

INTERNATIONAL BACCALUAREATE
EXTENDED ESSAY

PEACE AND CONFLICT STUDIES

Claudia Josephine Mitchell

Lauriston Girls' School

Topic

The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

Research Question

What are the prospects for peace and a two-state solution between Israel and Palestine?

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ABSTRACT

Conflict and violence has existed between Israel and Palestine for a number of years and as yet, no durable peace agreement has been signed or followed systematically. This essay will examine the long and intractable history between the Palestinians and Israelis and then attempt to evaluate where the conflict stands today. Thus, it will examine the attainability of a two-state solution to the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

This essay is limited in the sense that as there is a large amount of subjective sources, particularly on the internet, it is difficult to avoid subjectivity entirely. Throughout this essay I have made particular effort to avoid such prejudice by looking at both primary and secondary sources including the BBC, the Washington Post and the Economist.

As the conflict between Palestinians and Israelis is only a subsection of the wider Arab-Israeli conflict, this essay will only focus on the logistics of the prospects for peace between Israel and Palestine. The requirement to discuss the long historical background and the numerous peace efforts will help to summarise the conflict as a whole and therefore, help in analysing the prospects for a two-state solution. The essay will focus on a detailed analysis of appropriate and applicable solutions to accelerate peace.

I have concluded that the prospects for peace and a two-state solution seem almost unattainable in the short term, particularly in light of recent events. However, in the long term perhaps tensions can be defused and the USA can take a more equitable approach to the conflict and a peaceful resolution can be found.

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INTRODUCTION¹

After numerous conversations with my grandfather, John Mitchell, I became interested in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. John worked as a director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian refugees based in Gaza from 1960-1971. He was involved in the political occurrences during that time and the process of bringing aid to the Palestinians. I, thus hold a personal connection to this conflict.

Peace efforts have continued throughout my lifetime and therefore it has been something in my consciousness of conflict in our world. The failures of such efforts have come down to two main reasons; the Israelis' failure to recognise the Palestinians as a separate state and the USA's support of Israel which has created a significant power differential in Israel's favour. The USA, therefore, must withdraw their perception of Israel as a strategic ally in the war on terror and focus more on finding a diplomatic solution which encompasses both the Israelis and Palestinian's rights.

It is crucial that the term 'peace' used throughout the body of the essay is defined coherently. Peace, in the sense of durability, is much more than just the absence of war. The absence of war is a situation referred to as negative peace where the susceptibility of the peace to last is unstable. However, in order for positive peace to be derived negative peace must first be achieved. Since neither positive nor negative peace currently exists within the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the prospects for peace or the possibility of a two-state solution seem minimal.

¹ End Date of Extended Essay: 1 June 2010

BACKGROUND TO THE CONFLICT

In his 1881 publication, *Auto-Emancipation*, Pinsker states that the only answer to the problem of anti-Semitism was the establishment of a Jewish homeland (Pinsker as cited in Bickerton, 2003).

The origin of the conflict between Jews and Palestinians dates back to 1882 when the first wave of Jewish immigration to Palestine began. The Jewish people claimed that since they had ancestors who lived on Palestinian land before biblical times, they had a right to establish a homeland there.

In 1917, after the British army defeated the Ottoman Turkish forces in WWI and occupied Palestine, they assumed a Mandate² (Woodward 2009). In November of that year, Arthur James Lord Balfour, the British Foreign Secretary, presented a letter to Lord Rothschild, England's most prominent Jewish leader, setting out Britain's commitment to the idea of establishing a Jewish homeland in Palestine and their 'sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations' (Bickerton 2003, pg.34). Palestinians saw the Balfour Declaration as the first of a number of betrayals by the British and refused to cooperate with the Mandate or accept the Jewish policy for Palestine. The Balfour Declaration started the first of many disputes between Palestinians and Israelis that continue to this day.

In November 1947, following WWII and large increases in immigration of European Jews to Palestine, the UN adopted a partition plan for Palestine where the land would be divided into one Jewish and one Arab state (see Figure 1). Shortly after, fighting began. By 1948 the Zionist forces had secured control over most of the territory that was promised to them. On May 15, 1948 Zionist leaders proclaimed the State of Israel. This triggered the outbreak of the first Arab-Israeli war where numerous neighbouring countries sought to 'save Palestine from the Zionists' (Bickerton 2003, pg30). By 1949, when the war ended and the armistice agreements were signed, three-quarters of a million Palestinians who had been expelled from their homes in what was now Israel remained exiled as refugees in Jordan, Syria, the West Bank, Lebanon and Gaza (UNRWA 1950).

