

The Failure of Peaceful Coexistence Plans (1937-1947) between the Israelis and Palestinians: Religious and Historical Point of Views; A Preliminary study

Khaled Abdelhay Elsayed

Master of Islamic Studies-Department of Dakwa and Leadership- UKM-Malaysia
PhD Candidate - Peace and Conflict Studies-IKRAB Institute-UKM-Malaysia

ABSTRACT: *This paper argues a preliminary study of the failure of peaceful coexistence plans (1937-1947) between the Israelis and Palestinians: religious and historical point of views, and try to answer that; what were the religious and historical point of views which caused the failure of peaceful coexistence plan between the Israelis and Palestinians, to reject the Peel partition plan 1937, Woodhead partition plans a, b and c 1938, and United Nations partition plan for Palestine 1947 to be two peoples, one state, or two states in one land or even as a bi-national. Moreover, the researcher uses the historical chronology and qualitative literature review to investigate this argues. Finally, this study concludes that there are high value to deal with the religious and historical reasons which caused the failure of peaceful coexistence plans between the Israelis and Palestinians. Finally, it is to be hoped that the present study will serve to stimulate others to go further in the direction of spreading the values of peace and reasons of peaceful coexistence.*

Keywords: *Failure, Peaceful Coexistence Plans, Israelis, Palestinians, Point of Views, Preliminary Study.*

I. BACKGROUND

The researcher reviews some of the previous attempts of proposals and agreements to promote peace and peaceful coexistence between Palestinians and Israelis as follows:

Balfour declaration, November 1917: in Great Britain itself, Zionism could count on the sympathies of influential circles that saw Palestine as the land of the Bible and homeland of the Jews, (Kramer; 2008). As the British policy during the war years became gradually committed to the idea of the establishment of Jewish home in Palestine. After discussions on cabinet level and consultation with Jewish leaders, the decision was made known in the form of letter by Lord Balfour (1848-1930) to Lord Rothschild, (Liqueur &Rubin; 2008).That letter included that “his majesty’s government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object.....” (Liqueur& Rubin; 2008).

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

1922 the Council of the League of Nations agreed to the text of British Mandate of Palestine. The Palestine order-in-Council of 1 September separated Palestine from the Emirate of Transjordan, (Kattan; 2009). In 1922, Britain barred Jewish settlement in the Transjordan section of the Palestine Mandate. Thus, the area available for a Jewish homeland was reduced by more than 75%. During the British Mandate period, idealistic Jewish Zionists immigrated to develop the land, as well as, to escape persecution in Europe that preceded the Holocaust. At the same period, too, the Arab population nearly doubled from natural increase and immigration from neighboring Arab countries. The Jewish population formed community organizations, labor unions, political bodies, and built roads, schools, hospitals and other infrastructure for an independent state. Arab

resistance to Jewish immigration grew, causing the British to sharply limit Jewish immigration, (www.icsresources.org). The Shaw report 1929: this commission was headed by Sir Walter Shaw, and found the reason for the conflict and unrest to be the aggravated landless class of Arabs, who were fearful of Zionism and dispossession. The commission suggested controlled Jewish immigration, a precisely laid-out Arab policy, and the cessation of evicting Arabs from land transfers, (Harms; 2008). The Hope-Simpson commission 1930: this inquiry attributed the violence to Zionist labor policy of making Jewish-bought land inalienable created Arab unemployment. The conclusion and recommendations were more or less identical to the Shaw report, (Harms; 2008). The Passfield White Paper 1930: this white paper suggested limits on Jewish immigration, and concessions regarding the settling of landless Arabs, (Harms; 2008).

