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Conflict and Colonization in the Palestinian Question with Reference to Noam Chomsky and Ilan Pappé

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DEDICATION

First and foremost, this Dissertation is dedicated to my parents for their love and support throughout my life. Thank you both for giving me the strength to reach my dreams. It is also dedicated to my best friends whom I am truly grateful for having in my life, and to all my friends from Palestine who have always been a constant source of inspiration during the challenge of my Dissertation which is only a beginning of my journey. Along with all my respected teachers who made great efforts to guide me and build my personality during my educational career.

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Second, I am deeply grateful to all the Jury members who agreed to read and examine my dissertation.

Abstract

This project represents a closer examination of the international views towards the question of Palestine to be conflict or colonization. Basically, it sheds light on the meaning of the two concepts; conflict and colonization in general and according to the international scholars. It investigates the role of the international bodies of the United Nations in the question and the resolutions adopted since its creation. More particularly, the purpose of the study is to examine both Noam Chomsky and Ilan Pappé's views towards the question of Palestine and to what extent a misleading of two words may affect world peace. The first Chapter is concerned with the definition of the two key concepts conflict and colonization along with the historical background to the question because it is worth to mention the roots of the issue. The second chapter investigates the resolutions adopted in the UN from 1948 onwards. Last but not least, the third chapter draws attention on the most famous Jews who devoted some of their time to discuss the Israeli-Palestinian issue. This chapter examines and analyses the main ideas exposed by these two scholars. Overall, analysing the international views will allow us understand the nature of the issue from different angles and answer the main question of this dissertation.

List of Abbreviations

- PLO** : Palestine Liberation Organisation
- PSC** : Palestine Solidarity Campaign
- UN** : United Nations
- UNSC** : United Nations Security Council
- UNRWA** : United Nations Relief and Works Agency
- UNESCO** : United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
- UNICEF** : United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
- UNCCP** : United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine
- USSR** : Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
- BDS** : Boycotts, Divestments, and Sanctions

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General Introduction

The question of Palestine has been by large the most debatable issue in modern day international politics. Basically, the question has its roots in 1882 when the Zionist movement started with a group of secular European Jews to establish a homeland for the Jews in Palestine. Up to the 1920s, Jews lived in peace with Muslims and Christians in Palestine for long years, and most of the Jews who lived there were Arabs. During the British Mandate over Palestine in 1917, Britain issued the Balfour declaration to the Zionists Federation which allowed them to establish settlements in Palestine and call it their home .However, it was not until 1947 that the UN (United Nations) voted for 45% of the land to be Palestine and the last 55% for the new Jews settlers; making Jerusalem an international area.

Ever since, the problem between the Jewish and the Arabs became more prominent. The Jewish kept working on applying their vision which is to expand more lands in Palestine and evacuating the square from the Palestinian population. The Arabs on another hand kept resisting the Jewish attempts of suppression. Although the first UN resolution of the partition plan was rejected by the Palestinian Arabs, the Zionists implemented their plan which is to occupy the areas that were allotted to the Arab State. Meanwhile the United Nations was carrying out a ceasefire; the Jewish were busy with establishing a crucial superiority. The United Nations during the time demanded the right of refugees to return, while Israel sophisticatedly absorbed the area it occupied in 1948 besides to the lands it was granted by the UN partition plan. Hence a second Middle East war upraised over Suez Chanel in 1956 followed by the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) uprising and a third war in 1967 which marked a turning point in the Middle East Affairs. Though the war led to Israelis' expansion over more lands, in adition to the occupation of both Jerusalem and the Golan Heights and the up rise of new refugees, the Palestinians could gain recognition of self-

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determination and the United Nations Security Council's call for the right of the 1967's refugees to return.

The debate of whether the troubles in Palestine are a conflict or colonization is highly needed to be further analysed and understood. Besides, to what extent do these views towards Conflict or Colonization may affect world peace is a question to which this study tries to find convincing answers to it by putting the spotlights on the views of both Noam Chomsky and Ilan Pappé, both of them being Jewish scholars interested in Palestine. It is a fact that people often get confused when it comes to describing the situation of Palestine and Israel. It can be seen as a pure colonization as it can be seen as pure conflict. However, so many people can see it neither conflict nor colonization but a different case.

Basically, What led me chose this topic in particular is the fact that it is nowadays issue and there are still some ambiguities in the matter; thus, I have chosen it as far as it concerns both society and university. For society; most of the world rely on media as their main source of information; however, not all what media says is true. Thus, this research is much more about raising awareness before it is to solve problem. What is expected from this study is to provide a set of facts and views to reach the answer needed. Indeed, the question can be seen from different angles; that is to say, several answers can be found depending on one's perspective. This research aims to show to what extent a misleading of one or two words may affect world peace. For university; such topics are important to be tackled to avoid ambiguity on students and raise youth's awareness to look for the truth themselves. What motivated me more to conduct such topic is Noam Chomsky and Ilan Pappé's vision; despite their origins, neither Chomsky nor Pappé did hesitate a second to reveal the truth that has always been wiped off.

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This issue and its roots have been tackled by so many Arab and western Zionist and non-Zionist researchers and politicians; however, whether the problem between Palestine and Israel is a conflict between two powerful states or colonization of a powerful state over a population is a particular point to a member of scholars. In his book "On Palestine" Frank Barat highlighted the accurate English translation of the Hebrew verb 'Lebtinabel' and the noun 'Bitanchalut' which were used since 1882 by the Zionist movement and later the state of Israel to describe the takeover of land in Palestine. The translation of these two words is to colonize, to settle, colonization, settlement.¹ Milton Edward on another hand used the term "Battle" to describe the situation of Palestine and Israel issue. Milton said: "the ongoing battle between the Israelis and Palestinians is rooted in a struggle between two people over land, national identity, political power and the politics of self-determination" (2009). Basically, there are different interpretations of the question in terms of choosing the words to describe it. Professor Akehurts for instance highlighted the aspects of the origins of the issue taking into consideration his international legal approach rules by using the word "conflict" in the title of his article "the Arab-Israeli Conflict" (1973). Other authors and scholars related the issue to the term "Apartheid" to describe the struggle between Palestine and Israel including Uri Davis in his analysis in 1980s. The term is commonly used in South Africa and it is described in Oxford Dictionary as the policy or system of segregation or discrimination.²

It is crystal clear from the previous foundations that scholars still don't agree on a particular description of the question of Palestine, although many of whom agree on the same view on the question but they still use different terms. However, the use of the term that describes the issue raises a huge contradiction; for instance, the definition of the word conflict means a disagreement between two states or people which contradicts the point of view of the

¹ Barat, Frank. On Palestine: the new dictionary, the past. United States. Penguin Books, 2015,p21

² Barat, Frank. On Palestine: the Apartheid of Israel, the present. United States. Penguin Books, 2015,p23

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writer who used the word. Some used the word battle others used colonization; thus, the question of whether it is a conflict or colonization became the central problem of this research.

Objectives and research questions are approached through the following methodology. This dissertation attempts to use both analytical and comparative methods to get insight into the reason why people still confuse between the use of words when describing the situation of Palestine and Israel. Indeed, this study relies on the resolutions adopted in the UN to strengthen its arguments and by analysing these resolutions, the progress of Israeli-Palestinian case will be clearer and the use of terms according to the General Assembly and Security Council will be highlighted along with the reaction of the powerful countries including US, UK, and France. Furthermore, it will specifically trace a discussion of two commonly known in the international world who are considered as the most influential Jewish figures in the field; Noam Chomsky and Ilan Pappé

This dissertation is divided into three chapters. The first chapter is theoretical which includes the definition of the two key concepts; conflict and colonization, besides to the background to the question of Palestine and Israel. The second chapter is devoted to the topic discussion; which tackles the evolution of both Palestine and Israel status in the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council via highlighting the resolutions adopted since 1948 onwards. The third chapter is analytical; it attempts to analyse and examine both Noam Chomsky and Ilan Pappé's views towards the question.

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Before the first and the second world wars, the term “colonization” was the most compromised word to use when describing a situation between two countries in disagreement. However, after the end of these two world wars; historians and researchers were often getting confused. The use of the word colonization started to be less frequent, and it was gradually getting replaced by the term “conflict”. Basically, both concepts have different meanings that so many scholars and even politicians would not totally master, especially when describing or discussing nowadays issues like the case of Palestine and Israel. Thus, this chapter aims at examining these two main concepts along with their types according to the international views in order to facilitate the understanding of the question of Palestine. Besides, it introduces the historical background to the case of Palestine and its relation with Israeli aggression.

1.1.The Concept of Conflict and Its Types :

The concept of conflict is defined in the Oxford Dictionary as a serious disagreement or argument, typically a protracted one. Basically, it refers to some form of discord arising within a group when the beliefs or actions of one or more members of the group are either resisted by or unacceptable to one more members of another group.¹ It is also defined in the Cambridge English Dictionary as a situation in which people, groups or countries are involved in a serious disagreement.² Nevertheless, some scholars noted that there is no single universally accepted definition of conflict including M.Ajit who stated that one issue of contention is whether the conflict is a situation or a type of behaviour.³ Other scholars like Robert A. Baron Rakhim noted that there are common elements in the definitions of conflict;

¹ “Oxford Learner’s Dictionaries”, Oxford University Press 2018, URL: www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/conflict_1 . Accessed 1 April 2018

² Définition de "conflict" - Dictionnaire Anglais, Cambridge University Press 2018, URL : dictionary.cambridge.org/fr/dictionnaire/anglais/conflict . Accessed 1 April 2018

³ M.Afzalur Rahim. “Managing Conflict in Organizations”. Transaction Publisher, P.15.

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underlining the recognized opposing interests between parties in a zero-sum situation, and a process having developed from their past interactions.⁴

Another definition of conflict is proposed by Michel Nicholson who sees conflict as an activity which takes place when conscious beings (individual or groups) wish to carry out mutually inconsistent acts concerning their wants, needs or obligation. Conflicts can occur between individuals, groups and organizations; example includes quarrels between individuals, labour strikes, competitive sports or armed conflicts. It is also defined by Diez et Al as a struggle or contest between people with opposing needs, ideas, beliefs, values, or goals.

In political Terminology which is the main concern of this thesis conflict refers to wars, revolutions or other struggles which may involve the use of force as in the term “armed conflict”. It is a confrontation between one or more parties aspiring towards opposing or competitive means of ends. Conflict may be either apparent, recognisable through actions or behaviours; as sometimes it remains dormant. Besides, incompatibilities are built into systems like governments, corporations, or even civil society. In fact, Professor Peter Wallenstein⁵ identified different forms of conflict such us: interstate, internal, and state-formation conflict. However, the international community has become remarkably concerned with the rise of the internal conflicts.

The definition of the word conflict has been discussed by many scholars and politicians. Some defined it as a struggle and others defined it as a use of violence. However, other scholars, psychologists, and politicians divided and identified the word conflict upon their own areas. Generally speaking, the types of conflict includes inter-personal and inter-

⁵ Peter Wallenstein: is an author and professor of History at Virginia Tech.

