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Strategic Planning for One - State solution

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Abbreviation

EU   European Union

PA   Palestinian Authority

PLC   Palestinian Legislative Council

PLO   Palestinian Liberation Organization

PNA   Palestinian National Authority

PNC   Palestine National Council

UK   United Kingdom

UN   United Nations

US   United States

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Thesis Abstract

This dissertation investigates the feasibility of the One – State solution using strategic analysis tools and examines all the internal and external factors affecting that solution. The main objectives of the study are to assess the One-State solution using the strategic planning tools, strategically analyze the internal and external barriers within the research context and to evaluate the One–State solution as a strategic alternative solution. The study used the qualitative approach, the primary data was collected using unstructured interviews, while the secondary data was collected using existing polls, government statements, press releases, and already conducted interviews. The analysis depended on examining the internal factors: the Palestinian Liberation Organization, the Palestinian National Authority, the Palestinian Political parties, the Palestinian public, and the Palestinian Movements calling the One state. As for the external factors included the Arab and international positions.

With regard to the internal factors, the thesis findings concluded that (I) the existing structure of the Palestinian Liberation Organization is a weakness (II) the Palestinian Authority existence is a weakness (III) the Palestinian political parties are a weakness (IV) the Palestinian people acceptance is a weakness (V) the Palestinian movements are considered a weakness. However, in terms of the external factors, the thesis concluded that (I) the Arab positions are a threat (II) the international positions and community are a threat.

The study concluded that taking into consideration the One–State solution as a strategic alternative is not feasible unless taking into account all the internal and external factors.

Strategic Planning is necessary for restructuring the PLO, dismantling the PA, and the unity

for the Palestinian political parties. This cannot only be applied on the internal level, but also

on the external level.

General Framework of the Study

Introduction

The Palestinian Liberation Organization[1] strategies are divided into three main phases. First, the phase of total liberation, starting from 1964 till 1968. Second, the phase of calling the one democratic state, starting from 1967 till 1974. Third, the final phase, the Two-State solution, starting from 1974, until the present time.

It is worth mentioning that the Two-state solution debate is intended to put an end to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict which began 1993. It was adopted officially by the Palestine Liberation Organization and most of the political leaders. The Two-State solution is expected to create a sovereign independent Palestinian state living next to Israel. Due to the current circumstances, including the confiscations and the demographic realities on the ground, the said solution has become implausible and almost hard to achieve.

Under this solution, the borders of both states would be divided broadly along the pre-1967 armistice line or "green line"[2]. However, and over the time, the borders became almost unclear as Israel continued settlements expansion which swallowed up the land that would become part of Palestine. Statistical reports showed that the Israeli expansion is for the sake of constructing more settlements which reached over 200 settlements, in the West Bank and

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[1] Palestinian liberation organization: Established in May 1964, recognized as the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people".

[2] The Green Line established between Israel and its Arab neighbors after the 1948 Arab – Israeli war.

Gaza strip since 1967. Almost 711,000[3] Israeli settlers are currently residing in the above-mentioned settlements. This indicates that 40% of the total area is under the direct control of Israeli settlements and around 63% of area C[4].

Furthermore, the Israeli occupation is exploiting more than 85%[5] of the Palestinian historical territories, that is about 27,000 kilometers; while the Palestinians only utilize 15% of the territories. As time goes by, the increase of settlements will lead to a smaller Palestinian state and possibly breaking it into noncontiguous pieces.

As far as Jerusalem is concerned, another issue is the "E-1 Plan" or what is known as the East-1 plan. This plan aims to construct a new Israeli neighborhood near the biggest settlement in the West Bank, known as Ma'ale Adumim[6] and expand its borders to link it with Jerusalem. Therefore, the construction in E-1 area would split the West Bank into North and West, which will end the possibility of having a permanent Palestinian State.

On the other hand, Hebron is a Palestinian city where there is a lot of instability and political tension. It is divided into two zones according to the Hebron protocol[7] in 1997. This protocol divided the city into two zones: H1 under the control of Palestinian government and H2 under the control of Israeli military. Israel controls over 20% of Hebron city, where

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[3]Israeli Security Warns of PA Collapse, Tension in West Bank. (2019). Retrieved 14 November 2019, from https://aawsat.com/english/home/article/1723631/israeli-security-warns-pa-collapse-tension-west-bank

[4] Settlements. (2018). Retrieved 23 August 2018, from https://www.btselem.org/settlements

[5] PCBS | PCBS: on the eve of the Forty-Two annual commemoration of Land Day, March 30, 2018. (2018). Retrieved 25 August 2018, from http://www.pcbs.gov.ps/post.aspx?lang=en&ItemID=3102

[6] an urban Israeli settlement.

[7]Protocol Concerning the Redeployment in Hebron. (2019). Retrieved 10 February 2019, from https://ipfs.io/ipfs/QmXoypizjW3WknFiJnKLwHCnL72vedxjQkDDP1mXWo6uco/wiki/Hebron_Agreement.html

approximately 40,000 Palestinians are inhabited along with few hundred Israeli settlers in 5 major residential areas. Due to the Israeli procedures, hundreds of Palestinians' families were displaced from their own homes[8].

It is also worth mentioning that in Jan 2020 a new US plan "*Peace to Prosperity: A Vision to Improve the Lives of the Palestinian and Israeli People*" was officially released, it is consisted of two parts; the political framework and the economic framework. The plan is considered as a vision to enhance the lives of the Palestinians and the Israelis. Based upon the Two - State solution which aim to establish a Jewish state which will recognized by the whole world, alongside a demilitarized Palestinian state with various constrains related to Israelis' acceptance. Focusing on the political framework, the major issues such as Jerusalem, prisoners, refugees, borders, etc.…were discussed and several scenarios were proposed. However, the vision of this plan wasn't based on the international legitimacy nor the UN resolutions, it also ignores the Palestinians' rights and all the international peace efforts. The offering of such a plan will impose a new reality which will abandon the One - State solution as an alternative solution for the Israeli – Palestinian conflict.[9]

Based on the geographical, demographic and political realities on the ground, Israel and Palestine have rendered the promise of "Two States for Two Peoples". Therefore, the question is: Is it time to consider a new strategy for an alternative solution? And if yes, would the "One State solution" be considered as a solution that would guarantee equal rights for

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[8] Fact Sheets. (2018). Retrieved 23 September 2018, from https://www.ochaopt.org/publications/fact-sheets

[9] Iriqat, D. (2020). Peace to Prosperity: A Wake-up Call for Palestinians and Beyond - The Media Line. Retrieved 8 April 2020, from https://themedialine.org/news/opinion/peace-to-prosperity-a-wake-up-call-for-palestinians-and-beyond/

both citizens regardless of ethnicity or religion? This study will strategically analyze and examine the One-State solution and whether it is doable and feasible to be adopted or not and whether it serves the national best interests for Palestinians.

Statement of the Research

The main problem of this study was to determine whether adopting the one-state approach is an alternative solution for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict using the strategic planning tools. It is aimed to answer the following research questions:

The Major research question: To what extent can the One - State solution be a strategic alternative?

In order to answer this question, we need to answer the following crucial **sub-research questions**:

1. To what extent the Palestinian's acceptance would support the One-State solution?

2. To what extent would reconciliation between the Palestinian groups and political parties affect the strategic solution?

3. What is the possibility of dismantling the Palestinian National Authority[10]?

4. Can the Palestinian Liberation organization organize or develop a new political system?

5. Will the Palestinian movements contribute to supporting the One–State solution?

6. How can Arab league and Arab countries contribute to supporting the One-State solution?

7. How can the international community play a facilitating role to support equal rights and votes?

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[10]The Palestinian Authority: was formed in 1994, according to the Oslo Accords.

This study will analyze the Palestinian political climate as well as the current situation in Palestine and Israel to get a clear answer regarding the feasibility of adopting the one-state solution in the future.

Research Objectives

This study will provide answers to the research problems listed in the previous section. Therefore, the objective of this study is to utilize the tools of strategic planning in analyzing the one-state solution as a strategic alternative. Below are four goals developed to meet this objective:

- To assess the One-State solution using the strategic planning tools.

- To analyze the internal and external barriers within the research context.

- To analyze the current reality and see if it is possible to adopt the One-State solution.

- To evaluate the One–State solution as a strategic alternative solution.

Definitions

This study contains certain important key concepts. Although these concepts are discussed in detail in "Chapter 1", they are briefly introduced in this chapter so the reader may understand what is presented in the subsequent chapters.

1) **Bi-national State**: a state that is made up of two nations whose constitution recognizes both as state-forming nations, irrespective of their size. The constitution of such a state can be unitary or federal, as long as it is based on the two nations being legally recognized as state-forming nations.[11]

2) **One Democratic State**: one country, one citizenship, one parliament and one shared civil society in which all Palestinians and Israelis have equal rights.

3) **Planning:** a disciplined effort to produce fundamental decisions and actions that shape and guide what an organization is, what it does, and why it does it.[12]

4) **Strategic Planning:** a process to identify opportunities and threats that lie in the future, in combination with other relevant data it provides a basis for a company's making better current decisions to exploit the opportunities and to avoid threats.[13]

5) **SWOT**: a method that summarizes all the internal and external factors of the sector's environment and analyzes corresponding strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats, to identify and evaluate the strengths and weaknesses in the internal

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[11]Farshidi, J. (2009). Palestine-Israel A Just Plan for Permanent Peace. United States of America.

[12] Bryson, John M. 1988. Strategic Planning for Public and Nonprofit Organizations. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass. (pp. 4-5).

[13] Steiner, G. (2010) Strategic Planning What Every Manager Must Know, USA. (P14)

environment, as well as the opportunities and threats in the external environment of the system.[14]

Thesis Limitations

Below are the main limitations faced while working on the thesis:

- Several Politicians and official figures refused to conduct an interview discussing the One–State solution.

- The instability of the political situation in Palestine.

- The formation of new Palestinian government.

- Difficulties to arrange interviews with some key politicians.

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[14] Afuah, A. (2009), "Strategic innovation - New game strategies for competitive advantage ", New York: Routledge

Methodology

Mainly, this study has adopted a qualitative approach. A number of published articles and books, addressing the One-State solution as an alternative solution, after the failure of the Two-State solution, were thoroughly analyzed. This is in addition to analyzing the conducted interviews with several Palestinian politicians, and experts of the Israeli – Palestinian conflict.

The interviews were conducted with:

- Politicians from the Palestinian Liberation Organization.
- Academics from universities.
- Civil society organizations.
- Palestinian experts.
- Members from Palestinian political parties.

The qualitative approach was the best appropriate approach to use to meet the objectives of the study. It is important especially when it is needed to understand and analyze the strategic internal and external factors which are related to the One–State solution.

The data collection methods consist of primary and secondary data. The respondents of interviews conducted for this study were selected according to various reasons; their current positions, either political such as Fatah Movement, the Revolutionary Council, the Executive Committee of the Palestinian Authority, or academic, such as the Israeli-Palestinian experts,

and those who have publications on the same regard. Their experience is related to the One-state solution, the Israeli – Palestinian conflict and the Palestinian affairs.

A total of 15 respondents were interviewed. Some interviews were structured, and some were not structured according to the respondents. Not all the respondents have answered the interview questions. However, 14 interviews were recorded and only in one interview the notes were manually taken, because the respondent refused to be recorded. Most of the respondents lasted more than 40 minutes. All of them were transcribed and the content of their interviews was analyzed.

The interviews tend to be more flexible, focusing on the interviewee's opinion and professional experience. However, the data collected from the interviews would not be certainly reflecting the interviewees' true opinions. The interviewees may remain biased in their answers.

The secondary data adopted by the study refers to the existing polls, governments' statements, press releases, conducted interviews with Palestinians key politicians, in addition to documents sent by the email. This data was collected to assist in answering the research questions.

The data analysis method used is the thematic analysis. It is used to find certain patterns across the dataset, starting by organizing data in a systematic and meaningful way, seeking for codes. These codes were organized into preliminary themes that seemed to address the research questions, and finally reviewing and defining the themes.

Thesis Structure and Overview

Chapter I reviews the theoretical framework for strategic planning and the strategic planning tools focusing on the SWOT analysis. This chapter also reviews all the literature related to the One-State solution including books, articles and reports published by various intellectuals, scholars, activists and politicians. This chapter digs into the history of the One-State solution, and the positions towards this approach (Supporters VS Opponents).

Chapter II explores all the internal factors that would affect the one-state solution by identifying the weaknesses and strengths. Moreover, it analyzes the reality from all its different aspects.

Chapter III explores all the external factors that would affect the one-state solution by identifying the threats and opportunities.

Chapter IV provides the strategic analysis and conclusions.

Chapter I: Theoretical Framework /Literature Review

1. **Theoretical Framework**

1.1 Strategic Planning

Strategy is the main comprehensive framework which determines how an organization can achieve its goals[15]. It is also known as the long-term planning process for taking decisions and determining the current and future mission, which will provide the inner stability of the organization and the adoption with its external environment in order to meet its goals.[16]

Strategic planning is a key concept in the strategic management field. Its origin is Greek, and it used to refer to leadership in the military sense. It is concerned with planning for the deployment of resources to achieve certain objectives.[17]

Strategy has been practiced by various civilizations throughout the world for centuries, especially in the military field. However, during the last fifty years, strategy concepts have been adopted in the business world to have a better understanding how business uses strategy to gain advantages. The economic historian Chandler first articulated the notion of strategy in scholarly articles such as "*The Determination of the Basic Long-Term Goals and*

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[15]ناصر دادي عدون. (2001). *الإدارة والتخطيط الإستراتيجي*. الجزائر: ديوان المطبوعات الجامعية، 18

[16]نبيل محمد مرسي. (2003). *الإدارة الإستراتيجية*. الدار الجامعية الجديدة، 51.

[17] Bracker, J. (1980). The historical development of the strategic management concept. *Academy of management review*, *5*(2), 219-224.

