5% and the Palestinians 4,5% of the fresh water in the West Bank in 2004. (Päivinen 2004, 54-57)

D. Zeigler states that Palestinian economy is remarkably based on agriculture and tourism. Many Palestinians work on daily basis abroad to get bigger wages, like in Israeli area or in other richer neighboring countries. When comparing the natural resources and the GDP's, it seems quite clear that the economic situation between these areas are causing social-economic differences. According to Päivinen, these differences have influenced societies by polarizing them and sharpened the social differences (Zeigler 2003; Päivinen 2004)

2.2. Geographical diversity

In this conflict one of the major issues is the border question. Israelis and Palestinians have based their border line principle in a different ways. Palestinians were using more traditional way, which is based on history and socialization. Palestinian National Charter in 1968 defines Palestine as an area, which was British Mandate between 1917-1947. In a way, Israeli view is also based on history as they see the area as the promised land pointed by God. On the other hand, the actual border forming of Israel is driven by the principle of security by building up security buffer zones. (Päivinen 2004, 53)

The border and the geographical issue is linked mainly to three areas; the West Bank, the Gaza strip and Jerusalem. Gaza is located along Mediterranean Sea, as the West Bank is bordered by Jordan river and the Dead Sea in the East, including Jerusalem partly in the West Bank. Gaza and the West Bank are geographically isolated from each other. Like the West Bank, Gaza belongs to the Palestinian Authority and there are living approximately 1,8 Million Palestinians (CIA 2017). Hamas has been controlling the area since 2007, but Israel controls the air space, shipping, and the borders - except the border of Egypt and the Gaza strip, which is controlled by Egypt. When suitable solution models are considered, Gaza is very difficult to include into the picture, because of its complex location in the territory.

The problem within the West Bank is that Israel is controlling major part of the area, having minority of the population, but excluding Arab Muslims from entering to big part of the area. The Gaza strip is having its own specific problem with confusing border control in air and sea. Hamas, which Israel keeps as a fundamental organization, is still in control in Gaza. The latest agreement with Hamas and Fatah might change the situation in the area. In Gaza, there are huge problems in fuel and electricity supply, and shortage of drinking water. Israel and Hamas are controlling the situation in the area and there seems to be no will to help Gaza. Before any state solution models

could be considered, the humanitarian crisis must be solved in the Gaza strip. The area's difficult geographical location seems to isolate the Gaza Palestinians from the any state model plans.

2.3. Importance of Jerusalem

Jerusalem is a perfect example of the geographical complexity of the area, because it is impossible to split the area and draw the border lines in a perfect way that all of the main religions and groups would get an own territory in Jerusalem. This geographical complexity of Jerusalem supports one-state solution.

Jerusalem is partly in the West Bank and the Arab population point of view is that Jerusalem is part of the West Bank. Israel has connected it to Jerusalem municipality and economical area. These areas are Israeli controlled, even though they have some self-control (Zeigler 2003). Israelis are considering Jerusalem as their capital and its Eastern part is according to Palestinian scenario a capital of an independent Palestinian state. It is holy city for Christianity, Judaism and Islam, which are all Abrahamic religions. Arabic League has presented, that to be able have the normal relations with Israel, there has to be a Palestinian state in Palestine, which has Jerusalem as a capital.

The culture of Jerusalem is strongly based on the religions of the city and how Jerusalem has been divided into quarters. For centuries, there have been four different quarters in the Old City of Jerusalem for the Jewish, Christians, Muslims and Armenians. The main reasons why Jerusalem is essential are its meaning, symbolism and history. For all of the three Abrahamic religions there are sacred places that are important for these religions. When one considers this significance and the slowly increasing Arab population in Jerusalem, it is clear that Jerusalem is the most explosive issue in the Arab-Israeli conflict (Myre 2007).

2.4. Cultural diversity

Two-state would be the easiest solution if there were two very different cultures in the area. When taking into account the geographical reality there are very little chances to divide the area in two states. One-state is a solution which would offer equality and democracy after the discriminations policy of Israel had been dismantled, which is not easy to execute, but can be more realistic than establishing two-state solution. The discrimination policy of Israel will be covered more in the 4th chapter.

