

SOCIOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE OF PALESTINE-ISRAEL ISSUE IN THE LIGHT OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

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ABSTRACT

Palestine issue has become one of the most controversial and polarizing issue of the modern day international political world. The modern day Israel-Palestine conflict is neither based on thousand year's old historical or biblical conflict between the two states, nor is it a historically deep rooted religious struggle between the Judaism and Islam. The dispute is on the territorial claims, complex modern sociological and political issue regarding sovereignty of nation state entity. This paper will thoroughly examine the background of Palestine issue, role of UN (United Nations) on the Palestine issue, meditation under USA, existence of the state of Israel, nonexistence of the state of Palestine, suggestions to solve the dispute and the current situation of the conflict in the light of President Donald Trump's recent take on Jerusalem and the International and constitutional legal debates on Jerusalem and its effect on the world politics and diplomatic relations.

Keywords: *Palestine, Conflict, Occupation, Israel, International Law, Arab League, United Nations, Organization of Islamic Countries, United States, Mediation*

INTRODUCTION

Palestinian Background

Owing to the vastness of the background of the Palestine-Israel issue, as far as the Palestinian background is concerned the restoration of the Kingdom was done by Sultan Saladin during the third crusade in 1192. Then Jerusalem was taken over by the Ottoman Empire in 1517 and it remained so under the charge of Ottoman Empire till 1917.

Jews Background (The Rise of a Jews State and the Conflicts between the Jews and Palestinians)

The rise of the Jews with respect to the Palestinian issue goes back to 1799 when Napoleon offered Jews, Palestine as a homeland. In 1882 a major

incident happened in this regard which was the establishment of Rishon Le Zion (A major Zionist Settlement) in Palestine. Another important incident in this regard was the Der Judenstaat publishment by Theodor Herzl in 1896 which demanded the creation of a Jewish state. These incidents led to the creation of the first ever Zionist Congress in 1897 in Switzerland and thus the first Zionist organization was formed. In 1907, Zionist leader Chaim Weizmann visited Palestine for the first time. This was the time when the conflict started to take its roots and Palestinian people started opposing the Zionist colonization, a Palestinian writer Najib Nassar published Al-Karmel newspaper opposing the Jewish colonization in Palestine in 1908. In 1905, a Zionist British cabinet member Herbert Samuel wrote “The Future of Palestine” a secret Memorandum calling his cabinet colleagues to support the settlement of the Jews in Palestine (Asirvatham, 1954).

Zionism

Zionism is basically a movement for (originally) the re-settlement and re-establishment of the Jewish nation and (now) the development and protection of a Jewish nation in a territory what is now Israel. The term “Zionism” was first coined in 1885 and Theodor Herzl was the initiator of this term and movement.

Objective of the Research

Sole objective of the research is to provide the readers a true understanding of this contemporary Global Sociological and Political Issue to help in deciding picking up a narrative in the Palestine Israel conflict, and to provide suggestions for a peaceful solution of this issue.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Mainly exploratory and analytical methodology is followed during the research; a genuine effort is made to include all the relevant date from the relevant books available in the library of University of Punjab, articles from national Newspapers and journals have also been consulted in this regard. Internet has also been of great help during the research to access the different sources and materials related to the topic and also it helped in understanding the views of people of different perspectives and backgrounds to analyze the issue.

WORLD WAR TREATIES

Sykes Picot Agreement

This pact was officially known as the Asia Minor Agreement. It was a secret treaty between the UK and France which sited to divide the Ottoman

Empire into British and French control in 1916.

Anglo Arab Agreement

In this treaty the British and France promised the Arab population an offer of independence if they fight against the Ottoman Empire. As a result in 1916, the head of the Arab nationalist, Sharif Hussein initiated the great Arab revolt against the Ottoman rule.

The Balfour Declaration

On 2nd November 1917, the British cabinet approved a statement, allowing the Jewish settlement in Palestine in the middle of WW1. It is considered the origin of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

King Crane Commission

It was the first US interference into the politics of the Post-Ottoman Middle East. It was suggested by the President Woodrow Wilson. It was an attempt to resolve the issues between British and France. Henry Churchill King and Charles R. Crane were the US commissioners and their findings were ignored by the peace negotiators.

