

A Brief Historical and literature Review of Peaceful Coexistence Plans (1937-1947) Between the Israelis and Palestinians

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Abstract: *This paper reviews the most important historical backgrounds and literature review of the peaceful coexistence Plan (1937-1947) between the Israelis and Palestinians, through evaluation of peel commission in 1937, Woodhead commission plan a,b,and c in 1938 , and United Nations partition plan in 1947, as a previous workable solutions of peaceful coexistence between the Israelis and Palestinians. And the researchers aim to investigate three goals, the first, assessing the importance of historical and literature review, Second, debate the main historical proposals/accords of peaceful coexistence plan between the Israelis and Palestinians from the First World War to 1947, and the third is critique of the important previous literature which debated the reasons behind the failures of peaceful coexistence plan (1937-1947) between the Israelis and Palestinians. While this study aims to discover what has been written about the topic, evaluating the literature, and determining the relationship between the sources and ascertain what has been done already and what still needs to be done, through debating the most important historical events and peace proposals/accords between the Israelis and Palestinians that precede the 1937, 1938, 1947 partition plans, and surveying some relevant literature to determine what is known and not known about this topic and the previous writings and studies in this regard. The researcher's methodology is using the historical chronology and qualitative literature review to investigate this argues. This paper concludes that there were several of historical and literature review to debate the reasons behind the failures of peaceful coexistence plan (1937-1947) between the Israelis and Palestinians: religious and historical point of views.*

Key words: *Historical review, Literature review, Peaceful Coexistence, Partition Plan, Israelis, Palestinians*

I. Introduction

It is usually said that the Arab-Israeli conflict is strenuous because it consists of two competing nationalisms vying for control over the same territory. Whilst there is intrinsic merit in the supposition that Arab and Jewish nationalisms are violently at odds, it is, nevertheless, inherently flawed in that it does not explain how these two sets of nationalisms emerged in Palestine to begin with.(Kattan; 2009), Whilst the conflict between the ideal ideas in the three Abrahamic religions about peace and the practical reality suggest the following question to be examined further and deeper to have a better idea about the essence of the conflict reasons in this area of the world, how can we all live together? Is peaceful coexistence possible globally, regionally, or even within one family? If so, what are the necessary components that create it? In other words, what are the preconditions—philosophically, socially, politically, culturally, or otherwise—for peaceful coexistence among different people? Have we, as human beings, ever lived together peacefully? Have people of very different faiths, for example, ever lived with each other for a sustained period of time without seeking to oppress or eradicate each other? These are powerful and complex questions that require asking even more questions in order to be answered. Answering these questions requires a significant and thorough study of world history. Then, if we determine that sustained peaceful coexistence has been achieved in certain situations, we must further determine what factors allowed that coexistence to occur. What were the specific conditions—economic, political, social, cultural, etc.—that made that coexistence possible? These conditions and factors are myriad; to distinguish them so that they can be meaningful today and requires intensive analysis from highly skilled and knowledgeable individuals. The peaceful coexistence presupposes a rigorous respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries and the development of economic and cultural cooperation based on full equality and mutual benefit. A policy aimed at establishing and developing this type of relations between states is called a policy of peaceful coexistence.

In the modern history, specifically, there are various attitudes regarding the peaceful coexistence between the Israelis and Palestinians or Arabs and Jews. Many solutions which included agreements or even proposals of partition plans were being after the fall of the Ottoman Empire and during World War I till the British mandate which proposed two peoples in one land, whenever the conventional wisdom recommends dividing the territory of the area called Palestine into Jewish and Arab states that will coexist peacefully (Inbar; 2009). In my opinion,

the history of the Israeli–Palestinian roots dated back to the 19th century, with the birth of two major nationalist movements among Jews and Arabs, as both geared towards attaining sovereignty for their people in the Middle East. That is why Inbar argued that (2009) the Arab-Jewish or the Israeli-Palestinian conflict over Palestine has evolved over the past hundred years. At present, most attempts to solve this simmering ethnic conflict in Palestine revolve around the two-state paradigm. While this should normally take place within the UN and other officials, since the founding of the United Nations after World War II, this organization has sought to act as a forum for resolution in matters of international conflict and is often instrumental in peace processes and peace treaties. The number of international treaties and obligations member states is involved in which they seek to limit and control behavior during wartime has perhaps made the idea of total war less tenable. This has meant that formal declarations of war are frequently not undertaken and also a peace treaty at the end is also not entered into force.

In the same context, the United Nations supported some practical solutions such as: ‘We shall first cut the body of Palestine into three parts of a Jewish state and three parts of an Arab state. We shall then have the Jaffa enclave, and Palestine’s heart, Jerusalem, shall forever be an international city. That is the beginning of the shape Palestine shall have.’ ‘having cut Palestine up in that manner, we shall then put its bleeding body upon a cross forever. This is not going to be temporary; this is permanent. Palestine shall never belong to its people; it shall always be stretched upon the cross..... ‘What authority has the United Nations to do this? What legal authority, what juridical authority has it to do this, to make an independent state forever the subject of United Nations administration?’ (Sir Mohammed Zafrullah Khan Said, Kattan; 2009). The idea of a “restoration of the Jews,” advocated in the 1830s and 1840s by the Earl of Shaftesbury and his friends who wished to “restore” the Jewish nation to the land of its fathers. (Kramer; 2008), Even Theodor Herzl (1860-1904) was the founder of modern political Zionism. In the preface to *Der Judenstaat* (1896) he said, “The idea which I have developed in this pamphlet is a very old one: it is the restoration of the Jewish state.” (Liqueur&Rubin; 2008).

In addition to, there was international guaranteed and special British supporting, as Winston Churchill said in 1922, “When it is asked what is meant by the development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, it may be answered that it is not the imposition of a Jewish nationality upon the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole, but the further development of the existing Jewish community, with the assistance of Jews in other parts of the world, in order that it may become a center in which the Jewish people as a whole may take, on grounds of religion and race, an interest and a pride. But in order that this community should have the best prospect of free development and provide a full opportunity for the Jewish people to display its capacities, it is essential that it should know that it is in Palestine as of right and not on sufferance. That is the reason why it is necessary that the existence of a Jewish National Home in Palestine should be internationally guaranteed and that it should be formally recognized to rest upon ancient historic connection.” (Hertz; 2007). Furthermore, the Peace is a state of harmony characterized by the lack of violent conflict. Commonly understood as the absence of hostility, peace also suggests the existence of healthy or newly healed interpersonal or international relationships, prosperity in matters of social or economic welfare, the establishment of equality, and a working political order that serves the true interests of all. In international relations, peacetime is not only the absence of war or conflict, but also the presence of cultural and economic understanding.

By the way, the lessons from the Peaceful Coexistence debate for International Law and Law-making in periods of competing systems or colliding civilizations: First, keep the lines of communication open at all times with other competing systems and seek out a dialogue. In short term, there were no logic reasons for Arab to reject Peaceful Coexistence Plan between the Israelis and Palestinians to live together as two nationalities, cultures, or religions in one state, according to peace treaty which was in 1919, known as the Faisal-Weizmann agreement signed by Emir Feisal and Chaim Weizmann. In fact, there were different views of peace process between the Palestinians and Israelis like historical and religious point of views. Although, it considered Palestine as an Arab country which includes Jewish people as citizens, unfortunately Arab’s behaviors towards Israel is always of strategic avoidance or exploiting opportunities. (Karl Derouen Jr& Christopher Sprecher; 2006).