Cultural diversity between the Israelis and the Palestinians are notably very different. When comparing cultural diversity, essential factors like religion, language and ethnicity have to be taken

into account. The majority of the Israelis are Jews, since Israel is first of all a Jewish State. Similarly, majority of the Palestinians are Muslims, but in both cases there are minorities. According to Israeli Ministry of Foreign affairs over 75% of the Israelis are Jewish-affiliated and Arab-Israelis are the biggest minority group in Israel. Over 15% percent of Israelis are Arab Muslims and approximately 7% are Christians. The Jews come from very diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds (Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2010). The overwhelming majority of Palestinians are Sunni Muslim. According to the Institute for Middle East Understanding, there are approximately 200.000 Palestinian Christians in total, but just over 50.000 Christians living in the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem. In addition, there are approximately 150.000 Israeli Christian citizens of which 80% are Palestinian Arabs. (Institute for Middle East Understanding 2012)

3. INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL FACTORS OF THE CONFLICT

There are internal and external factors that influence this conflict. The most important parties involved are Israel, Palestine, media, the UN and the US. Media has an influence on opinions and therefore it has an important role by molding attitudes in the area. Media is not a neutral space, but opposite, it has a very active role by influencing our opinions about global politics. As a matter of fact, media does have even more important role during times of war or conflict. (Edkins, Zefhuss 2014, 173) All these parties have an influence, no matter which kind of solution will be created. All the parties have had an influence in the territory for decades when there have been attempts to form two-state solution without success. Israel´s status-quo and settlement policy have made two-state solution very difficult and Palestinian view is that one third of Palestinians support one-state solution and two thirds do not believe on establishment of two-state solution in the occupied areas (Räsänen 2017, 319). PLO, Hamas and the UN are keeping traditional two-state solution approach but the results have been limited. The US have supported two-state solution but lately they have been open for other solutions as well (Carlstrom 2017).

3.1. Israeli view on conflict

The factor that affects to the Israeli point of view is the history of the Jewish people. The Jews have been through the history violated and persecuted unfairly in general. For example, the Jews have been blamed on killing of Jesus Christ and on economical collapses during different time periods. This is why the violation of Israel´s sovereignty is in a way forbidden. Zionist ideology has been the driving force to establish own Jewish state. Today Israel is using Zionism in their settlement policy, which is strengthening the current status quo situation.

During the decades Israel has hardly cared what the international community thinks of its actions. For example, building up the security fence to gain control of land has been heavily opposed by the international community, because this destroys the possible peace process. The majority of Israeli public think this is a good idea as it is keeping the terrorists away. (Rynhold 2004, 55).

Traditionally Israeli view on the conflict is that the Arab community has encouraged the evacuation of their people from the land and therefore causing intentionally the Palestinian refugee problem. However, a new narrative of the history has awaken among some of the Israelis admitting that that the Jews might have had something to do with the refugee crisis. (Slater 2001)

3.2. Palestinian view on conflict

The factor that affects to the Palestinian point of view, like with the Israelis, is the suffering and injustice they have had to face because of Zionism and the Jewish migration into the territory. The Palestinian Arabs have lived in the area for centuries, before the Jews started the mass immigration. Like the Jews, the Palestinians also believe that the land has been promised to them in the Quran.

Unlike in the Zionist case, Palestinian state did not awake the Palestinians to resist the Zionist movement. During the Ottoman rule in Palestine the concept of Palestinian state was unknown to the local Arabs. (Lewis 1999, 169) The idea about Palestinian state raised later on. During the British Mandate times, the Palestinian resistance and Arab nationalism gained popularity. Arab nationalism can be seen as a response to Zionism and to the Jewish settlement policies (Gelvin 2005, 92-93). As for example, in the 1936 Arab revolt in Palestine, where the Palestinians demanded independence (Sebag Montefiore 2011, 542). The Palestinian suffering culminates deeply to *the Nakba*, meaning "the disaster", which is Palestinian exodus that happened day after the Israeli declaration of independence in 1948. During *the Nakba* 600.000-700.000 Palestinians were forced to exile and leave their houses (Sebag Montefiore 2011, 570).

3.3. The role of PLO and Hamas

The major importance of the PLO has been in their role as united front for fragmented Palestinian groups. Hamas is mainly the Islamist movement of the Palestinian Arabs and it has a pivotal role in the area while controlling the Gaza stip.

Palestinian Liberation Organization, the PLO, emerged in 1964 when it was established by the Arab League. The central idea of the PLO was to represent the Palestinian people in their political struggle and to back up their goals as united front. In reality, the Palestinian view did not matter a lot, as the bigger Arabic nations took control over the decision making process. For example, at first the PLO was managed by bigger Arab states and the organization was used in bringing up more contained and moderate political goals of the Arab League members, instead of nationalism and radical armed activity against the Israelis. (Robinson 2016) This idea by The Arabic League was executed, because at that time having more unity among the Arabic league members seemed to be a better option to be able to parley with Israel.