Mandate System

League of Nations ordered the division of the Ottoman Empire into two parts and called this division as mandate. These parts were administered by the British and France, under the league's supervision. Iraq and Palestine were awarded to Britain and Syria and Lebanon were given under the administration of France. Britain made two entities of Palestine in 1921. With one naming Emirate of Transjordan (later simply 'Jordan') and the other was located in the western half of Palestine. In this part Palestinian Arabs and Zionist Jews started fighting for the land control under the British mandate.

INCREASE OF THE ZIONIST IMMIGRATION

When the Nazis gained power in Germany and started killing the Jews. The German and their collaborators killed 6 million Jews approximately. A mass Jews immigration started towards the Palestine. During the period of 1933 to 1936 most number of Jews immigrated to the Palestine than in any other part of the world. Figures show that 154300 Jews migrated to Palestine legally and with them thousands entered illegally. The number increased immensely as the proportion of Jews in Palestine in 1931 was 17% to 30% by 1935 (Brown, Fourest, & Hovdenak, 2018).

ARABS REVOLT IN PALESTINE (AGAINST BRITISH MANDATE)

In 1936, Arabs began revolting against the British mandate which lasted till the outbreak of the Second World War. During this period new Palestinian political parties were formed like Arab Higher Committee, which was headed by the Mufti AL Hajj Amin Al-Husseini. But this major resistance wasn't very successful as British government continued to issue permits to several thousand new immigrants.

WWII JEWISH RESISTANCE TO BRITISH MANDATE

At the start of Second World War both Palestinians and Zionists regarded the British mandate as British Imperialism and an enemy of freedom. Jewish started attacking British troops, police and supply depots and by 1944, they started bombing the British installations.

Haganah

Haganah was a Jewish paramilitary force established in 1920, with the prime task to defend the Jewish settlement and its size was approximately 21000. It became the core of Israel defense force (IDF) in the pre-independence period. On the other hand, Arab revolt was about to protect the British mandate in Palestine and post WWII they started anti-British mandate.

British took the matter of Palestine to UN

British was unable to compensate its conflicting obligations to both Arabs and Jews, so it took the matter to UN in 1947. A special committee was set up by UN in this regard named (UNSCOP). Its sole purpose was to have a view on the situation and submit the proposals to solve the issue by unbiased investigation. The commission proposed two suggestions; one was a federal state plan and the other one was partition plan, the later got passed by vote.

ROLE OF UN IN PALESTINE ISRAEL ISSUE

The partition plan by UN was passed by votes and on 29th November 1947, the UN General Assembly partitioned the Western Palestine into two states. One for the Palestinian Arabs and the other to the Jews (Brown et al., 2018). Jerusalem becomes an international enclave under UN trusteeship. The Palestinians and the surrounding Arabs rejected the partition.

ISRAEL'S DECLARATION OF ITS INDEPENDENCE

On 14th May 1948, at 4 O'clock afternoon in the Art Museum of Tel Aviv in front of the leaders of Yishuv, David Ben Gurion read the Declaration of Independent state and proclaimed the establishment of the Jewish state in Palestine to be called Medinat Israel – the State of Israel.

ARAB ISRAEL WARS

1948 War

Right after Israel declared its independence it was attacked by five Arab countries (Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon and Jordan) which led to the first Arab Israel war in 1948. The war resulted into the defeat of the Arabs by the hands of Israel and Israel ended up capturing all the land which UN designated to the Palestine. Cease fire agreement ended up the fighting but the Arabs refused to sign the peace treaty. No Arab country recognized the Israeli state and around 750000 Palestinian refugees fled to the Arab states.

1956 War

In 1956, Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal; Israel, Britain and France attacked the Egypt and captured the Sinai Peninsula and the canal. US opposed the attack and by combining efforts with UN, US forced a cease fire and withdrawal from Sinai (Rowley & Taylor, 2006).