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group conflicts; however, what is relevant to this thesis is the types of political conflicts including the intra-state or inter-ethnic conflicts and the international conflicts which were highly identified by Peter Wallenstein.

1.1.1. Intra-state Conflict

The Intra-state conflict has been defined by Wallenstein and Sollenberg in 2001 as a conflict between government and non-government entity over contested incompatibility with use of armed forces with results in battles related deaths. It is said to be the most common form of nowadays conflicts. It symbolizes sustained political violence that occurs between armed groups representing the state, and one or more non-state groups. This type of conflict usually has international dimensions. A good example of such conflict can be the current situation of Syria; in which the conflict occurs between the Syrian government and the minority ethnic armed groups and organizations including ISIS and Kurdish armed parties.

1.1.2. International Conflict

The term International Conflict refers to the conflicts that occur between different nation-states and conflicts between people and organizations in different nation-states. Basically, it also applies to intergroup conflicts within country when one group is combating to achieve independence for instance, the conflicts between United States and North Korea and the conflict between the organizations in Iraq and Syria.⁶

⁶ Kate, Malek. "International Conflict", *Beyond Intractability*, 2013, URL: www.beyondintractability.org/coreknowledge/international-conflict. Accessed 04 April 2018

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1.2. What is Colonization?

The word colonization has been used mostly during both the first and second world wars, since the end of the world wars, the use of the term colonization started gradually to disappear over time. However, it is defined as the act of setting up a colony away from one's place of origin in the vocabulary.com.⁷ It is also defined as the policy and practice of a power in extending control over weaker peoples or areas in Cambridge dictionary⁸. In "The Colonization of Unfamiliar Landscape" both Marcy Rockman and James Steele stated that the word colonization was derived from the word colere which means to inhabit. In his book colonialism: A theoretical Overview, Jürgen Osterhahammel defined colonialism as:

A relationship between an indigenous (or forcibly imported) majority of foreign invaders. The fundamental decisions affecting the lives of the colonize people are made and implemented by the colonial rulers in pursuit of interests that are often defined in a distant metropolis. Rejecting cultural compromises with the colonized population, the colonizers are convinced of their own superiority and their ordained mandate to rule.⁹

It is the process of involving one nation or territory taking control of another nation or territory in which it can be taken either through the use of violence or by acquisition¹⁰. It is also defined by scholars like Gail P. Kelly and Philip G. Altbach, as an attempt to assist in the

⁷ "Vocabulary.com: Colonization", URL: <https://www.vocabulary.com/dictionary/colonization>. Accessed 15 April 2018

⁸ Cambridge Dictionary, URL : <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/fr/dictionnaire/anglais/colonialism> Accessed 15 April 2018

⁹ Osterhahammel, Jürgen. *Colonialism: A theoretical overview*, trans. from German by Shelley L. Frisch ,Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener and Kingston Ian Randle Publishers, 1997. Pp. 16-17.

¹⁰ Kohn, Margaret and Reddy, Kavita. "Colonialism", Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2017. URL: <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/colonialism/> Accessed 15 April 2018

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consolidation of foreign rule .The word colonization was commonly used by politicians and scholars years ago, when the British settlers immigrated to several areas in Africa and Asia including Kenya and India. Basically any area that was under British control was known as colony, same as France when it settled in Algeria in 1830s the process was known as French Colonization. At that time, any process of immigration or settling down a land was called colonization .The reason behind this immigration can be economic, religious, and political. Despite the different definitions proposed by the scholars, there is still a common definition of this word which is invasion, occupation, conquer or domination of group of people in a specific land. They may come on a religious, political or economic basis. A good example of such process can be British colonization of Kenya. A group of British people immigrated in Kenya and started gradually to build houses, schools and expand their lands, as they did still so many Kenyan's lands until they created a new colony. They started imposing taxes, the English language ...etc. Indeed, the British government's main concern was to expand its colonies in Africa to gain more power rather than educating or civilizing the Kenyan people. Moreover sixty years ago, the word colonization was commonly used to describe any attempt of immigration of a large scale of people to another land. However, nowadays; politicians, scholars, and people in general tend to use the word conflict instead. This dramatic change in the use of words creates a huge political contradiction, especially when it was used proudly to describe a country's situation.

Basically, types of colonization have been distinguished by so many historians and theorists, in which they divided it into different categories depending on the form of the process itself.

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1.2.1. Exploitation colonization

It is an economic system that aims at exploiting the natural or economic resources of the target area, it often involves only few colonist, it doesn't require as many colonists to settle or emigrate. However, they tend to use people as labours and sometimes as slaves. A good example of the exploitation colonization can be the British colonial exploitation of India which well known as globalization which at first started in the form of trade and gradually expanded its interest in the investment income ...etc. Another example of exploitation colonization was taken in 1800s during the Belgian King Leopold journey in Congo. In which millions of the Congo's inhabitants starved to death or killed by Leopold's colonial overseers for not meeting work expectations.

1.2.2. The Surrogate Colonization

This type focuses mainly on projects which are usually controlled and ruled by a colonial power; however, the settlers are not necessarily from the same ethnic group as the ruling power. In his article How Colonialism work, the Patrik J. Kiger stated that some Political scientists viewed the surrogate colonialism as a colonial power that encourages one ethnic group or groups from the colonized country itself to take over land already controlled by another group. He stated that the term was first used by the Anthropologist Scott Atran to describe the British allowing Zionist settlement in Palestine.¹¹

1.2.3. The Internal Colonization

It describes the different effects of economic development on a regional basis. It shows the minority groups' exploitation within a vast society. Indeed, the term internal colonialism has been first proposed in 1957 in the book of Leo Marquard, and then it became

¹¹ PATRICK J. KIGER, "How Stuffworks Work", "n.d", <https://people.howstuffworks.com/colonialism1.htm> accessed April 18, 2018

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a common sense concept used by different writers and theorists to describe the source of colonial exploitation within the nation-state. In his article 'The Question of Internal Colonialism', Hanno Brankamp stated that the internal colonies still exist and are reproduced through discourse and practice, as he used occupation of Morocco to the Western Sahara, Israel's Occupation of Palestine and China's regime in Tibet as the more recent prime examples of the internal colonialism.¹²

1.2.4. Settler Colonization

It is the process of large scale immigration, in which people often go on for religious, political or economic reasons. This type of colonization aims at replacing the original population of the colonized areas with new immigrants forming a new society. They try to impose their policies and rules and build their own homes by stealing the target's lands. Over time, they develop a special identity and sovereignty. Indeed, the Global Social theory mainly the settler colonial theory focuses on understanding the conflicts in places like Israel, Kenya and Argentina as it claims that the settler colonial states include Canada, United States, Australia, and South Africa along with Israel. In recent times, the settler colonial analyses used the concept of the settler colonization and its impact in larger Imperial project on global politics Scholar in the settler colonial studies. Lorenzo Veracini¹³ argued on the importance of making the settler colonialism to be understood globally, he maintains that: «settler colonialism makes sense especially if it is understood globally, and that we live in a settler colonial global present».¹⁴

¹² Cummin, Emily. Study.com: "Internal Colonialism: Definitions and Examples", "n.d", www.study.com/academy/lesson/internal-colonialism-definition-examples.html accessed April 15,2018

¹³ Lorenzo Veracini is associate professor and Queen Elizabeth II Fellow at the institute for Social Research. He is the author of *Israel and Settler Society* (2006), and *Settler Colonialism :Theoretical Overview* (2010).

¹⁴ Adam Barker and Emma Battell Lowman, "Global Social Theory", "n.d", www.globalsocialtheory.org/concepts/settler-colonialism/ accessed April 18,2018.

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1.3. A Historical Background to the Palestine/Israel Question

The existence of the Jewish in the land of Palestine has its roots between 1800 and 1500B.C. when the Hebrew people migrated into Canaan. In fact, during the 1000B.C. their descendants formally established the kingdom of the so called Israel with Jerusalem as its capital. The land soon has been divided into two kingdoms as it was under the control of foreign conquerors including the Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, and the Romans. However, despite the conquest, the Jews kept holding their identity because of their religious beliefs. The fact that the Jews were believers in one god, while their neighbours were polytheists set the Jews apart and established in their minds the idea that the territory of Israel was their promised land. Thus, the Jewish majority in that land ended; however, The Romans took the Jewish out from Israel after their attempt to make a revolt against them in 135 DA and failed to do so. From that time the Jewish lived throughout Europe and Middle East.

During the rule of the Romans, the land was named Palestine. The Jews progressively returned to the areas in small groups with other local people and colonists who were brought in by the Romans. In the 7th century Palestine came under the control of the Arabs who brought to them the Arabic language besides to the religion of Islam. From that time till the 20th century the area was inhabited by the Arabic speaking Palestinians, however, there was a minority of less than 10% of Jews. Although most of Palestinians were Muslims; but there were some Christians and other Jews who were living in a harmony in the same land of Palestine during the time when Palestine was under the Ottoman Empire control. Nevertheless, everything has changed during the last century mainly from 1897.¹⁵

¹⁵ Overview of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: www.cmes.arizona.edu/sites/cmes.arizona.edu/files/Overview%20of%20the%20Palestinian-Israeli%20Conflict.pdf. Accessed 20 April 2018

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1.3.1. Balfour Declaration 1917 and The Arabs Reaction

Basically, the Israeli-Palestinian problem of today has its origins in 1897 when the World Zionist Organization declared a promise to create a home for the Jewish people in Palestine secured by a public law. Indeed, the organization suggested three areas to be the so called Israel under the leadership of Theodor Herzl including Argentina, Mozambique and Palestine. However, their final decision was granted to Palestine on a religious basis that the ancient Jewish have links with the wholly land. During the First World War, Britain and its allies needed financial support to defeat Germany and its ally Ottoman Empire; thus, the Foreign Secretary, Lord Balfour, addressed a letter on 2 November 1917 to the World Zionist Organization which is known as a Balfour Declaration. The declaration included set of promises to the Jews to create a Nation in the land of Palestine.

Before the declaration, Jews were scattered all over the world, they were having no specific land to call it a home. Basically, because of their fear from the arbitrary anti-Semitism, mainly after the 1894 Dreyfus Affair in France which became a nightmare; thus, they thought it is time to create a Nation to be their own country. Hence they created the so called Zionist Movement during the First World War. During the war, Britain was in real need to help as it was a few miles away from losing its Empire. The only solution it had was the involvement of Chaim Weizmann; the leader of Zionist movement; with his fermentation process which enable the British to get rid of their loss. In order to gain more support for the Zionist Movement; the Zionist leader Weizmann reinforced his relation with the British mainly the Minister Balfour. Britain, on another hand, sought to involve the United States in the World War 1 by giving more support to Jews. Although, the Balfour declaration took place on the 2nd of November 1917 but it was not until 1922 that the League of Nations

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accepted it and realized it in the Mandate which gave the British a total right to take control over Palestine. The Balfour letter stated that:

His Majesty's Government view's with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.¹⁶

In contrast, Sir Edward Montagu, the only Jewish member of the British Cabinet, did not accept the declaration and strongly criticized it. After 10 years Sir Edward said that the Balfour Declaration of 1917 was built on air. In fact, Arabs were promised to have a complete independence by the Anglo-French declaration in November 1918. However, these promises did not last long as they kept loosing lands over time and the Balfour Declaration was given international dimensions.