One of the biggest problems of the PLO seems to be the fact that the group itself is very fragmented. The PLO has never been singular decision maker, but offers political space for many Palestinian groups and nations, which can all seek the common solution for the cause under the

PLO (Pearlman 2009, 86). PLO gained an observer status at the UN in 1974 and accepted Israel´s legitimacy and sovereignty in 1988 and in return Israel recognized Palestinians as an independent actor in Oslo meetings in 1993. (Robinson 2016)

The reasons why Hamas rose to powerful position are foreseeable. First of all, Palestinians were disappointed to the lack of important negotiations with Israel. Hamas gained respect because it was a civic provider, but being simultaneously the vanguard of armed Palestinian groups. (Usher 2006, 21) Hamas goals are to Islamize Palestinian identity and by doing this reconcile the differences of nationalism and Islam. Hamas presents Palestine as a key for the unification of Islamic world and for the upcoming Islamic State. (Litvak 1996, 500-502)

The ideological roots of Hamas are found from Muslim Brotherhood, which was born in Egypt in 1920. Israel is ironically responsible for the birth of Hamas, as the first *Intifada* encouraged the brotherhood taking into arms (Ayoob 2004, 1). The basic foundation of this organization are well spread social, religious and cultural structures, which has strengthened its political position in the West Bank and in the Gaza strip. The increased popularity of Hamas had decreased the popularity of the PLO in the occupied areas. The rapid success of Hamas has especially based on spreading of propaganda and active social work. (Päivinen 2004, 131-132)

3.4. External factors of the conflict

In the field of international relations, hegemony means an actor, which has a major influence to others by enforcing or non-enforcing means. The United States is the biggest hegemonic power globally today and it is definitely able to influence in this conflict. The Americans do not need to control the territory militarily, but their alliance with Israel affects highly to the everyday life there.

With the US as an ally, Israel has the biggest power in the world backing them up. With the presence of the US the other players have not had a way to really affect to Israel's actions in the area. In this alliance both Israel and the US are benefiting, and the US is getting a foothold for its operations and politics in the Middle-East. The US support for Israel can be seen of countless vetoes that the Americans have used in the United Nations Security Council. The veto vote from the American allies has given an upper hand for the Israelis in this frozen conflict.

According to United Nation's Dag Hammarskjöld library, the US has used veto 38 times in Arab related questions, including the situation in the Middle East, questions regarding Syria and Palestine. To the Palestine related questions, the US has used veto 14 times (United Nations 2017)

This demonstrates that the hegemony of US has affected significantly to the world politics and has been a great asset to their ally Israel.

The UN has been actively involved in the conflict since the foundation of the UN Security Council in 1948. The UN has been essentially administering the everlasting peace process and has been trying to contribute to the conflict. The UN supports the Palestinian people, the Palestinian political aims and the Palestinian refugees through organizations like United Nations Relief and Work Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, United Nations Information System on the Question of Palestine, to mention few. The aim of this kind of organizations is to provide updated information for the world about the conflict and helping the thousands of refugees. The conflict has been one of the most common issues discussed over in the UN Security Council. In 2012 the Palestinian Authority was accepted as a non-member observer state to take part to the General Assembly meetings. The actual results of the UN are thin, partly because the veto rights can be used to depress any proposals.

Media plays an important role in the conflict area, because all the people in the area should be able to receive information from different angles in their own language to be able to gain versatile picture of the conflict. Media can act as a mouthpiece for government during a war. In this case there could be also a possibility that media is becoming a tool for a propaganda. Users of the media should have an opportunity to sieve from the news what is real and what is propaganda. (Edkins; Zehfuss 2014, 163-164) In this particular conflict in the Middle-East one of the problems could be that both Israelis and Palestinians have their own sources of media, which can result to different views.

4. PRESENTING ONE-STATE AND TWO-STATE SOLUTION MODELS

In this chapter and its subchapters one-state solution and the two-state solution models and proposals are presented and compared. Within one-state solution chapter there are presented confederation model, federal state model, status-quo situation, Jeff Halper's proposal (Bergmeijer 2012) and conclusions on one-state solution models. Within two-state solution, which has had traditionally supporters on both sides, there is a description of difficulty of sharing the land and drawing the border lines. In this chapter there are references on the United States changed policy on different solution models. In two-state solution chapter there is included Bennett's sovereignty plan (Carlstrom 2017).

The major obstacle for one-state solution is Israel´s discrimination and even racism over Palestinians. Racism could be described as a thought, which leads to discrimination, hate, isolation and to violence at some point. Racism occurs when people from other races, ethnicities, cultures or backgrounds are treated unfairly and unequally. Discrimination is causing lack of democracy which is hindering the creation of functioning one-state solution.