The Six Day War

The famous Six Day War was fought between the Israel and the neighboring states of Arab (known at that time as United Arab Republic), Jordan and Syria. The results were disastrous for the Palestinians and the Arabs. Israel won the war swiftly and decisively and took the control of Gaza Strip and the Sinai Peninsula from Egypt. Israel also annexed Jerusalem and the Golan Heights. The war resulted in heavy Arab loss (Gasirowski, 2014).

Yom Kippur War 1973

The fourth war between Israel and the Arabs started on 6th October 1973. The attack was a surprise by Egypt and Syria as most of the Israeli soldiers were away from their posts observing the Yom Kippur. The Arabs equipped with up to date Soviet weaponry moved swiftly by making impressive advances and in few days the Palestine was fully mobilized. On 25th October the cease fire was forced by the UN.

Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)

PLO has been the national movement of the Palestine people it has operated as an umbrella organization for six Palestinian groups most prominently Yasir Arafat's Fatah group and in its early years it was heavily influenced by the Egypt. It was established in 1964. In 1969, Yasir Arafat was elected as Chairman of PLO. In 1970-71, PLO was barred from Jordan, and it moved to Lebanon from there. On 28th October 1974, the Arab League recognized the

PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. In March 1978, Israel invaded Lebanon in response to the PLO attack. On 13th September 1993, Oslo Peace Accord was signed between Israel and PLO. Subsequently, on the 4th May 1994 Cairo Agreement was signed between Israel and PLO.

HAMAS

Hamas is a Palestinian Militant Islamist group. It was established during the first Intifada 1987. The sole purpose and manifesto of Hamas is the destruction of Israel. It is named as a terrorist organization by Israel, the US, Canada and Japan. On 16th April 1993, Hamas completed the first suicide bombing attack within Israel. On 27th March 2002, a suicide attack killed 30 Israeli civilians and due to these continued attacks Hamas has been designated as a terrorist organization. On 22nd March 2004, Hamas founder Sheikh Ahmed Yassin was killed by an airstrike initiated by the Israeli army. On 26th January 2006, Hamas won the Palestinian Parliamentary elections. In June 2007 Hamas took over Gaza.

Peace Process between Israel and Palestine

It has been divided the peace process between Israel and Palestine in two parts.

PEACE PROCESS IN THE LATE 20TH CENTURY

UN Resolution

“Termination of all claims or states of belligerency”

UN Resolution 242

UN resolution included the Palestinian people with the involvement of General Assembly and PLO. It stated the Right of self-determination without any pressure of external interference and right to national sovereignty and independence. It also stated the right to return to their homes and property.

Madrid (1991-93)

This peace process involved USA, Israel and Arab countries. Its initiative was to direct bilateral and multilateral talks between Israel and its neighbors and these talks continued in Washington. Key people in this peace process were George H W Bush, Bill Clinton, Yitzhak Rabin and Yasir Arafat.

Oslo Accord (1993)

This peace process involved USA, Israel and Palestine. The agreement in this meeting was titled as “Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-

Government Arrangements” for the Palestine in the West Bank and Gaza strip.

“We who have fought against you, the Palestinians, we say to you today, in a loud and a clear voice, enough of blood and tears ... enough!” -Yitzhak Rabin

PEACE PROCESS IN 21ST CENTURY

Camp David 2000 Summit

This summit included key people like Yasir Arafat, Ehud Barack and Bill Clinton and was held in Camp David, USA. It stated that the West Bank including only parts of East Jerusalem and the entire Gaza Strip belongs to Palestine. Temple Mount, Jerusalem neighborhoods and Jordan Valley belongs to Israel. The proposal was rejected by the Yasir Arafat and Clinton asked Yasir Arafat to make a counter proposal by the Palestinian government.

Beirut Summit 2002

It was held in Beirut, Lebanon and it was presided over by the Arab leaders it stated that the details of every peace process must directly be disclosed to the people of both countries. The Palestinian Authority must put an end to the terror (Harari, 1962).

The Road Map for Peace

This process was called road map for peace and negotiators in this were European Union, UN, USA and Russia. The process stated that both Israel and Palestine must take independent actions and both authorities must act seriously in this regard.

