

**FROM SLING, SWORD AND THE SMART BOMBS (SSS) TO PEACE SETTLEMENT IN THE ISRAELI/PALESTINIAN CONFLICT: EXPLORING THE PRAXIS OF A TWO-STATE SOLUTION****\*Usman Mohammed Musa**

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**Abstract**

The current struggle for political, and geo-graphical space (state) between the Israelis and the Palestinian Arabs dates back to antiquities. It is a struggle for survival, existentialism and a voice. It started as family dynamics, snowballed into violence, death and expulsion. The history of Palestine in the region of Middle East had shifted several times over several centuries as a result of its legacies of conquest, colonial heritage and imperialist dominations. The three identifiable legacies of colonialism and imperialism in Palestine were realized by the instrumentality of wars whose domain rested on two major platforms – land and sea, the end result was the creation (re-emergence) of the state of Israel on 15<sup>th</sup> of May, 1948. This paper study the history of the discovery of Middle East and Palestine, it examines the forces that shape its culture of violence which is directly the fallout of colonialism, and imperialism and their step cousin-Zionism. It also explores the politicization of truth, appraised the Arab-Israeli wars and Israeli/Palestinian conflicts together with the peace process. The research, study the declining Arab support to the Palestinian cause and the normalization of relations with the state of Israel by some Arab states (a fall out of the politics of war and defeat). The paper examines the possibilities of a two states solution which appears to be the most viable option by which the conflict can be mitigated. It adopts analytical, thematic and chronological methods of historical research to construct this fluid and ever shift dynamics of Israeli- Palestinian relations.

**Keywords:** Sling; Colonialism; Zionism; Culture; Violence.

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**INTRODUCTION**

The middle east, is a notion or idea rather than a real place. It was founded on the world view of western European powers especially Britain, France and lately United States.<sup>1</sup> It is a trans-continental region first discovered by the British East Indian company (BEIC) and then by Captain (Admiral) Alfred Thayer Mahan whom it was assumed that, the Neologism Middle East originated from in 1902 when, he wrote an article “The Persian Gulf and international Relation,” published in September in the National Review.<sup>2</sup> After inventing the term in 1901, then wrote in 1902 but was popularized by Sir Mark Syke’s speeches in 1916. Mark Syke became acquainted with the Middle East since when he was a young child, travelling with his father to the area and other parts of Ottoman Empire, however, the invention of the term in 1901, it’s popularization in 1902 and 19016 does not in anyway, obliterates the fact that the area was known by the outside world. Before this time the region was invaded by Alexander the Great where he conquered the city of Alexandria in present day Egypt and named it after himself in 320 BC<sup>3</sup>; and before then in the Greek war with the Persians under Datis of Marathon in 490Bc<sup>4</sup>.

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The Romans too were not left out, they were in the Middle East during the Punic wars between 264 and 146BC the period of Julius Caesar who himself was among the great strategist of annihilation (Ermattungsstrategie).<sup>5</sup> Caesar was the Roman emperor that expelled the Jews from philistines in 220BC (many of whom went into the diaspora), when they refused to Submit to Roman rule and domination.<sup>6</sup> The modern discovery of the middle East was made by the British East Indian Company (BEIC) incorporated in 1600 and was given a royal charter to exploit trade opportunities in the Persian Gulf region, Hong Kong and south East Asia. The company got its briefing about the area from Ralph Fitch who traduced the area from 1596 to 1611.<sup>7</sup> The Area (Region) continue to attract the attention and interest of every generations of World powers from ancient time, to the medieval era, to period of the renaissance and the modern times. Several factors had combined to play an important or rather crucial role in attracting the interest of these powers. The combination of these foreign interest together with the internal dynamics of the local variables coalesced and spawn out a culture in the region that is alien. The advent of modern European colonialism and imperialism and the erroneously perceived dug in of these forces represented by the creation of the state of Israel in 1948 helped in shaping the character, culture and attitude of the Modern Arab State and people and also served as an added impetus to the current situation of suspicion, violence and death in the interactions between the Arabs and the Israeli societies. However, having fought several wars to expel the Israelis from the ‘Palestinian Land’ without success, the rest of the Arab world stealthily refrained from going to wars with the already established Jewish state, so also having realized the

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<sup>1</sup>Lewis, Benard. The middle east: A brief History of the last 2000 years (Simon and Schuster 1995)<sup>2</sup>Adelson Roger. London and the invention of the Middle East: Money, power and war, 1902 -19 22 (New Heaven: Yale Universities Press, 1995) 22 – 23.<sup>3</sup>James,HB. Ancient Times A History of the early World, The Oriental Institute, the University of Chicago. USA.<sup>4</sup>Gordon A. Craig, Delbruck: The Military Historian in Peter Paret (ed). Makers of Modern Strategy from Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age (New Jersey: Princeton University press, Princeton 1943),Pp333-334.<sup>5</sup> Gordon Craig A., 334<sup>6</sup> G. Craig A... 334<sup>7</sup> Ralph Fitch an Elizabethan Marchant in China

futility of shedding blood on an issue as contentious as the 'Palestinian Land' coupled with the degree of ferocity with which the Arabs launched wars on Israel over this land which met with the same degree of tenacity from the Israelis to defend their newly reacquired land, in which their survival and their very existence depends on, the Arab had to relent and seek a new rapprochement and accommodation through diplomatic means with the state of Israel. The Palestinian resistance notwithstanding, the rocket launching, the bomb throwing and gun taunting Hamas, the Islamic Jihad terror attacks, the Hizbollah/shite inspired Iranian backed "terrorist" activities are all rear-guard actions that has continued to not only delayed Israeli/Palestinian understanding but often derailed the herculean peace processes off their tracts. Although these always attracts swifts but deadly Israel's responses. The desired end result should be the road to the establishment of a two states solution with Israeli and Palestinian states living side by side in peace and security sanctioned by the international communities and guaranteed by the existing world powers.