² The British Mandate was a period between 1918 and 1948 where Palestine was under British control.

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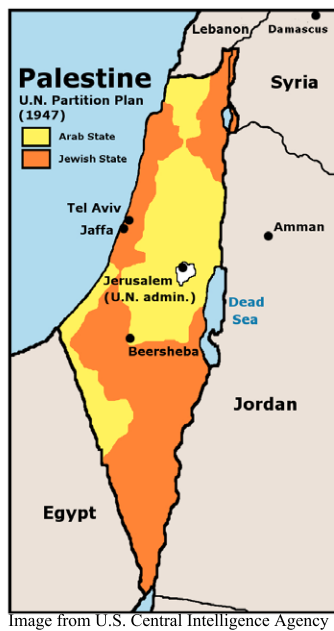


Figure 1: UN Partition Plan for Palestine

In 1967 war broke out between Israel and Syria. A few days later the Egyptian army blockaded the Israeli port of Eilat of the Gulf of Aqaba. Following an Israeli victory, Israel became 'the dominant regional military power' (Alger 2004, p.32), indicated through the speed and thoroughness of the Israeli army. During the war Israel was able to capture the West Bank from Jordan, the Gaza Strip and Sinai Peninsula from Egypt and the Golan Heights from Syria. Following the six-day war the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) emerged as the major force representing Palestinian resistance to the occupation.

Israel established a military administration to govern the Palestinians living in the territories they had captured during the war. This military occupation is still present today and denies many Palestinians their basic human rights. Despite breaching international law, after the 1967 war, Israel built Jewish settlements on occupied land within the West Bank and Gaza.



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Figure 2: Palestinians loss of land since before the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 (Origins 2009)

In December 1987 following 'an incident' (Bickerton 2003, p.132) in which four Palestinians were killed, a Palestinian uprising began, which was to become known as the first 'intifada'.³ It was caused by the growing frustration of Palestinians as Israel continued to expand settlements and the lack of progress towards a lasting solution to their plight. The 'intifada' led to further bloodshed between Jews and Palestinians.

PEACE EFFORTS

By the early 1990s, following an outbreak of disturbances, a concerted process to work towards peace was underway. A series of secret meetings between Israeli and Palestinian negotiators gave rise to the "Oslo Accords". These Accords led to a Declaration of Principles approved by the US being signed in Washington by the PLO and Israel on 13 September 1993. The Declaration stipulated that both Israel and Palestine would agree to 'mutual recognition [and] phased redeployment of Israeli troops' (Bickerton 2003, p.145). Furthermore, power over the West Bank and Gaza was to be transferred to the Palestine Council while a 'permanent peace treaty and final status of territories' (Bickerton 2003,

³ The 'intifada' was a well-organized rebellion conducted by the PLO that lasted from 1987-1991 and was fuelled by rumours of violent incidences against Palestinian people. The word 'intifada' literally meant "shaking off" and was used to describe the violent period where masses of civilians attacked Israeli troops with any weapon they could find (Bickerton 2003, p.132-34).

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p.145) was to be discussed. The permanent status negotiations would address the major issues of the conflict. The Accords led to the establishment, in 1994, of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) to control the Palestinian territories.

In 2002 a renewed effort to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict was proposed by the USA, Russia, EU and UN. This effort led to the Road Map for Peace which set out a staged framework to work towards peace. The Road Map was presented to the Israeli and Palestinian governments in early 2003 after a series of disturbances in Gaza and the West Bank had reached a crescendo. These disturbances were known as the second 'intifada'⁴. The ultimate aim of the Road Map was "a final and comprehensive settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by 2005" (Reinhart 2006, p.12-13).

In the Road Map, Israel demanded the removal of Hamas, the foremost Palestinian Islamic Resistance Movement, whose charter calls for the destruction of Israel. However, Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas refused to comply pointing out that any attempts to dismantle Hamas would result in civil war. Furthermore, these demands were made as a pretext for Israeli concessions. By June 2003, when a ceremonial summit between Bush, Sharon and Abbas had been scheduled to take place in Aquba, Jordan, Hamas had only agreed to a ceasefire with Israel if they were prepared to do the same. Sharon rejected this proposal. Despite the provocations, a ceasefire was officially declared on 29 June 2003 (Reinhart 2006). However, the cycle of violence continued.