After the harsh decision made by the British Minister Balfour which is giving access to the Jews to immigrate to Palestine, and the promises given to them to build their own nation at the expense of the Palestinians' lands; the first Arab revolt erupted in 1936 under the declaration of Hajj Amin al Husseini right after the assassination of Izz ed-Din Al-Qassam. Basically, the Arabs refused the British Mandatory control of Palestine, as they aggressively responded to the bias decision. The British Mandatory suggested the partition of Palestine into two parts; one for the Palestinians and the other one for the Jewish, this was mainly in 1930s during the flight of refugees from the so called Nazi Germany. Thus, the Arabs violence

¹⁶ The BBC News " Israel and Palestinian" , November 29,2001, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/in_depth/middle_east/israel_and_the_palestinians/key_documents/1682961.stm. Accessed 15 April, 2018

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erupted first in Nablus where an Arab National Committee was formed, and then National committees had been formed in other areas including Jaffa and Tel Aviv and gradually spread throughout Palestine by causing a general strike and other political protest.

Naturally, the reasons behind this sudden outbreak are uncountable. The major causes that led to the ultimate anger of the Arabs were their fear of the establishment of the Jewish National Home, mainly after the increase of the Jewish immigration since 1933 besides their continuity in purchasing the Palestinian lands. Hence, the Arabs were getting fed up of the British Government and their fake sincerity. The Arabs main objective was to stop the sudden large scale of the Jewish immigration and end the British policy which gave the Jewish access to enter Palestine and establish their state; besides, they were strongly demanding the British to stop Jews' land purchasing. These recommendations were highly mentioned in the Peel Commission report of 1937, particularly in the section of chapter 19 as follows:

First, the desire of the Arabs for national independence; secondly, their antagonism to the establishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, quickened by their fear of Jewish domination. Among contributory causes were the effect on Arab opinion of the attainment of national independence by 'Iraq, Trans-Jordan, Egypt, Syria and the Lebanon; the rush of Jewish immigrants escaping from Central and Eastern Europe; the inequality of opportunity enjoyed by Arabs and Jews respectively in placing their case before Your Majesty's Government and the public; the growth of Arab mistrust; Arab alarm at the continued purchase of Arab land by the intensive character and the "modernism" of Jewish nationalism; and lastly the general uncertainty, accentuated by the

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ambiguity of certain phrases in the Mandate, as to the ultimate intentions of the Mandatory Power.¹⁷

As a result, the first phase of the revolt was ended after the call of the British to the *Transjordan*¹⁸ in which several of Jewish, British and thousands of Arabs were killed; besides to the large number of Arab leaders whom were sent into exile.

1.3.2. British and Jewish Response to the Arab Revolt

The British Royal Members regarded the outbreak of the Arabs great revolt as a serious threat to British rule. Thus, as a response, the British established a new report known as the Peel Commission in 1937. The report pointed out the impracticability of the British Mandate mainly because of the incompatibility of both the Jewish and Palestinians' objectives. Hence, the Peel Commission suggested the partition of Palestine into three parts; the small one for the Jewish, and the remaining areas for the Palestinians alongside an international zone. However, it was not until 1938 that the British Government has accepted the Peel Commission's proposal. More specifically, the report included a set of recommendations besides the attached map that proposes the partition of Palestine. The report also stated that the Jewish National Home is no longer an experiment, but a fact should be accepted, especially after the notable political, economic and social developments that the land of Palestine has been witnessing in the last 2 decades; mainly during the Jewish large scale immigration. The Peel Commission partition appears in the map below:

¹⁷ Peel Commission Report, Chapter 19, p 363-364

¹⁸ Transjordan : British-controlled territory 1921-46

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Map 1: Peel Commission Partition Plan 1937



The Source: Peel Commission, Wikipedia, viewing history: 30/04/2018, URL:

https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Commission_Peel

1.3.3. Arabs and Jewish Response to the Peel Commission

Undoubtedly, the Arabs aggressively rejected the proposal of the Peel commission as did the Zionists. They also refused the notion of partition as they highly demanded a total independent State of Palestine. They also called for breaking up the Jewish immigration and stop them from purchasing more lands. In fact, they viewed the British proposal as a betrayal of the word given to them. Thus, the second phase of the revolt erupted in 1938 and the Arabs campaign of murder continued. Consequently, the Arab representatives introduced a set of

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arguments to the members of Commission why they rejected the commission's proposal; first, as early as 1915, Britain had promised the Sharif and Emir of Mecca, usayn ibn 'Al al-H shim , that Palestine would be a part of an independent Arab state that would arise after World War I. This commitment was given by Henry McMahon, British Commissioner in Egypt during the war and in the name of His Majesty's government. Second, the British Mandate in Palestine, as approved by the League of Nations, was illegal for the simple reason that it contradicted Paragraph 4 of the League of Nations Charter. According to Boustany, the Jews were a foreign nation and therefore could not be regarded as "certain communities ... belonging to the Turkish Empire." In addition, the British Mandate did not recognize that the Arab community in Palestine at that time had a right to self-expression. This right was given only to the Jewish community which, in 1918, made up only about ten per cent of the country's population.¹⁹

Unlike king Abdullah who supported the Peel proposal claiming that the danger in Palestine is quite different than the ones in Syria or any other Arab country under a colonial regime. Basically, he strongly believed that to stop the Yishuv²⁰ expansions, one should accept the partition plan. He also highlighted a set of advantages to strengthen his support, as he referred the defeat of the Arabs to the failure of the Arabs leadership. Thus, in order to prevent the land from becoming a Jewish state, the Peel Commission proposal of partition should be accepted. But unfortunately Abdullah's warning went on air.

The Zionists on another hand hesitated to reject or accept the Peel Proposal. What led the Zionist leaders Chaim Weizmann and Ben-Gurion to call for a further negotiation, after convincing the Zionist congress to accept the Partition and look for further negotiation with

¹⁹ Shaul Bartal, The Peel Commission Report 1937 and the Origins of the Partition Concept, November 14, 2017 URL: jcpa.org/article/peel-commission-report-1937-origins-partition-concept/ , Accessed April 30, 2018

²⁰ Yishuv: the Jewish communities of the Southern Syrian provinces in Ottoman period.

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the Woodhead Commission²¹, to explain the necessity of expanding more, at the basis of expanding more lands over time. Moreover, Ben Gurion stated that they are being given an opportunity which they never dread to dream of in their wildest imagination. He said: “This is more than a state, government, and sovereignty; this is a national consolidation in a free homeland.”²² He meant by this that this is a chance given that they would never have again, so it is better to accept the proposal and take the advantage of it later after careful plans.

1.3.4. The White Paper and the Jewish Response

The Arabs Great Revolt became a serious threat to British rule, especially after the failed Peel report. Soon after, the British looked for fathering both sides to negotiate their status and find an ultimate solution. However, all the British attempts failed. Hence, as a response, the British formed a final policy under the British Colonial secretary; McDonald White Paper in 1939. After the failure to meet both sides’ expectations, and the failure to bring the desired result of bringing peace in Palestine, this paper was brought as a response to the Peel Commission as it rejects the partition proposed in it. Eventually, the British came to believe that the idea of partition is impracticable. Basically, the proposed paper included 3 main sections; the constitution, the immigration, and the land. In the constitution section the expression “a national home for Jewish people” has been discussed by McDonald’s Majesty Government in which he claimed that converting Palestine to become a Jewish state is not part of their policy which is highly mentioned in the quote bellow:

His Majesty's Government will do everything in their power to create conditions which will enable the independent Palestine State to come into being within 10 years. If, at the end of 10 years, it appears to His

²¹ Woodhead Commission: under Sir John Woodhead, was set up to examine the practicality of partition. In November 1938 it recommended against the Peel Commission’s plan

²² Shabtai Teveth, *Ben Gurion and the Palestinian Arabs*, Oxford University Press, 1985 ; pp 180-182

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Majesty's Government that, contrary to their hope, circumstances require the postponement of the establishment of the independent State, they will consult with representatives of the people of Palestine, the Council of the League of Nations and the neighbouring Arab States before deciding on such a postponement. If His Majesty's Government come to the conclusion that postponement is unavoidable, they will invite the co-operation of these parties in framing plans for the future with a view to achieving the desired objective at the earliest possible date.²³

In the immigration section it has been urged by His Majesty's Government that the large scale of immigration should be stopped. His Majesty's Government rejected the policies mentioned in Balfour Declaration concerning the Jews' right to immigration to Palestine. Last but not least, in the land section, the discussion was devoted to the issue of lands transfer. His Majesty's Government highlighted the necessity of reviewing and modifying the policy that gave the Jews' the right to purchase, transfer and expand more lands. Eventually, the Jews were prevented from purchasing or transferring more Palestinian lands. In this section the white Paper stated:

The Reports of several expert Commissions have indicated that, owing to the natural growth of the Arab population and the steady sale in recent years of Arab land to Jews, there is now in certain areas no room for further transfers of Arab land, whilst in some other areas such transfers of land must be restricted if Arab cultivators are to maintain their existing standard of life and a considerable landless Arab population is not soon to

²³ British White Paper of 1939, n d, Accessed: April 30, 2018, URL: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/brwh1939.asp

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be created. In these circumstances, the High Commissioner will be given general powers to prohibit and regulate transfers of land.²⁴

Subsequently, the White Paper's main provisions were the limitations of the Immigration, and the severe control of the transfer of the Arab lands to the Jews

As the principles provided in the newly established policy "the White Paper" did not meet the Jews' expectations; thereby, they harshly rejected the new policies suggested in the paper and their expansions increased to double. Basically, the white paper was described as "the death sentence" by the Zionist leader Weizmann. Thus, the Jewish Agency issued a set of responses to the policies set in the paper including the strong rejection of the British denies to the Jewish to rebuild their National Home. According to them, the British put the Jewish population under the mercy of the Arab majority. They also regarded this policy as breach of faith and surrender to Arab terrorism. Moreover, the Jewish Agency claimed that the Jewish would never accept the closing to them of the gates of Palestine nor let their national home to be converted into a ghetto. They also pointed out that the Jewish pioneers who, during the past three decades, have shown their strength in the building of a derelict country will from now on display the same strength in defending Jewish immigration, the Jewish home and Jewish freedom.²⁵ Subsequently, a new stage of the Arab Palestinian and Jewish case started, leading to new serious events and the call for international interference.