### Origin of Middle East (Palestine) and Geography

The middle East like most other region is a geographical location within the continental Asia. It has its distinctive culture, tradition, weather and civilization. It refers to the broader Persian Gulf region which is between the near East that includes the Eastern Mediterranean region from Egypt to Syria and Turkey, and far East while includes south and East Asia. Since then it extended to encompass North Africa.<sup>8</sup> In the modern usage, it refers to a geographical region roughly equal to the continental United States, extending from Morocco's Atlantic coast to the Iranian border. Although itself, transcontinental with topographical, temperature and physical environment variation typical of the two continents that borders it, Africa and Asia.<sup>9</sup> Throughout its history, geography and location have always dictated its key role in international events so also its blessing with deposit of strategic commodities/resources essential for the global economy. This attracted major player with diverse national interest in search of these resources thus, engendering competition at the same time confirmed its longstanding importance in the twentieth century.<sup>10</sup>

### Settlement, Peopling, Culture and Religion

Geography and weather had remained a great influence on the evolution of the society and culture in the Middle East, it has also impacted tremendously on the economics of the people. Because much of the region are desert, the Oasis – village pattern of social structure and agricultural life arose from these preponderance of desert with some areas suited for cultivation where water was accessible in a consistent flow, human civilization began to take shape i.e. Egypt, Tigris and Euphrates River basins.<sup>11</sup> Village like settlement emerged with elaborate state like structure. Albert Hour who wrote a detail history of the region noted that two fundamental issues dominated the concern of the region: these are Islam and the

history of the Arab people, but he was quick to add that the region is not all about the Arab which John Espito also drew the attention of the people to the fact that, there are many civilizations inside Islam.<sup>12</sup> The people inhabiting the middle East region cannot be said to be all Arabs even though the Arabs constitutes the vast majority but there are other middle easterners that share parallel historical and cultural affinity with the Arabs, the only nexus between them is Islam. The region included in its fold the Persians, the Turks, the Hebraic people or Jews, the Kurds, Berbers of North Africa and on a broader scope the people of Afghanistan and Pakistan. Although Islam became the dominant civilization yet, there were other cultures existing within the Islamic civilization, these were the Turks, The people of Hebrew cultures and the Farsi. There were the Kurds found between Iraq, Turkey and Iran, and then Berbers mostly found in North Africa. The Arabic language because of its association with Islam which is either the official religion or the leading religion provides the link for those who speak and or write in different other languages Turks, Hebrew or Farsi. But Islam is the unifying force and its social order remain the widely spread cultural mores in the general area. Islam constitute the dominant religion but there are others besides it. The first monotheistic religion in recorded history to have traversed the area is Judaism then followed by Christianity and lastly Islam that is besides other religious practices found in a place like Persia, where people worship Mithra an Iranian God of the sun, Justice, Contract and war in pre-Zoroastrian Iran.

### Palestine and Violence

Palestine is the name of an area located within the south western part of Asia bordered by Lebanon from the north, Syria in the northeast, Jordan to the east, Red Sea in south, Sinai in its southwest and Mediterranean Sea by the west. Palestine is a heavily contested issue since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century but the contestation could be said to have been there since antiquity. Jericho city in Israel (Palestine) was the first to record any form of civilization (Natufian civilization) in human history, it was inhabited by Canaanites and sea immigrants named philistines. The two integrated later,<sup>13</sup> before been invaded by a series of powerful nations like the Assyrians under Sarjon II and expelled to Iraq, Kurdistan and Persia and later integrated with the locals; the Romans, the Muslim Caliphates, the Crusaders, the Ottoman Turks and finally the Christian European Powers. Palestine took its name from the Mediterranean immigrants who some records claims came from the Southern Greek Island in the 12<sup>th</sup> Century BC. They were known as the people of the Sea. The land was also referred to previously as the land of the Canaan.<sup>14</sup> The land took its current name when the Romans expelled the Jews and change the name to Palestine. With majority of the Jews out of the land and control of the area later came under the Muslim dynasties, the area became an integrated part of a larger geographical unit, Bilad Al-Sham-Greater Syria, (This had completely change the demographic set up of the area with the Arabs now constituting the greater number so also were its history, sociology and culture) or a sub-district Jund.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>8</sup>Bilgin, Mart. "Geo politics of European natural gas demand: Supplies from Russia, Caspian and the middle East" Energy policy 37, no.11 (2009): 4482.

<sup>9</sup> W. Spencer, The Middle East, (New York: MC GrawHill, 200). 1

<sup>10</sup> W. Spencer, The Middle...1

<sup>11</sup> Hussain, Hassan, Ahmet Conker and Mattia Gramdi. "Small is beautiful but not trending: Understanding the allure of big hydraulic works in the Euphrates-Tigris and Nile waterscapes". Mediterranean politics (2020):1.

<sup>12</sup> R. White, Terrorism and Homeland Security, USA, Wadsworth, 2009. P.185.