By August 2003 the ceasefire had effectively dissolved. Israel had resumed its policy of targeted assassinations of Palestinian militant leaders and Hamas had resumed its attacks on Israel. In October, the Abbas government collapsed.

Importantly, the failure of the Road Map was aided by the US administration that continually refused to condemn Israeli assassinations due to their view of Mr Sharon as 'a valued ally in the war on terror' (Goldenburg 2004). Thus, the Road Map for Peace was ill-

⁴The second 'intifada' was triggered in Jerusalem in 2000 after Israeli opposition leader Ariel Sharon visited a mosque which is considered to be the third holiest site in Islam. The day following Sharon's visit huge Palestinian uprisings broke out in Jerusalem and triggered violence in Gaza and the West Bank shortly after.

conceived in its design and lacked the necessary international political support to ensure its success.

CURRENT SITUATION

In August 2005 with peace efforts at a stalemate and violence in the occupied territories continuing, Israel enacted a unilateral disengagement. This entailed the removal of settlements and military occupation from the Gaza Strip and parts of the northern West Bank (Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2004). The PNA was in total control of the territory; however the influence of Hamas in Gaza created a direct challenge to President Abbas' authority. Palestinian elections held in January 2006 resulted in Hamas winning a majority of seats in the Palestinian Parliament (Wilson 2006). There followed in 2007 a series of violent clashes between Hamas and Fatah⁵ that left Hamas in control of Gaza.

In July 2006 Israel launched offensives into Gaza to remove the threat of rockets being fired into Israel. In the face of worldwide criticism Israel withdrew from Gaza after having inflicted widespread destruction. Following the offensive in mid-2007 Israel imposed a tight economic blockade of Gaza. Malcolm Smart, Middle East and North Africa Director of Amnesty International said that as the Israeli blockade "does not target armed groups but rather punishes Gaza's entire population", the blockade cannot be viewed as a retaliation to "indiscriminate rocket attacks" (Smart 2010).

Despite these impediments, efforts towards peace continued. In late 2007 US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice organised the Annapolis Conference where representatives from Israel, Palestine, the USA and neighbouring countries were present. The conference aimed at ending "decades of conflict between (Palestinians and Israelis)" (Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2007). The parties involved in the Annapolis Conference agreed to recommit to completing the 2003 Road Map towards achieving a 'Permanent Two-State Solution' (Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2004). However, despite having explicitly expressed peace in terms of a two-state solution, today none of the phases set out have been completed.

⁵ President Abbas' ruling party

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Nevertheless, acceptance of the two-state solution has gained some ground. Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu, although previously opposed to the idea, now reluctantly accepts it. Additionally, both the Palestinians and the Israelis have agreed that a readjustment in the 1967-borders is inevitable to compensate the Palestinian's for loss land. These allowances have shed some light on the situation, giving Israelis and the Palestinians 'a hopeful paradox' (The Economist 2010a).

The election of US President Obama in 2009 introduced a new era of US foreign policy. Having inherited wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, international Islamic terrorism and a declining opinion of America in the Muslim world, President Obama has looked for new solutions to solve conflicts. In his inauguration speech Obama said "To the Muslim world, we seek a new way forward, based on mutual interest and ... respect"(Obama as cited in Niedowski 2010).

The USA's support of Israel, demonstrated by its military aid to Israel and its prohibiting of UN resolutions critical of Israel, works to undermine its efforts to secure solutions to its wider problems in the Middle East. In March 2010 US General David Petraeus said that "the perception of U.S. favouritism towards Israel" is causing "anti-American sentiment" (Petraeus 2010 as cited in Haaretz). This reality has given new incentive for the US to work towards peace.

In November 2009 Israel, under US pressure, agreed to a 10-month moratorium on new Jewish housing in the West Bank, which hinted at improvements towards peace. At the time, the Obama administration praised Netanyahu for issuing this 'unprecedented concession' (Deyoung and Schneider 2009). Although, the building freeze was a relatively small concession it served to demonstrate the USA's engagement.