The Palestinian Authority must undertake visible efforts on the ground to arrest disrupt and restrain individuals and groups conducting and planning violent attacks on the Israelis anywhere (UN News Service, 2020).

Palestinian Israeli talks in 2007 and 2009

This plan is also called the Arab Peace Initiative. It included the key people like Mahmoud Abbas, Ehud Olmert and Benjamin Netanyahu. Olmert proposed to exchange at least 6.3% of Palestinian land in exchange for 5.8% of Israeli land. He also stated that Israel will support the future Palestinian state but in response the Palestinian state will also have to show positive and effective gestures to accept several principles. He demanded to recognize the Israel as a nation state of the Jewish people. He also demanded the demilitarization of Palestine along with additional security guarantees.

Jerusalem will remain the united capital of Israel and Palestinian step back from their claim to a right of return (Rowley & Taylor, 2006).

Direct Talks 2010

These talks were initiated by Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton. The main purposes of these talks were framing an official end to the conflict by a two state solution for the Jewish and Palestinian people. Visible efforts to be made to avoid any forceful interventions and halt to any land claims.

2013-14 Talks

This settlement included that acceptance of 1967 borders and building up of the West Bank and East Jerusalem. The issue of the ratio of land is an issue if dispute as Palestine demands 1:1 ratio and Israel offering less. Hamas and the Palestinian government in Gaza rejected the plan stating that Mahmoud Abbas has no legitimacy to negotiate in the name of Palestine people.

Is the occupation of Palestinian land by the Israel legal or not?

“Before I built a wall I’d ask to know

What I was walling in or walling out,

And to whom I was like to give offence.”

Robert Frost, Mending Wall

In order to provide proper justification to this question history must be revisited. First discuss about the establishment of Israel, and how the state of Israel is under the radar of illegality under international law as a “state”. There are some who claims that Israel as a state has all the legality covered but there are few reasons trying to prove that the establishment of Israel is on illegal terms. These reasons are.

- (1) Israel is not able to have all the clauses of being considered as a state.
- (2) Declaration of a state by intervention into another people territory is something totally against the international law and,
- (3) Israel’s dismissive actions against the right of self-determination (Shindler, 2009). To summarize my claims Israel’s actions of not allowing right of self-determination to the Palestinian people in their territory and occupation of Palestine is totally against the international law, Israel is not capable to have components of state and the occupation is against the UN charter Article 2(4) that means intervening in other peoples’ land and building a state in other peoples’ land is by no means acceptable as per stated in international law (Criddle & Fox-Decent, 2016).

International acceptances to the Montevideo Convention and it states that a well-defined territory is of compulsion in order to be recognized as a state. Israel does not possess any certain land although 181(11) resolution has determined the borders but a major party Arab League doesn't recognize that(Gasiorowski, 2014). Therefore the definite boarders of Israel are not determined and according to the Montevideo Convention Israel doesn't have an important ingredient to be recognized as a state and thus can't legalize any military of political actions. Israel's actions as a "State" are ignoring the doctrine and law because of the use of Force according to the UN charter article 2(4), and the UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338 and UN General Assembly decision 181(11) due to the violations of Palestinian's internationally given territory.

To sum up the actions of Israel are not justified as legal in respect to International Law. As mentioned above Israel doesn't have all the basic ingredients to be recognized as a State. Israel's intervention in some other peoples' territory and removal of the right of self-determination; all comes under the violation of International law and human rights laws. Basing on these arguments in my opinion occupation of Palestinian land by Israel is by no means legal.

THE WAY FORWARD

All the relevant parties associated or linked somehow with this issue including the Palestinian Authority, recognize the right of Israel to protect itself from any external terrorist attacks, however Israel also needs to understand that "terrorism" has not been defined internationally as a crime against the humanity and should not blame and punish Palestinian common people for this. However, all major organizations like UN General Assembly, World Bank, European Union, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch and others have criticized the Barrier for violating the human rights of Palestinians, without adequate justification as the actions of Israel building Barriers in the occupied territories violates both International laws and International humanitarian laws. Israel has not given any adequate justification on security grounds for the construction of these barriers and these are affecting the Palestinians in every way.