In February 1947, Britain asked the fledgling United Nations to address the question of Palestine. Like the Peel Plan of 1937, the majority of United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) favored a partition of Palestine into two states, a Jewish one and an Arab one. According to UNSCOP, the Arab state would be about 42% of Palestine and the Jewish about 55%; the remaining territory, including Jerusalem, would be an international zone. This is similar to a large extent, when all Arab and Palestinians rejected Camp David Agreement between Egypt and Israel in 1979, which caused the Palestinians to lose more than what they could have gained. Anyway, there is a pressing question; what are the real reasons and motives distinguished that made peaceful coexistence possible elsewhere and in a different era be transported to the present time, into a current situation of conflict and violence? Can the conditions be recreated and applied to the present time conflicts, although it is taken from the past? This may seem simple, but it is not. People change from era to era.

Notions of what is permissible can change over time even within one culture, and of course much more across cultures. What worked in a previous period, in terms of a conception of societal harmony and justice, cannot simply be picked up and moved into a new era with different notions of morality, truth, society, etc.

Finally, some researchers concluded that it has become increasingly clear that a two-state settlement in the Holy Land is elusive. A historic compromise between two national movements fighting for the same piece of land is not within reach. (Inbar; 2009).

MATERIALS

This paper aims to investigate three goals like:

First, assessing the importance of historical and literature review, Second, debate the main historical proposals/accords of peaceful coexistence plans between the Israelis and Palestinians from the First World War to 1947, The third, critique of the important previous literature which debated the peaceful coexistence plans (1937-1947) between the Israelis and Palestinians. So the researchers are going to argue that goals as follows:

First; Assessing the importance of historical and literature review:

Many see (brundage; 2008) history as a vast array of facts, largely political and military in character, arranged more or less chronologically. Thus conceived, history is unalterable, except by the occasional unearthing of a lost city or the discovery of a trunk full of letters in an attic. At its best, it is an exciting and vivid costume drama; at its worst it becomes a tedious, turgid catalog of dates and names designed to torment the young.

In my opinion, most of the authors feel that it is impossible to fully understand the present without some knowledge of the past, and while the literature reviews for professionals, they are useful reports that keep them up to date with what is current in the field.

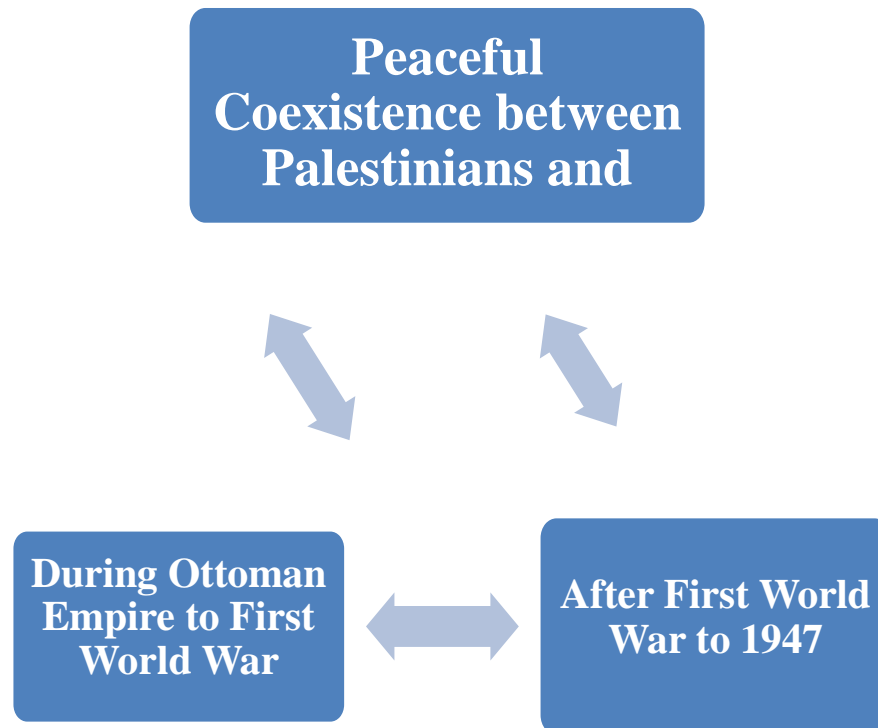
For scholars, the depth and breadth of the literature review emphasizes the credibility of the writer in his or her field. Literature reviews also provide a solid background for a research paper's investigation. Comprehensive knowledge of the literature of the field is essential to most research papers. (www.unc.edu/depts/wcweb/).

On the other hand, if the literature review is flawed, the remainder of the dissertation may also be viewed as flawed, because "a researcher cannot perform significant research without first understanding the literature in the field" (Boote & Beile, 2005, p. 3). Experienced thesis examiners know this. In a study of the practices of Australian dissertation examiners, Mullins and Kiley (2002) found that meaning, (Justus J. Randolph; 2009).

A literature review may provide the background for larger work, or it may stand on its own. Much more than a simple list of sources, an effective literature review analyzes and synthesizes information about key themes or issues (Skene), the researchers extracted the importance of historical and literature review that the literature review surveys all relevant literature to determine what is known and not known about a particular topic, and to discover what has been written about a topic already, to determine what each source contributes to the topic, finally, to understand the relationship between the various contributions, identify and (if possible) resolve contradictions, and determine gaps or unanswered questions.

Second; debating the main historical proposals/accords of peaceful coexistence plan between the Israelis and Palestinians from the First World War to 1947:

The researcher's vision of this section considering that there were two situations of peaceful coexistence between the Jews/Israelis and Palestinians/Arab, the first one considered during Ottoman Empire period until the First World War, as there was a good relationship between them, but starting from the end of First World War, it turned into the worst period as a result of several Jewish emigrations to Palestine, as depicted in the following figure:



So the researcher also can review some of the previous attempts of proposals and agreements to promote peace and peaceful coexistence between Palestinians and Israelis as follows:

1908 the Jewish national fund and the Palestine Land Development Company began their work purchasing land in Palestine for Jewish settlement. (Kattan; 2009), 1914-1918 the First World War: on August 1, 1914, Germany declared war on Russia, inaugurating an international upheaval that would set the allies (Great Britain, France, Russia, Japan, and, in 1917, the United States) against the central powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, and the Ottoman Empire), (Harms; 2008). Britain and France focused on those portions of the Ottoman Middle East they could each walk away with at the end of the war. Transferring these strategically desired portions, or “spheres of influence,” into colonial assets was the driving force of the decisions made, especially by Britain, during the war, (Harms; 2008). Moreover, France and Britain would gain the whole of the Middle East that was under Ottoman control, (Harms; 2008). In 1915-1916 McMahon-Hussein Correspondence is one of the toughest issues in modern Middle Eastern history: in these letters was discussed the particulars regarding an agreement between the Arabs to revolt the Ottoman Turks, and Hussein wanted guarantees from McMahon that the British would pick up the tab, as well as, help the Arabs attain independence. McMahon was willing to “recognize and support the independence of the Arabs in all regions within the limits demanded by the Sheriff of Mecca, (Harms; 2008). The Sykes-Picot agreement 1916: in a secret treaty that was ratified in May 1916 (the Sykes-Picot Agreement would not be published until after the war) Paris and London divided between themselves the whole of the Middle East, designating areas as zones of direct control and spheres of indirect influence, (Harms; 2008).