Another example of US engagement and of rising tensions with Israel is seen in recent events in Jerusalem. Netanyahu announced a decision to build 1,600 new homes in Ramat Shlomo, a Jewish suburb in East Jerusalem. This angered President Obama who seems to be running out of 'patience with the Israeli leader' (The Economist 2010b, p.14). The Economist claims that the situation in Ramat Shlomo only 'ignited the rage' that was already present since Netanyahu's failure to comply with the freezing of settlement development. The Palestinian leader, Mahmoud Abbas has refused to continue negotiations for peace with

Israel unless this development is 'revoked' (The Economist 2010b, p.14) Hillary Clinton, the US Secretary of State, now insists that Netanyahu must comply with 'fresh demands' (Clinton as cited in the Economist 2010c, p.31). Mr Obama wants to set up a series of "confidence building steps" (Obama as cited in the Economist 2010a, p.44) in order to bring the Palestinians 'back to the table' (The Economist 2010a, p.44). These include a release of Palestinian prisoners and a dismantling of certain Israeli military road-blocks in the West Bank.

Strategically however, Obama may find it dangerous 'to inflame the Israel lobby' (The Economist 2010c, p.31) while he struggles with US domestic reforms. The America Israel Public Affairs Committee suggested that this situation is handled "in a manner befitting strategic allies" (The Economist 2010c, p.31), in this case Israel. This makes the Palestinian leader, Mahmoud Abbas nervous that the America administration may 'buckle over' the instigation of a 'total freeze' (The Economist 2010c, p.32).

Thus, although relations between Israel and America appear to have taken a turn for the worse this is a reflection of US efforts to push Israel back towards peace negotiations. The recent comments by Clinton where, in the wake of the killing by Israeli commandos of boat protesters seeking to break the Gaza blockade, she described the blockade as "unsustainable and unacceptable" (Clinton as cited in Ferziger 2010), indicate US patience may be wearing thin.

⁶ 'fresh demands' included putting building plans away, avoiding new provocations, agreeing to talk about the 'core issues' in the proximity talks, and offering a new concession to the Palestinians (The Economist March 2010, p.33).

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PARTIES IN THE CONFLICT

Parties	Description	Leader	Aim	Methods
Hamas	Hardline Islamic resistance movement. Hamas is politically in control of Gaza.	Isamli Haniyeh	'...to establish a pan-Islamic state on the basis ... Islamic law'(Bickerton 2003, p.135)	Terrorist organisation: Conducts resistance movements against the Israeli occupation
PLO – Fatah	The Fatah was formed in the 1950s. It is primarily a guerrilla organisation and is the largest fraction of the PLO.	Mahmoud Abbas	Dedicated to the 'armed struggle' against Israel and believed in the 'desirability of Arab unity' (Alger2004, p.38)	'Force was the only way to liberate Palestine' (Bickerton 2003, p.88).
Palestinian Authority (PA)	The PA was formed during the Oslo Peace Process. On its establishment the PA governed most of the Gaza Strip in response to the interim period of the Oslo agreement.	Mahmoud Abbas	Aimed to induce a full withdrawal of Israeli occupation in the Gaza Strip by 1996.	Responsible for combating terrorism and coordinating security with Israel.
Israeli Government	The Israeli government controls the operations of the State of Israel	Benjamin Netanyahu	To find a 'comprehensive solution' to the problem in Israel, in favour of Israel (State of Israel 1999)	Continued to expand settlements in East Jerusalem
US Government	The USA is strategically aligned with Israel, thus decision are made as to not anger this ally.	Barack Obama	To bring about a lasting peace in Israel under a two-state solution.	President George W. Bush began talking about a two- state solution in 2003. On 30 April 2003 the Road Map document.

APPLICATION OF PEACE AND CONFLICT THEORY

'Peace has roots' as Galtung states in his body of works on peace processes. When considering the conflict between Israel and Palestine, the 'roots' can be traced back to biblical times making any processes of prevention almost irrelevant (Galtung 1996).

Galtung's theory stresses the idea of peace studies being similar to health studies. Thus, to ask the question "What is the cause of war?" would be like asking "What is the cause of illness?" (Galtung 1996) When a state is considered 'ill', Galtung suggests using a diagnosis, prognosis, therapy process towards peace. The diagnosis of a conflict must look at the current and historical violence and the conditions and contexts for peace. Galtung suggests an important condition for peace is 'equitable relations', which while the Israeli military control the day-to-day lives of the Palestinians is not being achieved. Thus, when looking at the violence occurring on a daily basis one can devise the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as 'ill'. A particular recent example of the severity of the violence was Israel's three-week military campaign in Gaza in 2008-09.