<sup>13</sup> Mohsen MSaleh, History of Palestine: A Methodical Study of the Palestinian Struggle. P5

<sup>14</sup> MM, Saleh ...6

<sup>15</sup> MM, Saleh...6

Another account which is not in conflict with the previous historical narratives was the Abrahamic perspective of the Arab-Jewish relations that stretches back to the animosity between Sarah (Sarah) "Princess" and Hagar as described in the first book of the Bible.<sup>16</sup> Abraham a native of Ur in Mesopotamia was directed by God to leave his people and country to journey to an undesignated land where he will be the founder of a new nation. Abraham settled in Canaan with his nephew and companion, Lot. Although there are conflicting account on the same historical figure, there-in lies the sources of millennial conflicts, wars and destructions between children of Abraham and their followers, expressed in the spread and expansion of Islam from the Arabian Peninsula to other part of the world including the Middle East; the Christian European crusades of Middle ages and then the violent nature of the imposition, establishment and sustenance of European colonialism and Imperialism. Although, it is not within the scope of this research to dig into the detail history of the family dynamics but a little prod can provide an insight into the nature and character of the current conflicts between the Arab Palestinians and the State of Israel. Abraham, having married to Sarah for decades without a child, was encouraged by his wife to take a new wife, Abraham married Hagar who bore him a child Ishmael. Hagar then became rude and possessive to the annoyance of Sarah who asked Abraham to relocate them away from her. Abraham moved Hagar and her son Ishmael to Hijaz where majority of the Arabs are now domiciled. Sarah later conceived and was also blessed with a son, Isaac.

This family dynamics that eventually metamorphosed into conflicts can be traced to the position of events within the religious interpretations. It started with the issue of who among the Abraham's two sons was ordained to inherit the land of his father? To Judaism it was understood to be Isaac the legitimate son of Sarah and Abraham and his descendants whom God was referring to. Similarly, the genealogy of Jesus can be trace to Isaac since Jesus was also a Jew, therefore Christianity had also alluded to this position. Islam and Muslims completely held a different view of the same incident. To the Muslims, Ishmael is viewed as the fulfillment of God's promise and since the Arabs are descendants of Ishmael and Prophet Mohammad was one of them, the Arabs ought to have been the inheritors of the land of Abraham more so that their great grandfather Ishmael was the eldest son of Abraham. There was also the continued contentious argument about who between the two sons of Abraham did God asked the father to sacrifice. To Genesis and to Judaism it was Isaac who was to be sacrifice before a ram was substituted and Sacrifice on mount Moriah. But to the Arabs, it was Ishmael their great grandfather not Isaac that was about to be sacrifice. Hence the annual sacrifice of Ram during Eid ul-Adha as a commemoration of Abraham willingness to sacrifice his son Ishmael at the end of every pilgrimage to the Kaaba.<sup>17</sup> The question of who are the real owners of Palestinian land remains in the realm of polemics and highly contentions as the land can be convincingly argued as belonging to both the Jews and the Arabs bearing in mind the fact that both claimed ancestry to the same person Prophet Ibrahim (Abraham) Originally a Mesopotamian. Historical records, archeological facts and religion scriptures had indicated that the land is the inheritance of two groups. History and scriptural evidences notwithstanding, the two groups'

claims to the same property (Land) was based on their different individual interpretations. The three Monotheistic religious books provided different interpretations and understanding of the same Phenomenon from the lenses of their believes and in complete contradiction with each other. Therefore, what started as a family (feud) dynamics, created a Schism which grows into a Chasm that cut across, religious, cultural, political and international spectrum with the world lined up behind the two contending protagonist Arabs and Jews. With the physical destruction and effective rebuilding of Jerusalem by the Roman in AD 135 and renaming of the place Aelia Capitolina, the Jewish presence was not felt until the twentieth century.<sup>18</sup> To the Arabs, therefore, the long absence of the Jews in the area translates to having no moral or legal rights to claim ownership of the land any longer, although this point is beyond the scope of this paper but it can be argued that common sense and humanity should prevail to appeal to the Arab understanding about the nature of international laws and the dynamics of its variables. Since the Jewish historical sites are still visible there; its religious relics (Solomon Temple) and certain percentage of its population could still be found in the same general area, on this note therefore, their claims of part ownership of the land cannot be wished away.

### Colonialism, Imperialism and Zionism in Palestine

Apart from the unique nature of the political, economic, social and cultural lives of the people of Palestine, their lives have also been greatly influenced and altered by forces outside of the region, first by the Assyrians, the Greeks, The Romans, the Christian Crusaders from Western Europe, the Ottoman Turks and finally the modern westernized colonialism and imperialism. These era of outside interferences by external forces lasted for a period of three Millennium mostly characterize by violence, death, destruction and expulsion. To effectively control the area, the Jews were expelled on more than three occasion by different foreign powers, and at different times namely Assyrians, Babylonians under Nebuchadnezzar and then the Romans in 135AD. Historically, all these powers had effectively established their dominance over the area, some by brute force and maintained their presence by raw power. While many other uses force also to establish their dominance but also adopted other means to maintain their stranglehold e.g. in 332 BC Alexander of Macedonia conquered Palestine and introduced Hellenic culture, and tradition, religion and system of worship.<sup>19</sup> The Roman also tried to replace the local religion with the Roman form of worship when they placed the statue of Jupiter, the Roman God over the ruins of the temple of Herod.<sup>20</sup> Even though, these external forces succeeded in establishing their dominance over the area they cannot be said to have won the peoples heart not until the advent of Islam in the Arabian peninsula and the incursion of the Muslims into the area in 636 AD under Caliph Umar who took the keys of Jerusalem from its patriarch and guaranteed all forms of religion worship. The Umayyad Caliphate built the Dome of the Rock while the local population integrated with the Muslim immigrants and adopted Arabic language-a cultural imperialism.<sup>21</sup> The twentieth century colonialism and imperialism in the Middle East particularly in Palestine was as dramatic as the key players wanted it to be. The new phenomenon was heralded by the

<sup>16</sup> Mosab Hassan Yousef, in the Ron Brackin Son of Hamas, (Tyndale House Publishers Inc, 2010 PXIV).