Despite the achievements have been realized during the Arab Great Revolt including the great pressure put on the British and the Zionists, following the assassination of the British officials, the murder of the Jewish civilians and the break down between the British and the Zionist movements after the declaration of the white paper; however, the establishment of the

²⁴ Walter Laqueur, FullEnglisBooks, The Israel-Arab Reader p 11

²⁵ British White Paper : Zionist Reaction to the White Paper (1939), URL: www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/zionist-reaction-to-the-white-paper-of-1939 . Accessed 25 April 2018

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so called Peel Commission gave birth to the idea of Partition which was developed and led to further events in 1948. More specifically, Palestinian and Jewish case became an international matter which London turned over the newly formed United Nations (UN). Indeed, the UN General Assembly took a long debate of almost two month in November 1947 to decide how to divide the lands. By adopting the resolution 181 in which a partition plan was suggested along with the termination of the British Mandate. The partition plan included three major points, including the creation of the Arab and Jewish States, not later than 1 October 1948, the division of Palestine into eight parts in which three were allotted to the Arab State and three to the Jewish State, with the town of Jaffa forming an Arab enclave within Jewish territory, besides to an international regime for Jerusalem, the eighth division, to be administered by the United Nations Trusteeship Council which is clearly portrayed in the map bellow:

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Since the early stages of human beings civilized states, interests and expansion desire were the first motives for politics and strategies. Basically, history books witnessed the registration of the new term of ‘‘conflict’’ that would have as a task to assimilate the overall standard of war both terminology and side various aspects. In another hand, Modern history saw western Traditional empires such as France and Britain making it a priority to expose the positive and the civic message of their expansions in overseas and extra continental territories, However, Colonization was progressively looked at as the aggressive act of taking control over territories, and most importantly the act of exploitation of those territories’ indigenous and original inhabitants. In fact, the end of any on-ground reality is the moment of birth for another, and the case of Palestine was never supposed to be an exception of this rule. Since 1917, the Palestinian-Israeli case passed through different stages, it was influenced and orientated by the general international actuality. It started from the Balfour Declaration; that allowed the large scale immigration of the Jewish; to the Arabs’ anger that erupted in 1936. A year after the revolt, the Peel of commission partition plan was announced; that according to Arabs; it is full of contradicted recommendations. In fact, Britain continued to support the Zionists movement including immigration and colonization for two decades; even during the first phase of the Great Arab Revolt. Until the rise of the so called White paper, things have changed after the declaration that eliminated the Jewish immigration. The heritage of the British in Palestine included a change in the demographic composition, and was marked by the emergence of a case that will eventually be the fuel of a whole regional endless issue

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The complexity of the question between Israel and Palestine has been discussed in many ways in the International community by international politicians and scholars. Several resolutions and proposals have been proposed to achieve the so called peace process but none of them could achieve the later all along the past decades. Thus, throughout this chapter different points would be tackled. More specifically, this chapter aims at exploring the past resolutions that were proposed in the general bodies of United Nations since the Partition plan of 1948 up to now. Indeed, the chapter will be divided into two parts; the first part will be devoted to the United Nations early resolutions and the evolution of the events from 1948 to 1967 and the second chapter will be tackling the evolution of the events right after the end of the 6-day war onwards.

2.1. The United Nations Resolutions (1948-1967)

Due to its nature of being an issue with multiple historical, geographical, and spiritual dimensions, and in addition to the different visions every part of the case adopt to describe it, the Israeli-Palestinian case was a matter of concern in different UN bodies, starting by the Security Council, and ending by other UN branches such as, UNRWA, UNISCO, and UNICEF. However, it seems important to highlight how the UN perspective and official language changed about the nature of the case through different historical events, from a case considered as a part of an overall decolonization process to an occupation case.

2.1.1. Partition of Palestine and Early Resolutions

The first historical touch of the new established UN organisation with the case was in 1947 when the Plan of the Partition of Palestine was approved by the General assembly under the resolution of 181 as the first attempt toward the establishment of two separate states, one for the Jews in Palestine, and the other for the Arab Palestinians. However, during seventy years of conflict, the UN General Assembly, and the UN Security Council discussed and

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approved a big number of resolutions that covered all geographical, economical, and social matters, taking to consideration the religious specific statue that Palestine has. Indeed, the analysis of UN resolutions about the Israeli-Palestinian case would certainly involve other countries in the middle east due to the regional nature of the conflict, and due to some other operational reasons; mainly the heavy presence of the PLO in some of the other Arab countries such as Jordan and Lebanon. In 1948, the Jewish presence in Palestine was becoming more and more an official reality, following the UN resolution of partition in 1947, the Jewish armed groups such as the ‘Haganah’, and the ‘Irgun’ were taking a major role which pushed the situation toward total escalation, and from a British point a view, things were going out of control and the decolonization of Palestine was inevitable. In parallel, and on May 14th, 1948, the state of Israel was created, and the world was about to witness the first Arab-Israeli war that generated a tragedy of thousands of casualties from both sides, and a big Palestinian refugees’ disaster with which the UN had to deal as a matter of priority.

Different resolutions were adopted in the United Nations including the eternal disputed capital, Jerusalem, which was one of the points included in the UN resolution 194 adopted on December 11th 1948. The resolution insisted on the right of all Palestine inhabitants from all communities to access to Jerusalem and the other holy places on the Palestinian territory. However, the most important element about the UN resolution 194 was the establishment of the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine (UNCCP). Consisted of France, Turkey, and the United States of America, the UNCCP had as a mission to substitute the UN special Mediator for Palestine ‘Count Folke Bernadotte’ after his assassination on September 17th 1948., Another resolution was adopted on December 8th 1949 when the Palestinian refugee’s crisis imposed itself as one of the negative factors on the path of the Israeli-Palestinian case. The UN general assembly adopted the resolution 302 in which it continued urging all the concerned parts and the international community to ensure

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the logistic and the political support to the UN special Refugees programs in Palestine. The resolution also brought the announcement of a new established official UN body “the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East” (UNRWA). However, on the political side, the new state of Israel was gaining more international credit, and was clearly expressed in the literature of the UN Security Council resolution of October 18th, 1949 [S/1410], The Council “Decides in its judgement that Israel is a peace- loving State and is able and willing to carry out the obligations contained in the Charter.”¹, and in harmony with that, Israel was given the full membership in the UN and case of Palestine was having another dimension.

By the year 1950, the UNCCP was still following the case of Palestine having the role of the legal and unique UN mediator; its main diplomatic plan was based on the promotion of peaceful talks possibilities. However, negotiation with Israel and with other Arab countries were having place separately, the fact that explained the lack of dynamicity in resolving the questions between the two parts at that period, and as a response to that , the UN General Assembly adopted the resolution 394 (V) on December 14th, 1950. Basing on the UNCCP reports submitted in September and October of the same year, the UN General Assembly urged all the concerned parts to get involved in a serious process of direct negotiations for the first time. The UN General assembly “Urges the Governments and authorities concerned to seek agreement by negotiations conducted either with the Conciliation Commission or directly, with a view to the final settlement of all questions outstanding between them”². It also estimated that about 750.000 indigenous Palestinians had to fled their original territories, or were deliberately expelled as a result of the first Arab-Israeli war, the first refuge countries were logically the nearest ones, this fact explains that many of UN General assembly and

¹ 78 (1949) Resolution of 18 October 194, ADMISSION OF NEW MEMBERS TO THE UNITED NATIONS, securitycouncilreport.org

²UN General Assembly Resolutions: Resolution 394(V), jewishvirtuallibrary.org/

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Security of Council resolution concerned the surrounding Arab countries, as much as they did for Israel, and for the PLO, or the Palestinian authority later on.

In the period after 1956, the relation between Israel and its Arab neighbours was far from being calm and ensuring. Supported by the USSR, the Egyptian president Abdel Naser announced that Tiran maritime straits are to be closed against the Israeli vessels, before starting to mobilize a big density of troops along the borders with Israel. This led the Hebrew state leadership to take the decision to push the button and start what they called a “Pre-emptive strike” against the Egyptian air fields. That was the first page of one of the quickest wars in history where Israel could defeat five Arab Armies in only 6 days of military operations. Before that, the issue between Israel and Palestine was not yet clear to be considered as conflict or colonization as both sides were treated equally by the UN. However things changed right after the war.

2.1.2. The Six-Day War and the Start of Occupation

In the aftermath of the six-day war, the UN resolutions confirmed that the case of Palestine took a radical different dimension, New terms like “Occupation” and “Withdrawal” were used on the UN resolutions’ literature. But before that, it is a necessary thing to illustrate changing situation in the whole region at that period; Israeli troops occupied all the rest of the Palestinian territory in addition to other vast territories in Eastern Egypt (Sinai), and Golan Heights on the Syrian front. This fact made this war look like a quick lands conquest for Israel, but the most delicate factor about this war was that Jerusalem was under the total Israeli control for the first time in the history of the case, on July, 4th, 1967, the resolution 2253 (ES-V) was adopted, the UN General assembly confirmed that it was deeply concerned at the situation prevailing in Jerusalem as a result of the measures taken by Israel to change the status of the City, it considered that these measures are invalid; besides to its call upon

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Israel to rescind all measures already taken and to desist forthwith from taking action which would alter the status of Jerusalem ³.

Operationally, the UN noticed that the status of Jerusalem was changing progressively, the need for another resolution to recall the Israeli part was a common feeling. Accordingly, the UN General Assembly, and after receiving the report of the General Secretary, adopted a new resolution under the number of 2254, on July 14th, 1967, in which it expressed its deepest regret and concern of the non-compliance by Israel with resolution 2253 (ES-V) Later on that year, on November 22nd, the Security Council unanimously adopted, after a long process of negotiation, the resolution 242 (1967), laying down a set of principles for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East, based mainly on ending lands occupation. Basically, the resolution stipulated that the establishment of a just and lasting peace should include the application of all the decisions contained in the resolution which was issued in its official text as the following:

The Security Council,

- 1) Withdrawal of Israel armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict;
- 2) ... respect for and acknowledgment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area ...within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force;
2. Affirms further the necessity for guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area, through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones;⁴

³ UN General Assembly Resolutions: Resolution 2253 (ES-V), jewishvirtuallibrary.org/

⁴ UN Security Council Resolutions, Resolution 242 (1967), securitycouncilreport.org

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Eventually, Israel could sophisticatedly gain more Palestinian lands which according to the previous UN resolutions are called the Occupied Palestinian Territories. The Map below shows the new partition after integrating the Palestinian territories to Israel's part as it also portrays the massive change in the lands' allocation which suits the term of colonization rather than conflict:

Map 3: Partition of Palestine After the Six-day War



The Source: Maps: 1967 to Present, PalestinePortal.org, viewing history: 05/05/2018, URL: <https://www.palestineportal.org/learn-teach/israelpalestine-the-basics/maps/maps-1967-to-present/>

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2.2. United Nations Resolutions from 1967 Onwards

For the first time, Israel was officially pointed out as an occupying power, and it was invited to respect its obligations imposed by the international laws in the territories occupied after the war. On the other side, Palestinians were the biggest victims in the whole equation, all their territories were occupied including their capital and their both Muslim and Christian religious holy places, thousands had to flee in a long trip seeking refuge in the surrounding Arab countries.