Peace is built 'by spinning ties of equitable co-operation at all levels' (Galtung 1996). In the case of the Palestinians and Israelis, equitable co-operation must be achieved on a national and individual level. This means that all areas in dispute must be resolved, including the major 'permanent...solution' (Israel Minister of Foreign Affairs 2007) issues. With the US being the leading peace process facilitator, it means that while American interests do not align with both an Israeli and Palestinian peace, an equitable relation will not be achieved.

In order to research peace one must understand the 'causes, conditions, and contexts' (Galtung 1996). Inequality prevents an accurate prognosis for helping determine whether the system is capable of 'self-restoration' or whether some 'other intervention' (Galtung 1996) is necessary. The main cause of tension between Israel and Palestine is Israel's continued expansionist policies. Peace researchers must work towards a common agreement on Israel's settlement expansion and how to deal with the current settlements which have been built on Palestinian land. The complexity of knowledge that has to be collected before the peace can become a prospect makes peace studies 'difficult intellectually and problematic in practice' (Galtung 1996).

Galtung's peace theory concludes with therapy, referring to 'deliberate efforts by Self or Other to move the system back ... towards some well-state' (Galtung 1996). While this has been attempted numerous times, through treaties and negotiations involving both the Israeli and Palestinian governments, no agreement has been formulated and strictly followed. Therefore, it can be deduced that the current situation between Israel and Palestine has reached a stage where the equilibrium is 'so unstable that even a minor insult can tip the system into an ill-state' (Galtung 1996). Take for example Mr Netanyahu's plans to expand settlements in Ramat Scholo in East Jerusalem. This caused Proximity Talks to be called off and a refusal by the Palestinian President Abbas to continue with negotiations for peace.

By Galtung's analysis the Israeli-Palestinian conflict can undeniably be seen as a difficult problem to resolve, particularly when looking at the violence occurring on a daily basis and the past violence inflicted on both the Palestinians and Israelis. It is obvious that the problems of Israeli military control over the occupied territories and the Jewish settlements needs to be addressed and until this is done, little effort can be made towards peace.

'Manifest conflict process (MCP), is Sandole's method of interpreting violence. His theory revolves around the idea that violence is a situation between at least two parties where each other's 'mutually incompatible goals' lead to the undermining of the other party. This can become a problem when MCP worsens producing what Sandole terms an 'aggressive manifest conflict process (AMCP)'. This is a situation where, for example, Palestinians and Israelis, attempt to achieve their goals by 'physically damaging or destroying the other'. This can be clearly seen throughout the long history of the conflict (Sandole 1998).

This intractable conflict has been manifesting itself since the early is" century. Thus, Sandole recommends that the peace process be pursued through a method known as 'mapping'. This process highlights the three main areas of the conflict on route to finding a solution. This is known as the three pillar approach and is useful when analysing the possibilities of peace in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Figure 2: A Comprehensive Mapping of Conflict and Conflict Resolution: A Three Pillar Approach (Sandole 1998)

Pillar 2	Pillar 1	Pillar 3
<i>Conflict Causes and Conditions</i>	<i>Conflict Latent (Pre-MCP) MCP/AMCP</i>	<i>Conflict Intervention 3rd-Party Objectives</i>
Individual Level	Parties	Conflict Prevention
Societal Level	Issues	Conflict Management
International Level	Objectives	Conflict Settlement
Global/Ecological Level	Means	Conflict Resolution
	C/CR Orientations	Conflict Transformation
	C/CR Environment	[Conflict Prevention]
		3rd-Party Approaches
		Competitive vs. Cooperative
		Negative vs. Positive Peace
		Track-1 vs. Track-2

Pillar One looks at the elements of the conflict in an attempt to unpack the means of finding positive peace. The first step is to identify which parties are present in the conflict and the relationships between and within each of the parties. In the case of the Israeli and Palestinian conflict, there are two main parties; the State of Israel and the PNA. These two main parties do not have an equitable power share.

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The next part of the process is to set out exactly what the parties are fighting about. Conflicts may be structural or non- structural. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is structural since it involves the system as a whole. Both the Israelis and Palestinians are fighting to maintain or establish control over the same land.

The objectives of each party correspond to the issues. On the face of it the aims of the Palestinians and Israelis are 'zero - sum' in the sense that 'one party's gains equals another party's losses'. Sandole suggests that a 'reframing' (Sandole 1998) of objectives is necessary to establish a 'win- win' situation. This may give insight into which elements of the conflict are considered intractable.