<sup>17</sup> Glasse, Cyril, Abraham, Kaaba. The concise encyclopedia of Islam (Hamper San Francisco, Suhail Academy). 1991, pp18-19.

<sup>18</sup> MM, Saleh. ... 21-22.

<sup>19</sup> MM, Saleh. 21

<sup>20</sup> MM, Saleh ...22

<sup>21</sup> MM, Saleh ..23

activities of the first world war and the alignment of forces that finally shaped the conduct and victory of the war and the events that took place after the war. The world was split into two major warring camps with roughly the same Military strength. There was the Triple Entente comprising of Great Britain, Russia and France and Triple Alliance made up of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy. Turkey which was a colonizing power in the Middle East sided with Germany and her allies in the course of the war thereby tying its fate and its eventual destiny with that of the vanquished nations. Turkish rule that lasted for four centuries came to an end in 1923<sup>22</sup> when its territories in southeastern Europe gained their independence and also its middle Eastern territories were shared between Britain and France during Syke-Picot secret agreement as opposed to an earlier understanding between the two powerful colonial entities and Sheriff Hussein (Hussein-McMahon correspondences 1915-1916). The betrayal of Sheriff Hussein by Britain and France sent shocks across the whole of Arab World and pointed the direction to which future relations between these colonial powers and nations of the Middle East will chart. Following the defeat of Germany and her allies and the consequent formation of the League of Nations (LON) as a rule based international organization, Palestine was placed under Britain as a mandated territory by the league. Britain an experienced colonial empire with almost four hundred years in its kitty, ruled more than a quarter of the planet earth from Canada to India, from China to Australia, administered Palestine on behalf of the league. First it was the British Army that ruled Palestine to July 1, 1920, then civil administration took over when the mandate was granted on 25<sup>th</sup> April, 1920 at San Remo conference and on July 24, 1922, the Mandate was approved by the league of Nations. However, the Mandate was terminated on the 15<sup>th</sup> May, 1948.

### State of Israel, Palestinian Resistance and Arab/Israeli Wars

Meanwhile, British imperial government pressured by the leadership of world Zionist organization promised a 'national home' for the Jewish people through the Balfour Declaration of 1917. Meanwhile, the mandate given to Britain was a 'Dual Mandate' on behalf of both the inhabitant of Palestine and 'International Society'. The Balfour Declaration was also incorporated into the preamble and the second Article of the mandate for Palestine. Thus, Britain had dual obligation to both Arabs and Jews by creating political, administrative and economic conditions that will facilitate the independence of the two communities under it.<sup>23</sup> However, two different social systems developed under one political framework one Jewish and the other Arab, with each having its welfare, Education and Cultural Institution that gradually metamorphosed into independent political and economic entities. Both the Arabs and the Jews were in a race to alter the demographic landscape of the Area, while the Jews focus on acquiring more land and immigration, the Arabs turned their focus to natural growth. With a population of about 700,000 inhabitants in 1922, the Arab population rose to 1,800,000 in 1945 where as the Jewish population also grew tenfold within the same period.<sup>24</sup> The 1920s and 30s witnessed violent confrontations between the Arabs and the Jews living in Palestine. The wailing wall riot

(al-Buraq revolt) of 1929 marked the turning points in the history of mandate period for both the two parties. The Arabs targets the Jews and the British official for attack and the event led the Jews to conclude that the solution to their problems lies in having a Jewish state hence they all agreed to work together to accomplish this objective. The British mandated authority established the Shaw commission to review Jewish immigration in 1929, it also created the William Peel Royal commission in 1937. But then, the Post World War I arrangement by the British in Palestine led to the radicalization of the Arab world.<sup>25</sup>

The March 1, 1920's death of Joseph Trumpeldor in the hand of Shiite group from Southern Lebanon created deep concern about the security of Yishuv. Jewish leaders like Chaim Weizmann warned of a possible pogrom reminiscence of the instruction given by the Russian Generals<sup>26</sup> some years ago. This death marked a turning point in the inter group relations between the Arab Palestinians and the Jewish population and introduced another element into the equation-the element of violence and death. Feeling that the British are unwilling to protect the Jewish settlement from Arab attacks, the Jews had to resort to self defence and formed what was called Haganah (Defence) while Palestinian Arabs nationalism also increased.<sup>27</sup> The rate at which both sides resorted to violence to resolve issues between them became scary. In October 1933 alone there were series of violent protest in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Haifa and Nebulus<sup>28</sup> that claimed the life of one policeman and fifty six injured while 26 demonstrators lost their lives and 187 sustain various degrees of injuries.<sup>29</sup> For a better understanding of the precarious security situation in Palestine a table below will illustrate the steady but step by step descent to violence as the only means by which the Arab and Jewish question came to be resolved with the British mandatory authority sometimes serving as an onlooker.

