CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to introduce the thesis. The chapter starts with explaining the background of the thesis. The background section is followed by research question and objective of research. The next section is frameworks which seek to explain the concepts and theory used in the research. After that, hypothesis and research methods will be explained. The last section is systematic of writing.

A. Background

The conflict of Israel-Palestine is one of the most long-lasting and complex conflicts in the modern world. This conflict involves various subjects and objects, materials and immaterial. Starting from the dispute between the Jewish immigrants and people who lived in the land of Palestine before the great migration, the conflict expands to a security crisis in the Middle East. With expansion and escalation of the conflict and the complexity which were brought by them, the conflict lasted for decades, began in 1948 and resulted in several huge clashes between both parties and others which left huge destructions on both sides.

Realizing the extent of destruction of the conflict, international governmental organization, the United Nations, organized series of peace process in order to seek for the conflict resolution. One of the most popular conflict resolution methods is two-state solution plan which revolves in the idea of

1

dividing the land in dispute into two separate states. This idea is popular not only within the population of Palestine but also worldwide and has been used as main substance of the existing resolution plan drawn by international society.

Despite the continuous effort, the complexity of the conflict makes it hard for the conflict resolution plan to work. No permanent solution is found yet. Until recent time, clashes are still continuing in the conflict area.

With decades of stagnancy of the two-state solution, alternatives of conflict resolution have been theorized. New ideas began to emerge and among of them are one-state solution plan of Israel-Palestine. This alternative plan is firstly introduced by Edward Said, a well-known theoretician from Columbia University in the moment of confusion and stagnancy of the Oslo Peace Accords process in 1999.

Edward Said presented the concept of bi-national state in his idea of one-state solution. He envisioned in his writing, The One-State Solution (1999), that the current progress and status quo would bring the conflict nowhere near to the resolutions expected by parties in conflict and other related actors. He added the conflict would only come into resolve if both parties embrace the self-determinations of each other (Said, 1999).

The discussion about the one-state solution grew in the beginning of 2000s. The one-state solution plan is supported by several known scholars among them are Tony Judt in his article *Israel: The Alternatives* in 2003, Virginia Tilley who wrote a book dedicated for the one-state solution in 2005, and John Mearsheimer in his article and speech in 2010. The latter scholar possesses different perspective

on the outcome of this plan, making it unique in its own essence as it provides different insight on how the conflict of Israel-Palestine should be solved.

The debates and discussion about the one-state solution in the developing period do not only apply to scholar only, but also some politicians. Muammar Gaddafi, known as the former leader of Libya, presented a conflict resolution based on the one-state solution in his writing, *The White Book* which was published in 2003. The writing was recognized as the thinking of Saif Al-Islam Gaddafi, Muammar Gaddafi's son. This proposal is based on the outcome model by Edward Said, the Bi-National State of Israel and Palestine.

Despite the growing debates and theories about the one-state solution in the 2000s, the future of the one-state solution itself remains bleak. The various debates, theories, and proposals have not once come in the peace process. Instead, other plans emerge and among them the two-state solution remains as the main idea of the conflict resolutions offered in the peace process.

Based on this, the writer is trying to explore the one-state solution in the case of Israel-Palestine conflict. The thesis aims to make clear of the one-state solution plan and its concepts to discover the obstacles of one-state solution in resolving the cycles of conflict.

B. Research Question

1. What are the obstacles of the One-State Solution plan in resolving the Israel-Palestine conflict?

2. How do the obstacles hinder the progress of One-State Solution?

C. Objective of Research

1. The thesis aims to discover the obstacles of one-state solution in the Israel-Palestine conflict.

2. The thesis seeks to explore the one-state solution plan as a conflict resolution plan.

3. The thesis seeks to enlarge the knowledge about the conflict and conflict resolution especially in Middle East area.

D. Frameworks

1. Identity Concept

Identity is a term which is used in various studies. Scholars from various branches of science recognize the term identity in their own definitions and interpretations. Cambridge dictionary (2008) defined the term as *"who a person is, or the qualities of a person or group which make them different from others"*.

Identity emerges when human as social creature possesses the "need to belong". As cited from Ted Hopf, he identifies three purposes of identity, *"telling who you are, telling others who you are, and telling you who the others are"* (Jesse & Williams, 2005). Identity is a label which classifies one in a category and differentiates it in the same time.

Human all over the world is created in races and tribes. Regardless it is acknowledged that human all over the world is equal, in fact, the existence of differences and uniqueness is undeniable. Human is individual and social creature at the same time. The concept of identity appears when human recognizes the

difference among each other. The distinguishing characters then are compiled and labeled as identity. Identity concept is an important element in analyzing social behavior. In conflict study, this concept is utilized in identifying and differentiating the actors of conflict as well as analyzing the behavior of actors.

In the case of Israel-Palestine conflict, there are several identities of actors. The first is the Palestinian identity which refers to the population of Palestine before Israel establishment in 1948, population of locals after Israel establishment, Palestinian refugee, and Palestinian descents. This population was also known as member of Ottoman Empire (before the end of World War I) and later British Mandatory. This group consisted of various groups with their own identity which mostly was distinguished by religious characteristics.