Objectives of an Enterprise, and The *Adoption of Courses of Action and the Allocation of Resources Necessary to Carry Out these Goals*".[18]

Scholars defined strategic planning from different perspectives. Starting with Cooper who defined strategic planning as a tool that facilitates the Organization or the institution in defining the variables related to the inner environment, analyzing the possible results, and build an integrated strategy in order to define future events and emergency variables.[19]

Moreover, Lerner defined strategic planning as a look to the future, focusing on the predicted future, aim to achieve the organization future based on the variables. He also indicated that Strategic planning depends not only on analyzing all the future and possible scenarios but also on analyzing the internal and external factors.[20]

Strategic planning has always been defined as the regular effort for decision making, consisting of all the principles, steps and tools designed to assist the leaders, managers and planners to think or act in a strategic manner. The strategic planning also assist organization in taking effective decisions which leads to meeting its mission or satisfy the target groups

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[18] Chandler, A. D. (1962). Strategy and structure: chapters in the history of American industrial enterprises. *Cambridge. hlass.: MIT Press*, *14*, 16.

[19] Cooper, H. A. (1985). Strategic Planning in Education: A Guide for Policymakers, P.1.

[20] Lerner, A. L. (1999). A strategic planning primer for higher education, P.20

given the organization's opportunities and threats from the external environment as well as its strengths and weaknesses according to the internal environment.[21]

Having explored the previous definitions, strategic planning is a continuous and complicated process and t is also considered as a major function of the organization.

The Main Characteristics of Strategic Planning:

- **Long term effect:** strategic planning intends to make an important and fundamental changes to the organization which requires long time, high costs and effort.

- **Wide participation:** to strategically plan, wide participation is essential starting from the high management, the beneficiaries, until the public and so on.

- **Flexibility**: the ability of facing the possible variables.

- **Future**: strategic looks at the future, despite depending on the past and present indicators, strategic planning defines future goals.[22]

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[21]نعيم إبراهيم الظاهر. (2009). *الإدارة الإستراتيجية* (الإصدار الطبعة الأولى). عمان - الأردن: جدارا للكتاب العالمي للنشر، 75

[22]مجيد الكرخي. (2009). *التخطيط الإستراتيجي*. عمان-الاردن: دار المناهج.

1.2 Strategic Analysis

Strategic Analysis is defined as the process of evaluating data and information gathered while analyzing the internal and external environment which concerns the managers, and strategically analyze in order to determine the strategic factors.[23]

Therefore, strategic analysis is essential for creating the suitable strategies for the organizations. It is worth noting that a given organization will not succeeded if failed in the strategic analysis phase[24]. Understanding the internal and external factors is the main goal of strategic analysis. Strategic analysis is the best way to respond to rapid variables.[25]

Furthermore, strategic analysis is considered to be the first element of strategic management process which consists of three main components:

1) **Strategic Analysis**: helps in understanding the strategic position of the organization.

2) **Strategic Choice**: is related to exploring and evaluating all the strategic scenarios and choose the best alternative.

3) **Strategic Execution**: focuses on the methods of implementing the strategies.[26]

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[23]Wheelen, T. L., Hunger, J. D., Hoffman, A. N., & Bamford, C. E. (2010). *Strategic management and business policy*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

[24]Dess Gregory, G., Lumpkin, G. T., & Taylor Marilyn, L. (2007). Strategic Management: creating competitive advantages. *NY: McGraw-Hill Irvin*, P. 13.

[25]Thompson, J. (1994). *Strategic Management: Awareness & Change, p.30.*

[26]Johnson, G., & Scholes, K. (1993). *Exploring corporate strategy.* New York: Prentice Hall, P.54.

Eventually, strategic analysis is part of strategic planning, focused on examining and exploring the internal and external factors. Indeed, no strategic planning can be formulated or implemented without analyzing the relevant factors.

1.3 Phases of Strategic Analysis

Below are the three major phases of strategic analysis:

1- Analysis of the current situation: providing a snapshot of the issue or the problem, important questions normally addressed such as: what is the issue or the problem? Who is in charge of the firm? What are the surrounding internal and external factors? What is the current strategy?

2- Assessment of the current situation: it should consider the broad direction of a new strategy, if the status - quo is optimal. The main question addressed is how strategic is the firm's performance? Is the current strategy successful, or disastrous? If the strategy is not successful, what is the source of the problem? In which direction should the firm move towards?

3- Solution analysis: if the assessment indicates a change or an enhance in the strategy, solution analysis shall define the strategic alternatives.[27]

One of the strategic analysis tools is SWOT aimed at specifically examining the internal and external factors.

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[27]Boardman, A. E., Shapiro, D. M., & Vining, A. R. (2004). A framework for comprehensive strategic analysis. *Journal of Strategic Management Education*, *1*(2), 1-36, P.1.

1.4 Tools of Strategic Planning

1.4.1 SWOT analysis

The SWOT analysis is one of the important tools of strategic analysis that is used to determine the general status of the organization according to the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats.

SWOT is considered as an analyst framework within the strategic planning process aimed at analyzing the strengths, weaknesses, threats and opportunities. Thus, it is a way that assist in separating the environment internally and externally to define negatives and positives in the chosen environment.[28]

It was also defined as a planning tool of success that deals with the changing environment and evaluates the conditions of the internal and external factors by diagnosing the weaknesses, strengths, threats and opportunities.[29]

According to the above definitions, the SWOT analysis is vital for any strategic planning process, without examining and analyzing the internal and external factors within the surrounding environment, it is hard to skip such an important process.

When using the SWOT tool, important things should be taken into consideration:

- Examine measurable information.

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[28] Ahmed, A. M., Zairi, M., & Almarri, K. S. (2006). SWOT analysis for Air China performance and its experience with quality. *Benchmarking: An International Journal*, *13*(1/2), 160-173, P.160.
[29] David, B., & Harold, T. (2000). Quality in Higher Education, Rout ledge, The Taylor & Francis Group. Vol. 6, P. 51.

- Deal with the internal and external factors as a priority, focusing on the most important factors.[30]

SWOT Analysis Tool
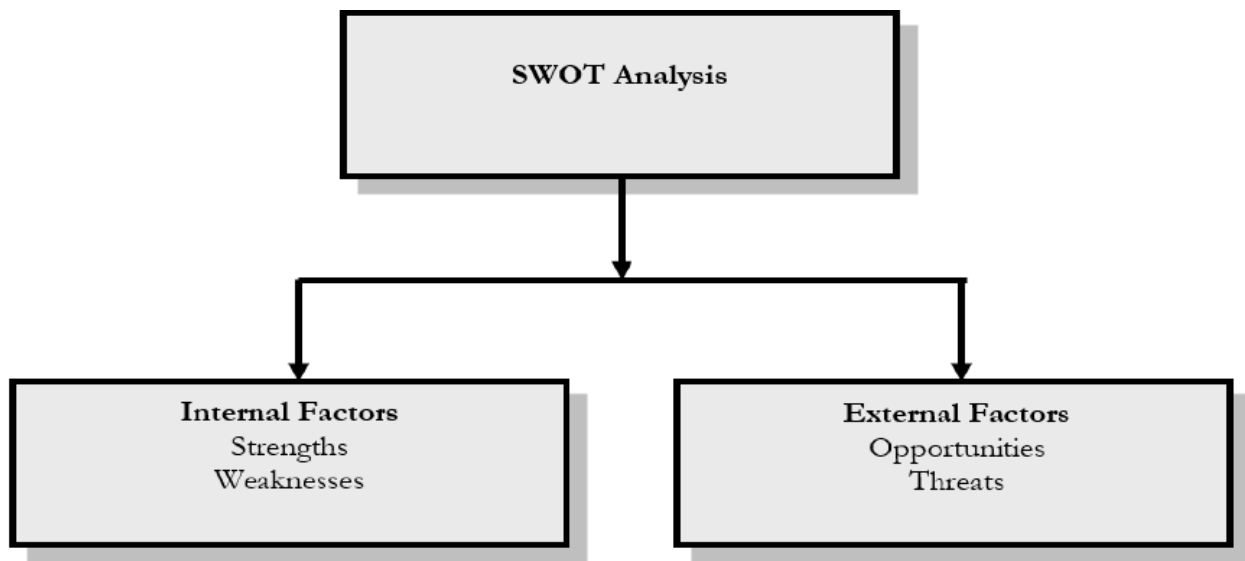
Figure 1: SWOT Analysis

Below are the key components of SWOT Analysis Tool:

I.   The internal factors divided into strengths and weaknesses

II.   The external factors divided into threats and opportunities

The SWOT Analysis is a fundamental tool used for analyzing and identifying the general status of a state basically through the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats. Usually the strengths and weaknesses are internal factors for a state while the opportunities and threats are external factors.

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[30] Downey, J. (2007). Strategic Analysis Tools. CIMA Global, P.6.

Therefore, the term strength is referring to internal factors that support the realization of an objective, whereas the term weakness refers to internal factors that are detrimental to the realization of an objective. For the purpose of this paper, 'threats' refer to external factors that act as a barrier in the realization of an objective and opportunity is a strategic planning term which refers to external factors that assist in the realization of an objective.

The SWOT analysis is mainly used in business, for analyzing the capabilities of an organization in achieving a certain strategic goal, and trying to analyze the internal and external factors in order to generate strategies which prevent threats and decrease the weaknesses, get advantage of the strengths and the opportunities. However, in this research the SWOT was applied on a political decision or alternative strategy and using the SWOT analysis as a tool in order to determine whether this political strategy or decision is strategic or not.

2. Literature Review

The literature review begins with thoroughly reviewing the history of the One-State solution. Then, dividing the literatures into two main categories, opponents and supporters, with briefly addressing the reasons and justifications for each. The final section of literature review looks into reports addressing the One-State solution as a strategic alternative solution for the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. The chapter concludes with comments and remarks on the reviewed literature.

2.1 The History of the One–State Solution

Ever since the British Mandate, some parties have been calling for sharing Palestine between two nations, sharing power and resources in addition to a shared government. "Brit Shalom" called for this sharing approach as well as "Kadema Mizraha" movement, along with Ihud movement continued calling for equality solution[31]. Brit Shalom was launched in 1926 consisting of Palestinians and Jewish intellectuals calling for one-state for two nations. A memorandum was published in 1930 by Brit Shalom movement calling for two nations living in the Palestinian territories and sharing political interests and equality and that the bi-national state would meet the expected goals; however, that movement disappeared by mid-1936.

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[31]Ghaneem, A. (2017). Israel and the danger of demography. In *Where Now for Palestine?* (pp. 48-75).

Few years later, and mainly in 1939, a new organization called Agudat Ihud started calling for equal political rights by creating a shared government. The Ihud and Brit's movements faced difficulty to find any Arab partners, sharing their one state vision. Meanwhile, the Palestinian Arab national movements refused to share Palestine with the Jews, either by geographical or demographic partition by establishing a bi-national structure.

In the same year, the British Government issued a White Paper[32] on Palestine and suggested a unitary state based on equality where Palestinians and Jews live together, rather than partition. On November 1947, the United Nations passed the General Assembly Partition Resolution No. 181 addressing the partition in Palestine. This gave the Zionists a golden opportunity to establish and create a Jewish homeland in Palestine. In 1948, the independence of Israel was declared by David ben Gurion.

Clearly, the White Paper was a proposal for the One – State solution as for the UN resolution No. 181 which was based upon the establishment of the State of Israel and the partition in Palestine rather than a unitary state in Palestine.

The One-State Solution is not a new concept or proposal. It is a Palestinian approach to resolve the ongoing conflict with the Israelis. Yassir Afarat's speech, the Head of the Palestinian Liberation Organization and the President of the Palestinian National Authority, before the UN General Assembly in 1974, called for such an idea, in the presence of supporters to Israel. He mentioned that Palestine is a holy land of peace and must not only

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[32] Policy paper by the British government, issued in 1939 in response to the Arab revolt (1936 - 1939)

be for Palestinians but for all the Jews and the Christians as well as the Muslims. In other words, he called for one secular democratic state in Palestine.[33]

However, in 1988, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) officially adopted the two-state solution as a strategy, seeking to establish a Palestinian State living side by side with the State of Israel in peace and security, with a Palestinian State's borders of pre-1967. Furthermore, the negotiations for the two states since 1991 and resulted with deadlocks of the peace process and Oslo accords.

The reemergence of the One-State solution refers to the 1990s, by various intellectual, activists, academics, not only Palestinians but also Jews, who started to question the possibility of the Two-State solution and began to openly address the One–State solution between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean for both Palestinians and Jews. Many Books (Such as "One State, two states: resolving the Israel/Palestine Conflict", "The One-State Solution: a breakthrough for peace in the Israeli-Palestinian deadlock", *"One Country: A Bold Proposal to End the Israeli-Palestinian Impasse"*, etc.) were published by specialists on the Israeli–Palestinian conflict, along with a huge number of articles and essays concerned with the One–State solution as the best solution for resolving the ongoing conflict between the Palestinians and the Jews.

In the upcoming sections, analyzed in detail a number of published books and articles which were discussed the One-State solution and resolving the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. These books' writers were varied between opponents (such as Benny Morries, Raif Zreik and

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[33] Yasser Arafat speech to the UNGA1974. Retrieved 15 February 2019, from
http://www.yaf.ps/?url=posts/show/1254/Yasser_Arafat_speech_to_the_UNGA1974

David Unger) and supporters (Such as Ghada Karmi, Virginia Tilley, Ali Abu Nimah, Leila Farsakh and As'ad Ghanem) for the One–State solution, either the secular democratic state or the bi-national state in Palestine. Each author listed his/her justifications according to their own positions towards the One–State solution.