The violence continued up to the period when the Jewish leadership decided to declare independence for Israel on the night of 14 May 1948 a day before the expiration of the British Mandate in Palestine. With this declaration another element was introduced into the Palestinian Arab and Israel equation as the Jews now have their own state to protect and defend, with law and order and a standing Army (the Israeli Defence Force) IDF, while the Palestinian territories as Mosab Hassan Yousef pointed out remained just that non sovereign territories, and without a constitution. To maintain some semblance of order, religious laws became the highest authority.<sup>30</sup> However, the declaration of the new Israeli state met with a swift and violent response for the Muslim Arab world who viewed the Israeli declaration as an invasion of Muslim land and Muslims have a duty to fight and defend the Muslim land. A coalition of Egyptian, Lebanese, Syrian, Jordanian and Iraqi forces invaded the new Jewish State in 1948-1949 and then in 1956.

<sup>25</sup> Henry Laurens (1999). *The Palestinian Question: "The Invention of the Holy Land"* Paris. PP. 421 – 477 and 462-5.

<sup>26</sup> Lauren... PP. 503-4

<sup>27</sup> Tom Sagev, *One Palestine Complete: Jews and Arabs Under the British Mandate*, Owl Books, 2001, Pp. 127-144.

<sup>28</sup> Martin Kolinsky, *Law, Order and Riot in Mandatory Palestine 1928 – 35* St. Martins press, 1993, Pp. 172 – 181.

<sup>29</sup> J.W. Murison and HH trusted, Report of 12 the commission appointed by His Excellency.

The Commissioner for Palestine by notification No. 1561, published in the Palestine Gazette dated 16<sup>th</sup> November, 1933. The Palestine Gazette No. 420, 7<sup>th</sup> February, 1934, Pp 87-105.

<sup>30</sup> MH Yousef ... Xv.

<sup>22</sup> MH, Yousef...8

<sup>23</sup> Ginat, Avital: British mandate for Palestine, in: 1914 – 1948 – online international Encyclopedia of the first world war ed. By ute Daniel et al. Issued by freie Universitat Berlin, Berlin 2018 – 12 – 07. Dol: 10. 15463/i.e. 1418. 11325.

<sup>24</sup> Ginat Avital

**Table 1. Violent uprising in Palestine from 1920 to 1946<sup>1</sup>**

| S/No | Date(s)                     | Location(s)   | Arab Death | Casualties Injuries | Jews Death | Casualties Injuries | Total |
|------|-----------------------------|---|------------|---------------------|------------|---------------------|-------|
| 1.   | 4-10 April, 1920            | Al – QudsJeruselem  | -          | -                   | -          | -                   |       |
| 2.   | 1-15 May, 1921              | Yaffa Jaffa   | 48         | 75                  | 47         | 146                 |       |
| 3.   | 15 ANG-25sept 1929          | Wailing wall Al-Buraq Jerusalem   | 116        | 232                 | 133        | 339                 |       |
| 4.   | Oct 1933                    | Jerusalem & Jaffa   | 35         | 225                 | -          | -                   |       |
| 5.   | 22 <sup>nd</sup> July, 1946 | Irgun and stern gang blew up king David Hotel. Killing 91 and injuring 46 persons | -          | -                   | -          | -                   |       |
| 6.   |                             |   | 199        | 532                 | 180        | 485                 |       |

Source: Report of Commission for Palestine no.1561. The Palestine Gazette 16 Nov, 1933.

Part of the Egyptian forces were thousands of Muslim Brotherhood volunteers but the Arab forces were driven out together with about 750,000 Palestinian Arabs who left their homes as refugees.<sup>31</sup> There was another invasion of the Jewish state by yet another Arab coalition in 1967, 1973, 1982 and 2006, the outcome of which completely change the demography of Palestinian territory, altered the map of Egypt, Jordan and Syria represented in the loss of Golan Height, the West Bank, Gaza and Sinai to Israel.<sup>32</sup> Following these humiliating defeats suffered by the combined Arab forces and the Israeli tenacity to keep all the conquered territories they acquired in wars, the Arabs nations were left with no better option than to seek for peace and accommodation with the victorious Israeli State who themselves are very interested in peace. The first Arab leader to seek for Arab/Israeli understanding and accommodation was President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia who on a visit to Jericho on 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1965 called for a two-state solution and decried the Arab Three Nos policy of no peace, no recognition and no negotiation of Khartoum. It was at this Sudan Arab summit that wealthy Arab states of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Libya pledged to pay the frontline states of Egypt and Jordan 50m, 55m and 30m pounds annually. However, Bourguiba's position had irked some fundamentalist in Egypt as a result, the Tunisian embassy in Cairo was razed down. Ironically the next country to seek for peace was Egypt itself and the peace process culminated in the Camp David Accord agreement of 17<sup>th</sup> September 1978 between Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin in the United State.<sup>33</sup>