The 1939 White Paper: this paper envisaged a Jewish national home in Palestine, with controlled Jewish immigration for five years, and the implementation of Arab-Jewish self-governing institutions. The 1939 White Paper was rejected by both sides. (Harms; 2008). The second World War 1939-1945: this event had more to do with European history and less with Middle Eastern affairs. The effects were certainly felt in Palestine-increased Jewish immigration, changes in British policy, etc. (Harms; 2008). The Alexandria protocol in 1944 by the Arab league: Palestine was the subject of a resolution that stated "Palestine constitutes an important part of the Arab world and that the rights of the (Palestinians) arabs cannot be touched without prejudice to peace and stability in the Arab world..... (Harms; 2008). 1946 the Anglo-American committee: it recommended that Palestine 'shall be neither a Jewish state nor an Arab state' (Kattan; 2009). The United Nations Special Committee for Palestine (UNSCOP): it recommended the partition of Palestine between an Arab and a Jewish state. The UN then asked an ad hoc committee to examine the matter. It produced two reports. (Kattan; 2009). In February 1947, Britain asked the fledgling United Nations to address the question of Palestine. Like the Peel Plan of 1937, the majority of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) favored a partition of Palestine into two states, a Jewish one and an Arab one. According to UNSCOP, the Arab state would be about 42% of Palestine and the Jewish one about 55%; the remaining territory, including Jerusalem, would be an international zone. (Jeremy: 2005).

II. SCOPE OF STUDY

The researcher considers that there were many historical opportunities in Palestine since 1937-1947, to achieve coexistence between the Israelis and Palestinians – particularly for Palestinians to gain the most of land and more political/economic interests – but unfortunately, the Palestinians rejected all to get nothing. Hence, this study will deal with three very important peaceful coexistence plans in 1937, 1938, and 1947 between the Israelis and Palestinians, because all of those proposals/plans are considered as practical solutions of Palestine case.

The researcher considers the time frame of this study three partition plans between the two sides in between 1937-1947, whenever the Israelis and Palestinians were struggled to control same piece of land "Palestine", then this study will clarify the condition of Palestine under the British Mandate, and the steps taken by Britain to maintain peaceful coexistence between the Israelis and Palestinians. Historically and religiously, the Palestinians view were that only they had the right to control the land in Palestine, on the other hand, the Israelis view also that the ancient Jews since Prophet Isaac, Israel "ya'qoub", and later the children of Israel lived in this holy land, all of that according to Holy Quran and Torah.

For this account, determination of the religious and historical point of views which caused the failure of peaceful coexistence Plans, through reviewing of the three plans peel commission in 1937, Woodhead commission plan a, b, and c in 1938 and United Nations partition plan in 1947, as a previous workable solution of peaceful coexistence between the two sides.

Research Methodology

The researcher will argue this study through the qualitative methods and interviews to collect the data; the qualitative research is especially effective in obtaining culturally specific information about the values, opinions, behaviors, and social contexts of particular populations. In addition to, the strength of qualitative research is its ability to provide complex textual descriptions of how people experience a given research issue. It provides information about the "human" side of an issue – that is, the often contradictory behaviors, beliefs, opinions, emotions, and relationships of individuals. Qualitative methods are also effective in identifying intangible factors, such as social norms, socioeconomic status, gender roles, ethnicity, and religion (https://www.google.com.my/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=3&cad=rja&sqi=2&ved=0CD0QFjAC&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.ccs.neu.edu%2Fcourse%2Fis4800sp12%2Fresources%2Fqualmethods.pdf&ei=IqUwUfFXj_CtB7D3gdAP&usq=AFQjCNEmlrwUGuLng8h31vnRRZ8K01gbsQ&sig2=DRzavOUrVo2A7SxANQ5nyA&bvm=bv.43148975.d.bmk)

In same context, qualitative research allows the subjects being studied to give much 'richer' answers to questions put to them by the researcher, and may give valuable insights which might have been missed by any other

method. Not only does it provide valuable information to certain research questions in its own right but there is a strong case for using it to complement quantitative research methods. The researcher laid out the research methods and data collection, strategy and instrument, and data analysis methods and analysis. This study uses qualitative data collected through libraries, publications journals, books, conference papers, thesis, online libraries, etc. As the researcher will start-according to Busha & Harter by the recognition of historical problem or the identification of a need for certain historical knowledge, and gathering of as much relevant information about the problem or topic as possible, then if appropriate, the forming of hypothesis that tentatively explain relationships between historical factors, in addition to the rigorous collection and organization of evidence, and the verification of the authenticity and veracity of information and its sources, also the selection, organization, and analysis of the most pertinent collected evidence, and the drawing of conclusions; and the recording of conclusions in a meaningful narrative.