2.2 The One-State Solution Opponents

In his book "One State, Two States", Benny Morris briefly discussed the history of the One-State and the Two-States solution. As an Israeli author, his perspective on the one-state solution could be summarized by a quote from his book "Over the past century, demography has trumped geography, and the prospect of fashioning One-State for the two peoples that inhabit the country is even more illogical and unrealistic than the geopolitical division of the country"[34]. Morris also considered that the idea of One-State basically eliminates the Jewish people and their values, and that the continuous Arab demographic growth will overcome the Israeli population. Furthermore, the Arabs will be the majority comparing with the Jews and would be in control over the country.[35]

David Unger agreed with Morris's perspective, as in his article "The Inevitable of the Two-State Solution", he discussed the idea of the One State but due to the demographic facts that might affect the Jewish aspirations, he considered it as an impossible solution. This solution will not serve the Jewish expectations of a Jewish majority in a government that would stay in control.[36]

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[34] Morris, B. (2009). *One State, two states: resolving the Israel/Palestine Conflict.* YALE University PRESS. P179

[35] Ibid.

[36] Unger, D. C. (2008). The Inevitable of Two State solution. *World Policy Journal, 25*(3), 59-67.

Muriel Asseburg and Jane Buss, in their article titled "The End of the Two-State settlement?" explored various approaches that could solve the Israeli–Palestinian Conflict such as the Two–State solution, the One–State solution and the confederate model. According to them, the One–State solution could not offer a viable approach, looking at the facts on the ground. Furthermore, this approach, they thought would ignore the Palestinian's right of self-determination which will not lead to peace between the two sides. They added that the main obstacles which might face the One-State approach would be the existence of identities, the domination of nationalism as well as the mistrust between the Israelis and the Palestinians.[37]

However, Herbert Kelman in his essay addressing the Middle East Policy, argued about the two-state and one-state solutions. He wrote "I Believe that a negotiated Two State solution is still possible and that we cannot give up the effort to achieve it"[38]. Kelman mentioned that the One State solution came from the Palestinian Diaspora and not the Palestinians living in the West Bank nor in Gaza Strip. In his point of view, despite all the frustrations related to the negotiation process and despite the realities on the ground, that would prevent the creation of the Palestinian state, yet there is still an opportunity to call for strategic optimistic solution.[39]

On the other hand, Lev Grinberg was among the authors who assumed that the One-State and the Two-State solutions are not valid "Neither these solutions, in my view, is viable in the present reality, necessitating a search for a new formula, possible one that combines

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[37] Asseburg, M., & Busse, J. (2016). *the End of the two-state settlement?* Berlin: the German institute for international and security affairs.
[38] Kelman, H. C. (2011). One - Country/Two - State Solution to the Israeli - Palestinian conflict. *Middle East Policy*, XVII (1), 28.
[39] Ibid.

elements of both"[40]. According to Lev, none of the approaches would reflect the current reality on the ground and will not serve any transition from the current regime. Furthermore, seeking one of these approaches would create more tension and conflicts which may be hard to contain.

He added that adopting the One-State solution would neutralize a space for shared interests between the Jews and the Palestinians as well as mobilize their national values between each other. However, he proposed another solution called "Israeli – Palestinian Union" consisting of shared administration with two democratic separate nations.[41]

Raef Zreik discussed the One-State solution in his book "The Palestine Problem and the One–State/Two-State Solutions". He pointed that the One-State solution was argued by a large number of Palestinians. The new in such proposal is the combination between the One State and the bi-national solution at the Palestinian level.

Zreik also addressed the failure of Oslo and the negotiation process that lasted for more than 20 years, especially after Israel continued controlling the West Bank's lands, water resources and the increase of the illegal construction of settlements. He added that in order to adopt the One State solution, it should transform to a political program adopted by Palestinian representative institutions thus should be achieved politically. Zreik focused on two main

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[40] Grinberg, L. (2010). The Israeli - Palestinian Union: The "1-2-7" states" Vision of the Future. *Journal of Palestine studies, 39*(2), 48.
[41] Ibid., 46-53.

challenges regarding the One-State solution, first the powers of both sides and the other challenge is about justice which would prevent the One–State solution.[42]

Young explored three main alternatives for the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. The Two-State solution, the One-State solution as a single secular state and the Bi-national federalism. Furthermore, the author assumed that both the single secular and the Two-State solution are difficult to serve the self-determination for both the Israelis and the Palestinians; however, the Bi-national alternative would be ideal.[43]

Sam Bahur, a Palestinian businessman, criticized those who support the deadlocks of the Two-State solution and suggested that the only available solution is the Two -State solution. He added that this approach was not even tested but can be achieved and should not be prejudged. According to him, adopting the One-State approach will not serve our strategic interest especially given the international advocacy and among the Palestinians themselves.[44]

In conclusion, the authors have shared common points regarding the unfeasibility of the One – State solution, focusing on the Jewish minority that would be affected in comparison with the Palestinian majority. This demographic threat will lead to ignorance in identities, nationalism and values for both the Palestinians and the Israelis that would be affecting the adoption of the One – State solution.

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[42] Zreik, R. (2014). *The Palestine Problem and the One - State / Two - State Solution.* Beirut: *Institute for Palestine Studies.*

[43] Young, I. (2005). Self Determination as non-domination: Ideals applied to Palestine'/Israel. Ethnicities, 5(2), 139-159.

[44] Bahur, S. (2016). *One State Solution*. Palestinian Center for Policy & Survey Research. Retrieved 3 February 2019, from http://www.pcpsr.org/sites/default/files/Sam%20Bahour%20Arabic%20New.pdf

2.3 The One–State Supporters

Edward Said, a Palestinian-American academic, suggested another alternative to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by establishing One State based on equality and peace between the Palestinians and the Israelis such as South Africa and working hard to overcome all the obstacles and meet that solution[45].

Virginia Tilley discussed that the Two-State Solution is not a practical solution anymore based on two considerations. The Israeli settlements which have changed the features of the Palestinian territories and this would prevent establishing a real national society. Even if the Palestinian state was established within geographical boundaries, it would suffer from instability. According to Tilley, the Palestinian State would be completely blocked off from the Israeli economy and its major cities would be separated from one another, its government will not be able to control water resources or develop its agricultural lands or manage the trade with the other countries, which could result in a growing poverty. Therefore, the only logical and realistic solution would be the One-State Solution, even though the One-State solution faces several political obstacles and complicated challenges especially in terms of identifying a manner to implement such solution.[46]

Antony Loewenstein and Ahmad Moor in their book "After Zionism" explained the future image of the One-State solution. They discussed that this solution will not ignore or affect

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[45] SAID, E. (1999). the one state solution. Retrieved 15 December 2019, from
https://www.nytimes.com/1999/01/10/magazine/the-one-state-solution.html
[46] Tilley, V. (2010). *The One-State Solution: a breakthrough for peace in the Israeli-Palestinian deadlock.* University of Michigan Press.

the Jewish history, and that this land is supposed to be shared by two peoples. Despite of Israeli politicians advocating West Bank illegal annexation in order to create an apartheid state, Israel would become more militarized. For them, the time for the One-State has surely come.[47]

Sama Habib, in her article "Too Late for Two states: The Benefit in pivoting to a One–State solution for Israel and Palestine" emphasizes the need to start negotiating on the one-state solution rather than the two-State solution which she claimed is doomed. In her point of view, the One-State solution might be a breakthrough towards resolving the Israeli–Palestinian conflict that has been ongoing for years. Moreover, the One-State solution is not just a force power, but it is a potential opportunity to make peace between the Palestinians and the Israelis to prevent any future conflicts between them. A Unified state with a single political and economic system would provide benefits on the long run. The author also discussed the importance of engaging Hamas in the negotiation process, in other words, Hamas's support is vital in order to have a successful and sustainable peace between the Palestinians and the Israelis.[48]

Ali Abu Nimah, a Palestinian-American journalist, in his book "One Country", emphasizes the importance of the One-State solution as the more logical solution that can overcome all the neglected issues in the Two-State solution such as refugees and other issues. Moreover, the author suggested a structure for national government where Palestinians and Israelis have

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[47]Loewenstein, A., & Moor, A. (Eds.). (2013). *After Zionism: One State for Israel and Palestine*. Saqi.
[48] Habib, S. (2016). Too Late for Two states: The Benefit in pivoting to a one – state solution for Israel and Palestine. *Journal of international affairs, 69*(2), 193-204.

equal rights in terms of education, resources, etc... Furthermore, Abu Nimah was able to give some primary solutions for the obstacles of the Two-State solution, by overcoming these main obstacles under the One–State solution looking at the other countries previous experiences such as South Africa and Belgium. He also managed to access the entire surrounding environment in a way that the one state idea could be strategically practical and efficient.[49]

Leila Farsakh, in her article "The One - State solution and the Israeli- Palestinian conflict: Palestinians Challenges and Prospects" analyzed the possibility of making the One-State solution and discussed that some clear political movements among Palestinians will contribute in achieving their equal rights and highlighted all the obstacles facing such solution.[50]

Another Palestinian Author who is a proponent of the One-State solution is Ghada Karmi. In her book "Married to Another Man" discussed two models of the One-State solution. The first model is the bi-national state which enables Zionism to survive, while the second model is the secular democratic state. The advantages of a unitary state are considered to be desirable; no other solution was capable of satisfying the needs of justice for Palestinians and the refugees. Implementing the One-State solution is going to be a challenge and it may take a lot of years, Karmi concluded. This solution needs well-planning and deep thinking and cannot be achieved by force. Karmi's book is not intended to provide a blueprint for

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[49] AbuNimah, A. (2006). *One Country: A Bold Proposal to End the Israeli-Palestinian Impasse.* New York: Henry Holt and Company.

[50] Farsakh, L. (2011). The one - state solution and the Israeli- Palestinian conflict: Palestinian Challenges and Prospects. *The Middle East Journal, 65*(1), 55-71.

building the unitary state, but she emphasized the importance of starting a debate between the Palestinians and the Israelis regarding the One-State solution. According to Ghada's, even if the two-state solution occurred, creating a unitary state might actually take place by the exchange and collaboration between the two states. She also indicated that the creation of a unitary state is similar to the Zionist project. The Zionist project was established when the main aim was agreed upon and all the opportunities were exploited carefully was and it was based on strategic thinking.[51]

In another article published by Ghada Karmi in the Journal of Palestine studies, she stated, "*A Two State Solution that complies even with the minimalist Palestinian requirements cannot emerge from the existing situation*".[52] She focused only on the idea of the One–State solution, but she encouraged all the supporters of that solution to elaborate an implementation plan to transform the idea from words to action.[53]

Brendan O'Leary in his article "Power sharing and Partitions Amid Israel – Palestine" discussed that the power-sharing perspective can make the one-state solution feasible for both parties. He added that to make that solution more plausible, we need to abandon the idea of building a state which is based on ethnic, national and religious backgrounds. In the One-State solution mainly two nationalities will be recognized, two languages (Hebrew and Arabic), in addition to at least three religions (Islam, Judaism, Christianity).[54]

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[51]Karmi, G. (2007). Married to Another Man: Israel's Dilemma in Palestine. Pluto Press.
[52] Karmi, G. (2011). The One - State Solution: An Alternative vision for Israeli- Palestinian conflict. *Journal of Palestine Studies, XL* (2), 62-76.
[53] Ibid.
[54]O'Leary, B. (2016). Power- Sharing and partition amid Israel - Palestine. Ethnopolitics, 15(4), 345-365.

James Ron in his article "Palestine, and the UN and the One-State Solution" insists on analyzing the One–State solution seriously by intellectuals and academics with relevant expertise. He listed serious questions about the factors that can affect the path to achieve this solution. He also called for transforming the One-State solution from an idea or theory to serious proposal. In other words, he believes this solution needs to be reviewed in depth based on the given circumstances.[55]

Rumy Hasan in his article 'The unitary, democratic state and struggle against apartheid in Palestine-Israel' compared between the apartheid system in South Africa and the apartheid of Israel, and that the Palestinian liberation struggle should shift from the Two-State solution to the One-State solution. In his paper, Rumy elaborated few theses in order to achieve the unitary state. (i) Declaring the one state is essential, (ii) The one democratic state would provide equality for all the Palestinians thus this solution should be advocated. (iii) arrange political campaigning for all the Palestinians. (iv) struggle for equality and rights (civil and democratic), (v) boost various demonstrations in Israel and in the Occupied territories in order to demand for equality and civil rights. [56]

As'ad Ghanem, in his article, 'The Bi-national State Solution' analyzed the debate on the bi-national state as a future and feasible solution to end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. He managed to present the ideas of supporters who are convinced that dividing the country into two states is impossible and the opponents who argued that the One-State solution is

[55] Ron, J. (2011). Palestine, and the UN and the One-State Solution. *Middle East Policy, XVIII* (4), 59-67.

[56] Hasan, R. (2008). The unitary, democratic state and struggle against apartheid in Palestine-Israel. *Holy land studies,* 7(1), 81-94.

unrealistic. Ghanem agreed that the Two-State solution is far away from reality and impossible to meet and that the solution which might be based on the bi-national or unitary state idea between the Palestinians and the Israelis should be considered as a solution for ending the Israeli – Palestinian conflict.[57]

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[57] Ghanem, A. (2009). The bi-national state solution. *Israel - studies, 14*(2), 120-133.

2.5 The One State Solution – A Strategic Alternative

In 2008, Miftah published a report about alternatives and Palestinian strategies for the upcoming period, the report provided a series of strategic analysis regarding the internal situation in Palestine especially the relation between Hamas and the international community. Moreover, the report offered the One-State solution (despite the racism) as an alternative for the negotiation process.

Below listed some various recommendations at the internal level:

- Rearrange the Palestinian internal issues by establishing a national dialogue to resolve the conflict among the political parties.
- Organize presidential elections in participation with all the political parties in the West Bank & Gaza Strip.

   As at the external level:
- Strengthen the relationship between the Arab countries to gain their full support.
- Enhance the Palestinian political speech in order to spot the light once again upon the Palestinian cause internationally and regionally.[58]

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[58]Miftah. (2008). البدائل والإستراتيجيات الفلسطينية للمرحلة القادمة. Retrieved 10 December 2018, from http://www.miftah.org/Arabic/Docs/Documents/PolicyPapers/ArPolicy240408.pdf

In 2008, The Palestine Strategy Group managed to publish a report discussing the alternative scenarios that could be acceptable or viable with the Palestinians and the unacceptable scenarios. One of the acceptable scenarios is the One-State solution, presenting the two models of the One-State solution:

1) The bi-national state that is based on shared power such in Canada and Belgium.