Balfour declaration, November 1917: in Great Britain itself, Zionism could count on the sympathies of influential circles that saw Palestine as the land of the Bible and homeland of the Jews, (Kramer; 2008). As the British policy during the war years became gradually committed to the idea of the establishment of a Jewish home in Palestine. After discussions on cabinet level and consultation with Jewish leaders, the decision was made known in the form of a letter by Lord Balfour (1848-1930) to Lord Rothschild, (Liqueur & Rubin; 2008). That letter included that “his Majesty’s government views 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.” (Liqueur & Rubin; 2008). On the other hand, the declaration was not published as an official government paper but as a letter from the British foreign minister, Lord Balfour, to the Honorary President of the Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland, Lionel Rothschild. (Kramer; 2008). In December 1917, the British army led by General Allenby marched victoriously into Jerusalem. Palestine is placed under British military occupation (1917-1920), it then had a population of 688,957 Arabs (including Christians, Muslims and other non-Jewish minorities), (Kattan; 2009). In 1919 Faisal and Weizmann concluded an agreement on Jewish settlement in Palestine, although the former inscribed a reservation to the document. The peace conference took place in Paris, (Kattan; 2009). The King-Crane Commission August 28, 1919: its main function was to

determine which of the western nations should act as the mandatory power for Palestine, (Liqueur& Rubin; 2008).

1920-1947 British Mandate Established: the League of Nations divided Ottoman lands between the British and the French after World War I. Britain was given the Palestine Mandate on land comprising modern-day Israel, the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Jordan. The Mandate incorporated the language of the Balfour Declaration. In 1921, Britain created Transjordan as a subdivision of the mandate in the area east of the Jordan River, (www.icsresources.org). 1920 at San Remo, the great powers determined the allocation of the A-class mandates, Britain was appointed the mandatory power over Palestine and Iraq. France was given a mandate over the rest of the Levant (Lebanon and Syria), (Kattan; 2009). In 1921 The US restricted immigration. In Jaffa, there were large-scale riots between Arabs and Jews. The Haycraft commission of inquiry was appointed by the British government to examine the causes of the riots, (Kattan; 2009). 1922 The Churchill white paper: Winston Churchill was the colonial secretary, issued the white paper of June 1922, which denied that Palestine was to become, like Zionist leader Chaim Weizman had indicated, as Jewish as England is English. The paper also maintained that the Jewish national home mentioned in the Balfour Declaration was to be founded in Palestine, (Harms; 2008).

1922 the Council of the League of Nations agreed to the text of British Mandate of Palestine. The Palestine order-in-Council of 1 September separated Palestine from the Emirate of Transjordan, (Kattan; 2009). In 1922, Britain barred Jewish settlement in the Transjordan section of the Palestine Mandate. Thus, the area available for a Jewish homeland was reduced by more than 75%. During the British Mandate period, idealistic Jewish Zionists immigrated to develop the land, as well as, to escape persecution in Europe that preceded the Holocaust. At the same period, too, the Arab population nearly doubled from natural increase and immigration from neighboring Arab countries. The Jewish population formed community organizations, labor unions, political bodies, and built roads, schools, hospitals and other infrastructure for an independent state. Arab resistance to Jewish immigration grew, causing the British to sharply limit Jewish immigration, (www.icsresources.org). The Shaw report 1929: this commission was headed by Sir Walter Shaw, and found the reason for the conflict and unrest to be the aggravated landless class of Arabs, who were fearful of Zionism and dispossession. The commission suggested controlled Jewish immigration, a precisely laid-out Arab policy, and the cessation of evicting Arabs from land transfers, (Harms; 2008). The Hope-Simpson commission 1930: this inquiry attributed the violence to Zionist labor policy of making Jewish-bought land inalienable created Arab unemployment. The conclusion and recommendations were more or less identical to the Shaw report, (Harms; 2008). The Passfield White Paper 1930: this white paper suggested limits on Jewish immigration, and concessions regarding the settling of landless Arabs, (Harms; 2008).

1932-1933 Overt Nazi persecution of German Jews began. Jewish immigration into Palestine increased three-fold, (Kattan; 2009). The Great Arab revolt of 1936-1939: it began with a call for a general strike, which was supported by all the major factions, Christians, and Muslims alike. It lasted for six months, (Kattan; 2009). The British authority appointed another commission of inquiry, this time a royal commission, which was sent to Palestine to investigate the causes of the unrest, (Kattan; 2009). The Palestine Royal Commission "Peel Commission" report July 1937: it stated that the desire of the Arabs for national independence and their hatred and fear of establishment of the Jewish national home were the underlying causes of the disturbances. It found also that Arab and Jewish interests could not be reconciled under the mandate and it suggested, therefore, the partition of Palestine, (Liqueur& Rubin; 2008). The Woodhead Commission 1938: this commission was set up to re-evaluate the peel report's suggestion to partition Palestine. The report asserted that, ".....the political, administrative, and financial difficulties involved in the proposal to create independence Arab and Jewish states inside Palestine are so great that this solution of the problem is impracticable." Nevertheless, three partition plans were included in this report, all of them allocating significantly less land to the Zionists, (Harms; 2008).

The 1939 White Paper: this paper envisaged a Jewish national home in Palestine, with controlled Jewish immigration for five years, and the implementation of Arab-Jewish self-governing institutions. The 1939 White Paper was rejected by both sides. (Harms; 2008). The second World War 1939-1945: this event had more to do with European history and less with Middle Eastern affairs. The effects were certainly felt in Palestine-increased Jewish immigration, changes in British policy, etc. (Harms; 2008). The Alexandria protocol in 1944 by the Arab league: Palestine was the subject of a resolution that stated "Palestine constitutes an important part of the Arab world and that the rights of the (Palestinians) Arabs cannot be touched without prejudice to peace and stability in the Arab world..... (Harms; 2008). In 1946 the Anglo-American committee: it recommended that Palestine 'shall be neither a Jewish state nor an Arab state' (Kattan; 2009). The United Nations Special Committee for Palestine (UNSCOP): it recommended the partition of Palestine between an Arab and a Jewish state. The UN then asked an ad hoc committee to examine the matter. It produced two reports. (Kattan; 2009). In February 1947, Britain asked the fledgling United Nations to address the question of Palestine. Like the Peel Plan of 1937, the majority of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) favored a partition of Palestine into two states, a Jewish one and an Arab one. According to UNSCOP, the Arab state would be

about 42% of Palestine and the Jewish one about 55%; the remaining territory, including Jerusalem, would be an international zone. (Jeremy: 2005).