2.2.1. The War of 1973 and War Diplomacy

The starting of the 70s decade was marked by an atmosphere of escalation in the cold war between the United states and its western allies in one side and Soviet Union in the other, competition and Fire were almost everywhere on the globe, In Vietnam, Cuba, and in Africa where the Soviets tended to take a place. In the Middle East and the Arab region, the year 1970s witnessed the death of the biggest Arab nationalist leader “Jamal Abdel Nacer”, and this had a big effect on the Palestinian leadership policies. However in 1973, the world saw another Arab-Israeli war taking place on both Egyptian and Syrian fronts, Arab countries had an objective to take back their territories occupied by Israel in 1967’s six-day war. As fighting reached a critical stage, the Soviet Union and the United States requested together an urgent meeting of the Security Council. On 22 October, the Security Council adopted the resolution 338 (1973), which reaffirmed the principles of resolution 242 which insisted on the necessity to end all kinds of land’s occupation resulted after the 1967 war, and called for the establishment of a serious negotiations process aimed at “a just and durable peace in the Middle East”. “The Security Council, Calls upon the parties concerned to start immediately after the ceasefire the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) in all of its

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parts.”⁵ The ceasefire call was later confirmed in resolution 339 (1973) of 23 October, and the Secretary-General was requested to dispatch United Nations observers immediately. However, as fighting continued in the region, the Egyptian President “Anwar el Sadat” addressed directly the Soviet Union and the United States to intervene with troops on the ground to impose and enforce the ceasefire. While the Soviet Union agreed, the United States opposed the request, which was another point of difference and debate between the two super powers at that period.

At the request of Egypt, the Security Council reconvened on 24 October, where a resolution calling for the creation of a new peacekeeping force, which became the second United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF II), was worked out. After Egypt and Israel agreed to disengage their forces, UNEF II supervised their redeployment under a separate agreement reached in May 1974, Israel and Syria signed a disengagement agreement. This led to the establishment of the United Nations Disengagement Force (UNDOF), which was assigned to monitor the agreements between Israel and Syria. The Council renewed UNEF’s mandate periodically until July 1979, when it was allowed to lapse following the conclusion of a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel. UNDOF continues to function on the Golan Heights. Basically, toward the second part of the 70s decade, a historical peace process was ongoing between Egypt and Israel, a positive sense was spreading in this matter. However, for Palestinians, things seemed to be getting worst, the PLO saw no Palestinian direct interest in any peace agreements other Arab countries could have with Israel, the military option was still the first choice on the table at this stage, this explained the reality on the ground which was marked by the bloody involvement of Palestinians in the Lebanese civil war that started on 1975, and by the set of attacks adopted by the PLO against Israeli targets in different places in the world.

⁵ UN Security Council Resolutions, Resolution 338 (1973), securitycouncilreport.org

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In a different context, and In 1975, the main result of the UN General Assembly Resolution 3376 was the establishment of the United Nations Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People (CEIRP); its intrinsic role was to help Palestinians to have their rights in self-determination without external interference, and the right to come back to their homes from which they were expelled during the different phases of the Issue. Despite all the United Nations attempts to prevent Israel from expanding the Palestinians lands and violating their rights, it failed to do so. Accordingly, the case shows a clear process of colonization of the powerful state of Israel over the weak Palestine.

2.2.2. From the declaration of the Palestinian state to Oslo treaty:

In 1988, and after being involved in many armed conflicts in the Middle East for decades, the PLO leadership seemed to be more convinced of the political and diplomatic ways to realize the dream of the Palestinian state on its occupied territories, this new conviction was one of the results of the international dramatic changes in that period marked by the decreasing Soviet role in the region with all what that factor had as negative consequences on Palestinians and other Arab socialist regimes. However, on November 15th, 1988, Yasser Arafat addressed an extraordinary session of the Palestinian National council held in the Algerian capital Algiers, and he gave his historical speech in which he insisted in the Palestinian people's right in self-determination and dignity, and he concluded his speech with the official declaration of the state of Palestine. Later on December 15th, the UN General assembly officially acknowledged the declaration of Independence of the state of Palestine and its right to existence as a sovereign state on the territory occupied after in 1967, in addition to that the UN acknowledged the official naming of "Palestine" instead of "the Palestinian Liberation Movement", this acknowledgment was made under the frame of the UN General Assembly resolution titled "43/177. Question of Palestine", the Resolution was

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consisted of the following main points insisting on both acknowledgment and occupation matters:

The General Assembly,

- 1) Acknowledges the proclamation of the State of Palestine by the Palestine National Council on 15 November 1988;
- 2) the need to enable the Palestinian people to exercise their sovereignty over their territory occupied since 1967;
- 3) Decides that, effective as of 15 December 1988, the designation "Palestine" should be used in place of the designation "Palestine Liberation Organization" in the United Nations system,⁶

The UN recognition of the declaration of Palestine Independence gave the PLO emblematic leader Yasser Arafat another logic reason to get involved in a diplomatic peace process with the Israelis, especially, after the destroying Gulf War against the radically pro-Palestinian Iraqi regime in 1991. Consequently, and for the first time, the Camp David accords of 1978 were accepted by Palestinian, as a basic frame under which a peace process may take place with Israel. In fact, The Camp David's Framework for Peace in the Middle East proposed the status of autonomy uniquely for local Palestinian inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza. Putting into consideration the case of Settlers, at the time, there were some 7,400 settlers living in the West Bank (excluding East Jerusalem), and 500 in Gaza. From an Israeli point view, the PLO was still not recognizing the state of Israel, moreover, Israel itself was still considering the PLO as a terrorist movement at that period, this fact posed a recognition issue in front of the United States of America which was the first peace process intermediary. As a solution to that, the two parts had to exchange letters of mutual recognition

⁶ UN General Assembly Resolution, RES/43/71, December 15th, 1988, <http://www.un.org/>

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on September 9th, 1993, days before signing the Oslo I accord which was considered as the declaration of principles.

Based on UN resolutions 242 of 1967 and 338 of 1973, Oslo I set the agenda for the follow-up agreement that became known as Oslo II, which would include discussion of the future governance of the city of Jerusalem (both sides claim it as their respective capital) as well as issues concerning borders, security and the rights, of Israeli settlers in the West Bank. A protocol for free elections for Palestinian Authority leadership was also established. Moreover, Oslo II gave the Palestinian Authority, which controls Gaza and the West Bank, limited control over part of the region, while allowing Israel to annex much of the West Bank, and established parameters for economic and political cooperation between the two sides. As part of the treaty, for example, both sides were prohibited from inciting violence or conflict against each other. However, Israel was collecting taxes from Palestinians who work in Israel but live in the Occupied Territories, distributing the revenue to the Palestinian Authority. It was also controlling the trade of goods and services into and out of Gaza and the West Bank.

Unfortunately, any points gained from the Oslo Accords were short-lived. Therefore, in 1998, Palestinian Authority accused Israel of not following through on the troop withdrawals from Gaza and Hebron called for in the Oslo Accords. And, after initially slowing down settlement construction in the West Bank, at the request of the United States, the building of new Israeli housing in the region began in earnest again in the early 2000s, and the whole situation was going to escalation again. These events and the continuation of Israelis lands takeover and settlement show a crystal clear control of Israel over Palestine which goes hand in hand with the definition of the term colonization.

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2.2.3. The Intifada and the new 21st century

Basically, the United Nations resolutions along with the language used in the resolutions changed gradually throughout the time. On September 28th, 2000, the Israeli opposition leader Ariel Sharon visited the holiest place in Jerusalem which is Al-Aqsa compound and took a walk in its surrounding area accompanied with his guards and a riots' police group. This act resulted in an endless Palestinian anger wave; violence was at its peak and confrontations between Palestinian young men and Israeli police resulted in dozens of Palestinian casualties, at least 47 Palestinians were killed, and 1,885 were wounded⁷. However, on October 7th, 2000, the UN Security Council adopted the resolution 1322 in which the Council deplored the visit of Ariel Sharon to the Al Haram Al-sharif considering that act as the first reason of the subsequent violence, the resolution recalled resolutions 476 (1980), 478 (1980), 672 (1990) and 1073 (1996), and insisted on several points as the following:

The Security Council,

- 1) Deplores the provocation carried out at Al-Haram Al-Sharif in Jerusalem on 28 September 2000.....as well as in other areas throughout the territories occupied by Israel since 1967, resulting in over 80 Palestinian deaths and many other casualties;
- 2) Calls upon Israel, the occupying Power, to abide scrupulously by its legal obligations and its responsibilities under the Fourth Geneva

⁷ Menachem Klein (2003). *The Jerusalem Problem: The Struggle for Permanent Status*. University Press of Florida. pp. 97–98. ISBN 978-0813026732.

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Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War
of 12 August 1949;

After 2001, and the attacks of September 11th of that year which targeted the two biggest cities in the United States of America, the US war against Terrorism and radical organizations under the Republican administration of President G.W. Bush was the major theme of the start of the new millennium, the United states aimed to constitute a new international coalition to fight this new universal threat, the noticeable point is that American administration believed that some traditional 20th century leaders couldn't have a place in this new international formula. In what concern the Israeli-Palestinian case, the US Officials didn't seem convinced enough about the importance of Palestine case as an occupation case that generated a lot of senses of hatred over decades. The emblematic Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat was frequently presented by American and Israeli officials as an obstacle on the path of peace, However, after two years of continuous violence, the UN Security Council adopted the resolution 1397 on March 12th, 2002, in which the solution of two-states was mentioned for the first time on a UN official resolution paper, the resolution also called for the immediate ending of all sorts of violent acts on the ground, and recalled the previous UN resolutions adopted in the same contexts as the following:

The Security Council,

- 1) Affirming a vision of a region where two States, Israel and Palestine, live side by side within secure and recognized borders,
- 2) Calls upon the Israeli and Palestinian sides and their leaders to cooperate in the implementation of the Tenet work plan and Mitchell

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Report recommendations with the aim of resuming negotiations on a political settlement;⁸

The consequences of the second Intifada and the fatal failure of Oslo peace process were disastrous on the stability of the Palestinian authority in both West Bank and Gaza band. In 2007, the Islamic resistance movement HAMAS took the total control over the Gaza band after a bloody fight campaign against the traditional leading movement of FATAH, imposing a new frightening reality on Israel and the International community. Soon after, on December 27th, 2008, the Israeli army started a large scale military operation against HAMAS in GAZA band, and On January 8th, 2009, the UN security of Council adopted the resolution 1860 recalling resolutions 242 (1967), 338 (1973), 1397 (2002), 1515 (2003) and 1850 (2008), and calling all the concerned fighting parts to an immediate cease fire, the first objective of cease fire was the withdrawal of Israeli troops out of Gaza which is considered as a part of the Palestinian occupied territory in accordance with UN resolutions 242 (1967), 338 (1973). This explains the mention of the Israeli withdrawal as an immediate subsequent of the demanded ceasefire on the resolution's official text: "The Security Council, stresses the urgency of and calls for an immediate, durable and fully respected ceasefire, leading to the full withdrawal of Israeli forces from Gaza;"⁹ From this angle, Israel military operation against Hamas in Gaza demonstrates a clear colonization of a powerful state over a weaker one.