2) The democratic unitary state that is based on individuals, one person, one vote, based on a strategic thinking.

Basically, the report discussed this solution by looking upon the opportunities and threats of this solution, and the necessary strategies that might be adopted to achieve that strategic goal.

The report presented a summary table which showed that the Palestinians have low capability of reaching the One-State solution outcome, high capability for Israel to block such solution and that it will be decreased on the long run. It stated that the third-party capability to influence such solution is low on the short run but will increase on the long run.

The report concluded that the Palestinians have more strategic cards compared with the Israeli side, and that planning strategically would be necessary and essential to achieve the best solution.[59]

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[59] Palestine Strategy Group. (2008). *Palestinian Strategic Options to End Israeli Occupation*. PSG. Retrieved 2 January 2018, from http://www.palestinestrategygroup.ps/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/PSG-Report-2008.pdf

2.6 Conclusion

The literatures which have discussed the history of the One-State solution, covered the idea of –this solution based on views whether this approach is workable or not. Moreover, they suggested how this approach can be feasible. Mainly, these literatures were based on political thinking and personal options.

It is worth mentioning that two organizations (Mitfah & Palestine Strategy Group) have submitted few reports using the strategic planning tools by scanning the internal and external factors that might affect the One-State solution along with analyzing other scenarios. Basically, they depended on strategic thinking and some techniques but still insufficient for not examining all the aspects that supposed to be taken into consideration.

The strategic thinking focusses on finding and creating exceptional chances to make an incentive by empowering a provocative and imaginative exchange among individuals who can influence an association's bearing. Furthermore, strategic thinking is a method for understanding the essential drivers of a business.

On the contrary, this study will thoroughly examine the possibility of adopting the One-State solution as a strategic alternative basically by analyzing the realities and taking into account every aspect that might affect or constrain adopting such solution.

Given to the importance of strategic planning, and its efficient tools, this study will examine the One-State solution by using the strategic planning to identify whether this solution is doable or not.

Chapter II: Internal Factors

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, a tool of Strategic Planning will be used to strategically analyze the internal factors that are surrounding the environment that might affect the One-State solution. Furthermore, the weaknesses and strengths will be examined.

Utilizing the SWOT analysis will facilitate in determining the internal factors that surrounded the One- State solution, through the analysis each factor will be taken separately in order to be examined and determine it as a strength or a weakness.

Factors that are related to such solution will be investigated and analyzed by conducting several interviews with Palestinian experts, concerned with the One–State solution. In addition to analyzing the conducted interviews with some Palestinian Politicians, as well as analyzing the collected official documents and statements.

This chapter will address the following aspects:

1. Reconstruction of the Palestinian Liberation Organization.

2. Dismantling the Palestinian National Authority.

3. The unity of the Palestinian Political parties.

4. The acceptance of the Palestinian People.

5. The Palestinian Movements.

2.2 The Palestinian Liberation Organization – Reconstruction

The idea of establishing the Palestinian Liberation Organization was presented at the first Arab summit conference in January 1964, proposed by Egypt's president Abdel – Nasser, and it was accepted, beside that Ahmad Shuqiari was elected as its president.[60] Between January and May 1964, Shuqari selected members, after touring some Arab states, to be representatives of the Palestinian people.

In the beginning of June 1964, the PLO declared its resolutions, where its goal was the liberation of Palestine. The National Council was created to stand as the sovereign body of the organization. The National Charter and the Basic Law, which were adopted, served as the basic constitution. The headquarters of the organization was in Jerusalem and the other branches were in other Arab cities.[61]

The PLO consisted of eleven departments in charge of several issues, each chaired by a member of the executive committee. In addition to eleven political parties and popular organizations, yet Hamas and Islamic Jihad were not members of the PLO.

Below is the main structure of the Palestinian Liberation Organization:

1) **Palestine National Council (PNC):** the highest decision-making body of the PLO, as a parliament for all the Palestinians inside and outside. The Palestinian Executive

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[60] Becker, J. (2014). *The PLO: the rise and fall of the Palestine Liberation Organization*. AuthorHouse
[61] Ibid

committee is considered to be the executive authority of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, specified in representing the Palestinian people.

2) **Executive Committee**: a committee that is elected by the members of the PNC; its main role is to execute all policies and decisions issued by the PNC. The committee is responsible for the budget and overseeing the functionality of the departments of the PLO. Furthermore, all the decisions of the committee are taken by majority. The Palestinian executive committee is considered to be the executive authority of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, especially in representing the Palestinian people.

The Palestinian Liberation organization (PLO) is known as the only legitimate national representative of all the Palestinians inside Palestine and in the Diaspora. Ever since 1974, at that time the PLO officially adopted the Two–State solution strategy. The PLO's current chair is president Mahmoud Abbas.

The Palestinian President Mr. Mahmoud Abbas insisted in several statements that the Two–State solution is the best solution for the Israeli–Palestinian conflict and that he will not accept the One–State solution as it will be based on an apartheid system.[62]

Dr. Saeb Erekat, the General Secretary of the PLO Executive Committee, stated that the optimal solution that would provide peace and security between the Palestinians and Israelis

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[62]Jaffe-Hoffman, M. (2019). Abbas: We are ready to return to the negotiating table. Retrieved 28 June 2019, from https://www.jpost.com/Arab-Israeli-Conflict/Abbas-We-are-ready-to-return-to-the-negotiating-table-593445

is the Two–State solution, otherwise it will be the One–State solution with two regimes, one of which would be apartheid.[63]

The first essential internal factor affecting the One–State solution is the PLO political system and its current structure. As it was mentioned earlier, the PLO is the only legitimate representative of all the Palestinians inside and outside Palestine, especially at the international and regional levels, and before the international community. However, several interviews with academics, politicians and experts in politics were conducted to examine the status-quo of the PLO, structure and functionality.

The PLO was considered to be an important historical Palestinian achievement; however, it was suggested to transform the PLO to an authority especially in the West bank and Gaza strip.[64]

The spokesman of the Palestinian Ministry of Interior emphasized the value of the PLO by restructuring it. He explained that if we exclude Fatah Party, the PLO would represent only 5% of the Palestinian people. It should be noted that most of the parties are unknown to the public. These parties have lost their symbols and popularity. However, a fact that cannot be denied is that the Islamic Jihad and Hamas have a huge base of acceptance among the Palestinians and still refuse to be part of the PLO.[65]

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[63] Halevi, D. (2019). Erekat: It's two states or one state. Retrieved 19 May 2019, from http://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/259753

[64]Masri, H. (2018, October 28). Political Analyst.

[65]Nimr, G. (2019, April 25). Ramallah. Personal Interview

The Palestinian Journalist Mohammad Daraghmeh once indicated that the PLO represents all Palestinians in the Diaspora and must be related with the current reality otherwise its existence will be pointless. Accordingly, the PLO is a bureaucracy institution which has its international representative but with no existence among the Palestinian citizens. However, nowadays the PLO's political influence and representation is becoming poor. Therefore, a new structure should be created by means of democratic elections, where all Palestinians in the West bank, Gaza strip and the Diaspora can elect its members. The new structure and elections will strengthen the PLO once again.[66]

According to the Director General of MADAR[67], the PLO does not represent all Palestinian people, but at the same time it is irreplaceable. She indicated that restructuring the PLO and perhaps holding the elections would contribute to strengthening it among the public.[68]

A member of the Palestinian Democratic Alliance stated that the PLO is founded to demand the Palestinian people's rights. But unfortunately, the PLO was neglected and replaced by the Palestinian Authority instead and became part of the PA. The PLO's basic structure suffered from flaws and the absence of democracy. Therefore, holding the elections is the best way to restructure the PLO in order to represent again all the Palestinians in Palestine and in Diaspora.[69]

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[66]Daraghmeh, M. (2019, May 1). Ramallah. Personal Interview

[67] MADAR is an independent research center which is specialized in the Israeli affairs.

[68]Ghaneem, H. (2019, February 16). Ramallah. Personal Interview

[69]Assaf, O. (2019, May 1). Ramallah. Personal Interview

The Deputy Secretary of Fatah Movement in Jerusalem flagged as well that currently the PLO is weak, especially that two major parties are not part of the PLO; Hamas and Islamic Jihad. The absence of these parties negatively affects the PLO's structure and function.[70]

A Founding Member of "The Popular Movement of the One Democratic State on the Historical Land of Palestine" has explained that the PLO should move from adopting the strategy of the Two–State Solution to the strategy of the One–State Solution but within the current structure, which would be hard. Furthermore, the PLO needs a massive restructure to be able to represent all Palestinians in the country and Diaspora.[71]

One the other hand, a Founding Member of the Popular Movement for One Democratic Secular State in Palestine has emphasized that the PLO should alter its political program from adopting the Two-State solution, referred to as the partition program, to the One–State solution. However, the PLO's capabilities and structure will need to be reshaped and reformed in a manner that can adopt the new program and represent once again all the Palestinians within Palestine, and in Diaspora. Yet, and given the status-quo of the PLO, this would be impossible.[72]

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[70]Zneid, A. A. (2019, June 24). Ramallah. Personal Interview

[71]Jarari, R. (2019, May 5). Ramallah. Personal Interview

[72]Helo, M. A. (2019, June 11). Ramallah. Personal Interview

Moreover, the Legal advisor to the PLO addressed the important and critical role of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, stressing that the PLO was able to conserve its strong status.[73]

The International Relations Officer of the Palestinian Popular Struggle Front indicated that the PLO has experienced some rise and fall phases over the years. He added that the PLO is supposed to reactivate the relation with the base, and rearrange all of the internal matters, as well as all of the political parties so that it can represent the public.[74]The views on the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) have agreed unanimously on the weakness of the PLO and the urgent need for an immediate restructure to be revived among Palestinians within Palestine and in the Diaspora. Most of the views have suggested the need to hold immediate democratic elections to establish a new political system.

In conclusion, the role of the Palestinian Liberation Organization is getting weaker, especially that some of the Palestinian parties are not part of it. In addition to the poor relationship between the PLO and the Palestinians, however, at the international level, the PLO managed to strengthen its relations with the international community and other regional and Arab countries around the world.

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[73]Essayyad, T. (2019, September 2). Ramallah. Personal Interview

[74]Al Azzeh, B. (2019, September 5). Ramallah. Personal Interview

2.3 Dismantling the Palestinian National Authority

Considerable efforts have been made by the international community, led by the United States and Russia, to find the best solution for the Israeli–Palestinian Conflict, based on the UN Resolutions 242, and 338. However, the Oslo Accords were based on the Israeli recognition of the Palestinian Liberation Organization as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian People as well as the PLO's recognition of the State of Israel. Therefore, the Palestinian National Authority was established after signing Oslo Peace Agreement in 1993, as the interim self-Government Body in Palestine.

In the second phase of Oslo Accords (known as Oslo II), in September 1995, the territories were divided into three zones under different administration: areas fully under the PA administration and security (referred to as Area A) mainly including cities inhabited by Palestinian. Areas under the PA administration but the joint Israeli-Palestinian security (referred to as Area B). Finally, the territories under the Israeli administration and security (referred to as Area C), basically include the Jewish settlements which are built on the Palestinian 1967 lands. In other words, the PA controls over 30% of the West Bank, and only 3% of Area A.

In January 1996, the elections were held, and Mr. Yassir Arafat won the presidency, while Ahmad Qurai became the first spokesman of the Council.

The structure of the Palestinian National Authority consists of three main bodies:

1) The Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC): established in 1996, as a Parliament in charge of enacting laws, modifying and cancelling laws, as well as supervising the Executive Authority and its duties. In January 1996, fair and democratic elections were held under international observation, to establish the first council which consisted of eighty-eight members.[75]

The second Legislative elections were held in January 2006, in accordance with the General Elections Law of 2005. The PLC seats were enlarged from eighty-eight to one hundred thirty-two. The one hundred thirty-two members were divided into fourteen parliamentary permanent committees.[76]

In December 2018, a decree issued by the Palestinian Constitutional Court announced the dissolution of the Palestinian Legislative Council calling for new elections.[77]

2) The Judiciary Authority: a legal authority that oversees the judges' affairs in connection to the appealing decisions, judicial inspection, etc.

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[75] The First Council. Retrieved 18 March 2019, from http://www.pal-plc.org/page.aspx?id=XZFFBpa9767841039aXZFFBp

[76] Second Council. Retrieved 18 March 2019, from http://www.pal-plc.org/page.aspx?id=rJZ2wka9763082274arJZ2wk

[77] Position Paper: Constitutional Court's Decision to Dissolve PLC is Political and Illegal - Palestinian Center for Human Rights. Retrieved 5 April 2019, from https://pchrgaza.org/en/?p=12167

3) The Executive Authority: the Palestinian Cabinet and the presidency are the Executive Authority for the Palestinian Authority, headed it by the Prime Minister with the membership of no more than 24 ministers. The Prime Minister is appointed by the President of the Palestinian Authority. The PA duties are decided in accordance with the Palestinian Basic Law. In 2003, the first Palestinian prime minister was Mr. Mahmoud Abbas and nowadays he is Dr. Mohammad Shtayyeh. A total of eighteen Palestinian governments were formed since 2003.[78]

One of the most important internal factors which might affect the adoption of the One–State solution is the existence of the PA, as it manages and provides various services to the Palestinian citizens in different sectors, including: health, education, justice, agriculture, and technology. This is in addition to offering full administrative responsibilities and services in Area A.

On the 4th Jan. , 2013 the Palestinian President Mr. Mahmoud Abbas issued a presidential decree upgrading the status of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) to "The State of Palestine". This change came as the latest state-building endeavor following the last fall as a non-member observer to the United Nations.