The researcher also will discuss the default that if both the Palestinian and Israeli sides had accepted peel peaceful coexistence plan, Woodhead plan or even the United Nations, the bi-national federal state or two states in one land would be witnessed today. Another point of concern for this study is that while Islam encourages and orders Muslims to make peace with the neighboring countries, but unfortunately, most of Arabs especially Palestinians are talking about war, so the real outcome is that Palestinians lost everything from the beginning right now, because their leaders have actually talked about “all or nothing,” then they gained nothing. On the other hand, the Israelis leaders were talking about the Jewish dream, which they achieved in the Holy land.

In same context, the researcher is going to conduct his study according to historical approach, where he starts to collect most of available historical documents which includes the three partition plans, like the foreign British documents, relevant books, references, journals, publications, and conference’s papers from UKM library, and other libraries. The study also uses qualitative research methodology. Qualitative data are essences of people, objects, and situations (Berg,1989) and sources of well-grounded, rich descriptions and explanations of processes occurring in local contexts (Abed;2006).

So the researcher will depend on the qualitative research interview for collecting important data which related to this study, because the interview seeks to (Valenzuela,& Shrivastava) describe and the meanings of central themes in the life world of the subjects. The main task in interviewing is to understand the meaning of what the interviewees say. In addition to, A qualitative research interview seeks to cover both a factual and a meaning level, though it is usually more difficult to interview on a meaning level (Valenzuela,& Shrivastava). Then the researcher will interview a number “for example three” of religious, nationalists and secularists scholars from both sides, to identify a various historical and religious point of views which lead to the failure of peaceful coexistence plans between the Israelis and Palestinians, because the interview is focused on particular themes, so a semi-structured interview guide (Marsiglio) is used. Thus, it is neither strictly structured with standardized questions, nor entirely “non-directive.” Subsequent interviews can introduce new questions. The researcher agree with Remenyi (2011) that a successful academic research interview can be a positive experience for both the researcher and the informant and produce insightful data which may be converted to an interview transcript which is suitable for academic analysis. The objective of the interview is to acquire data or evidence which will be used to help answer the research question. As this data will be verbal the researcher needs to capture it as quickly as possible (Remenyi;2011).

Finally, the unstructured interview is conducted in conjunction with the collection of observational data; semi-structured interviews are often the sole data source for a qualitative research project²¹ and are usually scheduled in advance at a designated time and location outside of everyday events (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree;2006).

III. LITERATURE REVIEW

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

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

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

- **General overview of an Israeli-Palestinian conflict:**

As the researcher referred to the interesting topic of this study, which titled "the failure of peaceful coexistence plan (1937-1947) between the Israelis and Palestinians: religious and historical point of views", and after the reviewing of literature review, the researcher demonstrates that all of previous studies can help partially not entirely in this study "referring to; the failure- peaceful coexistence plan- the Israelis and Palestinians- religious and historical point of views- the Peel partition plan 1937- Woodhead partition plans a, b and c 1938- United Nations partition plan for Palestine 1947- two peoples in one land/ bi-national".

Regarding to the three peaceful coexistence plans (1937, 1938, and 1947), the researcher reviews some of the important categories like; contents, Goals "generalization" (Randolph;2009) because some of those studies aim to reach results that can be generalized in the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians. However, some of them cannot be generalized, moreover perspective; as there is a difference and divergence in perspective for the current and former researchers regarding the issue of peaceful coexistence between Israelis and Palestinians in the Holy Land, and the possible solutions in this specific issue like the neutral representation, where the weather of issue in the failure of peaceful coexistence plans (1937-1947) between the Israelis and Palestinians: religious and historical point of views, there are several previous studies is largely neutral - from the point of view of the researcher, and espousal of position, because some researchers have overall view in supporting the peace between the Israelis and Palestinians, or support a particular trend against the other side, but never dealt with the failure of peaceful coexistence plans (1937-1947) between them, but almost considered views of the possibilities of spreading peaceful coexistence, and the wishes of sustained peace by equality between both sides.