According to Hannu Reime, the conflict between Israel and Palestinians is unique, because it is at the same time a colonial war, apartheid-system, and ethnic-national crisis. In this conflict there is a lot of common with South-African apartheid time. Even Palestinian born minority is being threated such a way that Israel is having one of the most ethnically separated society globally and in the occupied areas there is a complete apartheid. Israel is keeping itself as a state for Jews and according to democratic theory a democratic state belongs to its citizens and not only to one ethnic group. Based on this theory, Israel cannot be democratic in full, but it is democracy only for the Jews. (Reime 2011, 65-71) To be able to become power sharing democracy Israel should become a binational state, where the status of the Arabs and the Jews would be equal and resources were shared equally (Smooha 1990, 391). Many Palestinians have had a destiny of having a primitive life in the refugee camps, supported by international charity organizations. The Arabs with Israeli citizenship are having problems as well, but because of the Israeli citizenship they are able to work if there are jobs available. Israel´s supporters are normally responding to these critics by underlining that Israel is the only democracy in the Middle-East. This is partly true, as there are parliamentary elections regularly, and there is a chance to be elected on the already existing parties lists. Israel can be characterized as a democratic state, when compared to its neighboring countries,

but still Israel is not fulfilling the criteria of democratic state according to Western European standards. (Päivinen 2004, 40)

4.1. One-State solution models

One-state solution is a model, which suggests uniting the Palestinian areas of Gaza strip and the West Bank, together with the country of Israel. Citizens of this country would have equal rights, citizenship and this can prevent inequality between the Palestinians and the Israelis. In this case several major questions such as natural resources, sharing of Jerusalem and fresh water supply have to be solved. As described before the question of Jerusalem is crucial, as it is the Holy City for both the Palestinians and the Israelis.

One-state solution used to be on the background, but now it has gained more attention. For example the president of the United States, Donald Trump, is not excluding one-state solution, as he said to be open with it. The advantage of one-state solution is that there would be no need for splitting up the country in territories. The county could be divided to the similar form as "Switzerland on the Mediterranean", which means forming a confederation with two political entities, for Israelis and Palestinians, together with freedom of movement in the area. According to the article, the problem in the one-state solution is that neither of the sides, the Israelis or the Palestinians, trust that they would be treated equally and have national rights in binational One-state model. (Carlstrom 2017). This is why concessions and shows of good will have to take place in order to make this even theoretically possible. An example of that kind of good will could be that alongside Palestinian intellectuals a few Israeli thinkers have started to lean toward one-state solution (Bisharat 2008, 10). In upcoming subchapters the possible one-state solutions will be presented.

4.1.1. Confederation

Confederation is at the moment one of the leading state models, when it comes to finding a suitable one-state solution between the Israelis and the Palestinians. In confederation model there are state issues, which are dealt together with the member confederate states, but still it contains self-determination and in some cases an independence as well. Tapio Raunio states in his book "Federal states" (*Liittovaltiot*) few facts about confederations. He underlines that in confederation the member states have the power of decision making. In confederations diplomacy and unanimity in decision making process is essential and normally exiting from the alliance is allowed. Exiting possibility from the confederation can be important, if for some reason the confederate state model would not work. Confederations often follow national laws, so there would be lot of freedom for example in legislation for both confederate states. (Raunio 2002, 18)

The increasing conservative bloc in Israel has been pro-confederation model and supports the idea of one-state solution. Israel's political center left and an elder generation of the Palestinians are supporting one-state solution idea, and "Switzerland on the Mediterranean" model as well. Chief Palestinian negotiator Saeb Erekat has stated, that the 1967 borders should be returned and by doing this a democratic country with equal rights is returned. Also groups of young activists, some religious groups, ex-soldiers and older center-leftists have brought some new perspectives. The idea, that there could be two confederate states, but one Homeland has increased its popularity. (Carlstrom 2017)

Two-state solution, which will be presented later on, has several complications compared to one-state solution. Confederation would be easier to establish, especially because of the stabilization of the land and who gets what disputes. Confederation would provide a kind of national authority and decision making power for the both sides. The confederation would cover the area in between from the Mediterranean to the Jordan river and it ensures free movement for both sides around the confederation. This is why the confederation is the best possible one-state solution available in the long-term, but in short term status-quo situation, which will be presented later on, is the most likely situation.

4.1.2. Federal state

Federal state might be a possible alternative for one-state solution. In federal states the decision making power is in the constitution, which is shared with the federal states, in this case the Israelis and the Palestinians. (Raunio 2002, 19). When defining a federal state, one of the most essential issues is sharing the power of the federal states to the common constitution. He lifts up several important points of federal states, such as federal states make the member states more secure, making people's possibility to influence better, improved economics and desire for consensus. These all are solid points that have to be taken into the consideration, when comparing two-state and one-state solutions. (Ibid., 34) The major disadvantages of federal state are that power sharing between federal states might become an issue, and the fact that Palestine and Israel are economically imbalanced. In this case it´s possible, that Israel must give up more than they gain.