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[78] New 18th Palestinian government sworn-in. (2019). Retrieved 4 May 2019, from
http://english.wafa.ps/page.aspx?id=E6QPXqa110069282697aE6QPXq

The above-mentioned change was only applied to the passports, and identity cards. The Palestinian Authority started using its logo in all official documents and transactions. In addition to all the Palestinian embassies in countries which recognized Palestine as a state.[79]

The One–State Solution is related to the possibility of dismantling the Palestinian National Authority, establishing the One State would be impossible in the presence of the existing structures of the State of Palestine and the State of Israel and their respective governments.

The views have varied in dismantling the Palestinian National Authority. Some believe that dismantling the PNA at the political level does not mean to suspend it but rather denouncing from all the international agreements with Israel during the past 25 years including Oslo accords and return to the previous status between the Israelis and the Palestinians.

Dr. Saeb Erekat, said that the Palestinian Authority is the outcome of the Palestinians' struggle, the Palestinian Authority was established to move the Palestinian people from occupation to independency. Indeed, the Israeli government managed to make the Palestinian Authority without Authority. Dr. Erekat added that the Status - quo is unsustainable, and the Israeli government is working hard to collapse the Palestinian Authority.[80]

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[79] Deger, A. (2013). Changing PA's name to 'State of Palestine' raises questions on where Gaza stands in PLO's political vision – Mondoweiss. Retrieved 11 April 2019, from https://mondoweiss.net/2013/01/palestine-questions-political/

[80] Policy and Conflict Resolution Studies Center – PCRSC (2018, June 23). 2018 ANNUAL CONFERENCE - Session 3: Negotiations & Beyond.[Video file].Retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/PCRSC/videos/2040366252868184/

Dismantling the Palestinian Authority will not be easy as the Palestinians either work for the Palestinian Authority or benefit from its services, thus it will be hard to suspend its functions.[81]

A member of the Revolutionary Council has stated that the PA is essential for the lives of Palestinians since it provides several services, and that the PA bodies are transparent despite the United States and Israel's delegation to prove otherwise. He added that dismantling the PA would affect the security in the country and among the Palestinians.[82]

Furthermore, a member of the Revolutionary Council has expressed that the Palestinian Authority is a Palestinian achievement and is considered to be the best outcome of Oslo accords between Israel and the PLO.[83]

The spokesman of the Palestinian Ministry of Interior did not agree with dismantling the PA. He emphasized that the PA should remain as an important authority.[84]

By contrast, the Head of International Studies Masters Program at Birzeit University, insisted that the One-State Solution will not be achievable unless the PA is dismantled first. Such an action will force the Israeli government to accept the One-State Solution. However,

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[81] Al Jazeera English (2012, August 18). One state, two states or even three states? [Video File]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oqkmImwhFVg

[82] Radwan, R. (2019, June 27). Ramallah. Personal Interview

[83] Davis, U. (2019, June 10). Ramallah. Personal Interview

[84] Nimr, G. (2019, April 25). Ramallah. Personal Interview

he also added that this issue will not be easy. He emphasized that we need to understand and analyze all the boundaries that would prevent dismantling the PA.[85]

A current Board Member of the One State Foundation agreed with the Head of International Studies Masters Program at Birzeit University. He suggested that the Palestinian Authority should be dismantled as soon as possible, as consuming more time would complicate things on the ground even more. He added that the collapse of the Palestinian Authority is getting closer due to the surrounding circumstances and nothing, but chaos will result from this collapse. He concluded that dismantling the PA will shock the Israeli government and regain the trust of the Palestinians once again.[86]

In the same context, the General Director of MADAR did not think that dissolving the PA would be an obstacle to the One–State solution, as she believes that the existence of the PA is essential to stop any potential violence that might occur in the country.[87]

While a Palestinian journalist at Associated Press stressed that the absence of the PA will lead the country to a circle of violence which will force the return of the military rule and the armed struggle. He added that the PA has two major roles: to conserve peace and security in the area, and to handle the political issues with the Israelis. He added that dissolving the PA is almost impossible because more than 150,000 employees, security officers working

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[85]Jarbawi, A. (2019, February 16). Ramallah. Personal Interview

[86]Jaber, H. (2019, February 13). Ramallah. Personal Interview

[87]Ghaneem, H. (2019, February 16). Ramallah. Personal Interview

for the PA bodies would increase the suffering of citizens. For that, he concluded that resolving the PA is not a practical decision.[88]

In the same context, a member of the Palestinian Democratic Alliance mentioned that the PA is considered to be a vital mean to maintain stability in the region, and its dissolution would affect the Palestinians who work in PA bodies. However, he concluded that resolving the PA would affect others' interests.[89]

A Founding Member of "The Popular Movement of the One Democratic State on the Historical Land of Palestine" stated that the PA solves the Palestinians' social problems and serves the Israeli occupation. He added that the PA does not promote the Two–State Solution, for that dissolving or keeping the PA is not much of an issue.[90]

According to the Deputy Secretary of Fatah Movement in Jerusalem, adopting the One-State solution will lead to dismantling the Palestinian Authority. He added that the Palestinian Authority serves the Palestinians and provides them with services and maintenance of security and its absence would result in a huge gap which would lead to chaos and instability in the country.[91]

Furthermore, a Founding Member of "The Popular Movement for One Democratic Secular State in Palestine" insisted that the One–State Solution means dismantling any political

[88]Daraghmeh, M. (2019, May 1). Ramallah. Personal Interview

[89]Assaf, O. (2019, May 1). Ramallah. Personal Interview

[90]Jarari, R. (2019, May 5). Ramallah. Personal Interview

[91]Zneid, A. A. (2019, June 24). Ramallah. Personal Interview

system in the West Bank "Fatah's government" and in Gaza "Hamas government" as well as the Israeli Government.[92]

The International Relations Officer of the Palestinian Popular Struggle Front indicated that dismantling the PA will have security, political and economic effects. Israel will search for alternatives; the Palestinian community crisis will escalate. He added that there is difference between dismantling the PA and the return of the Israeli control. This cannot be acceptable.[93]

The possibility of dismantling the Palestinian National Authority as a primary step towards the One–State solution but it will cause major consequences, chaos and instability among the citizens. Moreover, reasons were given on why it will be difficult to dismantle the PA, and these reasons are related to the number of current employees working in the PA bodies whom will be harmed if the PA would be dismantled. This is in addition to the services it offers to the Palestinian citizens. The alternative option given is to keep the PA and its bodies functioning operationally to facilitate the lives of Palestinians but with minimizing its political role.

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[92]Helo, M. A. (2019, June 11). Ramallah. Personal Interview

[93]Al Azzeh, B. (2019, September 5). Ramallah. Personal Interview

2.4 The Unity of the Palestinian Political Parties

On January 2006, the Second Palestinian legislative elections were held in the occupied Palestinian territories. The results of the elections were unacceptable. Hamas won 75 seats and Fatah won 47 seats out of 132 seats. The remaining have left for the other independent, and liberal parties.[94]

The Palestinian President Mr. Mahmoud Abbas obligated the elected Palestinian Government to be committed and respectful of the PLO agreements. However, Hamas refused to accept any agreement made between the PLO and the Israelis. Even though most of the Palestinian parties refused to be part of Hamas government, Hamas formed a government in Gaza without any involvement of Fatah or any other Palestinian political party. Tensions between both Fatah and Hamas were escalated, which led to a series of clashes.[95]

The primary party of this conflict is Fatah, one of the largest political parties in Palestine. Fatah was founded in 1957 by Mr. Yassir Arafat in Kuwait, and it was referred to as "the movement for the liberation of Palestine". Fatah is a nationalist movement that calls for establishing the Palestinian state alongside the Israeli State. Furthermore, it is the most powerful party within the Palestinian Liberation Organization and had a total of 45 seats out of 132 seats in the PLC. Nowadays, the leader of Fatah is the Palestinian President of the

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[94]El-Hasan, H. A. (2010). *Israel Or Palestine? Is the Two-state Solution Already Dead?: A Political and Military History of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict.* New York: Algora Publishing.

[95]Timeline: Hamas-Fatah conflict. (2011). Retrieved 5 June 2019, from https://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/05/201154935141647.html

PA Mr. Mahmoud Abbas.[96]

The other party is Hamas, which is a Palestinian Islamic political party founded in 1987 a few days after the Intifada. The decision of forming Hamas was made by top leaders of the Palestinian Muslim Brothers such as Sheikh Ahmad Yasin, Abdul 'Aziz Al-Rantisi and Salah Shehadeh.[97]

Nowadays, Hamas governs Gaza Strip independently of the PA. It refuses to recognize Israel as a legitimate state. Instead, it calls for the destruction of Israel. The reconciliation processes between Fatah and Hamas were ongoing ever since then. Several talks have taken place in order to resolve this ongoing conflict, but unfortunately unity was not accomplished. However, the Palestinian Parties Fatah and Hamas have signed several reconciliations in order to resolve and end the split, but none was fully implemented.

According to Dr. Saeb Erekat, the conflict between Fatah and Hamas parties is due to strategic decision from Hamas Party, he added that Hamas is willing to give Fatah the government and remain in the ruling.[98]

In 2018, a survey was conducted by the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research (PCPSR). This survey was aimed at asking the public about their opinions on the

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[96] What is Fatah? | IMEU. (2005). Retrieved 15 April 2019, from https://imeu.org/article/what-is-fatah

[97]Hroub, K. (2010). *Hamas.* The Other Press.

[98]Policy and Conflict Resolution Studies Center – PCRSC (2018, June 23). 2018 ANNUAL CONFERENCE - Session 3: Negotiations & Beyond.[Video file].Retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/PCRSC/videos/2040366252868184/

reconciliation process between Fatah and Hamas. It should be noted that about 30.1% of the Palestinian people in the West Bank and Gaza Strip think that the reconciliation process between Hamas and Fatah would actually succeed. On the other hand, about 64.7% believed that such reconciliation would fail.[99]

There are various views on the reconciliation between the political parties, mainly between Fatah and Hamas. These views are mainly based on analyzing the current situation and the future potentials of implementing the signed reconciliations between both parties.

According to a Palestinian Journalist, the unity between both parties, Fatah and Hamas, will eventually happen because it is still one nation. However, the chance of getting into reconciliation nowadays is very weak. He is optimistic that in the future, having changed the current leaders, Fatah and Hamas will resolve all their conflicts.[100]

In the same context, a member of the Palestinian Democratic Alliance pointed that the unity between the political parties is related directly to the restructure of the PLO. He mentioned that unity cannot be realized unless the PLO is restructured but still the reconciliation between Fatah and Hamas would not happen soon.[101]

According to a founding member of "The Popular Movement of the One Democratic State on the Historical Land of Palestine", the time, effort and hard work is needed to overcome

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[99] PSR. (2018). *Public opinion Poll (70)*. Retrieved 25 May 2019, from
https://www.pcpsr.org/sites/default/files/Poll%2070%20English%20full%20text%2024%20Dec%202018.pdf

[100] Daraghmeh, M. (2019, May 1). Ramallah. Personal Interview

[101] Assaf, O. (2019, May 1). Ramallah. Personal Interview

our conflicts and achieve reconciliation between Fatah and Hamas as well as other political parties. If all the parties agreed upon adopting the strategy of the One – State Solution, the conflicts will be resolved.[102]

According to the Deputy Secretary of Fatah Movement in Jerusalem, the conflict between Fatah and Hamas will not be resolved in the near future despite all the attempts made by Fatah but got rejected by Hamas. It seems that Hamas is pleased with the Status-quo between the both parties.[103]

A Founding Member of the Popular Movement for One Democratic Secular State in Palestine stated that the conflict between Fatah and Hamas can be resolved. He gave South Sudan as an example, as there have been many conflicts and splits and the Sudanese people managed to resolve the same over the time. Adopting the One–State solution will surely reunite all the Palestinian political parties and eliminate all existing differences.[104]

According to a member in the Revolutionary Council, the efforts to achieve reconciliation between Fatah and Hamas are still going. Fatah is willing to be part of any reconciliation opportunity, unlike Hamas. Several agreements were signed, most notably Cairo Agreement in 2011, and October Agreement in 2017 which was signed by all the Palestinian parties including Hamas and Islamic Jihad. The agreement signed in October 2017 served as a timeline for the implementation of Cairo Agreement in 2011. However, Hamas did not show

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[102]Jarai, R. (2019, May 5). Ramallah. Personal Interview

[103]Zneid, A. A. (2019, June 24). Ramallah. Personal Interview

[104]Helo, M. A. (2019, June 11). Ramallah. Personal Interview

any intentions to implement the agreement. The Palestinian President Mr. Mahmoud Abbas and Fatah party are willing to end that conflict especially during the upcoming political situation surrounding the Palestinian cause.105

The Legal Advisor to the PLO emphasized that nowadays, the reconciliation between Fatah and Hamas will not be resolved in the presence of the current leadership, not to mention the ongoing change in leaders.[106]

Moreover, the International Relations Officer of the Palestinian Popular Struggle Front believes that the reconciliation process is essential and vital for the Two–State solution, but it will not serve the One – State solution.[107]

The unity of all Palestinian political parties is necessary especially between Fatah and Hamas. It is known that Fatah government controls everything in West Bank while Gaza Strip is controlled by Hamas government. This ongoing conflict is separating between the West Bank and Gaza Strip not to mention that it negatively influences the possibility of unity among other Palestinian parties.

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[105]Radwan, R. (2019, June 27). Ramallah. Personal Interview

[106]Essayyad, T. (2019, September 2). Ramallah. Personal Interview

[107]Al Azzeh, B. (2019, September 5). Ramallah. Personal Interview

Furthermore, adopting the One–State solution in the context of the existing split or separation resulting from the ongoing conflict between the West Bank and Gaza strip will not be easy, unless a reconciliation between Fatah and Hamas sees light and manages to resolve all the political disagreements to ensure unity between the West bank and Gaza Strip.