The researcher considers in the issue of coverage that there are no previous studies that covered the current topic "the failure of peaceful coexistence plans (1937-1947) between the Israelis and Palestinians: religious and historical point of views" through two categories, the first, "Exhaustive" as there is no comprehensive or exhaustive study – from all available sources - of the peaceful coexistence of the three plans 1937, 1938, and 1947 between the two sides, moreover the statement/ clarifying of the failure of peaceful coexistence between them, Only a state of the historical narrative/ enumeration of the peace plans/agreements/proposals/accords between the two sides. The second is "Exhaustive with selective citation", Nevertheless, there are exhaustive studies with selective citation, so the researcher can review all of the above terms as follow:

"The failure of the middle east peace process" argued by Guy Ben-Porat (2008). Porat dealt with the failure of the Middle East peace process. A comparative analysis of peace implementation in Israel/Palestine, Northern Ireland and South Africa, through some contents such as; structural explanations, the dynamics of peace, and success and failure, as Porat's book examines the gap between agreements and actual peace by focusing on the different aspects of implementation and of the causes of success or failure of peace processes. Porat concluded that "the success of a peace process is measured, first, by its ability to end violence and, second, by its ability to create the institutions and support structures that would discourage the parties from taking up arms again.

His work also pointed to different explanations of the success or failure of the peace process, from macro-structural explanations that highlight regional advantages to micro studies of pacification and negotiation. Structural explanations point to the disadvantages of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that, different from some expectations, demonstrates that partition is far from simple. While partitions carry an illusion of finality, they are often a temporary solution that fails to engage the deep roots of the conflict. Partition is problematic, as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict demonstrates, if boundaries are disputed, uprooting of populations with material, and emotional damage is solved, if inequality remains high and attributed to past injustices and when past grievances

are not addressed. Porat's view is that there is a situation of failing in the peace process especially between the Israelis and Palestinians, so the researcher considers that Porat's work can help the current study in determining of the causes of success and failure of peace processes between the Israelis and Palestinians.

“We can have peace in the holy land”, argued by Carter (2009).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“From coexistence to conquest; international law and the origins of the Arab-Israeli conflict, 1891-1949”, authored by Kattan (2009). Kattan's book dealt with; anti- Semitism, colonialism and Zionism, Palestine and scramble for the Middle East, Arab opposition to political Zionism, the Hussein-McMahon correspondence, the question of self-determination, the partition of Palestine, the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Palestinian refugees, and

the creation of Israel. By the way, Kattan described the situation in Palestine that “..it is lamentable that Palestine, the center for the three monotheistic religions is a place of conflict rather than a place of pilgrimage. However, he concluded that “if the two-state solution is to be realistic and viable today, it will entail territorial concessions from Israel. Kattan’s study cannot be generalized in the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians, but it represented largely in this area; Kattan’s work can be described as an exhaustive study with selective citation.

Meanwhile, Kattan’s view was “Palestine was essentially a British experiment in demographic engineering and it was this factor above all which has led to the present predicament, something which successive Israeli governments have continued through their settlement policy. And tinkering with national demographics is a very dangerous practice indeed. One has only to think of the Balkans, the Kurds in Iraq, the Chinese in Tibet and numerous other territories where demographic engineering has led to violent confrontation. In a world as divided as today, it is lamentable that Palestine, the center for the three monotheistic religions is a place of conflict rather than a place of pilgrimage.

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

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

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

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

Pappé’s work included some contents such as; a new look at modern Palestine and Israel, social tranquility and political drama 1856-1900, between Tyranny and war 1900-1918, the mandatory state: colonialism, nationalization and cohabitation, between Nakbah and independence: the 1948 war, the age of partition 1948-1967, greater Israel and occupied Palestine: the rise and fall of high politics 1967-1987, the uprising and its political consequences 1987-1996, and conclusion: post-Oslo Palestine and Israel, then his view is “a direct dialogue between the dispossessed and the state that expelled them can refresh the discourse of peace and may led people and leadership alike to acknowledge the need to seek a united political structure which, at different historical juncture in this story, has seemed possible”, but this study cannot be generalized in the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians.

Pappé concluded that “the end of the twentieth century saw the barometer of peace swing frantically between hope and despair in a land torn apart by conflict. In practice, none of the programmes turned into a chapter in nation-building. Israeli commentators were quick to note that the political culture of the Palestinian leadership under Yasser Arafat – a culture of corruption and dictatorship in their eyes – was the principle cause of the failure.