Toward the end of the first decade of the 21st century, the international community concerned by the Palestine case had to deal with another priority which was the issue of the increasing Israeli settlements on the Occupied Palestinian territories, Palestinian authority passed through every diplomatic channel to condemn and highlight what it considered as the

⁸ UN Security Council resolution 1397 (2002), www.un.org/

⁹ UN Security Council, Resolution 1860 (2009), <https://unispal.un.org/>

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continuous occupied lands cutting by Israelis, whereas, Israel argued that those settlement are a part of its natural expansion, and the two-states solution could officially solve the problem but the real issue from an Israeli point of view is the absence of a strong Palestinian authority that may control armed resistance movements and play the role of a solid peace negotiator, However, the UN General assembly adopted the resolution 67/19 on November 29th, 2012, In which Palestine was upgraded to gain a status of non-member observer state in the United Nations, but before that the UN General Assembly insisted another time on the use of “occupied” when referring to Palestinian territory controlled by Israel after 1967, these two main matters were the first points included in the 67/19 adopted resolution under the following official text:

The General Assembly,

1) Reaffirms the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to independence in their State of Palestine on the Palestinian territory occupied since 1967;

2) Decides to accord to Palestine non-member observer State status in the United Nations, without prejudice to the acquired rights, privileges and role of the Palestine Liberation Organization in the United Nations as the representative of the Palestinian people, in accordance with the relevant resolutions and practice.¹⁰

Another resolution was adopted on December 23th, 2016, by the UN Security Council under the number 2334. This resolution reaffirmed previous UN resolutions that insisted on ending occupation such the resolution 242 and 338, Moreover, the resolution

¹⁰ UN General Assembly, resolution 67/19 (2012), <https://unispal.un.org/>

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text recalled Israel about its responsibilities as an occupation power and call it to immediately cease all sorts of settlements building on occupied territories, considering that act as illegal and as a violation of the international law. The resolution includes the following points:

The Security Council

- 1) Reaffirms that the establishment by Israel of settlements in the Palestinian territory occupied since 1967, including East Jerusalem, has no legal validity and constitutes a flagrant violation under international law and a major obstacle to the achievement of the two-State solution and a just, lasting and comprehensive peace;
- 2) Reiterates its demand that Israel immediately and completely cease all settlement activities in the occupied Palestinian territory, including East Jerusalem, and that it fully respect all of its legal obligations in this regard;¹¹

As a general overview of the UN vision about the case of Palestine, it was noticeable at the beginning that this international organization considered the case as a part of a decolonization process after the WWII, Accordingly, it played a major role in organizing the process of the partition plan and then in the general following of the case evolution through its different bodies, starting by the supporting International efforts for a peaceful settlement on the political side, and ending by conducting and organizing the humanitarian support provided for the refugees and war victims. Although, the UN recognized Israel's right to exist since its early declaration, but after the six-day war, the

¹¹ UN Security Council Resolution, 2334 (2016), <https://unispal.un.org/>

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International organization considered Israel as an occupation power, and the whole Palestine issue acquired the status of an occupation case on the UN official texts, considering that the frontiers recognized before 1967 were the decisive geographical limits on which any peaceful settlement should be based on. The absence of the use of word conflict and The United Nations' emphasis on the use of the word "occupied" when referring to the Israeli/Palestinian issue, according to the resolutions 67/19 that were adopted in the General Assembly, confirms that what is happening between Israel and Palestine is a pure colonization.

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The question of Palestine is gradually becoming a global and social issue adopted by so many scholars who are fighting for social, economic and political justice. Therefore, this chapter aims at shedding light on two International Scholars' views towards the question of Palestine and answering the question whether it is conflict or colonization. Although, the Israeli- Palestinian issue has been discussed by several international and Jewish scholars, but this chapter focuses on two main scholars and politicians whom devoted most of their time for the peace process not only in Palestine but also worldwide; Noam Chomsky and Ilan Pappé. Subsequently, this chapter aims at discussing and analysing these two main scholars' views and then exploring a synthesis at the end.

3.1. Noam Chomsky's Views

Noam Chomsky is an American Jewish Institute Professor of Linguistics and Philosophy at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He has always been known as a linguist whose existence is virtually dependent upon the university in United States and Jewish world. However his shift from linguistics to politics has been discussed and criticised by so many scholars and politicians mainly the Jewish. He has been a prominent critic of U.S. imperialism as he has been critical of U.S. involvement in the Israel-Palestine issue. Chomsky's works on Palestine contributed to the understanding of the question worldwide as he played a crucial role in revealing the truth that both the U.S. and Israel have always been hiding and covering by the mass media. Chomsky's major contributions to the question includes **The Hegemony and survival, Failed States, Gaza in crisis**, and most recently hope and prospects books. However, the major points that have been tackled by Chomsky concerning the idea of conflict and colonization lied in his discussion about the

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U.S involvement in the question along with his discussion about the role of the past in understanding the present situation of Palestine and its fate.

3.1.1. The Role of The U.S. in The Question

It is common sense that the United States is the most dominant force in the world affairs and has been since the Second World War. Chomsky highlighted the fact that the U.S. is a settler-colonial society in which they destroyed and eliminated the native population, mainly the Africans. He clearly admitted that the Israelis are repeating the same thing in which the U.S. is encouraging them to relive the history; as they got rid of an indigenous population, Israel also can do something similar. Chomsky highly criticized the common sense that describes the U.S. as an honest broker and neutral arbiter trying to bring together two violent and irrational sides. In fact, he sees that the United States is trying to rise a conflict between them.

To support his position, Chomsky relied on a set of events including the event of 1967 during Israel's conquer of the Occupied Territories when the Security Council resolution of 242 called for Israel to withdraw to its borders and in return both states would be recognized; however, Palestinians had nothing; but they were mentioned as refugees. Subsequently, everyone has confirmed that it was a general framework for political settlement. Another event that Chomsky introduced to support his critics was the event of 1971 when Israel was offered two peace treaties from both Egypt under the leadership of Anwar Sadat; who was carrying about Sinai, and Jordan in another hand. These peace treaties meant a security for Israel but the question lies on whether Israel is looking for peace or expansion? Basically, Israel rejected the peace offered and chose expansion over security. Israel's choice was highly

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backed by Henry Kissinger¹ which led to the war of 1973 close to a nuclear war. The war finally led to the acceptance of Anwar Sadat's proposal of 1971 and by this time the Palestinian rights could enter in the international agenda.

In 1976 there was another crucial event Chomsky highlighted to show the U.S. support to Israel which led to the call for recognition of the State of Palestine besides to their national rights which were brought by the three major Arab states; Egypt, Syria, and Jordan in the Security Council. Chomsky shed lights on the fact that the United States vetoed in similar resolutions one when did Israel refuse to attend the session of 1976 and the other one in 1980, pointing out the difficulty in finding these mentioned facts because they haven't been mentioned neither in the media nor in the general reports as it is hard to find a reference to them because according to Chomsky the double vetoes that the United States did is; first, illegal to happen, and second, it is vetoed from history. Subsequently, Chomsky claimed that as long as you have a submissive intellectual class, which the west does have, you can absolutely control history, and that's one of the prerogatives of an imperial power.²

3.1.2. The Role of the Past in Understanding the Present

During the last two decades, Noam Chomsky's main interest was seeking for peace process not only in Palestine but in the whole world. In his interview with the British activist and politician Frank Barat, he highlighted the importance of relating the past to the present day Palestine to really understand what is happening in there; because, the past involves aspirations and hopes; thus, forgetting about the past means forgetting about the future. Chomsky illustrated his point by the idea of those who hold the clubs to say: "Forget about everything that happened and let's go on from here" in another words they say that they have

¹ Henry Kissinger: is an American political scientist, diplomat and geopolitical consultant who served as the United States Secretary of State and National Security Advisor under the presidential administrations of Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford.

² Chomsky, Noam. "US Foreign Policy in the Middle East", 17 May. 2018, www.chomsky.info/20100525/

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what they want; thus, Palestinians should forget what their concerns are, they will just take what they want. That is to say, Israeli people think that they are just dismissing hopes and aspirations because they already have got what they really want. According to Chomsky; the problem is not about recognizing the Jewish as a group or their desire to introduce their self-determinations; however, the problem lies on how this self-determinations is implemented.

Furthermore, Chomsky has discussed the idea of the Jewish State in which he sees it as an anomaly, and the question lies on the wrong assumption. He illustrated the mentioned idea with the history of France and how it did shape its state in which a lot of violence and repression took place. Soon after, anyone who was born in France became a French citizen. However in Israel, anyone was born in Israel became a Jewish citizen not an Israeli citizen. Thus, Chomsky pointed out his refusal to accept the so called Jewish State for two reasons; the first was about how Israel built itself; claiming that every state if we look at its history is shaped by an extreme violence. He also claimed that there is no way to impose a uniform structure of a group of people on another group of varying interests, language... etc. except with the use of violence. The second reason why Chomsky refused to accept the Jewish State is how Israel is imposing its policy; more specifically, any Israeli who was born in Israel no matter what his believes or trends; he is said to be a Jewish National not an Israeli national.