Third; The critique of the important previous literature of peaceful coexistence plan (1937-1947) between the Israelis and Palestinians:

The researcher in this section analyzes, evaluates some particular books, summarizes relevant sources and explains the significance of those sources to the research question, and surveys some relevant literature to determine what is known and not known about the reasons behind the failure of peaceful coexistence plans (1937-1947) between the Israelis and Palestinians: religious and historical point of views. In addition to that, this study considered the first argument dealing with religious and historical reasons behind the failure of peaceful coexistence plans between the Israelis and Palestinians. The researcher, then, is going to debate some of the significant previous literatures, which relates to the reasons behind the failure of peaceful coexistence plans (1937-1947) between the Israelis and Palestinians: religious and historical point of views.

Among all the research conducted in this area, this study mainly focuses on a number of references as: "The failure of the middle east peace process" argued by Guy Ben-Porat (2008), Enderlin (2003) focused on "Shattered dreams; the failure of the peace process in the Middle East, 1995-2002", Kattan (2009) dealt with the condition "From coexistence to conquest; international law and the origins of the Arab-Israeli conflict, 1891-1949", while there was a previous study that argued the "Partitioning Palestine; legal fundamentalism in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict" (Strawson;2010).

Furthermore, Jimmy's Carter vision was (2009) "We can have peace in the holy land, and also "Palestine; peace not apartheid" (Carter;2006), but Benny's Morris work (2009) was "One state, two states; resolving the Israel/ Palestine conflict", while Pappé (2004) debated the "history of modern Palestine, one land, two peoples, Klein (2007) examined "A possible peace between Israel and Palestine; an insider's account of the Geneva initiative, at same context, Fromkin (2009) described the "peace to end all peace, further, Inbar (2009) assessed "The Rise and Demise of the Two-State Paradigm", Kelman (2005) sees that "Building trust among enemies: the central challenge for international conflict resolution, but Mitchell (2007) discussed that "Towards Nakba: the failure of the British mandate of Palestine, 1922-1939, Hertz argued (2007) "Mandate for Palestine"; the legal aspects of Jewish rights to a National Home in Palestine", and also (2009) the "Palestinians" Kelman (2007) "The Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process and Its Vicissitudes; Insights From Attitude Theory", Finally, Krämer (2008) evaluated the situation "From the Ottoman conquest to the founding of the state of Israel; history of Palestine".

So in this section, the researcher will classify some of the Pertinent studies "books, papers, and thesis" in three steps briefly described below:

General Overview of an Israeli-Palestinian Conflict:

As the researcher referred to the interesting topic of this study, which titled "the reasons behind the failure of peaceful coexistence plan (1937-1947) between the Israelis and Palestinians: religious and historical point of views", and after the reviewing of literature review, the researcher demonstrates that all of previous studies can help partially not entirely in this study "referring to; the reasons behind the failures- peaceful coexistence plan- the Israelis and Palestinians- religious and historical point of views- the Peel partition plan 1937- Woodhead partition plans a, b and c 1938- United Nations partition plan for Palestine 1947- two peoples in one land/ bi-national". Regarding to the three peaceful coexistence plans (1937, 1938, and 1947), the researcher reviews some of the important categories like; contents, Goals "generalization" (Randolph;2009) because some of those studies aim to reach results that can be generalized in the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians. However, some of them cannot be generalized, moreover perspective; as there is a difference and divergence in perspective for the current and former researchers regarding the issue of peaceful coexistence between Israelis and Palestinians in the Holy Land, and the possible solutions in this specific issue like the neutral representation, where the weather of issue in the reasons behind the failure of peaceful coexistence plans (1937-1947) between the Israelis and Palestinians: religious and historical point of views, there are several previous studies is largely neutral - from the point of view of the researcher, and espousal of position, because some researchers have overall view in supporting the peace between the Israelis and Palestinians, or support a particular trend against the other side, but never dealt with the reasons behind the failure of peaceful coexistence plans (1937-1947) between them, but almost considered views of the possibilities of spreading peaceful coexistence, and the wishes of sustained peace by equality between both sides.

The researcher considers in the issue of coverage that there are no previous studies that covered the current topic "the reasons behind the failure of peaceful coexistence plans (1937-1947) between the Israelis and Palestinians: religious and historical point of views "through two categories, the first, "Exhaustive" as there is no comprehensive or exhaustive study – from all available sources - of the peaceful coexistence of the three plans 1937, 1938, and 1947 between the two sides, moreover the statement/ clarifying of the reasons behind the

failure of peaceful coexistence between them, Only a state of the historical narrative/enumeration of the peace plans/agreements/proposals/accords between the two sides. The second is “Exhaustive with selective citation”, Nevertheless, there are exhaustive studies with selective citation, so the researcher can review all of the above terms as follow:

“The failure of the middle east peace process” argued by Guy Ben-Porat (2008). Porat dealt with the failure of the Middle East peace process. A comparative analysis of peace implementation in Israel/Palestine, Northern Ireland and South Africa, through some contents such as; structural explanations, the dynamics of peace, and success and failure, as Porat’s book examines the gap between agreements and actual peace by focusing on the different aspects of implementation and of the causes of success or failure of peace processes. Porat concluded that “the success of a peace process is measured, first, by its ability to end violence and, second, by its ability to create the institutions and support structures that would discourage the parties from taking up arms again. His work also pointed to different explanations of the success or failure of the peace process, from macro-structural explanations that highlight regional advantages to micro studies of pacification and negotiation. Structural explanations point to the disadvantages of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that, different from some expectations, demonstrates that partition is far from simple. While partitions carry an illusion of finality, they are often a temporary solution that fails to engage the deep roots of the conflict. Partition is problematic, as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict demonstrates, if boundaries are disputed, uprooting of populations with material, and emotional damage is solved, if inequality remains high and attributed to past injustices and when past grievances are not addressed. Porat’s view is that there is a situation of failing in the peace process especially between the Israelis and Palestinians, so the researcher considers that Porat’s work can help the current study in determining of the causes of success and failure of peace processes between the Israelis and Palestinians.

“We can have peace in the holy land”, argued by Carter (2009). Carter’s contents are; from Abraham’s journeys to the six-day war, my early involvement with Israel, peace at Camp David, Regan, Bush 1, and Clinton, 1981-2000, withdrawal from Gaza and its aftermath, spasmodic peace efforts, long overdue, how close is Israel to its major goals?, a search for information, can Hamas play a positive role?, assessment of the region, challenges to Israelis and Palestinians, finally, an agenda for peace, in addition to, his view that there is chance to achieve the peace in the holy land across peace talking between the Israelis and Palestinians. Carter’s study aims to reach results that can be generalized in the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians, and it considered also is largely neutral representation of that issue. By the way, Carter’s conclusion is “there are some fundamental reasons why reconciliation between Israel and moderate Palestinians has been elusive. Unlike President Sadat and King Hussein, the Palestinian leaders have never learned how to gain public trust and confidence in Israel.”

At the same time, coalition governments in Israel have been too weak to initiate moves contrary to the concerted opposition of the smaller political factions necessary for a parliamentary majority. Under these circumstances, “security” prevails over “peace” when the two proposals are in conflict. The concept of peace has multiple connotations and can easily be projected by opponents as an uncertain route to personal danger. Security, however, is well understood, and the most crucial issues that can impact Israeli public opinion relate to security. And he added also that “there is clear proof that a cessation of violence is not a hopeless prospect when a vision of peace exists, there were few significant acts of violence during these all-too- rare times”. Carter’s book will help the current study generally in the idea of peaceful coexistence.