4.1.3. Status-quo situation

Israel has based on its decision making process on so called status-quo mind set. It means that that the final decisions are not made if there are controversial questions. Israel is using effectively status-quo approach, which is especially a powerful tool in the respect of Palestinian areas in the West Bank. Israel's way of thinking is that there is no occupation, as long as the areas are

controversial. By doing this Israel is able to use own ruling methods in order to control Palestinian areas in the West Bank. Status-quo policy complicates two-state solution, because the colonies of Israel are penetrating deeper in the middle of the Palestinian settlement. Hindering free movement in the West Bank is blocking the Palestinian self-governance. International observers have warned Israel from continuing building the settlements, but Israeli response has always been that the legitimate status of the areas is unclear and before any agreements these areas are being "administrated", not occupied (Ron 2011, 60).

Former US president Barack Obama stated in January in 2017 that he thinks that status-quo is unsustainable and dangerous for Israel and bad for Palestinians, for the region and for the US national policy (Obama 2017). His attitude and view on status-quo criticized Israel's policy, even though the US is Israel's strongest ally.

If the situation stays as status-quo, it could be seen in a way a one-state solution. It is likely that Israel will not stop their expansion policy to the Palestinian areas and status-quo might be a probable alternative. Two-state solution is getting more difficult because of Israel's policies. For example, from 1993 to 2009 the amount of Israel settlers have increased by 494.000 in the West Bank and in East Jerusalem (Farsakh 2011, 55).

The current Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu has followed that specific policy for the last eight years. In the beginning of 2017 Israel has accepted building of 6000 houses into the occupied areas. Netanyahu has also plans to build up settlements to the West Bank for the first time since 1990's. Israel has accepted laws afterwards, where these internationally illegal settlements have become suddenly legal and completely acceptable. By doing this Israel has secured its presence in the Palestinian areas. (Berzlon 2017)

4.1.4. Jeff Halper's proposal

Israel's interest is to keep status-quo situation in the area, because as an example they don't need to commit on Palestinian refugee problem and to the border issues. As described before, in a long-term looser confederation model seems to be better one-state solution than more strict federation model. However, both models have the same main problem which is how to decide the border lines. Jeff Halper, American-born Israeli, is a former University lecturer, political activist and author. He has published many articles and books related to Israel-Palestine situation. Already five years ago, he has introduced an one-state model proposal, where the border issues are practically somehow solved. His approach is that so far the discussion has been going around either one-state or two-state solution, but according to him both won't necessarily work. He is introducing more

regional approach, as the problems are as well more regional. As an example, security, economic development, water, the refugees are important regional issues. His idea is Middle-Eastern economic confederation, which was like European common market thirty years ago. This kind of loose confederation of countries could combine economies like Israel and Palestine, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. In this model people are allowed to move around freely, they have their citizenship rights to keep their national identities. That model would be similar to Europe, where people can keep their citizenships, but they are able to live and work in Europe. (Bergmeijer 2012)

4.1.5. Conclusion on one-state solution models

In previous chapters there have been presented one-state solution models, such as confederation, federation, status-quo situation and Jeff Halper's proposal with a kind of loose confederation combined with common economical union. Tapio Rautio has brought up several pivotal points on the possible one-state solution models and their functionality. Advantages and disadvantages between one-state and two-state solution models are discussed later on. In this subchapter three possible models are being compared, which are confederation, federation and status quo-situation. As stated earlier, in confederation model the possibility of exiting from the confederation can be seen as a positive and negative. The latter one can be seen as a possibility to attract both parties around the same table, when the agreements are being done. Decision makers have a possibility to inform their own groups that the confederation is not set in the stone, but there is a chance for an exit if it does not function. On the other hand, the exit card might be used in a wrong way, for example in threatening with it.

Another key feature for confederation is an own national law-making process. It is very important, because these two nationalities are coming from completely different backgrounds, ethnicities, economies and cultures. Own law-making process will allow to adjust laws according to different environment, as described above, which makes following the laws easier. With this option there is a better chance to secure own languages, cultures and ethnicities.

The major possible negative features of confederation model are in the decision-making process. According to Rautio, diplomacy is a primary form of decision-making process. The conflict has been tried to be solved with diplomacy for decades, but the results are still thin. The decision-making process has to be unanimous, which can be hard to reach, because the nationalities are so heterogenic (Rautio 2002, 18).