2.5 The Acceptance of the Palestinian People

The One-state solution would affect the lives of the Palestinians inside and abroad. Such solution is constrained by the acceptance of the Palestinian people. A survey conducted by the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research (PCS), published in 2018, asked the Palestinians to choose the best solution for resolving the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. The responses varied between the Two-State solution, the One-State solution, or other third solutions. The findings showed that about 45% preferred the Two-State solution, while 22% preferred the One-State solution, and 23% preferred other solutions.[108]

Below is the chart taken from the Palestinian-Israeli Pulse: A Joint Poll (2016-2018) published by PSCR, showing the support to the Two - State solution among the Palestinians and the Israelis from 2006 till 2018.[109]

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[108] PSR. (2018). *Public opinion Poll (70)*. Retrieved 25 May 2019, from
https://www.pcpsr.org/sites/default/files/Poll%2070%20English%20full%20text%2024%20Dec%202018.pdf

[109]Shikaki, K., & Scheindlin, D. (2019). Role of Public Opinion in the Resilience/Resolution of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict. Retrieved 9 September 2019, from
http://pcpsr.org/sites/default/files/Final%20policy%20report%20English%20Jan2019.pdf

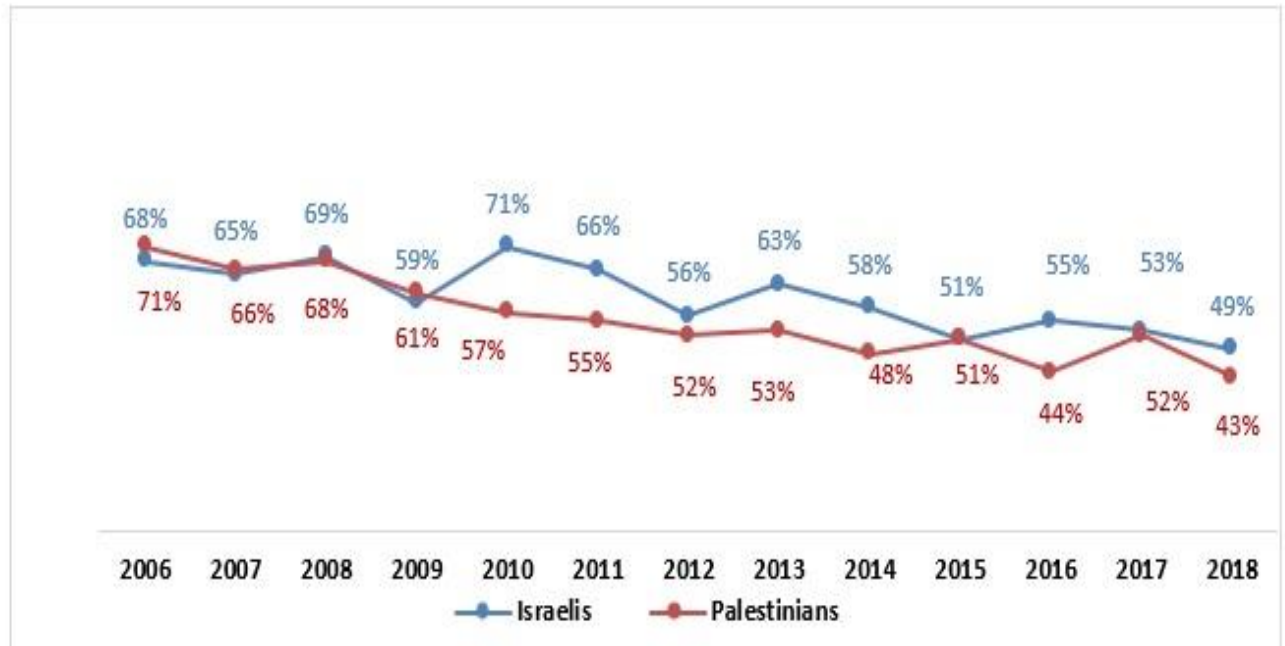Chart (1): Palestinian and Israeli support for the concept of a two-state solution between 2006 and 2018

Figure 1: Palestinian and Israeli support to the Two–State solution between 2006-2018

Additionally, the below chart shows that the Two–State solution is still supported rather than any other alternatives[110]:

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[110]Ibid

Chart (4): Support for the two-state solution and core support for three alternative options among Palestinians and Israeli Jews, June 2018 (supporters of the two-state solution were not asked about the other three alternatives)
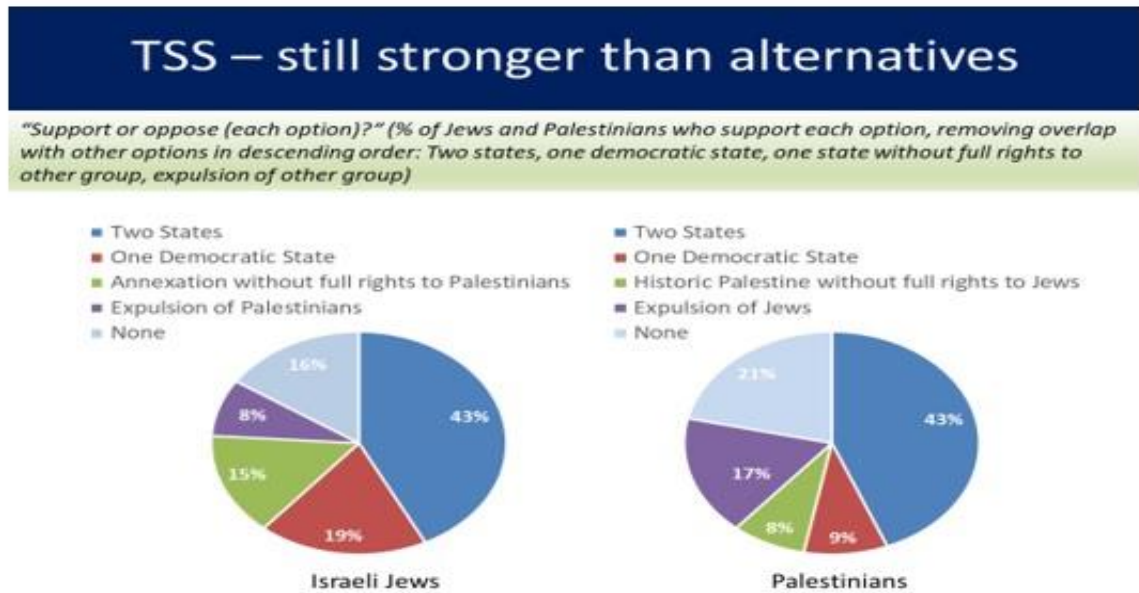
Figure 2: Two-States and the Other alternatives

According to the statistical numbers showed in the previous figures, the Palestinians still believes in the Two-State solution is the solution for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, as for the One- State solution, yet the Palestinians don't support it in comparison with the Two – State solution.

The Spokesman of the Palestinian Ministry of Interior stated that the Palestinian people would accept anything that will contribute to them living normal life. Unemployment and

the lack of job opportunities in the West Bank and Gaza strip has forced Palestinians to seek for permits to work in Israel, even in settlements, just to secure an income and be able to provide for their families.[111]

According to Mr. Daraghmeh, the One–State solution will be supported by the Palestinians, especially that the new generation did not experience the early years of occupation. This generation noticed that everything is going towards the One–State solution for two main reasons: the facts on the ground made the Two–State solution impossible to achieve, and establishing a Palestinian State is no longer supported by the people in light of the corruption within the PA, the lack of democracy and elections.[112]

A current Board Member of the One State Foundation stated that the Palestinian people would accept the idea of the One-State solution given the difficult current situation.[113]

In the same context, a member of the Palestinian Democratic Alliance noted that accepting such solution will not be easy. The Palestinian people should be prepared for that solution through press releases, meetings and surveys so as to increase awareness on the meaning of such solution and its consequences.[114]

The Deputy Secretary of Fatah Movement in Jerusalem noted that there are two main reasons for the Palestinians not to accept the One–State solution. First, the Jews treachery was clear

[111]Nimr, G. (2019, April 25). Ramallah. Personal Interview

[112]Daraghmeh, M. (2019, May 1). Ramallah. Personal Interview

[113]Jaber, H. (2019, February 13). Ramallah. Personal Interview

[114]Assaf, O. (2019, May 1). Ramallah. Personal Interview

over the years. The Jews are not seeking peace, but rather they want to revenge not to mention that the Jews mentality is to control the Palestinians financially and morally. Second, in Jerusalem, each family has a prisoner at the Israeli prisons, or a martyr shot dead by the Israeli occupation, and this has decreased the possibility of living with them in peace and releasing any retaliation feelings. [115]

A member of the Revolutionary Council noted that the Palestinians still believe that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict may be resolved by establishing a Palestinian State. He added that reserving the Palestinian national identity and the Palestinian national political rights will only be realized through the One–State Solution.[116] While the International Relations Officer of the Palestinian Popular Struggle Front stated that the Palestinian youth is seeking the One–State solution and is able to ensure equal rights, dignity and justice. The effective manner to switch from the Two–State solution to the One – State solution is having political popular integration.[117]

In the end, Palestinians are looking for equal rights, justice and peace whether through the Two–State solution or any other alternative solution. The significance of the Palestinian identity is the reason why accepting the One – State solution is restricted, not to mention the feelings of retaliation.

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[115]Zneid, A. A. (2019, June 24). Ramallah. Personal Interview

[116]Radwan, R. (2019, June 27). Ramallah. Personal Interview

[117]Al Azzeh, B. (2019, September 5). Ramallah. Personal Interview

2.6 Palestinian Movements' effect

Multiple One-State movements were created by the Palestinian activists and several Israelis. One of these movements is referred to as "The Popular Movement of the One Democratic State on the Historical Land of Palestine", established in 2013, in Ramallah – Palestine. This movement was created after the failure of all attempts of resolving the Palestinian cause, not to mention the ongoing Israeli stealing of the Palestinians' lands, and denying all legal rights of the Palestinian people. This is in addition to altering the Palestinian existence into Bantustans making it even more difficult and almost impossible to establish the Palestinian state. Thus, the only vital solution for the Palestinian–Israeli conflict is having one democratic State in the historical land of Palestine. A democratic state for all citizens that is based on democratic constitution with no discrimination based on race, language, religion.

Adopting the one democratic state was based on the following:

1. The Palestinians are united; including those residing in the occupied territories of 1948 and in the occupied territories of 1967, in the refugee camps and in the Diaspora. All Palestinians managed to reserve their national Palestinian identity and refused the alternative homeland.

2. The respect civilized people have for the international values such as equality, freedom, justice and accepting others.

3. Palestine is a platform for the religions of Christianity, Judaism and Islam. Thus, any strategic solution should be based upon respecting these religions and encourage religious tolerance.

4. Implementing social justice and equal opportunities between citizens of the one democratic state, respect for the woman and gender equality.

5. Jerusalem is the capital of the one democratic state

6. Resolving the refugees' issue by enforcing the UN General Assembly Resolution No. 194, which gives any Palestinian the right to return to his/her home and recover their properties.[118]

Interviewing Mr. Radi Jarai, a Founding Member in this Movement, he noted that for 10 years they have been trying to find the solution for the ongoing Palestinian–Israeli conflict when it was realized that the Two–State solution is not valid anymore. The Israelis only want to force an apartheid system, and it should be noted that this way of thinking is not new to them, especially for the Likud party. Therefore, it is the time to rethink the Two–State solution given its failure and the difficulty of making it work.

Members of this Movement have a clear political and strategic vision. According to them, the Two–State solution is just a cover intended to change the reality on the ground. He also

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[118]The Founding Statement: The Popular Movement for One Democratic State on the Land of Historical Palestine. (2013). Retrieved 20 May 2019, from https://freehaifa.wordpress.com/2013/08/30/the-founding-statement-the-popular-movement-for-one-democratic-state-on-the-land-of-historical-palestine/

noted that thinking of an alternative solution is necessary to gather all Palestinians from everywhere.[119]

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[119]Jarai, R. (2019, May 5). Ramallah. Personal Interview

The second movement is referred to as "The Popular Movement for One Democratic Secular State in Palestine". This movement is aimed at encouraging all the Palestinian people as well as the Jews people to participate in solving this struggle by calling for One Secular Democratic state in order to eliminate the Zionist state and contribute to rebuilding the society and the state according to several foundations:

1. The primary step is by dismantling the Zionist state as a political existence and a racist military entity.

2. This solution would guarantee equal rights for all citizens.

3. The new state on the historical land of Palestine is a Palestinian state as well as secular democratic state based on separating religion from the governance regime. The secular state claims to treat all citizens equally, protects the popular classes from poverty, and unemployment. This state will provide free education, labor rights and social security.

4. The right to enjoy cultural autonomy where Arabic and Jewish are adopted as official languages, given the firm relation between these two languages.[120]

Through the interview conducted with one of the founding members of this movement, Mr. Mohammad Al Helo, he noted that the one secular democratic state is the ultimate solution for the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. A state that offers equality for all its citizens under one law, and without any collective rights, supporting neither religion nor irreligion.[121]

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[120] OSDS Founding Declaration: The Popular Movement for the One Secular Democratic State of Palestine. Retrieved 25 June 2019, from http://osds-movement.net/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/OSDS-EN.pdf

[121]Helo, M. A. (2019, June 11). Ramallah. Personal Interview

The third movement is referred to as "One Democratic State in Historic Palestine Campaign" currently based within 1948 historical Palestine. It consists of academics, activists and politicians. In 2018, their political program was distributed to increase support among the locals, Palestinians and Israelis alike, and among the public community. This campaign seeks to gain support against the apartheid regime and for the establishment of a One State free from of colonialism, occupation based on equal rights which shall ensure dignified future for the next generations.

The political program focuses on the following:

1. Establishing a democratic state between the Mediterranean Sea and Jordan River where all citizens enjoy equal rights, freedom and security.
2. The One State solution will recover the right of the Palestinian refugees who were displaced in 1948 to return.
3. No discrimination against any Individual upon Gender, Race, Religion.
4. Within the framework of the One–State, collective rights will not be given to any group in the country. [122]

Movements calling for a One–State solution are not familiar among the Palestinians, and never participated on the political level. However, the movements are increasing, supporters of these movements are increasing as well. The above-mentioned movements agree with

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[122] The political program of the Campaign for One Democratic State in Historic Palestine. (2018). Retrieved 5 June 2019, from https://mondoweiss.net/2018/08/political-democratic-palestine/

creating a One–State, where Israelis and Palestinians live together in peace and security, based on equality with no special rights to any group of individuals.