“Shattered dreams; the failure of the peace process in the Middle East, 1995-2002”, argued by Enderlin (2003).

Enderlin’s contents are; shalom, Chaver, the “iron wall”, building mistrust, Camp David, checkmate, and chain reactions. As his work clarified the failure of the peace process in the Middle East since 1995 to 2002, this study cannot be generalized in the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians. On the other hand, Enderlin has a state of pessimism about the promotion of durable peace and peaceful coexistence between Israelis and Palestinians; Enderlin’s work can be considered as exhaustive study with selective citation. Enderlin (2003) also concluded that “I think the biggest mistake was letting gap develop between the reality on the ground and the reality around the negotiating table. The Palestinians have to stop inciting violence. They have to bring up their children differently. The Israelis have to have to stop.....constructing settlements.”

The reality on the ground, the environment, had to support the negotiations, not undercut them. The mea culpa was late in coming. The conflict between Israelis and Palestinians is once again at the center of regional instability, and there is no longer any hope of reaching an accord in the foreseeable future. “Peace must be made between nations and not solely between leaders, the peace team and the negotiators in both camps led the Middle East closer to hell. This is the failure of politics, diplomacy, and of a vision of the world. Totally, Enderlin’s work will help this study in generally to get an idea about the failure of peace process only.

“A possible peace between Israel and Palestine; an insider’s account of the Geneva initiative”, debated by Klein (2007).

The contents of Klein’s work are; the road from Taba to Geneva, and dividing divided Jerusalem, Geneva in perspective. Klein considered “the Geneva initiative is relevant as a model for a final Israeli-Palestinian agreement, and as a possible basis for renewal of negotiations”. This study, though, cannot be generalized in the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians, but regarding to espousal of position, his work does not deal with the current study. Klein’s view was “the two sides are again at a crossroads.....the Geneva initiative stands out as an alternative to the poverty of current policy. In addition to “The question is whether the Israeli and American governments will have sufficient energy and political courage to change direction. Another open question is whether the two sides can renew negotiations given their current lack of faith in each other. Attempts to achieve a partial final status agreement, in keeping with the road map, have failed. Once again, the Geneva initiative is relevant as a model for a final Israeli-Palestinian agreement, and as a possible basis for renewal of negotiations”. Klein’s work will help this study to understand the possibilities of peace between the two sides.

“From coexistence to conquest; international law and the origins of the Arab-Israeli conflict, 1891-1949”, authored by Kattan (2009).

Kattan’s book dealt with; anti-Semitism, colonialism and Zionism, Palestine and scramble for the Middle East, Arab opposition to political Zionism, the Hussein-McMahon correspondence, the question of self-determination, the partition of Palestine, the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Palestinian refugees, and the creation of Israel. By the way, Kattan described the situation in Palestine that “.it is lamentable that Palestine, the center for the three monotheistic religions is a place of conflict rather than a place of pilgrimage. However, he concluded that “if the two-state solution is to be realistic and viable today, it will entail territorial concessions from Israel. Kattan’s study cannot be generalized in the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians, but it represented largely in this area; Kattan’s work can be described as an exhaustive study with selective citation. Meanwhile, Kattan’s view was “Palestine was essentially a British experiment in demographic engineering and it was this factor above all which has led to the present predicament, something which successive Israeli governments have continued through their settlement policy. And tinkering with national demographics is a very dangerous practice indeed. One has only to think of the Balkans, the Kurds in Iraq, the Chinese in Tibet and numerous other territories where demographic engineering has led to violent confrontation. In a world as divided as today, it is lamentable that Palestine, the center for the three monotheistic religions is a place of conflict rather than a place of pilgrimage.

It is equally lamentable that neither the League of Nations nor the United Nations has managed to resolve the conflict. And it is a real travesty that Israelis and Palestinians keep killing each other when neither is to blame for starting the conflict. There are many ways in which the conflict could be resolved if politicians on both sides of the divide were to be more courageous and imaginative. A one-state solution with equal rights for all; a bi-national state; or a two-state solution that really does provide for contiguous, sovereign and viable Palestinian state next to the state of Israel, would all be better than maintaining the status quo sustained as it is by force and violence. However, if the two-state solution is to be realistic and viable today, it will entail territorial concessions from Israel. Kattan’s work will help this study in subject of coexistence situation, and UN partition plan too.

“The rise and demise of the two-state paradigm”, argued by Inbar (2009).

Inbar’s work included some contents such as; A history of an Idea, the Failure of the Two-State Paradigm, the policy Options. His article reviews at the first the confluence of domestic and international factors that led to the resurgence of the two-state paradigm. Next, it concludes that a peaceful outcome in accordance with this paradigm is unlikely to emerge in the near future: the two national movements, the Palestinian and the Zionist, are not close to a historic compromise, and the Palestinians are not able to build a state. Finally, the article analyzes the policy options available to policymakers. State-building is unlikely to succeed. Similarly, a bi-national state, where Arabs and Jews live peacefully together is not within reach. A regional approach that advocates a greater role for Arab states in Palestinian affairs has better chances of stabilizing the situation than the previous options. Finally, in the absence of a solution, the most realistic policy appears to be conflict management, regarding generalization of Inbar’s study that aims to reach results that can be generalized in the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians,

Inbar has a state of pessimism about the promotion of durable peace and peaceful coexistence between Israelis and Palestinians. Inbar concluded that “It has become increasingly clear that a two-state settlement in the Holy Land is elusive. A historic compromise between two national movements fighting for the same piece of land is not within reach. Moreover, the Palestinian national movement has failed to establish a viable state”. Inbar’s article will help this study generally to get idea about the failure of two states in one land proposal, only.

“One state, two states; resolving the Israel/ Palestine conflict”, authored by Morris (2009).

Morris’s book contents are: the re-emergence of One-Statism, the history of one-state and two state solutions, where to?, as his work reviewed the two solutions of the Israeli Palestinian conflict, regarding generalization (Randolph;2009) this study aims to reach results that can be generalized in the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians, but regarding to espousal of position, his work does not deal with the current study. Morris concluded that: “one possible avenue for a two-state solution that might conceivably mobilize wide Arab public support lies by way of large Middle Eastern federation or confederation of states in which a small Jewish state would be but a part. This, at least, was a view held by prominent British and Zionist officials, and some Arab politicians, during the late 1930s and early 1940s. Morris’s work will be very useful to the current study in dealing with UN partition plan and the possible solutions.

“History of modern Palestine, one land, two peoples”, argued by Pappé (2004).