The second main actor identity is the Israeli identity which refers to the population of Israel. This category consists of Jewish population before the establishment, Jewish diaspora, and Non-Jewish population who adopt Israeli citizenship. The increasing population of Jewish at the early time of Israel establishment was caused by "the right to return" to "the Land of the Fathers".
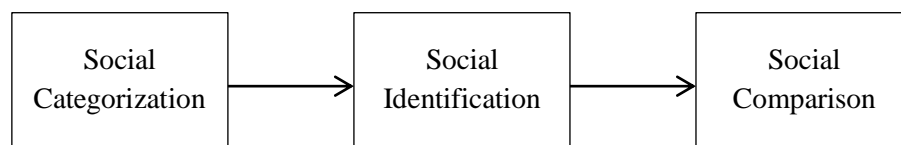
In a census by Ottoman Empire in 1918, the now conflicted land was proven to be diverse with mostly Arab-Moslem (78%), followed by Jewish (11%), Christian in the third place (10%), and others (1%). The number of Jewish population there grew significantly in the following years, reaching 17% in 1931 and 31% of total population in 1939 (Sihbudi, Basyar, & Zulkarnain, 1993). It is to be noticed that Palestine was not the land of its own as it was kept under the

authority of others. The problem in Palestinian identity is the lack of legality which could unite them as nation.

2. Social Identity Theory

Human possesses two needs which oppose each other. The first is the need to assimilate and to be included in specific group and the other is the need to differentiate oneself from others (Jesse & Williams, 2005). The Social Identity Theory originated from Henry Tajfel in 1970s. This theory seeks to explain intergroup behavior, intergroup conflict, and the meaning of being member of groups. According to this theory, the groups and categories are the source of self-esteem and confidence.

Tajfel further proposes that groups identify the existence of "them" and "us" with "them" being the out-group and "us" being the in-group by marking and exaggerating differences with the out-group and similarities with in-group (McLeod, 2008).

```
┌─────────────┐      ┌─────────────┐      ┌─────────────┐
│   Social    │ ──►  │   Social    │ ──►  │   Social    │
│Categorization│      │Identification│      │ Comparison  │
└─────────────┘      └─────────────┘      └─────────────┘
```
Figure 1 Group Identification Process

The first stage of defining the in-group and out-group is social categorization. Social categorization is the process of categorizing oneself by noticing the characteristics of individual (McLeod, 2008). The characteristics noticed may come from racial, ethnicity, profession, role, and others.

6

Social identification is the process of adopting the group in which an individual is categorized into. This process comes as the second stage in the defining process. In this stage, individual begins to apply characteristics and values of the groups (McLeod, 2008).

The last stage is social comparison. After successfully integrated in a group, individual begins to distinguish themselves from other group (McLeod, 2008). Individual reflects the group and the group reflects the individual. Thus individual seeks to elevate the image of group in order to increase individual's self-worth (McLeod, 2008). In doing so, individual and group may oppose different groups or individual that belongs to other group. It may lead them perceiving the other as threat to each other.

The conflict between Israel and Palestine is a conflict of identities. The first is the identity of Israel as Jews population and their view of the Palestine as the land of the father. The second identity is the Palestine as the population which mostly Moslem who inhabit the land of Palestine before the allocation of Jews societies in 1948 and their descendants.

Each society perceives itself as not belong to the other and due to this perception, conflict continues to emerge. The difference leads to them perceiving each other as threat. The condition would be worsened if opposing groups possess mutual interest toward limited resources. Groups might be involved in physical conflict in order to reach the fulfillment of interest.

3. Nationalism

The word nationalism is highly correlated with the word nations. Nations refer to specific identity which could be ethnical or cultural (Miscevic, 2014).

"Nationalism is generally used to describe two phenomena, (1) the attitude that the members of a nation have when they care about their national identity, and (2) the actions that the members of a nation take when seeking to achieve (or sustain) self-determination." (Miscevic, 2014).

Nationalism can also be understood as the feeling of belonging to specific identity. The identity varies to common culture, customs, language, heritage, and political institutions (Schmid, 2001).

Nationalism is formed by sameness of characters found among the population (Schmid, 2001). Implied in this writing is also the importance of the identifying character in subduing groups' identities and uniting them into one nation. The lack of same identifying character may result in the failure in uniting different groups. In the case of an already established nation, the diminishing uniting character may lead to the disunion of a nation (Schmid, 2001).

Forming new nation is the essence of bi-national state in one-state solution proposal. Both Israel and Palestine are required to submit themselves under the new nation. Both must have the feeling of belonging toward the new nation.

Armstrong (1994) argued that all parties in conflict were actually connected at some point. The conflicting parties which was dominated by three religious groups, Jewish, Islam, and Christian, have shared history, especially in the

establishment of the religious group itself. Emphasized in the same writing was the common history of civilization between the parties involved in the conflict. Armstrong went further with explaining how those three communities have the same roots. This condition may be the uniting factor of the conflicting parties.