In the federation model there are couple of positive points. The decision-making process is based on democracy and normally majority is enough for the decisions. Rautio is also supporting the

economical point of view in his book (Ibid., 18). In the federation model there is a constitution on the top, which could make this model difficult in practice. It´s possible that Israel does not support federation model as they would be the ones giving up their power to constitution and financing more federation. When it comes to the status-quo situation, it is the most realistic situation in the short term. Israel will continue its expansion policies on Palestinian territories by building up new settlements. At the moment the United States is reluctant to hinder expansion policy of Israel, which will support of building new settlements. In Halper's proposal there is a loose confederation model, where Israel and Palestine, Jordan Syria and Lebanon are included. In this proposal there is a freedom of movement in the area, but possibility to keep own identity, culture, language and citizenship. This model reminds European common market model thirty years ago.

4.2. Two-state solution models

Traditionally, since 1993 Oslo Accord and even before, the basis of the peace process and state models has been of forming two states, Israel and Palestine, into the area. As described before, there have been many attempts for the peace, such as Oslo Accord, Camp David, Taba, Road Map and Annapolis conference. The basis of two-state model has been that the Palestinian state would be founded approximately to Gaza and the West Bank, which Israel occupied in 1967. Palestinians would like to found their capital into Eastern Jerusalem, but Israel is against it. Two-state solution contains similar problems as one-state solution, such as refugee crisis and Israeli colonies in Palestinian territories. Israel is afraid that the possible Palestinian state would jeopardize the security of Israel. During the last years there have been attempts to follow this model, but as an example Palestinians have been frustrated to Israeli politics to build up new colonies.

On the other hand, not that long time ago, the popularity of this old two-state model was relatively high. Herbert C. Kelman states in his article "A one country / Two-State Solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict" that two-state solution is often described as two states for two different peoples. The article points about that in 2004 relatively positive results supporting two-state solution were reached in a poll, as 70 percent of the Israeli people and 63 percent of the Palestinians supported the idea of two-state solution during that time. (Kelman 2011) The latest polls in 2016-2017 clearly demonstrates the Palestinian change of attitudes from two-state to one-state solution. Palestinian view is that one third of Palestinians support one-state solution and two thirds do not believe on establishment of two-state solution in the occupied areas (Räsänen 2017, 319)

For decades two-state solution has been supported by the Americans and it has been a goal in Israeli-Palestinian diplomacy. Now, after the election of Donald Trump, it seems like other options

are considered as well. The Israeli and Palestinian polls do still present that two-state solution is the right way to go, but only theoretically. Two-state solution is very difficult to implement because of geographical, political and historical reasons. The Israeli settlements are internationally considered as illegally built into the Palestinian controlled soil which have increased the tensions in the area. Increased right-winged policy has gained popularity in Israel and they are very much against the two-state solution model. (Carlstrom 2017)

4.2.1. Bennett's sovereignty plan

In the Oslo II Accord, the West Bank was divided to three zones A, B and C. In the Accord it was decided, that the Palestinian West Bank territories were given different kind of status. The area A is administrated by the Palestinian authority, area B is administrated by both Israel and the Palestinian authority and area C, is controlled only by Israel, because of their settlements.

The rise of the right-wing in Israel has caused a situation, where an alternative approach to two-state solution should be considered. Naftali Bennett is Israeli politician and leader of the right-winged Jewish Home party, has introduced so called Bennett's sovereignty plan. It is based on the shared Palestinian West Bank territories as described below in Oslo II Accord and the idea would be to give Israeli citizenship to the Palestinians living in area C. The Bennett's sovereignty plan suggests that the Palestinians living in East Jerusalem and in the Golan Heights would keep their Syrian and Jordan citizenships. The problem of the Bennett's sovereignty plan is that the rest of the Palestinians, about 2.5 million of them, would still be stateless. (Carlstrom 2017)

According to B'Tselem, the Israeli information center for human rights in the occupied territories, the area A is about 18 percent of the whole West Bank and the Palestinian authority is granted governmental power in this highly populated Palestinian area. Area B is about 22 percent of the whole West Bank and it is security controlled by Israel, but the civil matters are supervised by the Palestinian authority. The C area, which covers the rest 60 percent of the area, has less than 300.000 people from the Palestinian West Bank population. Palestinian people in this area would have a chance to get the Israeli citizenships, but the difficult part is that which ones from the Palestinians are going to accept it. (B'Tselem 2014)

4.3. Advantages and disadvantages of one-state and two-state solutions

Two-state solution is the traditionally proposed model and it still has big share of supporters, with both Palestinians and the Israelis. It is remarkable that even though very few politicians publicly support one-state solution, over one third of the Palestinians of the occupied areas support one-

state solution and two thirds believe, that two-state solution is not possible. If the political parties were to accept one-state solution in their programmes, it is likely that its popularity would increase significantly (Räsänen 2017, 319).