The way in which each party goes about achieving their objectives is referred to as the 'means'. Anatal Rapoport (Rapoport 1960) presents three means of achieving ones objectives; 'Fights, Games and Debates'. Israelis and Palestinians employ the fight approach where each uses violence in order to achieve their goals. This is reflective of their underlying orientation to conflict handling. Both can be characterised as having a 'competitive' (Sandole 1998) orientation where they will be confrontational with one another resulting in a 'zero-sum' outcome. This has caused negative outcomes for both parties.

Finally, the environment of the conflict can be defined as 'exogenous' (Sandole 1998) referring to outside factors to the system. In this case the USA acts as a mechanism for controlling the conflict. However, at present, this third party to the system is favourable to the Israelis and thus, is unable to be effective in resolving the underlying issues.

After looking at the elements making up Pillar One, third parties can address the conflict's causes and conditions, known as Pillar Two. This process looks at the potential sources of conflict which operate at individual, societal, international and ecological levels (Sandole 1998). On an individual level the source of tensions arise from violence over territorial claims. The source of dispute on a societal level is caused by an inequitable relationship between Israel and Palestine due to economic, political and social conditions. At the international level, the source of conflict is caused by third party favouritism of one side, in this case the USA's strategic support of Israel. Through recognising the different sources of the conflict, the process of finding a durable peace can begin.

Pillar Three determines appropriate conflict intervention based on third parties' evaluation of the objectives of each party. It is important that the objectives reflect the particular situation in order for intervention to be effective. Through a policy of [conflict management' and [settlement' (Sandole 1998), third parties can help to achieve negative peace where hostilities between the parties cease. Negative peace must be achieved before the 'elimination of underlying causes and conditions' can occur and positive peace can be resolved.

Sandole's 'Track-1' governmental approach uses competitive processes to achieve and maintain negative peace. While negative peace can be stable temporarily, it is necessary to take a 'Track-2', non- governmental, approach to deliver positive peace as both the Israeli and Palestinian governments are a part of the political actors in the conflict. 'Track-2' uses cooperative processes to achieve positive peace and should be used alongside 'Track -1' in order to deal with the conflict (Sandole 1998).

Both Galtung and Sandole look at step by step means of achieving equitable peace. However, the core problem lies in finding a process by which a 'win- win' outcome is possible for both Palestinians and Israelis.

CONCLUSION

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been one of the most difficult, complex and enduring conflicts over the last fifty years. There have being multiple attempts to negotiate a lasting peace, which have all failed in one sense or another. New prospects and methods need to be considered if the peace process is to be set back on track.

Israel's survival over the last fifty years in a state of perpetual hostility with its neighbours has been in large part made possible by the support it receives from the USA. This support is derived from the USA's strategic alliance with Israel as they are considered a valuable ally against the war on terror. A withdrawal of that support by the USA could be a possible means of bringing about a 'win-win' peace treaty.

It would seem in the light of recent events, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict remains volatile and the prospects for peace seem weak. Israel's relations with the Palestinians as well as its

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international relations have been set back a long way after nine people were killed and a dozen injured when Israeli naval commandos boarded the Turkish ferry in international waters in June 2010 (Koutsoukis 2010).

Dennis Ross, Middle East adviser and chief negotiator under Presidents George H.W. Bush and Bill Clinton has said that "[Israelis and Palestinians] choice is either to live in perpetual struggle ... or to live in peaceful coexistence" (Ross as cited in Dershowitz 2005). While neither Israel nor the Palestinians agree to compromise the two nations will remain in 'perpetual struggle' (Dershowitz 2005, p.11).

The only realistic resolution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict would be a two-state solution. Under the terms of such a peace, the Palestinians and the entire world would recognise 'Israel's right to continue to exist as an independent, democratic Jewish state in exchange, Israel should recognise the right of Palestinians to establish an independent, democratic, Palestinian state' (Dershowitz 2005, p.13). The real problem, however, does not lie in the end result but in the means of reaching the end result. The lack of trust which has resulted from years of mistakes and neglected opportunities has created a vast problem which compromises Israelis' and Palestinian's ability to work cooperatively. As of yet, there has been little practical progress towards such a peace and there seems little on the horizon which is liable to deliver positive peace in the near future.

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