Pappé’s work included some contents such as; a new look at modern Palestine and Israel, social tranquility and political drama 1856-1900, between Tyranny and war 1900-1918, the mandatory state: colonialism, nationalization and cohabitation, between Nakbah and independence: the 1948 war, the age of partition 1948-1967, greater Israel and occupied Palestine: the rise and fall of high politics 1967-1987, the uprising and its political consequences 1987-1996, and conclusion: post-Oslo Palestine and Israel, then his view is “a direct dialogue between the dispossessed and the state that expelled them can refresh the discourse of peace and may led people and leadership alike to acknowledge the need to seek a united political structure which, at different historical juncture in this story, has seemed possible” ,but this study cannot be generalized in the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians. Pappé concluded that “the end of the twentieth century saw the barometer of peace swing frantically between hope and despair in a land torn apart by conflict. In practice, none of the programmes turned into a chapter in nation-building. Israeli commentators were quick to note that the political culture of the Palestinian leadership under Yasser Arafat – a culture of corruption and dictatorship in their eyes – was the principle cause of the failure.

The tragedy of Palestine is that the next peace plan, whenever it appears, will also be based on the false assumption that peace means an Israeli withdrawal to its 1967 borders and the establishment of a Palestinian state next to it. The presence of so many Palestinians in Israel itself and the significant presence of Jewish settlers in what is supposed to be the future Palestine both cast doubt on the feasibility of this idea, which failed to persuade the indigenous population of Palestine in 1947. A direct dialogue between the dispossessed and the state that expelled them can refresh the discourse of peace and may led people and leadership alike to acknowledge the need to seek a united political structure which, at different historical juncture in this story, has seemed possible. By the way, Pappé’s work will help this study in finding some of the possible solutions.

“Partitioning Palestine; legal fundamentalism in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict”, authored by Strawson (2010).

Strawson’s book dealt with; making Palestine: mapping the middle east, mandate Palestine, the United Nations partition plan, law of war, partition by force, from mutual denial to mutual recognition, negotiating Palestine, Strawson see that “creating two states that provide security for both peoples. All those who insist on recycling the old narratives will delay the decolonizing of Palestine and lay the basis for the next war”, but this study cannot be generalized in the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians, and it considered also is largely representation of that issue, Strawson’s work can be considered as an exhaustive study with selective citation.

Strawson concluded that: “international law must be used to foster dialogue and contact on the basis of equality, self-determination and human rights. In this context tough action will have to be taken to address the Israeli colonial settlements, the right of refugees to return to the Palestinian state and ending the conflict. It must be achieved by creating two states that provide security for both peoples. All those who insist on recycling the old narratives will delay the decolonizing of Palestine and lay the basis for the next war”, in addition, Strawson’s work will be very useful to the current study in dealing with UN partition plan and the possible solutions.

“A peace to end all peace”, Fromkin (2009)

Fromkin’s study dealt with; at the crossroads of history, Kitchener of Khartoum looks ahead, Britain is drawn into the Middle Eastern quagmire, subversion, the allies at the nadir of their fortunes, new world and promised land, invading the Middle East, the spoils of victory, the tide goes out, storm over Asia, Russia returns to the Middle East, the Middle Eastern settlement of 1922, he concluded that “the fall of Ottoman Empire was one of history’s major upheavals. It was not on the scale of Rome’s fall; nor had the Porte’s roots sunk so deep as those of the Caesars. Nonetheless, it was a large happening-a political earthquake- and it was only to be expected that it would take time for the shattered piece to be reassembled in one lasting pattern, or another”,

but this study cannot be generalized in the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians, Fromkin has a state of pessimism about the promotion of durable peace and peaceful coexistence between Israelis and Palestinians.

Fromkin concluded that “readers learned from peace that England and France, in winning the First World War, instead of restoring the Ottoman Empire, had chosen to destroy it. The war left the western European, as occupiers, responsible for governing the region. England and France had not gone to war in the first place in order to change the politics or the political map of the Middle East. Nonetheless, that is what they ended up doing. The fall of Ottoman Empire was one of history’s major upheavals. It was not on the scale of Rome’s fall; nor had the Porte’s roots sunk so deep as those of the Caesars. Nonetheless, it was a large happening—a political earthquake— and it was only to be expected that it would take time for the shattered piece to be reassembled in one lasting pattern, or another, Fromkin’s book may be will help the current study to understand the role of Britain for constructing or destroying the trust and peace between Israelis and Palestinians in Palestine.

“Palestine; peace not apartheid”, Carter (2006) Carter’s study dealt with; historical chronology, prospects for peace, my presidency, 1977-81, the key players, other neighbors, the Regan years, 1981-89, my visits with Palestinians, the George H. W. Bush years, the Oslo agreement, the Palestinian election, 1996, Bill Clinton’s peace efforts, the Geneva initiative, the Palestinian election, 2005, the Palestinians and Israeli elections, 2006, the wall as a prison. Carter’s view is that the “peace will come to Israel and the middle east only when Israel government is willing to comply with international law, with the Roadmap for peace, with official American policy, with the wishes of a majority of its citizens – and honor its own previous commitments- by accepting its legal borders, regarding to generalization this study aims to reach results that can be generalized in the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians, but regarding to espousal of position, his work does not deal with the current study. Carter concluded that “there are two interrelated obstacles to permanent peace in the Middle East: 1. Some Israelis believe they have the right to confiscate and colonize Palestinian land and try to justify the sustained subjugation and persecution of increasingly hopeless and aggravated Palestinians; and 2. Some Palestinians react by honoring suicide bombers as martyrs to be rewarded in heaven and consider the killing of Israelis as victories”.

And also “the only rational response to this continuing tragedy is to revitalize the peace process through negotiations between Israelis and Palestinians, but the United States has, in effect, abandoned this effort. It may be that one of the periodic escalations in violence will lead to strong influence being exerted from the international Quartet to implement its Roadmap for peace. These are the key requirements: a. the security of Israel must be guaranteed. b. the internal debate within Israel must be resolved in order to define Israel’s permanent legal boundary. C. the sovereignty of all Middle East nations and sanctity of international borders must be honored. Finally, “peace will come to Israel and the middle east only when Israel government is willing to comply with international law, with the Roadmap for peace, with official American policy, with the wishes of a majority of its citizens – and honor its own previous commitments- by accepting its legal borders” .Here, Carter’s work will help the current study in generally to spread the principle of the peaceful coexistence.

“Towards Nakba: the failure of the British mandate of Palestine, 1922-1939”, Mitchell (2007).

The contents of Mitchell’s work are; reviewing of the Middle East before the mandate: the British, empire and the nationalist challenge, orientalism, British imperialism, and Zionism, the empire and the impact of the first world war, the making of Palestinian Arab nationalism, Arab nationalism and the first world war, Faisal, greater Syria, and Palestine, early Zionism, the Zionist project: Weizmann and Jabotinsky, the Belfour declaration, the impact of partition: Zionism divided the downward spiral, the 1929 riots, after 1929: Haganah and Irgun, and finally the Peel commission and its aftermath. This thesis argued that the factional differences within the broader Arab-Zionist conflict caused the British to fail in accomplishing their goal of a bi-national state in Palestine, but this study cannot be generalized in the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians. Mitchell has a state of pessimism about the promotion of durable peace and peaceful coexistence between Israelis and Palestinians.