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

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

Strawson’s book dealt with; making Palestine: mapping the Middle East, mandate Palestine, the United Nations partition plan, law of war, partition by force, from mutual denial to mutual recognition, negotiating Palestine, Strawson see that “creating two states that provide security for both peoples. All those who insist on recycling the old narratives will delay the decolonizing of Palestine and lay the basis for the next war”, but this study cannot be generalized in the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians, and it considered also largely representation of that issue, Strawson’s work can be considered as an exhaustive study with selective citation. Strawson concluded that: “international law must be used to foster dialogue and contact on the basis of equality, self-determination and human rights. In this context tough action will have to be taken to address the Israeli colonial settlements, the right of refugees to return to the Palestinian state and ending the conflict. It must be achieved by creating two states that provide security for both peoples. All those who insist on recycling the old narratives will delay the decolonizing of Palestine and lay the basis for the next war”, in addition, Strawson’s work will be very useful to the current study in dealing with UN partition plan and the possible solutions.

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

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

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

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

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

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

“According to David Lloyd George, then British Prime Minister, the Balfour Declaration implied that the whole of Palestine, including Transjordan, should ultimately become a Jewish state. Transjordan had, nevertheless, been severed from Palestine in 1922 and had subsequently been set up as an Arab kingdom.

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

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

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

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

- **The academic gap between this study and the previous works**

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

IV. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As argued on above, the researcher explains his study problem, as he will search in the failure of peaceful coexistence plans (1937-1947) between the Israelis and Palestinians as a religious and historical point of views, during debating of the Peel partition plan 1937, Woodhead partition plans a, b and c 1938, and United Nations partition plan for Palestine 1947 to be two peoples, one state, or two states in one land or even as a bi-national.

In this study there are many variables such as: failure, peaceful coexistence plans, Israelis, Palestinians, religious and historical point of views. While the three partition plans of peel, Woodhead, UN all considered as invariable items. Regarding the qualitative methods which will be used in this study, the researcher prefers to categorize all variables in two categories; “Dependent” variables like; peaceful coexistence principles, of peel commission, Woodhead commission, UN partition plan, and “Independent” variables like; reasons, failure, Israeli leaders, Palestinian leaders, religious and historical point of views.

The researcher, here, will review the current study by using two essential theories; the cognitive dissonance, and Social comparison theory developed by Leon Festinger, in terms of:

Surprising as it may seem, there are many sacred/religious texts in Islam and Judaism, which urged all of them to accept the treaty of peace and peaceful coexistence with others, but there was a contradiction between the theoretical belief and the practice, which considered – from view of the researcher- as a cognitive dissonance, then the researcher applies the Theory of Cognitive Dissonance. The Cognitive Dissonance Theory developed by Leon Festinger (1957) is concerned with the relationships among cognitions. For the purpose of

this theory, may be thought of as a piece of knowledge. The knowledge may be about an attitude, an emotion, a behavior, a value, and so on.

Then on the reality of the Palestinians and Israelis, both of them rejected the principles/plans of peaceful coexistence, whilst the cognitive dissonance is a discomfort caused by holding conflicting ideas, simultaneously. The Theory of Cognitive Dissonance also proposes that people have a motivational drive to reduce dissonance. They do this by changing their attitudes; beliefs, and actions, dissonance is also reduced by justifying, blaming, and denying. According to cognitive dissonance theory, there is a tendency for individuals to seek consistency among their cognitions "beliefs, opinions... etc." When there is an inconsistency between attitudes or behaviors "dissonance", something must change to eliminate the dissonance. In the case of a discrepancy between attitudes and behavior, it is most likely that the attitude will change to accommodate the behavior. The central proposition of Festinger's theory is that if a person holds two cognitions that are inconsistent with one another, he will experience the pressure of an aversive motivational state called cognitive dissonance, a pressure which he will seek to remove, among other ways, by altering one of the two dissonant cognitions (Kowol), The theory of cognitive dissonance may shed light on the enormous power of cult leaders. The Theory of Cognitive Dissonance is one of the most significant and influential theories in the history of social psychology (Kowol).