Moreover, these wars only exposed the inadequacies of the Arab world in the modern times, the Arabs according to Prof Sadiq Al-Azm had not yet entered the age of modern civilization and citizenship. They fought and fled as tribes. They are tradition bound society who went to war with a well-educated, highly sophisticated and technologically advance society adept on the use of modern weapons who were not like the Arabs whose human elements as President Gamal Abdul Naseer rightly observed had been deficient.<sup>34</sup> These logics of war and defeat spurred the other Arab Nations to also seek accommodation through diplomatic means with the Jewish State. Besides Egypt/Israeli diplomatic ties of 1979, Jordan also signed peace treaty with Israel in 1994; in the year 2020 four Arab league countries Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, Sudan and Morocco also normalized diplomatic relations with the Jewish State. Turkey had also appointed its ambassador to Israel yesterday 18<sup>th</sup>-08-2022. With these normalization of diplomatic relations with Israel, financial, military, political and diplomatic support for Palestinian struggle started to fade

away but despite these dwindling fortunes, the Palestinians continue to agitate and fight for the 'Palestinian land' through two-Pronged approach peaceful and violent means. Although violent approach was more appealing to various Palestinian armed groups, their violent activities always drenched the peaceful pursuit of Palestinian interest thereby giving rise to cycles of violence between the Israeli and the Palestinians. So long as the Palestine Arab chose violence as the single most important alternative of achieving their objectives which is like adopting only one means, the method of popular war of liberation, this they adopted as an autonomous reality<sup>35</sup> with a view to draw international attention to itself and the cause they are fighting for. The struggle to reclaim the Muslim land and holy sites from non-Muslim fell on the Palestinians alone who are people without a state, without a standing Military force and the other elements of Modern civilization. The Palestinians then resort to violent extremism and terrorism in the pursuit of their objectives. However, the resort to terrorism attracts violent responses from the Israeli State and International condemnations from World powers especially the United States. Several Palestinian organizations who claims to be fighting for the liberation of Palestinian land were designated by the United States Secretary of State as terrorist organizations in accordance with section 219 of Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) as amended. They are dubbed as Foreign Terrorist Organization, among those so designated were Hamas on 10, Aug-1997; Palestinian Liberation front (PLF) 10-Aug-1997; Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ) 10-Aug-1997; Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) 10-Aug-1997; PFLP – General command (PLFP-GC) 10-Aug-1997; Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigade (AAMB) 27-Mar-2002<sup>36</sup> even Hizbollah that used to carry out cross boarder attack against Israel was also listed on 10-Aug-1997. The rule was that the organization must be foreign based and engaged in terrorist activity as define in section 212 (a) (3) (B) of the INA (8USC. s1182(a)(3)(B) or terrorism as defined in section 140(d)(2) of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, fiscal years 1988 and 1989 (22USC. s2656f(d)(2)).<sup>37</sup> Suffice it to mention that, the terrorist attack on Israel by Palestinian terror groups as mentioned earlier attract severe Military responses from Israeli authority to an extent that an Israeli Defence Forces Chief of General staff Gadi Eizenkot developed the Dahiya Doctrine (DD), a military strategy of asymmetric warfare which encompasses the destruction of the civilian infrastructure of regimes deemed to be hostile<sup>38</sup> and also endorses the employment of "disproportionate power" to achieve a desired end.<sup>39</sup> The doctrine aimed at deterring attack on Israeli home

<sup>35</sup>Sadik ... p.88.

<sup>36</sup>www.state.gov seen 7 June, 2022.

<sup>37</sup> 2001-2009.state.gov

<sup>38</sup> Daniel Byman, A high Price: The Triumphs and Failures of Israeli Counterterrorism, Oxford University Press, 2011, p.364.

<sup>39</sup> Amos Hard "Analysis/IDF plans to use disproportionate force in next war." Haaretz Retrieved 3 Oct, 2014.

<sup>31</sup> MH Yousef... 18

<sup>32</sup>Sadik Al-Azm, Self-Criticism After the Defeat, Dar al-Tali'ah (Vanguard Press) Printing and Publishing, Beirut, 1968, P.7.

<sup>33</sup>Clinton Bill, My Life, Vintage Books, New York 2005, P.542.

<sup>34</sup>Sadik... p.11.

front. The doctrine was named after the Dahieh neighborhood of Beirut where Hizbollah was headquartered during the 2006 Lebanon war which were heavily destroyed by the IDF.<sup>40</sup> The second armed group to taste the bitter pills of the Dahiya doctrine was the Hamas during the 2008-2009 Gaza war<sup>41</sup> in which Judge Richard Goldstone in his report concluded by saying "the Israeli strategy was designed to punish, humiliate and terrorize a civilian population."<sup>42</sup> Does anyone need to go far in search of the reasons for Israelis behaviour when its peace and security are under threat? No. The Jewish nation had gone through more than two thousand year of ignoble historical experiences in the hands of different nationalities from the Assyrians to Romans, to Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, to Greeks to western and Eastern European, the worst of all Hitlerite Germany where the pogrom had assumed a genocidal proportion that numb human conscience and nearly destroyed international morality. Therefore, having achieve national home and eventual statehood, the Jews will employ and deploy all means legal, to maintain the Status quo. What then is the position of the Palestine Arabs?

## Two State solution

The two State solution as Panacea for the Israeli/Palestinian conflict appears to be the most attractive and enviable course towards peace in the conflict area. One of the parties in the conflict which is Israel, is already a state with all the institutions of a modern society while the other, Palestinian Arab entity is a nation without a state. It is abandoned by its Arab brothers in its struggle not only to achieve statehood but to expel the Jews from Israel. This position of the Palestinian Arabs clearly betrayed their emotion, depicts them as sentimental, lacking in knowledge or deliberately ignoring the fact of history. The intensity of hostilities by the two opposing camps, the ferocity of the conflict and the tenacity of both sides claims made it looks almost impossible for the conflict to be resolve especially in view of the fact that both sides have had groups within them that is conciliatory and one that is not and each is capable of derailing any peace process that is being put in place. This they did in the past when Hamas and other groups refuses any understanding and negotiation with Yaseer Arafat and when Yitzhak Rabin (an Israeli PM) was assassinated by a Jewish extremist on 4 November, 1995.<sup>43</sup> The Palestinian question is a local issue that does not requires the presence and interference of international power players. It is an issue that the state of Israel possesses the capacity and the wherewithal to handle and resolve with only guarantees from global players and regional interest. But the whole issue was internationalized and the conflict magnified by the interferences of both the regional and global players because of their geo-political and strategic interest. It is an issue that its complexities can be remodel and calibrate all the indices of the antagonizing factions in the conflict while making them to understand the nuances of the geo-strategic interest involve and accept the end result which may likely not be palatable but acceptable to all. The interferences by the international community made the whole inter group relations convoluted, oscillating between violence, death and destruction.