Mitchell concluded that “The current Israeli-Palestinian conflict has its roots in the British mandate period of 1922-1939, but particularly in the conflicts between the Zionists and Arab nationalists during the turbulent years between the 1929 riots and the 1936 Arab revolt” , because he already focused only on the failure of the British mandate of Palestine, 1922-1939, Mitchell concluded that the factional differences within the broader Arab-Zionist conflict caused the British to fail in accomplishing their goal of a bi-national state in Palestine. Mitchell’s work will help this study in generally to get the reason behind the failure of peel commission and its aftermath too.

“Palestinians” Hertz (2009).

Hertz’s reviewed his work through several subtitles like; Palestinian Nationality is an Entity Defined by its Opposition to Zionism, and not its National Aspirations, Palestine is a Geographical Area, Not a Nationality, Historically, Before the Arabs Fabricated the Palestinian People as an Exclusively Arab Phenomenon, No Such Group Existed, there has Never Been a Sovereign Arab State in Palestine, Palestinian Cultural Contribution, Jordan – a State with a Palestinian Arab Majority, and he concluded that Palestine is a geographical area, not a nation. Before the establishment of Israel, members of two national entities – Palestinian Jews and Palestinian Arabs – inhabited Mandate Palestine, regarding to generalization (Randolph;2009) this study aims to reach at results that can be generalized in the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians. Hertz has a state of pessimism about the promotion of durable peace and peaceful coexistence between Israelis and Palestinians.

Hertz concluded that; So-called ‘Palestinians’ are newcomers to Palestine. Most are generic Arabs who migrated to British Mandate Palestine from surrounding Arab countries to take advantage of the relative prosperity brought about by the Zionist Movement and the British Mandate. Palestine is a geographical area, not a nation. Before the establishment of Israel, members of two national entities – Palestinian Jews and Palestinian Arabs – inhabited Mandate Palestine. A Palestinian people were artificially created in the 1960s by the PLO after the Six-Day War to rob Jews of their homeland and historical identity, and to paint them as victimizers and trespassers. The objective is to lay the groundwork for creating another Arab state at the expense of the Jews – whom Arabs consider an alien and illegitimate political entity in the Middle East. Over seventy percent of all Jordanians define themselves as Palestinians. That there exist a separate Palestinian people from the Jordanian population is a fabrication designed to force the creation of a second Palestinian state. Finally hertz dealt only with Palestinians in his work, and then it will help this work in that issue.

“Mandate for Palestine”; the legal aspects of Jewish rights to a National Home in Palestine”, Hertz (2007)

Hertz’s dealt with in his work; Map:1922 - Final territory assigned to the Jewish National Home, Map: 1920 - Original territory assigned to the Jewish National Home, “In Palestine as of right and not on sufferance”, the legal aspects of Jewish rights to a National Home in Palestine, in modern history leading to the creation of the Jewish National Home, the founding of modern Zionism, the Balfour Declaration, the origin and nature of the “Mandate for Palestine”, Recognition of historical connection to Palestine, Map: Jewish Palestine, Palestine is a geographical area, not a nationality. There has never been a sovereign Arab state in Palestine, the “Mandate” defined where Jews are and are not permitted to settle, Political rights in Palestine were granted to Jews only, Jewish People hood in Palestine, Jerusalem in “Mandate” time, Jewish rights to Palestine were internationally guaranteed, United States government and the “Mandate” policy, The “Mandate for Palestine” is valid to this day. Futile efforts to challenge the “Mandate for Palestine”, Myth: The “Mandate for Palestine” is a Class “A” Mandate, Myth: The “Mandate” violates Article 22 of the Covenant of the League, Myth: Palestine was promised to the Arabs by Sir Henry McMahon, Map: 1947 Partition Plan, Myth: 1947 Partition Plan replaced the “Mandate for Palestine”.

Myth: Arabs rejected the “unbalanced” Partition Plan, Myth: The 1949 “Green Line” is Israel’s internationally recognized border, Myths: Palestinian Arabs seek peace with Israel. Hertz’s view is that “Arabs rejected the “unbalanced” Partition Plan The UN International Court of Justice uses the term “unbalanced” in describing the reason for Arab rejectionism of Resolution 181.55”, but this study cannot be generalized in the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians. Hertz has a state of pessimism about the promotion of durable peace and peaceful coexistence between Israelis and Palestinians. Hertz concluded that; Arabs rejected the “unbalanced” Partition Plan the UN International Court of Justice uses the term “unbalanced” in describing the reason for Arab rejectionism of Resolution 181.55 This description hardly fits reality. Seventy-seven percent of the landmass of the original Mandate for the Jews was excised in 1922 to create a fourth Arab state – Trans-Jordan (today Jordan). In a statement to the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP), the representative of the Jewish Agency for Palestine said the following about fairness, balance, and justice:

“According to David Lloyd George, then British Prime Minister, the Balfour Declaration implied that the whole of Palestine, including Transjordan, should ultimately become a Jewish state. Transjordan had, nevertheless, been severed from Palestine in 1922 and had subsequently been set up as an Arab kingdom. Now a second Arab state was to be carved out of the remainder of Palestine, with the result that the Jewish National Home would represent less than one eighth of the territory originally set aside for it. Such a sacrifice should not be asked of the Jewish people“... 17,000,000 Arabs now occupy an area of 1,290,000 square miles, including all the principal Arab and Moslem centers, while Palestine, after the loss of Transjordan, was only 10,000 square miles; yet the majority plan proposed to reduce it by one half. UNSCOP proposed to eliminate Western Galilee from the Jewish State; that was an injustice and a grievous handicap to the development of the Jewish State”. In the same context, Hertz’s work will help this study particularly in dealing with UN partition plan and the religious and historical point of Israelis/Jewishview.

“From the Ottoman conquest to the founding of the state of Israel; history of Palestine”, Krämer (2008).

Krämer’s contents are; names and borders, the holiness of “Holy Land”, contrasts: Palestine 1750-1840, the age of reform 1840-1914, evolving nationalisms: Zionism and Arabism 1880-1914, “a land without a people for a people without a land”? population, settlement, and cultivation 1800-1914, World War I and the British mandate, double standard, or dual obligation, “two people in one land”, the mufti and the wailing wall, from unrest to uprising, the Arab uprising 1936-1939, and triumph and catastrophe from World War II to the state of Israel. By the way, Krämer’s book focused on the Arab majority of the population, and discussed the evaluation of the Jewish Yishuv, the coexistence of Jews, Christians, and Muslims, and their relations to the various state authorities”. However, this study cannot be generalized in the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians; Krämer’s work can be considered as an exhaustive study with selective citation.

Krämer concluded that we have spoken repeatedly of watersheds and turning points in the history of Palestine, deeply affecting its society, culture, and politics. The war of 1948-49 was such a watershed. For the Arab population, it was the catastrophe (Al-Nakba) plain and simple, the utter destruction of Arab Palestine as they had known it. For the Yishuv, it marked the realization of the bold dream of auto-emancipation and national self-determination, albeit not of security. For the surrounding Arab states and societies, it acted as a humiliating shock, highlighting the legitimacy crisis of the ruling elites “a crisis spurred not only by their failure in the first military conflict against a regional opponent”. The myths mystifications created by all parties, through which they hoped to make sense of events and to engender new forms of commitment and loyalty, would act for decades to shape collective notions of identity, justice, and injustice. Krämer’s work will help this study in subject of coexistence situation.