Chapter III: External Factors

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the tools of Strategic Planning are used to analyze the external factors surrounding the environment that might affect the one-state solution. Threats and opportunities will be examined as well.

Utilizing the SWOT analysis, as one of the strategic planning tools, will facilitate in determining the external factors that surrounded the One- State solution, through the analysis each factor will be taken separately in order to be examined and determine it as a threat or an opportunity.

Analyzing such a solution will be investigated through conducting several interviews with the relevant experts. This is in addition to analyzing the conducted interviews with some Palestinian Politicians as well as collecting reports and official documents.

Two important positions will be covered in this chapter:

1. Arab positions towards the One – State solution

2. International positions towards the One – State solution

3.2 Arab Positions towards the One – State solution

There are several Arab positions towards the Palestinian–Israeli conflict, starting with the statements of the Arab League and the Arab Peace Initiative, in addition to the official statements from various Arab Presidents focusing on the peace process and the solution for the ongoing conflict.

The Arab League is a regional organization consisting of states from Asia and Africa, established in the 1945. Currently, the Arab League hosts 22 Arab countries from Asia and Africa. Its headquarters is located in Cairo, Egypt. Its main function is to coordinate between the Arab states economically, politically, and culturally in addition to strengthening the relations among the Arab states. Furthermore, it maintains security in the Arab region. Nowadays, its Secretary General is Mr. Ahmad Aboul Gheit.[123]

In 2002, the Arab League endorsed an Arab Peace Initiative, which was initiated by the Saudi King Abdullah Bin Abdel Aziz, as a proposal to end the Arab–Israeli conflict. This initiative calls for the establishment of a Palestinian state within its 1967 borders and East Jerusalem which will be recognized internationally with Jerusalem as its Capital., Provided

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[123] Profile: Arab League. (2017). Retrieved 15 July 2019, from https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-15747941

it shall enforce the UN Resolutions 242, 338[124], and it will ensure the return of the Palestinian refugees.[125]

This initiative calls for Israel's withdrawal from all the Palestinian territories occupied since 1967, including the Syrian Golan Heights. And in return, all Arab countries shall recognize the existence of the State of Israel and have normal relationships with it. It was re-endorsed at the 2002 and 2017 Arab League Summits.[126]

A recent statement made by the General Secretary Mr. Ahmad Abu Gheit indicated that establishing a Palestinian state with the 1967 borders an acceptable solution by Arabs regardless of any other attempts and solutions to resolve the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. [127]

The Jordanian King Abdallah II stated, in his speech before the General Assembly, that the only solution for the Israeli–Palestinian conflict is the Two–State Solution and that this solution would meet the needs of both the Israelis and the Palestinians.[128]

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[124]*See Section 4.2 for more details*

[125]Text of Arab peace initiative adopted at Beirut summit. Retrieved 18 July 2019, from https://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2009_2014/documents/empa/dv/1_arab-initiative-beirut_/1_arab-initiative-beirut_en.pdf

[126]Arab peace initiative: full text. (2002). Retrieved 17 June 2019, from https://www.theguardian.com/world/2002/mar/28/israel7

[127]Arab League head warns no Mideast peace deal without Palestinian state. (2019). Retrieved 6 July 2019, from https://www.reuters.com/article/us-israel-palestinians-arabs/arab-league-head-warns-no-mideast-peace-deal-without-palestinian-state-idUSKCN1TI1QP

[128]King Abdullah II: 'No alternative to two-state solution'. (2018). Retrieved 14 June 2019, from https://www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?id=781218

The Egyptian President Abdel–Fatah Al-Sisi noted that the Two–State solution is the only way to end the Israeli–Palestinian conflict, assuring that this solution would bring peace and stability to the region. Therefore, Egypt's efforts continue to guarantee the establishment of a Palestinian state with East Jerusalem as its capital.[129]

The President of Tunisia Mr. Beji Caid Essebsi supports an independent Palestinian state with East Jerusalem as its Capital according to the Arab Peace Initiative and based on the UN resolutions as well as the international legitimacy.[130]

The Iraqi Prime Minister emphasized his support to the Palestinian state according the UN Resolutions and the Arab Peace Initiative. He noted that the Two–State solution will end the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. [131]

Adopting the One–State solution needs to be supported by Arabs and the Arab League, analyzing the status-quo of the Arab League and Arab countries, in addition to examining the possibility of supporting the One-State Solution.

In the Annual conference 2018, conducted by Policy and conflict resolution studies center, Dr. Saeb Erekat, the General Secretary of the PLO Executive Committee, assured that the Position of all the Arab countries support the establishment of a Palestinian state and East

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[129]Two-state solution only way to end Palestinian-Israeli conflict: Egypt president Abdel-Fattah al-Sisi - Firstpost. (2018). Retrieved 12 July 2019, from https://www.firstpost.com/world/two-state-solution-only-way-to-end-palestinian-israeli-conflict-egypt-president-abdel-fattah-al-sisi-4307983.html

[130]Tunisian President stresses importance of two-state solution. (2019). Retrieved 26 July 2019, from http://www.maannews.com/Content.aspx?id=783062

[131]Iraq confirms support for Palestinian state - Xinhua | English.news.cn. (2019). Retrieved 5 July 2019, from http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-01/04/c_137718025.htm

Jerusalem its' capital. In other words, the Two – State solution is still the solution supported by all Arab countries.[132]

The Spokesman of the Palestinian Ministry of Interior and a Board Member of the One State Foundation both agreed with the positions of the Arab League and indicated that this League is active with other surrounding circumstances. The Spokesman of the Palestinian Ministry of Interior added that the Arab League is not highly interested in the Palestinian cause, and most of the members changed the image of Israel as occupier and established good relations with it. [133]

Mr. Daraghmeh, a Palestinian Journalist at Associated Press expressed the negative attitude of Arabs, and noted that they are preoccupied with their own problems such as the war in Syria, Iraq, etc. According to him, Arabs are useless and have no influence on the Palestinian cause. [134]

According to a member of the Revolutionary Council, when it comes to Politics, Arabs are in the sidelines not in the center. Israel is in the center of the politics of the Middle East, and the United States is supporting Israel to meet its goals in the region. The role of Arabs in the region is almost invisible due to the splits among each other, which is why the role of the

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[132]Policy and Conflict Resolution Studies Center – PCRSC (2018, June 23). 2018 ANNUAL CONFERENCE - Session 3: Negotiations & Beyond.[Video file].Retrieved from
https://www.facebook.com/PCRSC/videos/2040366252868184/

[133]Nimr, G. (2019, April 25). Ramallah. Personal Interview

[134]Daraghmeh, M. (2019, May 1). Ramallah. Personal Interview

Arab League in the region got poorer. This is in addition to the dependency of Arabs on the American policy to the Middle East. Given the above-mentioned reasons, the role of the Arabs in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is inactive. [135]

The Legal advisor to PLO, assured that the Arab League is still strong and has influence, and still supports the Palestinians and may serve as the cause for a change.[136]

According to the analysis, the Position of all Arab countries are the same, supporting the Two-State solution and the establishment of the Palestinian State, refusing any other alternative or solution. According to the official statements, any other solution such as the One–State solution will not bring stability and peace to the region.

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[135]Radwan, R. (2019, June 27). Ramallah. Personal Interview

[136]Essayyad, T. (2019, September 2). Ramallah. Personal Interview

3.3 International Positions towards the One – State solution

The United Nations is an intergovernmental organization which was established after World War II. It is mainly responsible for maintaining security and international peace. The UN structure consists of five main sections: The General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the International Court of Justice, and the UN secretariat.[137]

Various UN Resolutions have been passed by the General Assembly and the Security Council regarding the Palestinian–Israeli conflict. Starting with UN General Assembly Resolution 181 passed by the UN General Assembly on 29th November 1947. It called for the partition of Palestine to two states, Arab and Jewish, provided Jerusalem is governed by international forces. However, this resolution was passed with 33 votes in favor, 13 against, and 10 abstentions. It was rejected by all Arabs which led to a war.[138]

After the UN Resolution 181, the General Assembly adopted the UN Resolution 194 in December 1948, which defined the final settlement and the right of return of the Palestinian refugees to their lands and properties. [139]

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[137] Fasulo, L. (2004). *An insider's guide to the UN* (p. 3). New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

[138] UN General Assembly resolution 181 (1974), 29 November 1947, A/RES/181(II), available at: https://unispal.un.org/DPA/DPR/unispal.nsf/0/7F0AF2BD897689B785256C330061D253 [accessed 24 July 2019].

[139] UN General Assembly, *194 (III). Palestine - Progress Report of the United Nations Mediator,* 11 December 1948, A/RES/194, available at: https://www.refworld.org/docid/4fe2e5672.html [accessed 23 July 2019]

The UN Resolution 242 was adopted on 22nd November, 1967 by the UN Security Council, in the aftermath of the Six-Day War, basically between Jordan, Israel, Egypt and Syria. It was adopted under Chapter VI of the UN Charter. The resolution calls for Israel to withdraw from territories conquered in 1967. However, it was rejected by the Palestinian Liberation Organization until 1988.[140]

The UN Resolution 338 was adopted on 22nd October 1973 by the UN security Council. The resolution calls upon ceasing fire in the Middle East and enforcing the UN Resolution 242 on having negotiations between both Parties.[141]

The UN Resolution 2334 was adopted on 23rd December 2016 regarding the Israeli settlements in the Palestinian territories occupied since 1967 including the City of Jerusalem. The resolution states that the Israeli settlement activities violate the International Law and have no legal validity.[142]

On 29th November 2012, the General Assembly announced Palestine as a non-member observer state at the UN, voted by one hundred thirty-eight in favor, nine against, and forty-

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[140] Boudrealt, J., Naughton, E., & Salaam, Y. (Eds.). (1992). *US official statements: UN Security Council resolution 242* (Vol. 1). Institute for Palestine Studies.

[141] UN Security Council, *Security Council resolution 338 (1973) [Cease-fire in Middle East]*, 22 October 1973, S/RES/338 (1973), available at: https://www.refworld.org/docid/3b00f1dd50.html [accessed 22 July 2019]

[142] UN Security Council, *Security Council resolution 2334 (2016) [on cessation of Israeli settlement activities in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, including East Jerusalem]*, 23 December 2016, S/RES/2334 (2016), available at: https://www.refworld.org/docid/587f347a4.htm l [accessed 22 July 2019]

one abstentions, as well as one hundred thirty-nine Assembly members, and it was considered a great success for the Palestinian Liberation Organization.[143]

The Palestinian Liberation Organization managed to get the support of more than one hundred thirty countries to recognize the State of Palestine, but some of the international community bodies, the most influential members, including France, the US and the UK, have not made such a move.

Palestine now is a non-member state at the UN; and it has also joined the International Criminal Court on 1st April, 2015.

The European Union is a political and economic union established in 1951, it consists of 28 members located in Europe. The EU consists of the following main bodies: the European Parliament, the European Council, the Council of the European Union, the European Commission, the Court of Justice of the European Union, the European Central Bank and the European Court of Auditors. [144]

The EU supports the Two-state solution, Suzanne Terstal, the EU Special Representative to the Middle East Peace Process assured that the Two–State solution is the only solution for

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[143] Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 29 November 2012. (2012). Retrieved 25 July 2019, from https://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/67/19

[144] Chalmers, D., Davies, G., & Monti, G. (2019). *European union law*. Cambridge university press. Page 59-60

ending the Arab-Israeli conflict. She added that any other solution would increase instability in the region and would be undemocratic. [145]

Up to the present, most of the official statements and commitment are supporting the Two–State solution as the best solution of the Israeli–Palestinian Conflict. In February 2018, the Secretary-General António Guterres noted that the EU still supports the Two–State solution and that the One–State Solution is difficult to realize. He added that the One-State reality is impossible due to the historical and democratic ambitions of Palestinians and Israelis in addition to the obstacles on the ground which constrain the creation of a One State. [146]

Countries had several official statements regarding the solution of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict, the United Kingdom assured supporting the Two–State Solution to end the Israeli–Palestinian conflict. They also called Israel to stop the settlement expansion in the Occupied Palestinian Authority.[147] Russia has a solid position towards the Israeli–Palestinian conflict; ad believes that the Two–State solution is essential to ensure peace in the region.[148]

Canada supports the establishment of an independent, democratic Palestinian State and recognizes the Palestinians right to self-determination. It also recognizes the Palestinian

[145] EU: No Substitute to Two-State Solution. (2019). Retrieved 3 July 2019, from https://aawsat.com/english/home/article/1796016/eu-no-substitute-two-state-solution

[146] 'There is no plan B,' says Guterres, reiterating UN's commitment to two-state solution to Israeli-Palestinian conflict. (2018). Retrieved 13 May 2019, from https://news.un.org/en/story/2018/02/1003131

[147]The United Kingdom reiterates long standing commitment to a two-state solution for Israelis and Palestinians. (2018). Retrieved 15 July 2019, from https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/the-united-kingdom-reiterates-long-standing-commitment-to-a-two-state-solution-for-israelis-and-palestinians

[148]Putin tells Abbas he backs two-state solution. (2017). Retrieved 12 July 2019, from https://www.thenational.ae/putin-tells-abbas-he-backs-two-state-solution-1.65169

Authority as the official governmental entity in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and the Palestinian Liberation Organization as the representative of the Palestinian people.[149]

As to France, it supports the Two–State solution to end the Israeli–Palestinian conflict and believes no other solution can be implemented rather than the establishment of the state of Palestine and the state of Israel living side by side in peace and security.[150]

China assured that any new initiative should facilitate the implementation of the Two–State solution and that all the UN Resolutions must be enforced especially resolution 2334.[151]

On the other hand, President of the Czech Republic Milos Zeman has doubts about the Two-State solution,. He noted that he was inspired by the idea of the One-state for two nations, despite that the idea of the One–State is provocative and challenging.[152]