THE INTERNATIONAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL LEGAL DEBATES JERUSALEM AND INTERNATIONAL LAW

Introduction

On 6th December 2017, the Office of the Press Secretary, White House

issued the text of the speech of the US President Trump in which he said:

“We finally acknowledge the obvious: that Jerusalem is Israel’s capital. This is nothing more, or less, than recognition of reality. It is also the right thing to do. It’s something that has to be done.” (Landler, 2017).

Building his stance on legal reasoning by referring to the Jerusalem Embassy Act, 1995 (a US law), he declared the recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. Besides challenging the established international legal order, the announcement reversed 70 years of bipartisan foreign policy of the US. No doubt, it was imminently agitated at the United Nations Security Council, where on 8th December, 2017, Nikki Haley, the US Permanent Representative to the United Nations tried to confound the policy by stating that ‘the United States had not taken a position on boundaries or borders, which would still be decided by Israel and the Palestinians’. There is good reason to understand the legalese of the matter as the problem is as legal as political and is likely to affect foreign policies of many countries including Pakistan (Ben-Naftali, Gross, & Michaeli, 2010).

Jerusalem-Historical Outline

Henry Cattán (1906-1992), a noted Palestinian jurist provided a very useful outline of Jerusalem, which is conceptual and as well as comprehensive, he stated:

“Founded by the Canaanites around 1800 B.C., captured by David eight centuries later, destroyed by the Babylonians in 587 B.C., Jerusalem was then successively occupied by the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans (both pagan and Christian), the Arabs and the Turks. It is unique among the cities of the world because of its association with the three monotheistic religions, which have their Holy Places within its precincts (Frantzman, Glueckstadt, & Kark, 2011). As a result, it is of profound religious and spiritual significance to a billion Christians, seven hundred million Muslims and fourteen million Jews. All three ruled the city at one time or another: the Jews for almost five centuries in biblical times, the Christians for over four hundred years in the fourth to the seventh and the twelfth centuries, and the Muslims (Arabs and Turks) for twelve centuries from 638 until 1917 continuously, with the exception of the period when the city was the capital of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.”

The historical outline, for the purpose of the international law, shows that:

1. The Muslims populated the city from 638 to 1917;

2. The city is historically important and religiously unique due to Holy Places that attract the Christians, the Muslims and the Jews alike. The uniqueness of the city was preserved through different legal mechanisms.

ANALYSIS

The intertwined nature of issue of Jerusalem with the Arab-Israel conflict required nuanced analysis. The following is the array of issues:

The State of Palestine

In the era of modern nation states, the starting point about the creation of state of Palestine is the end of Turkish/Ottoman Empire. Legally, it has its origins in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations that read:

“Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration to the selection of the Mandatory.” (The Avalon Project, 2008).

Resultantly, five new states came into being namely Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Transjordan. From the viewpoint of the international law, the state of Palestine is a product of history and customary international law and only its provisional recognition was captured through Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which quintessentially was an international legal treaty. At that time, there was no separate question of Jerusalem before the international community. The later international law developments included the criteria of statehood comprising defined territory, permanent population, government and capacity to conduct international relations as provided by the Convention of Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Duties of the States, 1933; Palestine met the criteria of international law (Habib, 2007).

The Three Legal Entities

Israel, in the era of modern nation states, owed its origins to Balfour Declaration of 1917, which was no more than a public statement favoring establishment of a ‘national home’ for the Jewish people in Palestine. From the point of view of international law, the Declaration by the Britain had no legal value; no rights could be created on the basis of the Declaration. Later, Britain was entrusted the role of a Mandatory Power under Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which fact again did not empower

the Mandatory Power to confer rights to create a state within an established state of Palestine. From the point of view of international law, the questions of creation of state of Israel and internationalization of city of Jerusalem emerged after the Second World War. After the Second World War, the United Nations Organization was established through its Charter in 1945 and succeeded the obligations of the League of Nations. One of the succeeded obligations was with respect to the continuation of mandates, in which, inter alia, the question of Britain's Mandatory Power in relation to Palestine also came before the United Nations.