In addition to this, both of the Palestinians and Israelis believe that everyone has the best and correct religion, history, nationality, and ethnic,....., then it always causes the rejection of peaceful coexistence plans to live together in one or two states in one land, so the researcher requires to display using the Social comparison theory proposed by social psychologist Leon Festinger in 1954. This theory explains how individuals evaluate their own opinions and desires by comparing themselves to others, as the social comparison theory is the idea that there is a drive within individuals to look at outside images in order to evaluate their own opinions and abilities. These images may be a reference to physical reality or in comparison to other people. People look to the images portrayed by others to be obtainable and realistic, and subsequently, make comparisons among themselves, others and the idealized images.

Social comparisons (Corcoran, Crusius & Mussweiler; 2011) - comparisons between the self and others - are a fundamental psychological mechanism influencing people's judgments, experiences, and behavior. People constantly engage in social comparisons. Whenever they are confronted with information about how others are, what others can and cannot do, or what others have achieved and have failed to achieve, they relate this information to themselves. Likewise, whenever they want to know how they themselves are or what they themselves can and cannot do, they do so by comparing their own characteristics, fortunes, and weaknesses to those of others. Festinger set out to answer questions such as why do people talk, to whom do they talk, and what is the result of their talking (Wheeler, 1970). He hypothesized that communication primarily serves to reach agreement in the group and that this pressure toward uniformity of opinion is based on two reasons; first, the need for group locomotion makes it necessary that all of the group members hold similar opinions and, second, there exists a need to agree on a social reality, because this would validate the accuracy of one's individual opinions and preferences. Therefore, the researcher sees that the two theories may be of help to identify the failure of peaceful coexistence plans (1937-1947) between the Israelis and Palestinians as a religious and historical point of views.

V. CONCLUSION

The Palestinian cause or the Palestinian-Israeli conflict considers the most significant issue in the Middle East for all Muslims/Arabs and Israelis. where there are several studies, books, and findings which related to that conflict, but this study addresses the failures of peaceful coexistence plan between the Israelis and Palestinians: religious and historical point of views are to be traced on the basis of Peel partition plan 1937, Woodhead partition plan a, b and c 1938, and United Nations partition plan for Palestine 1947, in addition to the researcher finds that the ability to identify and analyze those reasons through the previous peace agreements, and perhaps the leaders and peoples can gain some workable solutions to resolve that cause, because that conflict took long time, furthermore, this study considered the first argument in the current time which dealing with religious and historical reasons which caused the failure of peaceful coexistence plans between the Israelis and Palestinians. Finally, it is to be hoped that the present study will serve to stimulate others to go further in the direction of spreading the values of peace and reasons of peaceful coexistence.

REFERENCES

- [1]. Aabed, Adnan. 2006, A Study of Islamic Leadership Theory and Practice in K-12 Islamic Schools in Michigan, Doctor of Philosophy, Department of Educational Leadership and Foundations, Brigham Young University, April 2006.
- [2]. Ben-Porat, Guy. 2008, the Failure Of The Middle East Peace Process, The Van Leer Jerusalem Institute 2008, Publisher: Palgrave Macmillan, ISBN-10: 0230507093, ISBN-13: 978-0230507098.
- [3]. Berg, Bruce L., 2001, Qualitative Research Methods For The Social Sciences, Copyright © 2001,1998,1995,1989 by Allyn & Bacon, A Pearson Education Company, 160 Gould Street, Needham Heights, MA 02494, Internet: www.abacon.com, H61 .B47152000- 300'7'2-dc21- Printed in the United States of America, 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 05 04 03 02.