Fatah Central Committee Member noted that adopting the One–State solution would be difficult to meet because this will result in disregarding all UN resolutions of the General Assembly and the UN Security Council and all the international legitimacy for Palestine.[153]

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[149]Canadian policy on key issues in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. (2019). Retrieved 16 July 2019, from https://www.international.gc.ca/world-monde/international_relations-relations_internationales/mena-moan/israeli-palistinian_policy-politique_israelo-palestinien.aspx?lang=eng

[150]No alternative to a two-State solution. (2017). Retrieved 11 July 2019, from https://onu.delegfrance.org/No-alternative-to-a-two-State-solution

[151]China: Two-state solution key to resolving Palestine-Israel conflict. (2019). Retrieved 26 July 2019, from https://www.chinadailyhk.com/articles/203/241/85/1553652051470.html

[152]Czech president casts doubt on two-state solution as he kicks off Israel visit. (2018). Retrieved 7 July 2019, from https://www.timesofisrael.com/czech-president-casts-doubt-on-two-state-solution-as-he-kicks-off-israel-visit/

[153]Zaki, A. (2019, July 16). Ramallah. Personal Interview

A member of the Revolutionary Council stated that nowadays the international community is divided into two parts, those who advocate and support the Two–State Solution and those who support Israel. The United States initiative such as "Trump Peace Plan "is not towards the Two-State Solution but rather aimed at ending the Palestinian cause, in favor of Israel, by establishing logistic arrangements and economic development. However, its goal is not to revive the Palestinian people but towards regional economic peace which makes Israel the leader in the Middle East. [154]

The Palestinian Journalist at Associated Press ensured that the international community will not accept discrimination. Taking South Africa as an example, the international community was against the apartheid and successfully managed to end it by all means. The demand for equal rights draws the attention of the international community rather than independence and statehood. On one hand, the PLO is supposedly holding on with the Two–State solution and on the other hand it is establishing new popular movements (civil society, universities and people) demanding equal rights. [155]

The spokesman of the Palestinian Ministry of Interior noted that the international community would stand next to the Palestinian people no matter what they decide, provided their decision shall serve and protect their human and equal rights.[156]

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[154]Radwan, R. (2019, June 27). Ramallah. Personal Interview

[155]Daraghmeh, M. (2019, May 1). Ramallah. Personal Interview

[156]Nimr, G. (2019, April 25). Ramallah. Personal Interview

The current Board Member of the One State Foundation, in his article mentioned above noted that the international community stand still to save the Two-State solution, but will not oppose the idea of a one state, especially the apartheid regime in Palestine that was established by Israel, will put the international community in a position to reject the apartheid regime and strongly support the one democratic state with equal rights for all citizens.[157]

The Legal Advisor to the PLO, stated that the Palestinian cause is no longer a priority for the international community. However, the international community is willing to support the Palestinians provided the Palestinians have to support themselves. She added that there is nothing in the Law that supports One- State or the Two-State solutions, and all the UN resolutions are based on self-determination, and equal rights. She also noted that in order to preserve our rights, the One–State solution is better for us.[158]

In the end, the international positions towards the Israeli – Palestinian conflict are related directly with the resolutions which were passed by the UN General assembly and the Security Council, and all such resolutions are based on the Two–State solution of establishing a Palestinian state living side by side with Israel.

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[157] *One State Solution*. (2019). [PDF]. Retrieved 1 October 2019, from
http://pcpsr.org/sites/default/files/5%20One%20state%20solution_Hamada%20Jaber%20in%20design%20Arabic.pdf

[158]Essayyad, T. (2019, September 2). Ramallah. Personal Interview

Chapter IV: Strategic Analysis & Conclusions

4.1 Strategic Analysis

This thesis is aimed at studying the factors which affect the One–State solution. It mainly focused on the internal and external factors which may affect, directly or indirectly, the One–State solution. Initially, the internal factors starting with the status of the Palestinian Liberation Organization as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, along with the possibility of dismantling the PA were examined, in addition to the possibility of unity of the political parties, the Palestinians' acceptance and the Palestinians' movements calling for the One–State solution. Furthermore, the external factors starting with the Arab positions and the international positions were examined as well.

The analysis started with the first internal factor which focused on examining the restructuring of the Palestinian Liberation Organization "PLO". The PLO is the only legitimate representative of Palestinians. Therefore, the PLO's current structure was examined, information regarding its current functions were collected as well.

The PLO serves as the umbrella for all Palestinian political parties, but two main Palestinian parties are not under the PLO, namely the Islamic Jihad and Hamas, who have a huge base of supporters throughout Palestine.

In order to change the PLO's adaptation of the Two–State solution to a One–State solution, a restructuring process is essential for many reasons; mainly to eliminate the weaknesses of

the PLO and to revive their reputation among the Palestinians inside and abroad, starting with the current structure that needs to be reformed, as well as conducting democratic elections.

However, restructuring the Palestinian Liberation Organization is not an easy process. It will require a strategic planning which will need time to be able to handle the strategy of the One–State solution. Calling for a One–State solution should be merged with a solid and strong structure of the Palestinian Liberation Organization for the strategy of a One-State solution to be effective. The existing structure of the PLO is seen as poor and needs to be restructured for the sake of the One – State solution.

The second internal factor was analyzed, which was dismantling the Palestinian National Authority. The PNA is the outcome of Oslo Accords which was signed between the Israelis and the Palestinian Liberation Organization, a 5 – years interim self-government body in Palestine, the PNA provides multiple services and security for all the Palestinian citizens and employees.

Establishing a One – State means dismantling any Palestinian or Israeli government. Thus, dismantling the PNA, yet without any planning, would lead to a catastrophic chaos and instability in the Palestinian territories, in addition to insecurity among the Palestinians.

Therefore, the possibility of dismantling the PNA is not easy, and it is almost impossible to do such thing due to several reasons mainly the existence of the PNA that is essential for stability and security, in addition to serving the citizens.

Furthermore, dismantling the PNA will need more planning in order to avoid the chaos scenario which may result. The chaos scenario is uncontrollable and will cause a lot of sufferings and worse consequences, before attempting to dismantle the PNA, the citizens must be aware of such an act and its upcoming consequences.

Thesis finds that dismantling the PNA is considered to be a weakness for the One – State solution and the possibility of dismantling the PNA is almost impossible and unacceptable.

The analysis covered the examination of the third factor affecting the One – State solution which is focusing on the unity among the Palestinian political parties. The ongoing conflict between Hamas and Fatah parties since 2007, and the continuous efforts for achieving an agreement are still ongoing in order to reach a final settlement between the two parties. However, all these efforts were unsuccessful. Such a conflict caused differences between the Palestinian people.

The failure of reconciliation is attributed to the continuous rejection of Hamas to accept any agreement with Fatah Party and overcome the differences between both parties. Hamas still governs Gaza Strip as for Fatah it governs the West Bank.

Calling for a One – State means that all Palestinian parties should be united. Especially that the Islamic Jihad and Hamas are out of the Palestinian Liberation Organization. Not to mention that the PLO is the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people by gathering all the Palestinian Political parties.

Due to the current circumstances, the reconciliation process may not be achieved until the two parties agree upon the common issues. The current leadership is considered an obstacle

in the reconciliation process. However, a potential agreement with the two parties will not be achieved in the near future without any serious determination. By time, the differences increased and the possibility of reaching an agreement became almost impossible.

According to the analysis, the unity and a future successful reconciliation process is a strength factor that will affect the One – State solution.

The analysis focused in examining the fourth factor that affects the One – State solution which is the Palestinians' acceptance. There is a long history of Israeli racism and violence against the Palestinian citizens in the West Bank, Gaza strip, Jerusalem and the Palestinian within the 48 lands. In addition to the continuous expansion of illegal settlements in the West Bank and the apartheid system the Israeli government forces to use against the Palestinians.

Therefore, the Palestinian people are seeking for humanitarian rights, justice and freedom of movement in the occupied territories. The Palestinian people are looking for peace and security and at the same time, conserving the Palestinian identity and nationality.

Different polls were conducted to measure the indicators of the possibility of the Palestinian people's acceptance for the One – State solution. However, accepting the One – State solution needs to be adopted again by the Palestinian Liberation Organization.

The scenario of joining the Palestinian Liberation Organization and the Palestinian people with calling for the One – State solution is the optimal scenario. The Palestinian people should support the government and the Palestinian leadership for such a solution or any alternative one.

Thus, the people acceptance is essential and considered as a strength for the One – State, as the public support and the expected influence on the local and the international level.

The analysis focused on examining the fifth and last factor of the internal factors that might affect on the One – State Solution which is the Palestinian movements. Three important Palestinian movements were mentioned in Chapter 2, each movement with its' political program, and its history.

The Palestinian initiative movements are essential towards the One – State, those movements are a gateway for gathering a public support inside and outside of Palestine. Having a planned political effected program will facilitate and increase the people acceptance and encourage the idea of having a one state in Palestine.

However, those movements aren't yet joined and united under the same demands and requests, therefore each movement is playing a separate role in the movement of a One State which decrease their chances in success and decrease their potential influence. Measuring the similarity of each movement indicates that the movements are calling for almost the same principles

Furthermore, these movements are considered as a strength when calling for a One – State but at the same time being able to unite those movements under one political program will provide more impact on the People as well as on the Palestinian government and on the international level.

The analysis focused on examining the first external factor that will affect on the One – State Solution which is the Arab position. The Arab position included two major positions; the official positions from the Arab League and the Arabs' presidents / its' prime ministers.

Since the 2002, the Arab league was committed to the Two – State solution for ending the Israeli – Palestinian conflict, Although a lot of important issues and events such as Syria war, and all the ongoing wars in the Arab region, yet the Palestinian cause mainly the Israeli - Palestinian conflict was always present in all the Arab league meetings and its' agenda.

Analysis showed a lot of weaknesses in the Arab league position and Arab positions in general towards the Palestinian cause, their support and solid position towards the Palestinian cause is getting weaker and the focus on the Palestinian cause is almost decreasing. Moreover, the Arabs nowadays are disconnecting and mainly their interests drive them and control their relations between each other.

Over the years, various official statements of the Arab presidents and from the Arab league showed nothing but regular statements supporting the Two – State solution but with the absence of any strategic steps to achieve such solution.

The unity of the Arabs countries and the solid Arab League position is important nevertheless is vital for supporting the Palestinians' rights and supporting the Palestinians' leadership. However, the gap is increasing between the countries due to interests and pursuing in normalizing the relations with Israel.

Yet Arab positions are considered as an opportunity regardless the Arabs' status – quo, and can provide support for the Palestinians' equal rights, Justice and Security by calling for the One – State solution.

The Last external factor which affect the One – State solution focused on the international position, the international positions of the European Union, the United Nations mainly the UN security council and the UN general assembly, and official statements from presidents regarding the solution for the Israeli – Palestinian conflict.

Starting with the UN resolutions, all the resolutions were aimed at cease fire, illegal settlements, Jerusalem as the capital and the partition plan. Mainly those resolutions are based upon rights for the Palestinians in establishing their own legal state.

Powerful countries still support the Two – State solution and ensure that no other alternative solution would resolve the Israeli – Palestinian conflict and provide peace and stability to the region, therefore rejecting the One – State solution as a strategic alternative solution. However, the United States has unclear position towards the solution of the conflict and mainly are biased to the Israelis and support what Israel wants. The US also were seeking to execute the "Peace to Prosperity" or The Trump Peace Plan which authorizes Israel to have full control over the Palestinians.

Changing the Palestinian cause from a religion-based cause to human and equal rights-based cause would assist the Palestinians with their demands. There is clear and evident advocacy for the Two – States solution by the international community that is supporting and calling

for two states but still there is no actual steps being practiced and at the same time refusing

to discuss the option of a one democratic state or any other alternative option.

4.2 Conclusion & recommendations

Based on data analysis and discussion, below are the key conclusions of the study:

- The current structure of the Palestinian Liberation Organization is considered to be a weakness towards the One – State solution. The current strategy of the PLO is based upon the Two – State solution since 1974. Adopting the strategy of One – State solution within the current status and structure can't be achieved.

- The Palestinian National Authority is considered to be a weakness towards the One – State solution. The existence of PNA would be an obstacle towards adopting for a One- State solution. However, dismantling the PNA is hard to achieve.

- The status-quo of the Palestinian political parties is considered to be a weakness as well. Calling for a one state is essential with the unity of all the Palestinian political parties. In spite of all the reconciliation efforts, the unity was not achieved.

- The Palestinian people are considered as a weakness. Nowadays, the Palestinian people are seeking for better life, freedom of movement as well as equal rights.

- The Palestinian movements calling for One – State solution are not affected at the political level and not familiar among the Palestinians themselves. Therefore, those movements are considered to be a weakness and will not have any effect with their status quo.

- The Arab position, the Arab League and the Islamic countries, are supporting the Two – State solution and the establishment of a Palestinian State with its capital

Jerusalem. Due to their current positions, their positions considered a threat although there are no real actions.

- The International positions, the United Nation, European Union and the international community, are supporting the Two – State solution, but again with no real actions taken to the implementation of the said solution. The international positions are considered to be a threat for the One – State solution especially that few international positions refuse the idea of a One – State as a solution to solve the Israeli – Palestinian conflict.

Finally, due to all the above conclusions and the strategic analyses, the One – State solution is not a strategic solution for the Israeli – Palestinian conflict.

According to this study, few recommendations were listed:

- Impose the strategic planning in all political decisions taken by the Palestinian government and the Palestinian policy makers.
- Evaluate any other alternative options for the Israeli – Palestinian conflict for future studies.
- Use the strategic planning in any upcoming negotiation process between the Palestinians and the Israelis.

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Personal Interviews

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Mr. Omar Assaf - Member of the Palestinian Democratic Alliance

Mr. Radi Jarai - Founding Member of "The Popular Movement of the One Democratic State on the Historical Land of Palestine"

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Mr. Raed Radwan - Member of the Revolutionary Council

Dr. Tamara Essayyad- Legal Advisor to PLO

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