The legal story begins hereafter insomuch as a special session of the United Nations General Assembly was requested by the Britain, on the nudging of the United States to facilitate the immigration of Jews to Palestine. Important point worth noting is that the special session was held on 28th April, 1947 and authorized the constitution of United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP). The UNSCOP prepared a Report, in which a Plan of Partition with Economic Union (POP) was proposed. The UNSCOP's Plan of Partition with Economic Union (POP) was later on endorsed and annexed with the General Assembly's Resolution 181. The POP was clearly not a legally binding treaty, but its endorsement by the UNGA provided it some degree of legality. The relevant salient features of the POP, for our discussion, are: (a) It ended the mandate of the Britain on Palestine; (b) It provided for independence of three legal entities: (1) The Arab State; (2) The Jewish State; and (3) The Special International Regime for the City of Jerusalem. The indication of the Special International Regime for the City of Jerusalem in Para 3 of the Part I (A) of the POP as annexed to UNGA Resolution 181 clearly shows that Jerusalem did get different treatment. The different and unique treatment was further qualified by declaring Jerusalem as *corpus separatum* in the same document. The scholars on the subject style the development as the internationalization of Jerusalem. Thereafter, in 1948, parts of Jerusalem were occupied by Jordan and Israel, but the special and unique internationalization of Jerusalem was kept intact by UNGA Resolutions 194 and 303 (Salavert, 2008).

Occupation by Israel

The Six-Days Arab-Israel War of 1967 altered the legal landscape of the Arab-Israel conflict. The whole territory occupied by Israel was treated by international lawyers occupied territory in war. They thus applied the Fourth Geneva Convention applicable to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, 1949 to Israel and specifically relied on Article 49(6) of the Convention that states:

“The occupying power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies” (Amnesty International, 2019).

The addition of application of international humanitarian law regime to the UN sanctioned three legal entities Plan of Partition, however, did not change the legal status of Jerusalem, which was guarded by the international community carefully. The latest testament to this careful diplomatic and balanced approach of the international community was the UNSC Resolution 2234 of 2016. The UNSC Resolution 2234 reaffirmed as many as 10 UNSC Resolutions since 1967 (UNSC Resolutions 242(1967), 338 (1973), 446 (1979), 452 (1979), 465 (1980), 476 (1980), 478 (1980), 1397 (2002), 1515 (2003), and 1850 (2008) and, inter alia, stated that the UNSC:

- A. Reaffirms that the establishment by Israel of settlements in the Palestinian territory occupied since 1967, including East Jerusalem, has no legal validity and constitutes a flagrant violation under international law and a major obstacle to the achievement of the two-State solution and a just, lasting and comprehensive peace;
- B. Underlines that it will not recognize any changes to the 4th June 1967 lines, including with regard to Jerusalem, other than those agreed by the parties through negotiations;

Jerusalem, therefore, warranted separate treatment and the international law on the point based on the international consent channelized through the UN system could not be arbitrarily set aside, more so because the US had consented to its development (Shaw, 2016).

The Municipal Law versus the International Law

The municipal law of the US is at best ambiguous on the issue of powers to make foreign policy; within the four corners of the US Constitution, the primacy of the office of the President in foreign policy making against the role of the Congress has been subject of much debate. More often than not, ambivalence occupies this debate. In this context, the Jerusalem Embassy Act, 1995 invocation to justify abandonment of the international law does not hold any substance. Notwithstanding this opaqueness in the US legal system, the question is that can a state invoke its municipal law to abrogate its international legal obligations emanating out of its consent proffered at international fora? Academically, the UNGA and UNSC resolutions where plenipotentiaries of the US gave their express consent be treated as having legal value at par with an international legal instrument of the nature of an

international treaty; if that be the case, Article 27 of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, 1969 provides that the internal law cannot be invoked to justify failure to perform a treaty.

CONCLUSION

The stance of the US has put the international legal order at peril; the idealism of the yesteryears is giving way to realpolitik, which is both immoral and amoral. The net and imminent results of the actions of the US are likely to roll back all that was achieved legally by Israel as the determining factor will be force and not the law. Unfortunately, the language of extremism is force and not the law, therefore, the only conclusion is that extremism begets extremism.

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