With centuries of development, civilization began to grow. The difference of perspective between conflicting parties increased. Rift between them got bigger as the time flied. In the modern era, the interaction worsened with the spark of physical conflict, especially the First Arab-Israeli War in 1948.

Now, the conflicting parties shared negative sentiments toward each other. A mere shared ancient history of civilization was not reliable as uniting factor for creating new nation for the conflicting parties. Other characteristic must be found in order to bind them with the feeling of belonging toward a superordinate identity, forming nationalism.

4. Divided Society

The divided society is a phenomenon of the existence of separated groups in a society. This term is used to describe a diverse society with strong influence of the diversity characteristics to politics (Reilly, 2001). Interests of a specific group are organized to reach political achievement.

Palestine and Israel could be considered a divided society. The origin population of Palestine was diverse. As land which was inhabited by heterogeneous community, each community acknowledged the existence of each other. The separating wall physically did not exist.

After the event of mass migration in the early of 20th century, Jewish community sought for political support in order to achieve the establishment of independent state for the Jews which resulted in Balfour declaration and Feisal-Frankfurter Correspondence (Laqueur, 1976). Preceding this event was the publication of the Manifesto of the Bilu in 1882 and *Der Judenstaat* in 1896 which contained the desire of the Jewish community to return to the Land of the Fathers. The political actions faced rejection as shown with the Memorandum presented to the King-Crane Commission by the General Syrian Congress. This was the statement of the Arab community opposing the migration of the Jewish community to Palestine (Laqueur, 1976).

The dominating Arab population in Palestine grew more distressed with the great number of Jewish immigrant. In 1929, a riot broke between the Arab and the Jews. This event resulted in death of hundreds of Jews and growing negative sentiment and tension between two parties (Khalidi, 2014). The restriction of migration was issued by British government in The White Paper in 1939 (Laqueur, 1976). The effort to reach deal about the establishment of Jewish state continued and kept receiving rejection from Arab community.

The existence of Israel as a state had created a real physical wall with the population of Palestine before 1948. This added the growing rift between the Israeli and Palestinian. Israel was granted power exclusively for state. Israel government aims to improve the welfare of the nation. With the establishment of Israeli as state, Israeli citizenship came to birth, marking the distinction between the original population before 1948 and the Jewish migrant.

As a nation with a government, those with Israeli citizenship enjoyed the privilege of a nation state, having a government to take care of them. However, it was not applied to those who did not possess citizenship. The Palestine population before 1948 and their descent could be considered as not having citizenship as Palestine was not a country of their own authority. Those under Israel citizenship enjoyed the improvement on welfare while those who are not enlisted as Israel citizen faced limited access to increase the welfare. This fact added the distinction between the two groups of society living in the same land.

In 2002, Israel built the West Bank barrier, a real physical separating wall. The official of Israeli determined that the wall which they referred as fence was built upon security reasons only. It was claimed to stop Palestinian terrorist to enter Israel (Dolphin, 2008). However in its practice, the wall only worsened the relation between two groups.

The Palestinian referred the wall as Apartheid Wall. The wall came across the West Bank, not even following the green line based on 1948 plan. Instead, it cut off Palestinian villages, cities, and agricultural land. The wall took role in enlarging rift in various social aspects. Thousand people were denied access to medical facilities, the UN hospital in the Qalqilya city, water sources, schools, and agricultural land (Dolphin, 2008) because of the difficulty of transportation upon the building of the wall.

The wall basically has separated the life between the Israeli and Palestinian, cutting them from contacts. Furthermore, the wall increases the distrust between two societies. The term divided societies in Palestine land takes a more serious

meaning with the building of the West Bank barrier as it is no longer a non-existing social barrier, but instead a real physical attempts at separating and differentiating the societies.

E. Hypothesis

1. The one-state solution did not come into fruition because of the existence of several internal and external factors which hinder it to be initiated.

2. The internal factor consists of strong identity, inexistence of bounding character, and history of hostility and the external factor consists of international peace process orientation.

F. Research Method

The research will use descriptive type of research by describing, writing, analyzing, and interpreting the conditions and events which happen to be related to the case.

The research will be conducted by collecting data from secondary resources. Secondary resources vary from article, electronic source, journals, and books.

G. Systematic of Writing

The discussion in this thesis is divided into five chapters. Chapter one aims to introduce the thesis. It contains background, research question, objective of research, frameworks of thinking, hypothesis, research methods, and systematic of writing.

The next chapter explains the conflict and parties involved. It starts by description of the history of conflict. The explanation of history is followed by list of conflict resolution. The last two sections are the profiles of parties in conflict. Each section explains the general view, important facts about the parties, and perspectives on the conflict.

Chapter three discusses the One-State Solution. Firstly, the definition of bi-national state is featured in this chapter. After that concepts and thoughts will be explained in the next section. The last is explanation the known proposed plan.

The next chapter is the discussion of the problem. The discussion about the obstacles of the One-state Solution in resolving the conflict of Israel and Palestine will be divided into two sections. The first section is the explanation about the internal obstacles. The next section is the discussion about the external obstacles of the paper.

Chapter five contains the conclusion of the paper.