Moreover, Israel has always been described as an Apartheid³ state. Despite the similarities between Israel and South Africa as an apartheid state that have already been proposed by so many scholars and theorists; Noam Chomsky still sees that there is a difference which lies on the white population need to its Black counterpart. However, the Israeli people don't want the Palestinians anymore; indeed, they just want them out or in the prison. Therefore, Chomsky sees that Israeli Apartheid is much worse than that in South

³ Apartheid: a policy or system of segregation or discrimination on grounds of race. (especially in the past in South Africa)

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Africa. Ultimately, Chomsky's belief that the past is relevant to the present was highly portrayed in his discussion about Zionism in which he sees it as something different in pre-state and post-state period. According to him, during the 1948s, Zionism meant the ideology of the state, a state religion as he compared it to Americanism. However, the notion itself changes over time depending on the state's situation and needs. That is to say, in 1964, when Chomsky paid a visit to Israel, the word Zionism was viewed as a joke Israel used as propaganda for children. Thus, Chomsky claimed that Zionism as a state policy is shifting concept depending on what the state needs.⁴

3.1.3. The Question of Palestine's Fate

During his discussion, Chomsky pointed out that after Palestinians Rights entered the international agenda in the 1976; it still has been possible to advocate bi-nationalism. Indeed, he views that the one-state solution has nothing to do with the question; however, the two-states solution is likely to be the best solution to achieve a peace process. The mentioned idea was entirely supported by the vast majority of the world except United State and Israel. While discussing the fate of Palestine, Chomsky strongly supported the idea of the boycott mainly the selective boycotts. That is to say, according to Chomsky, boycotts are tactics rather than principles; thus, they have to be well evaluated in terms of all possible consequences; therefore, whenever the boycott is likely to be happen; the circumstances should be taken into consideration at least for those who really care about the fate of Palestine. He strengthened his point with taking the case of South Africa as example which is often compared to Israel in this context. In this case, boycotts; mainly the ones which were taking a long time to be educated and organized; had some sorts of effect in which it had led to a widespread condemnation of the so called apartheid. Hence, boycotts became an effective means to achieve their

⁴ Barat, Frank. *On Palestine: The Past*, Pinguin Books, 2015, PP.49-50

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objectives. However, the case of Palestine is somehow different because Israel is different than South Africa. More specifically, the boycotts may turn out into destruction by using weapons for the hard right. Thus, those who really care about Palestine's fate will never take actions that would make harm to them but they would rather take actions after a careful consideration.

Another point that was highlighted by Noam Chomsky concerning Palestine's fate is calling for reducing of the U.S. aid to Israel. Besides, Americans should stand all together to support the call for cancelling all economic, social, and military aid to Israel until it agrees to negotiate for peaceful diplomatic settlement. Basically, Chomsky encourages the well-organized boycotts not only of United States support but also UK and any other criminal states which participated in the crimes committed in Palestine and against the Palestinians.⁵

3.2. Ilan Pappé's Views

Ilan Pappé is an Israeli Jewish professor of history and social science at the University of Exeter. He is the author of *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*, *A History of Modern Palestine*, and *The Israeli/Palestine Question*. He worked on the history of Israel Occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Indeed, he strongly defended the Question of Palestine internationally. And for that reason he had been condemned in Israel's parliament and had been receiving several death threats. Despite his origins, Pappé has always been viewing Israel as a settler-colonial state. Basically, Pappé tackled different point concerning the Israeli-Palestine issue including the idea of Apartheid state, the Zionism question along with other different points.

⁵ Barat, Frank. *Gaza in Crisis: The Fate of Palestine*. Punguin Books, 2010,PP.09-18.

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3.2.1. Israel as an Apartheid State

It is common sense that the new definition of Israel today is mainly an Apartheid state. Israel today is largely compared to the apartheid in South Africa by so many scholars and politicians including Uri Davis who is the first who used the term in his analysis in 1980s, and then it was discussed by Ilan Pappé in which he exposed the differences and the similarities between South Africa and Israel. Though it has been clearly realized that what is imposed to Palestinians is quite different than the one imposed in South Africa, Ilan Pappé claimed that the phenomenon of Apartheid has become widespread mainly after the growth of the international solidarity movement in Canada. Basically, the analysis of Israel as an apartheid led to the rise of another threat to the peace process. Ilan Pappé agrees that there is only one big different between South Africa and Israel which is the difficulty to get rid of the Apartheid than did South Africa. The reason why did Ilan Pappé highlight the idea of the Apartheid is to be aware of the differences and similarities between South Africa and Israel so that not to repeat the same mistakes that have been made in South Africa. In fact, according to Pappé, being aware of the differences would require original thinking toward the Israel-Palestinian issue.⁶

3.2.2. Zionism as Colonialism

The idea of Zionism has been strongly discussed by Ilan Pappé in which he pointed out that Zionism is an ideology; more specifically, he defined it as a set of ideas that inspire people to do certain things and act in accordance to them. Pappé's interest doesn't lie on how

⁶ Barat, Frank. *On Palestine: The Apartheid State of Israel*. Punguin Books, 2015,P.23-29

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the word is interpreted by the neutral scholars; however, his main focus is on its impact as an ideology on people's lives on the ground. He highlighted the fact that Zionism in Palestine means a national movement that has the right and the aspiration to have as much Palestine as possible with as few Palestinians in it as possible. Pappé also claimed that there is only one constant dimension of Zionism that does not easily shift with time; he suggested that it can be called a mainstream Zionism that can also be referred to us as Labour Zionism. For him, it is the colonialist or settler-colonialist, dimension of Zionism.

Moreover, Pappé confesses that Zionism is a revival of Judaism⁷, he clearly mentioned in his discussion with Frank Barat that as nationalism became a concrete project of settling in Palestine, Zionism is a settler-colonial project and still is one today. Pappé admitted that maybe the means used in colonizing Palestine are changing according to the circumstances, but not the vision itself and what Israel is doing is just an attempt to enhance its ability to colonize Palestine but does not change the vision of colonizing Palestine. Besides, For Pappé, Zionism is far from the universal values of human rights that represent any ideology. As many of Zionism's interpretations of today contradict the human right of anyone who is not a Jew in Israel. Last but not least, Pappé claimed that what we see in Israel and Palestine today is a daily implementation of nineteenth-century colonialist and ideology.

3.2.3. The Incremental Genocide of Israel Concept

Basically, the incremental genocide concept has been used by Ilan Pappé in 2006 to define the crimes committed by Israel in Gaza Strip. In fact, Pappé shed light on how disappointed are the Palestinians at the lack of the international reactions towards the destruction that Israel has left behind Gaza Strip, while Israel was developing its usual ironic stories to justify its crimes in Gaza claiming that it is a tragedy caused by an unprovoked Hamas rocket attack on

⁷ Judaism: is the religion of the Jewish people.

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the Jewish state what led them to react in self-defence. Despite the mainstream media's attempts to cover the reality and shed lights only on Israeli's narration of its policies out of the context, still their narrative is highly rejected by the alternative media in which Pappé said: "The Zionist Strategy of branding its brutal policies as an ad hoc response to this or that Palestinians' action is as old as the Zionist presence in Palestine itself ". The Israeli's strategy was used constantly to justify the implementation of Zionist vision in Palestine. Though the means used to achieve their goals are often changing, but the vision has never changed. According to Pappé, the Zionism vision lies on Israel expansion over almost all Palestine mainly where the Palestinians still live.

Moreover, due to their geopolitical locations, both Gaza Strip and West Bank gave Israel an impression to achieve its strategies without a Palestinian uprising or any international condemnation; however, both locations did not grant themselves easily to Israel's strategy. Besides, Pappé called those who commit crimes in the Arab world, by specifying Israelis who are committing crimes and atrocities against the Palestinians; to be judged by the same moral and ethical standards in which he said: "They are criminals, though in the case of Palestine they have been at work longer than anyone else". He also said: "Cessation of the incremental genocide in Gaza and the restitution of the basic human and civil rights of Palestinians wherever they are, including the right of Palestinian refugees to return, is essential for human rights in the Middle East as a whole".⁸

3.3. A Synthesis

No one can deny that both Noam Chomsky and Ilan Pappé are two key figures who played a crucial role in bringing the question of Palestine to the fore of the international affairs. Their main focus was to shed lights on the truth that has been always hidden by the

⁸ Barat, Frank. *On Palestine: A Brief History of Israel's Incremental Genocide*. Punguin Books, 2015,P 147-154.

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dominant power U.S. along with its ally the so called the Jewish State or Israel. In fact, their voices are leading to liberate Palestine.

Both figures put the spotlight on the atrocities and the crimes committed against the Palestinians mainly in Gaza Strip and West Bank by Israel and under the support of the U.S. During their discussion on the fate of Palestine, both of them agreed on the point of encouraging the Solidarity Campaigns and the legal boycotts; in which according to them, these two instruments are the most fruitful ways to achieve a world peace. Though they both compared Israel to South Africa as apartheid, but still they see some differences that lie on the vision of both sides. More specifically, South Africa's main interest was to gather as much black counterparts as possible; however, Israel's main interest was to expand as much Palestine as possible with less Palestinians in it.

Both Noam Chomsky and Ilan Pappé agree on the importance of the Past in dealing with the present of the Question. Chomsky confirmed that in order to understand what is happening in Palestine nowadays one should go throughout history and the past. Besides, Ilan Pappé pointed out that the past is everything in the eyes of the occupied and the oppressed people. Both Chomsky and Pappé pointed out how Jewish people introduced themselves in the past as a religious group; though, they both agreed that no one can deny the fact of the right of people to redefine themselves on a national, ethnic or cultural ground. However, they claimed that the problem lies on the price paid by this transformation and who paid the price. Ilan Pappé clearly described the Jewish action; which is introducing and defining themselves at the expense of another group; as a serious issue.

Despite the many points both Chomsky and Ilan Pappé agree on, there are other points that they see them in different perspectives. One of the points that these two scholars disagree on is the number of states required as a solution. Ilan Pappé insists on a strict one-state

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solution where all citizens; despite their origins or beliefs, can guarantee their rights. To strengthen his point, Pappé brought again the question of South Africa by comparing it to the Israeli state as an Apartheid in which he argues that Israel is a State dominated by structural anti-Palestinian racism that nowadays became part of a daily life. Besides, he sees the system of apartheid as a support to the Zionist ideology; thus, if the two-state solution would be taken as a solution, it would remain in the same place. Furthermore, the mentioned solution according to Pappé would absolutely ignore the Palestinians' rights to return which was already resolved in the UN General Assembly of 1978. Chomsky on another hand, strongly demand for the two-state solution by claiming that there is an international consensus as a fact. He confessed that neither Europe nor united States are willing to recognize or support the one-state solution. He also refused to consider the South Africa comparison appropriate mainly because of different vision the two sides got. He said: "No powerful voices in either the EU or the US are speaking out in favour of a single state model".

Getting back to the idea of boycotts, Pappé believes that the BDS (Boycotts, Divestment, and Sanctions) are the only way to effectively put pressure on Israel to stop its constant violations and ignorance of international law. Chomsky instead, claimed that as long as Israel is funded and defended by the US, Israel will keep the same status. Thus, he prefers the use of alternative media and social networks; hoping for a radical change in public opinion as it may help get the point where US stops providing support to Israel. However, the serious problem lies on how the two sides mainly Israel and Palestine are portrayed in the mainstream media as they are both responsible and both strong in term of power. Chomsky also highlighted the constantly repeated ironic argument in which Israel is only defending itself or Israel is the only democracy in the Middle East which blames certain players including

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Hamas for the conflict's uprisings, and completely ignores the violation of the Palestinians' rights who live in Israel.