With its more than two thousand years of experience, created out of hostility in a hostile environment with hostile neighbours, Israel created a formidable Military Defence Force assisted by the United States and Germany. Besides having a well drilled, discipline military, its arrays of arsenals which are imported, domesticated and customize to adapt to its environment and circumstances are Jaw dropping. They have Micro table assault rifle (MTAR) a 21<sup>st</sup> century assault weapons, powerful, reliable, lighter and durable. The Markavah tank 4&3 imported from Germany but altered to fight deep into urban cities in Urban warfare, it has anti-tank fitted into it and can destroy enemy tank from a far. It is also fitted with secondary armament like 1 – 12mmgun, 7.26 mm machine gun, 60mm mortar, 12 small grenades. It also has missile and anti-missile system. The Israeli artillery is automated, highly precise and computerized with sensors that can detect weapons fired from behind the enemy lines. It can automatically calculate the distance and respond according. The IDF also possess Aero 3(ABM) Anti-Ballistic Missile system which is fully integrated with the green pie radar that can provide target information. Its range is about 400k/m and can also intercept 5 ballistic Missiles at the same time. There is also the Iron Dome develop to protect target inside Israel from artillery and rocket attack; Iron Dome B lesser system in also being develop to compliment the first one.

The experiences of IDF activities had further convinced scholars about the futility of the Palestinian liberation movements to Militarily confront the Israeli State. The philosophy behind the IDF is defence of Israeli home land against any external attack from any Quarters. It was not crated to invade or conquered more territories. The Israeli founding fathers envisage a defence force that will be capable of defending its internationally recognized borders and protect its citizens against its aggressive neighbors. Thus, this, it has beendoing excellently. With the background picture of the scenario playing itself out between Israel and Palestine, what then is the fate and destiny of a probable Palestinian State? The quest for a Palestinian state always ran in Pari Pasu with the need for peace in Israel and its envious. Both the Jewish leaders and international power player had understood very clearly right from the early stage that for peace to be engendered in the region, the Palestinian Arabs like the Jews will have to be given a state. Some few months before the expiration of the British mandate precisely on 29<sup>th</sup> November 1947 the UN passed resolution 181 called partition plan, assigned 54% of Palestine to the Jews who constitute 31.7% of the population, the Arabs rejected it while the Jews accepted the plan. War broke out between the two factions which led to the expulsion of 900,000 Palestinian that ended up as refugees in the neighboring countries.<sup>44</sup> Meanwhile, before this time, Chaim Weizmann had made an early effort at Jewish Arab collaboration by which if the Arab had accepted would have led to an Arab State by 1949.<sup>45</sup> However, other plan for peace were Allon plan of 1967, Madrid peace conference of 1991, Oslo Accord of 1993 and finally the deal of the century of 28 Jan, 2020. But despite of all these efforts and interference by external forces not much has been achieved in terms peace or two state solution. This can be attributed to the loss of faith that both parties to conflict has against the foreign players. For instance, from 1967 to 1989, the UN security council passed about 131 resolutions in respect of the Arab-Israeli conflict, 43

<sup>40</sup>D. Bayman... p.364

<sup>41</sup> Cain, Anthony C; ed "Deterrence and the Israeli-Hizbollah war-summer 2006" Deterrence in the twenty first century; proceeding (London, UK 18-19 may, 2009). London. p.288.

<sup>42</sup> Media summary: Report of the UNs fact finding mission on the Gaze conflict, 24 march, 2016.

<sup>43</sup> MM Saleh ...p.344 - 345

<sup>44</sup> MM, Saleh...p.103

<sup>45</sup> [www.newworldencyclopedia.org](http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org) Retrieved June 8, 2022

are considered to be neutral but the remaining 88 either criticized, opposed or judge against Israeli interest. Half of the 88 resolutions condemned, censured a deplored Israel. The UNGA on its parts passed 429 resolutions against Israel, 321 of which condemned Israel. The United States has to use its veto power on 42 different occasions to prevent resolution of the UNSC from been adopted. Fortunately, all the resolution condemning Israel were not made under chapter VII but chapter VI of the UN charter which relates to the "Pacific settlement of Disputes" between parties. It has no enforcement mechanism and have no binding force under international law. Suffice it to say here that, the employment of Military Force to displace the Jews from Israel by either the combine forces of the Arabs or by the Palestinian Arabs neither the recourse to Multi-lateral diplomacy help in resolving the Israeli/Palestinian conundrum. The best option is for the Israeli leaders, diplomats and intellectuals to make bold move towards possible solutions in collaboration with the Palestinian Leaders.