Two-state solution model has been on the agenda from beginning of the 1990's and even before, but still the results have been very thin. An important influencer, the United Nations, is still behind the two-state model (Reuters 2017). Lately the United States has been open for other possible proposals, other than two-state solution. Netanyahu has stated, that Israel could never accept sovereign Palestine. There has never been two-state solution and won't be in the foreseeable future. Two-state solution only supports the Israeli oppression and the continuing cycle of conflict. (al-Gharbi 2015)

In two-state model there has not been progress despite of many attempts, which naturally creates frustration and lack of faith of the solution. Its biggest problems are that the area is geographically difficult to split and there are limitations how to distribute natural resources equally. Israel's settlement policy has strengthened lately, which causes even stronger overlapping of Israelis and Palestinians. This tendency makes the two-state model extremely difficult to execute without mass deportation. The establishment of Palestinian state to the West Bank would require mass displacement of 600.000 people from the area (Räsänen 2017, 311).

One-state solution has gained popularity lately, but it still needs more supporters. The major limitation of one-state solution is that there is discrimination and even racism in the area. On the other hand, two-state solution accepted by the international community, does not fulfil the human rights either for all of the inhabitants (Räsänen 2017, 311). Even if Israel would stop the occupation of Gaza and the West Bank and pull away the Israeli colonialists from the areas, establishment of a Palestinian country into the area would only guarantee just a part of the Palestinian rights. This would not guarantee the rights of Israeli Palestinians or the Palestinian refugees, which is the biggest group of Palestinians. (Räsänen 2017, 312)

Decrease of discrimination and its removal is the most important step towards democratic one-state solution. Israel´s discrimination policy has similarities to apartheid which used to be in South-Africa. The anti-apartheid movement in South-Africa proposed that if the white oppressors would give up the control, there is a future for all. The same solution could also function with the Jews. (Räsänen 2017, 319) South-Africa is a good example on anti-apartheid policy how discrimination and control over other people was ended in relatively short period of time. In the European Union the public opinion is heavily against the Israeli apartheid. Steven Blockmans, senior research

fellow and head of the EU foreign policy unit in the Centre for European Policy Studies, has stated that European Union has to face the fact, that there will not be two-state solution between Israelis and the Palestinians. He states that the politicians often hide behind two-state solution mantra, but the reality there makes two-state solution everyday more unlikely. Blockmans concludes, that European Union has to make up their mind on what kind of alternative policy they want the Union to support. This policy should answer the essential questions like: how to ensure security for all, one person one vote- policy, and how to end the current apartheid. (Centre for European Policy Studies 2013)

Similar development on decrease of discrimination is possible in Palestine but two improvements have to be obtained. The Palestinians are not organized and they do not have political representation that could agree on the goals and negotiate seriously. Secondly the Israeli Jews should be pressurized more in order to have them abandon the predominance in the area. (Räsänen 2017, 314-315) There was a similar situation in South-Africa between 1990-1994 when the apartheid system was dismantled, which demonstrates that such obstacles are possible to overcome by boycotts and international sanctions.

After Israel occupied the West Bank and Gaza in 1967 there has been in practice only one state. It is likely that the current status-quo situation will continue as a short term solution in the area. As it has been seen lately, expansion policy of Israel building up new settlements will continue into Palestinian territories, which makes two-state solution even more difficult to execute.

When comparing the federation and the confederation models the latter one seems to be a better alternative because it provides more autonomy, structure and a better possibility to keep own identity, language and culture. Another positive feature is that confederation is more flexible than federation. Having a possibility to have own confederate legislation supports these above mentioned values, which all are very important for both nationalities. Halper's proposal would be a looser confederation solution for the bigger area in the Middle-East which can be opportunistic because of many countries and variables involved.

The conclusion of this chapter is that one-state solution has more significant advantages and less disadvantages than two-state solution. Major disadvantages of two-state solution are that it´s old, consumed and there is little faith in it. Two-state solution is geographically very difficult to solve and organize the border and natural resources issues in the territory. In addition without forced mass deportation there are no possibilities to establish functioning two-state solution. Continuing settlement policy of Israel is strengthening the current status-quo situation which is further

weakening possible two-state solution. Above mentioned disadvantages of two-state solution are considered to be advantages of one-state solution. Advantages of one-state solution are that over one third of the Palestinian in the occupied areas support one-state solution and two thirds of them do not believe that two-state solution is possible. There has been practically only one state in the territory after Israel´s occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. The issue is not about creating a new geographical concept but build up democracy in already existing state which is currently the biggest obstacle of one-state solution. (Räsänen 2017, 313) Removal of discrimination is the most important step towards democratic one-state solution. The example of South-Africa demonstrates that it´s possible to overcome the discrimination problem in order to build up a democratically functioning one-state solution rather than continuing everlasting two-state solution process.