Similarly, Pappé noted that the terms used to describe the question itself are misplaced by giving the example of "Israeli-Palestinian conflict", he stated that both sides are unequal and imbalanced in terms of power as he strongly argued that only those who want to justify Israeli government violation would describe and define the question likewise. However, only Pappé who encourages a complete boycott unlike Chomsky who strongly criticised the BDS campaign for its ambiguous objectives as he sees that the campaign is only putting pressure on Israel whereas the pressure should be put on US because it is the big responsible for what is happening due to its back up and support to Israel. Therefore, any boycott limited to Israel or the occupied territories would be less effective and no longer a useful tool. More clearly, Chomsky is not against boycotts but against the unclear or non-organized boycotts which target Israel instead of US. Last but not least, both Noam Chomsky and Ilan agreed on the point that the Jewish settlement in Israel is certainly a settler colonial movement. Both of them during their discussion with Frank Barat used the words struggle, violation, crimes and atrocities to describe the past, the present and the future of the question of Palestine.

Although, the question of Palestine has been discussed by different scholars, the way both Noam Chomsky and Ilan Pappé have tackled it gave it more value. Despite their origins, Chomsky and Pappé didn't hesitate to point out the truth that has always been marginalized by the US and Israel. The role of the past in understanding the present has been quietly tackled in this chapter along with the question of Apartheid and settler colonial state in which the result is clearly tending to be colonization more than being a conflict.

General Conclusion

The issue of Palestine has globally and socially been discussed in different ways. The question of how the issue between Israel and Palestine is interpreted is the central point of this dissertation. From the Ottoman Empire to the British, ending with Israeli occupation. This is how Palestine spent its last centuries. Since the Balfour declaration in 1917, the fate of Palestine became on the edge in which a large scale of Jewish settled in a large number of areas in Palestine. Despite the strong Arab rejection to the mentioned declaration, the Jewish did not stop immigrating; in fact, they doubled the process. Thus, the Arab revolt of 1935 erupted leading to a new stage and the beginning of the real struggle since the UN Partition Plan 1947.

The Palestinian case was often in the middle heart of the historical international actuality during the 20th century, for decades the struggle in Palestine was the first motive for other regional perturbations which ended in 2 short term direct wars, and many other indirect issues in the Middle East. The impact on the geographical and demographical realities on the ground was massive and radical; a new full-right state was given life on the ruins of another. In a harmony with what was mentioned, the case of Palestine was one of the main subjects of debates and decisions within the walls of the biggest international, continental, and regional organizations including United Nations.

From another perceptive, and when exposing the main events that preoccupied the world after the WW II, it would be observable that the case of Palestine had the merit to be mentioned on History books as the case that was directly and indirectly affected by the new 20th century international order in different registers, principally in the Cold war register, and the liberations movement and nationalism registers, ending by the register of the endless peace process to which both the PLO and Israel were committed, under the United States' supervision. After WW II, both traditional and new emerging powers agreed on the need for a

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new international organization to substitute the previous ‘‘League of Nations’’, the aim was to update the international common charters, protocols, and sub-bodies to improve the mechanisms of debate between member states concerning different issues and challenges that faced humanity at that period.

After a careful research conducted in this study, it has been proved that the question of Palestine is considered as colonization which was recognized by the United Nations. Basically, it was not until 1967 that the UN adopted the resolution 67/19 which insists on the use of the word ‘‘occupied’’ when referring to Palestine. Ever since, ‘‘the Occupied Palestinian Territories’’ became the statement used when describing the status of Palestine. However, so many Historians, scholars, and politicians ignored the statement and the official words that describe the question and kept calling it a conflict.

Although Palestine was recognized as a state in 1988, but the Israeli ignorance to this fact kept in occurrence and the de facto military maintained control over all the territories. In this regard, both Noam Chomsky and Ilan Pappé in their discussion with the politician Frank Barak insisted on the terms used in describing the case as they highly criticized the use of the word ‘‘conflict’’ when referring to. Pappé sees that both sides Israel and Palestine are unequal states in terms of power and the use of the word ‘‘conflict’’ is misplaced. This confirms the nature of the issue as colonization rather than conflict. However, despite their views towards the question, both Noam Chomsky and Ilan Pappé sometimes use the word conflict when discussing the question which raises a big contradiction. This crystal clear contradiction is found not only at Chomsky and Pappé’s discussions but also in other scholars’ writings such as Milton Edward and Professor Akhurts.

The study found that what is happening in Palestine is a pure colonization. Based on the definitions mentioned in chapter one besides to the evolution of the events that were tackled in chapter two, it is clear that conflict is embedded in colonization. Basically, Israel

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passed through different stages to apply its vision on the land of Palestine, from the Balfour declaration to the peel commission proposal, moving to the UN partition plan and ending with the lands' takeover after the 6-day war of 1967. Indeed, Israel's vision was based on taking as much lands in Palestine as possible with as few Palestinians in it.

In short, toward the second decade of the 21st century, Israel's presence and activities on Palestinian territories occupied after 1967 became the main subject of International concerns about the case, the issue of Jewish settlements continuous expansion on those occupied territories including East Jerusalem generated a quite tensioned climate in the region. Since the use of terms in describing and interpreting the question of Palestine is misplaced, it would be difficult to achieve an international peace. Thus, further research is highly needed to be conducted to show why despite their confesses and beliefs, Noam Chomsky, Ilan Pappé and other scholars still use the term conflict when referring to the question of Palestine.

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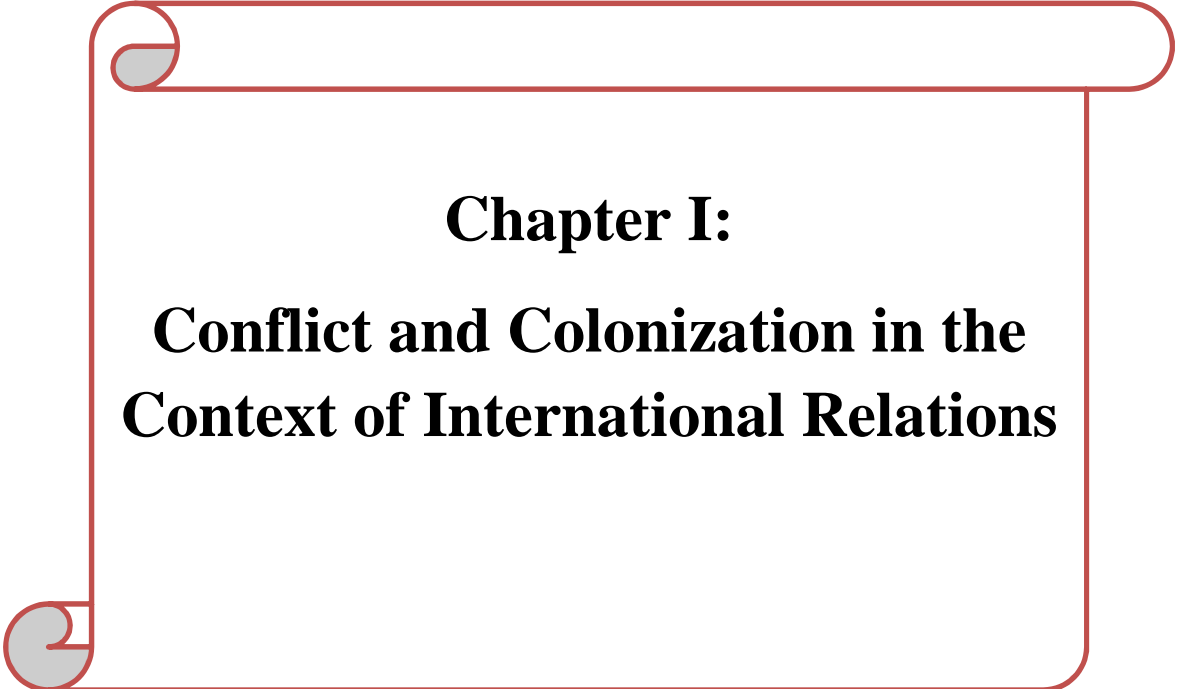
Appendices:

The map below shows how Palestine has been wiped off gradually from 1917 onwards:

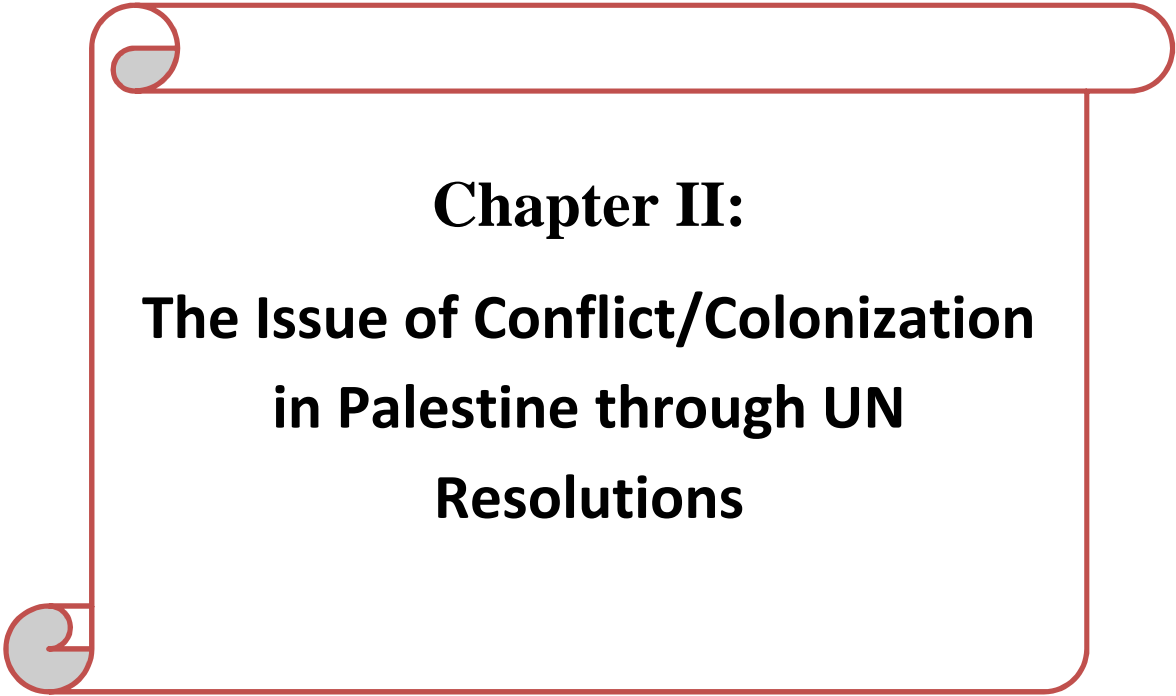
Appendix A: Palestine 1947-present



The Source: Maps Palestine Maps 1917–today pscwebsite, viewing history: 18/05/2018,
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Chapter I:
**Conflict and Colonization in the
Context of International Relations**

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Chapter II:
The Issue of Conflict/Colonization
in Palestine through UN
Resolutions

Chapter III:

Noam Chomsky and Ilan Pappé's Analysis: Conflict/Colonization in Palestine



General Conclusion



General Introduction