The two-state solution remain the best and attractive option though it may be fraught with some existential threat but it can still be managed and carefully control. The land in question is 22,072km<sup>2</sup>, housing a population of about 8,911,244, with a density of 412.33km<sup>2</sup> based on UN estimates of 11 July, 2022. Also based on same projection by 2050, the population will rise to 12,577,297; by 2095 it will also rise to 17,757,532 with a density of 820.59km<sup>2</sup>.<sup>46</sup> Therefore, both the Palestinian Arabs and the state of Israel must appreciate the enormity of the grave situation that both parties are into and work out a win-win situation in order to arrive at a stable condition. A state for the Arab Palestinian and peace with security for the state of Israel. But be that as it may, is a state for the Palestinians possible within an area that is 470km from north to south, 135km east to west? It is an area with a hill region in Northern and Central Israel, Great rift valley and the Negev desert and Microclimates.<sup>47</sup> To successfully create a Palestinian state, four other countries within the geographical region will have to play a crucial role together with the world powers if need be. These countries are Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and Egypt besides Israel itself. Israel does not need to share its cities with Palestine as they did during the Hebron protocol of 1997 where Hebron was divided into H<sup>1</sup> and H<sup>2</sup> sectors. H1 under Palestinian control and H2 which was 20% was controlled by the Israeli Military Administration with 35,000 Palestinian population and in 2015 witnessed nine terror attacks within 13 days. Logic dictated that four plausible options become available.

These are: One state solution; two state solution; three state solution and no state solution. The one state solution will be fraught with its inherent problems and contradiction because it requires integrating the Palestinian Arabs into Israeli state with all the rights and privileges of citizenship but this will not sit well with the Israeli political elites as it will give the Palestinian Arabs a demographic advantage over the Jews. But if the Arabs could take this the advantage coming to them will be enormous as they will share in the glory of Israelis achievements like scientific and technological advancement, knowledge and finance, security and defence. For instance, from 1903 to 2021 there were about 943 individuals awarded with Nobel prizes in six different field, the Jews won about two hundred.

The two-state solution appears more plausible and best option where a Palestinian state will also be created with its autonomy and independence but the two naughty issues to be resolve are the questions of Jerusalem and the right of return for the refugees since the land currently under Palestinian Authority will not accommodate them. The third option which is three state solutions will have the Palestinian areas such as the west Bank going to Jordan, Gaza to Egypt and Israel takes the rest. The last option which is not a solution at all was put forward by the Palestinians and the Iranians i.e. the no state solution where the two Palestinian Arabs and Iranians are calling for the relocation of the Israelis to the United States leaving Palestinian land for the Palestinians. This brings us back to the second options of two state solution and the entire role to be played by Israel, the four Arab neighbouring states, the five permanent members of the security and other Regional and world powers. Both the Israeli state and the Palestinian National representatives will have to make huge sacrifices in terms of land, demographic movements, gains and losses. So is Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and Egypt.

The first to make sacrifice towards peace and Palestinian state will be the Israeli state itself. This is where it has to give up its prime possession like Beit Shean in Arabic Baysan and Scythopolis in Greek; Rameh or Rama in Arabic. Nahariya may have to be incorporated into parts of new Palestinian state and will be giving the access to the Mediterranean Sea. The neighbouring countries that has been fighting the Israeli state should also demonstrates their commitment towards the Palestinian course. In the Golan eight area, a substantial portion of it should be sacrifice by the Syrian state and be given to the Palestinians to accommodate its refuge population. The Gaza strip should extend through NirYizhaq, areas that constituted the armistice line should also be given to Palestine or at least be made a safe corridor through southern Israeli cities of Beersheba to Arad with international monitors. Lebanon should sacrifice Qiryatshemona an area close to Tyre together with some land in Lebanon should be given out to the Palestinian as a sign of Lebanese good faith and commitment to the Palestinian cause. However, all these demographic maneuvers, boundary adjustment, boarder alignment and realignment should be made with tacit approval of world leaders and regional powers under the watchful eyes of the International inspectors. Security guarantees to both Israel and Palestine should be the next colloquial conference in either Israel or Palestine and the question of Jerusalem should be tackled head long. If not, Jerusalem should be declared an International city under the auspices of the United Nations Organization.

## Conclusion

This article has concentrated on the historical trajectory of both the state of Israel and Palestine from ancient time to the 21<sup>st</sup> century. It has shown that contrary to the general erroneous beliefs among people, Israel has equal stake if not more on the land claims by the Palestinian Arabs even though they were expelled from the land more than two millennium ago first by the Assyrians then by the Romans. But despite that some fragment of Jewish people still living in Palestine attested to the fact of ownership of the Jewish inheritance. The strenuous efforts by the Jews in the diaspora to return to their ancestral home could not be realize because of lack of political and diplomatic enabling environment until such a time that a Zionist organization was formed and the leader of organization

<sup>46</sup> worldpopulationreview.com 10 June 2022

<sup>47</sup> www.britanica.com retrieved 25-dec 2021

were able to galvanize, harness and redirect the strength of world Jewry and refocus their gaze into achieving a national home using Balfour declaration of 1917 and eventual declaration of state in 1948; leaving Palestinians high and dry struggling not just for a state but their land. This event led to wars between the state of Israel and its Arab neighbours in 1948, 1956, 1967 and 1973. The long period of hostilities between the Arabs and the Israelis created only tension, insecurities and lack of peace in the region and then suddenly the road to peace eventually opened through President Sadat of Egypt later on the state of Jordan, Qatar, UAE and now the Saudis are gearing to join the peace league. International guarantees by both the regional powers and major global powers is very essential in the sustenance of peace and security.

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