SUMMARY

This specific conflict has existed already for decades. If there were easy solutions this conflict would have been solved a long time ago. The hypothesis of this thesis says that one-state solution outperforms two-state solution, because it has more advantages. Disadvantages of the two-state solution are several failed attempts during last decades, complexity of the border forming without population displacement and equal dividing of natural resources. In addition, Israel's continuing settlement policy complicates the establishment of the Two-State solution models. The advantages of one-state solution model are that the border issues are easier to settle, Israel's status-quo policy will continue and natural resources belong to both sides. In addition, there has been practically only one state after Israel's occupation of West Bank and Gaza in 1967. Successful one-state solution model demands broader democracy in the territory, which can be gained by the change of attitudes by Israeli Jews and external pressure by boycotts and economic sanctions. One-state solution with confederate model is a viable alternative, because it is more flexible than federation. Confederation provides more autonomy and better possibility to keep own identity, language and culture. The main argument is, that status-quo situation will remain at least in a short-term and Israel's settlement policy will expand further. On the other hand, it can be concluded that status-quo model is not satisfying Palestinians and not all US decision makers. One-state model could be based on some kind of modified confederation structure where own citizenship, identity, culture, language and free movement are taken into consideration. The main argument for one-state solution is that dividing the land in the conflict area could be easier. The Swiss confederation model can be a foundation from where an own confederation model can be constructed.

In the Palestinian-Israeli conflict there are major differences on religions, cultures and ideology. There have been aggressions between these two sides, but on the other hand, Muslims and Jews have lived also time-to-time in peace side by side. Zionist movement, mass immigration of Jews and foundation of state of Israel in 1948, increased tensions in the conflict area.

During the last eight years, Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu, has had expansion policy in the Palestinian territories, which has led to situation where new settlements have been build up in the West Bank. This kind of tendency has been increasing tensions between these two ethnicities. Another long-term problem has been the case of Jerusalem. In Jerusalem the geographical problems of this conflict are in a nutshell, because it demonstrates how difficult it is to split up area and to draw border lines between the Jewish and the Palestinian territories. In addition to geographical complexity, Jerusalem is a holy city for the both sides. These geographical

problems are existing not only in Jerusalem, but all around the conflict area, which is one of the major reasons to find any suitable state model solutions. Mental barriers between these two sides have been formed during the years and both parties should be more capable to be able to find compromise in this conflict.

There are several third parties in this conflict, including the Unites States of America, the United Nations, Arab League and media. The United States, being globally the most important hegemonic country, has traditionally been supporting Israel, for example by using its veto in the United Nations Security Council. The United Nations has established organizations to support Palestinians such as United Nations Relief and Work Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East and United Nations Information System on the Question of Palestine.

Many Western countries and the European Union has classified Hamas as a terrorist group, but it will be seen which kind of status the combined Hamas and Fatah organization achieves in the Western countries. Having the United States as a strong supporter of Israel it would be important that the Arab league join their forces to support Palestinians in order to have more balanced negotiations platform. Media is used as a tool of propaganda in this conflict. It would be important for the media consumers to have variety sources of media in own language to be able to get broader picture of the conflict.

Traditionally two-state solution has been the primary solution for all sides involved. Two-state solution model has still big amount of supporters, but lately one-state solution has gained a foothold. The biggest problem of two-state solution is the geographical reality, that it is extremely difficult to split up the area and draw borderlines. The latest information from the United States, which has been a strong supporter of two-state solution, is that they are open for other solutions as well. Several one-state solutions were presented above such as status-quo situation, federation, confederation and Jeff Halper's proposal. In the short-term it is likely that status-quo situation will continue, because most probably Israel continues its expansion and settlement policy. If the settlement policy continues to expand, it will be more complex to execute two-state solution models. In a long-term confederation model is better than the federation model, because the first one is easier to execute. Jeff Halper's proposal is a kind of loose confederation model, where the other neighboring Arab countries are included and they would be able to keep their own citizenships. There would be a freedom of movement to work and live for all the citizens in the area in the same way than in the European Union. Theoretically Jeff Halper's proposal looks interesting, but the question mark is how all the countries in the area are going to be motivated and

involved. In general the confederate model would support own identity, culture, language, which are base important features for the both sides.

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