"The Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process and Its Vicissitudes; Insights from Attitude Theory", debated by Kelman (2007).

Kelman’s work dealt with several contents like; the concept of attitude: a preliminary note, the nature of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the 1967 war and the Palestinianization of the Arab-Israeli conflict, the building stones of the Oslo agreement, the limitations of the Oslo agreement, the dynamics of the interim period, the emergence of clashing narratives, public opinion and the availability of a negotiating partner, recent developments, reviving the peace process, acknowledgment of the other's nationhood and humanity, affirmation of the meaning and logic of a historic compromise, a positive vision of a common future for the two peoples in the land to which both are attached and that they have agreed to share, regarding to generalization (Randolph;2009).This study aims to reach at results that can be generalized in the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians, and it considered also is largely representation of that issue.

Kelman concluded that the elements of a principled peace that I have outlined may help to provide the breakthrough needed at this time to reassure and energize the Israeli and Palestinian publics. Positive expectations for the future, built on mutual acknowledgment, could begin to compensate the two populations for the losses inevitably entailed by a historic compromise. The mutual acknowledgment might enable them to build toward a new, transcendent identity alongside of their national identities, such that sharing the land would not be perceived as losing the land. Now is the time when taking a step beyond pragmatism—by offering a principled peace, some movement toward reconciliation, and a vision of a better common future for the two peoples in the land they share—may well be the most realistic option available to the political leaderships. Kelman’s work dealt only with Israelis and Palestinians in his work, so it will help this work in that issue and the possible solutions.

“Building trust among enemies: the central challenge for international conflict resolution”, Kelman (2005).

The contents of Kelman’s work are; Interactive problem solving, the dilemma of trust building, successive approximations of commitment and reassurance, the third party as repository of trust, working trust, and the uneasy coalition, mutual reassurance. The article also presents an approach to the gradual building of trust among enemies, who—even when they have an interest in making peace—are afraid to extend trust to each other lest it jeopardize their own existence. Efforts to resolve the conflict, therefore, confront a basic dilemma: Parties cannot enter into a peace process without some degree of mutual trust, but they cannot build trust without entering into a peace process. The article discusses the ways in which interactive problem solving—a form of unofficial diplomacy, which the author has applied most extensively to the Israeli–Palestinian case—attempts to deal with this dilemma, regarding to generalization (Randolph;2009).This study aims to reach at results that can be generalized in the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians, and it considered also is largely representation of that issue.

Kelman concluded that “My approach to building trust among enemies is modest and cautious, as exemplified by the five concepts that I have described. I start with the assumption that parties caught up in a

conflict between identity groups necessarily enter a peace process with deep suspicion of one another. The roots and dimensions of that suspicion can be readily understood. I do not urge them to take a leap of faith into trusting one another or to transcend their profound mutual distrust by forging personal bonds of friendship. Our program is not based—as some of its detractors or even some of its supporters have mistakenly assumed—on the proposition that peace between groups engaged in a deep-rooted conflict can be achieved through personal contact and the establishment of personal relationships among their members. To the contrary, our starting point is the assumption that distrust among enemies is inherent in the relationship, understandable, and even necessary. It must be reduced slowly, gradually, and on the basis of persuasive evidence that the reality is changing. Thus, I propose that movement toward peace entails a process of successive approximations, in which commitments made commensurate with assurances received; that the conflicting parties need a third party as a repository of trust to be able to begin exploring a new relationship; that they must start out by developing working trust in each other's seriousness about making peace out of their own interests, rather than interpersonal trust based on good will; that they must be cautious about forming excessively cohesive coalitions across the conflict lines, lest they lose credibility in their own communities; and that they must engage in a systematic process of mutual reassurance, based on responsiveness and reciprocity, in order to build and maintain trust in the peace process and the peace partner. Responsiveness and reciprocity at the core of mutual influence represent the means for weaving interests and justice into a common framework for conflict resolution and ultimate reconciliation. Kelman's work will help the current study to get some possible conflict solutions between the enemies.

The academic gap between this study and the previous works

The researcher reviewed properly all literature review which related to the topic of this study, then ascertain that there was not any relevant study argues in generality the reasons behind the failure of peaceful coexistence plans between the Israelis and Palestinians, or particularly the evaluated the three partition plans of peel in 1937, Woodhead in 1938, and UN partition plan in 1947 all together in one work, through reviewing the religious and historical point of views. Therefore, the researcher hopes that this work can fill in the academic gap in all previous studies.

Peaceful coexistence plans (1937-1947) between the Israelis and Palestinians:

- **Negotiations**

Some of previous studies which indicated the above dealt with the negotiation between the Israelis and Palestinians –even though partially-, as a logical path to achieve the peace between them, like: “Building trust among enemies: the central challenge for international conflict resolution” (Kelman;2005), “Shattered dreams; the failure of the peace process in the Middle East, 1995-2002” (Enderlin; 2003), “Palestine; peace not apartheid” (Carter;2006), “A possible peace between Israel and Palestine; an insider's account of the Geneva initiative” (Klein;2007), “Partitioning Palestine; legal fundamentalism in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict” (Strawson;2010), and finally "The Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process and Its Vicissitudes; Insights From Attitude Theory" (Kelman;2007).

However, this study tries to classify the role of national leaders from both sides to success the negotiation and peace process - with keeping of his people rights-, in addition to reviewing how some negotiators caused the failure of peaceful coexistence plans between the Israelis and Palestinians, and the researcher will offer some recommendations in that issue.

- **Partition**

Some of the previous works debated the partition issue between the Israelis and Palestinians, as a workable solution to resolve the conflict in the same land, such as; “Partitioning Palestine; legal fundamentalism in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict” (Strawson;2010), “One state, two states; resolving the Israel/ Palestine conflict” (Morris;(2009), “A history of modern Palestine, one land, two peoples (Pappe; 2004), “Mandate for Palestine”; the legal aspects of Jewish rights to a National Home in Palestine” (Hertz; 2007), but this study – perhaps- suggests the factors of spreading the peace in the middle east in the historical and religious conflict between the Palestinian-Israeli, through a justice partitioning of the land, natural resources, and so on.

- **Conflict Resolutions**

The researcher hopes that this study can offer a workable solution to end the conflict in Palestine, and treat the religious and historical reasons which lead to the failure of peace process.

- **Intra National Relations**

The researcher appraises that this study will be very influential in intra national relations, as this study aims to classify the importance of achieving peaceful coexistence between the Israelis and Palestinians, then eachother can build good relations with all countries in the Middle East or even worldwide.

• **The Peaceful Coexistence**

This work tries to determine the reasons behind the failure of peaceful coexistence plans between the Israelis and Palestinians, and the religious and historical point of views, which caused the failure of achieving peaceful coexistence in the past, in order to help the two peoples, races, nationalities, and religion in the current moment to live together in a state of peace, and reconciliation, moreover the result of this study –perhaps- becomes a preliminary view to take off the hostility and hatred situation between both sides.

II. Conclusion

There is importance to the study of Historical and Literature review of peaceful coexistence plans (1937-1947) between the Israelis and Palestinians.

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