- [4]. Carter, Jimmy 2009, we can have peace in the holy land, Simon & Schuster paperbacks, New York, NY 10020, manufactured in the United States of America- 10987654321-956.05'4-dc22, 2008048181-ISBN 978-1-4391-4063-5.
- [5]. Corcoran.K., Crusius.J., & Mussweiler,T., 2011. Social Comparison: Motives, Standards, and Mechanisms. in d. chadee (ed), Theories in Social Psychology, (pp.119-139).oxford.uk:wiley-blackwell, First Edition. Edited by Derek Chadee.© 2011 Blackwell Publishing Ltd. Published 2011 by Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- [6]. Enderlin, Charles.2003. Shattered dreams; the failure of the peace process in the Middle East, 1995-2002, library of congress cataloging-in-publication data. ISBN 1-59051-060-7 (hc.)-DS119.76 .E5913 2003- 956.05'3-dc21- 2002032173.
- [7]. Harms, Gregory & Ferry, Todd M. 2008 .the Palestine Israel conflict: a basic introduction, second edition published 2008, new yourk, NY 10010, ISBN 9870745327341 paperback, 1098765.
- [8]. Hertz, Eli E, 2007, Mandate for Palestine"; the legal aspects of Jewish rights to a National Home in Palestine, Copyright © 2007 Myths and Facts, Inc. and Eli E. Hertz. ISBN 10: 0-9741804-2-4, Library of Congress Control Number: 2007930693, Published by: Myths and Facts, Inc. P.O. Box 941, Forest Hills, NY 11375, ww.MythsandFacts.org, Printed in the United States of America.
- [9]. Inbar,, Efraim. 2009. The Rise and Demise of the Two-State Paradigm, Published by Elsevier Limited on behalf of Foreign Policy Research Institute. Spring 2009.
- [10]. Kattan, Victor. 2009. from Coexistence to Conquest – International Law and the Origins of the Arab–Israeli Conflict, 1891–1949, London: Pluto Press, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 456 pp, ISBN 9780745325781, (pb). Doi: 10.1017/S092215651000052X.
- [11]. Kelman,Herbert C.2007. The Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process and Its Vicissitudes; Insights From Attitude Theory, May-June 2007 • American Psychologist,
- [12]. Copyright 2007 by the American Psychological Association 0003-066X/107/\$12.00 va.62, No.4. 287-303 DOI: 10.1037/0003-066X.62.4.287
- [13]. Klein, Menachem. 2007, A possible peace between Israel and Palestine; an insider's account of the Geneva initiative, Colombia university press. ISBN 978-0-231-13904-5 (cloth: alk.paper)-ISBN 978-0-231-51119-3 (e-book)- DSU9.76.K52132006-956.9405'4-dc22-2007013143. c10 987654321.
- [14]. Liqueur, Walter & Rubin, Barry. 2008. The Israel-Arab Reader; a Documentary History of the Middle East conflict, published by the penguin group, ISBN 978-0-14-311379-9. 5791086- Printed in the United States of America.
- [15]. Mitchell, Nicholas Ensley, 2007.Towards Nakba: the failure of the British mandate of Palestine, 1922-1939, Mitchell, Nicholas Ensley, Masters of Arts, Summer Commencement, 2007 (a thesis).
- [16]. Morris, Benny, 2009, one state, two states; resolving the Israel/ Palestine conflict, printed in the United States of America- DS119.7.M6565 2009-9569405'4-dc22, 2008040285-10987654321
- [17]. Pappé, Ilan, 2004.A history of modern Palestine, one land, two peoples, Cambridge university press, printed in the United States of America- ISBN 0 521556325 paperback.
- [18]. Strawson,John.2010. Partitioning Palestine; legal fundamentalism in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, first published 2010 by Pluto press, New York, NY 10010, ISBN 9780745323237 paperback, 10987654321.

LINKS:

- [1]. Busha, Charles & Harter, Stephen,
- [2]. <http://www.gslis.utexas.edu/~palmquis/courses/historical.htm>
- [3]. Kowol, Adam. The theory of cognitive dissonance,
- [4]. https://www.google.com.my/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CDkQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fadamkowol.info%2Fworks%2FFestinger.pdf&ei=iGXiUMvBAAtGtrAf-oIHgDQ&usq=AFQjCNE83jtT6bE2a5mfgOIEi1acmfLtiA&sig2=dHXaPs2mDMeaJW_vBYSNhw&vm=bv.1355534169.d.bmk
- [5]. DiCicco-Bloom, Barbara & Crabtree, Benjamin F. 2006, Making sense of qualitative research, the qualitative research interview, Blackwell Publishing Ltd 2006. MEDICAL EDUCATION 2006; 40: 314–321. <http://www.hu.liu.se/cf/larc/utbildning-information/scientific-methodology/course-literature-and-links/1.253566/qual20interview.pdf>
- [6]. Marsiglio, Dr. William, Conducting Qualitative In-depth Interviews,
- [7]. http://www.clas.ufl.edu/users/marsig/conducting_qual_interviews.PDF
- [8]. Pressman, Jeremy. 2005. A Brief History of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.
- [9]. <http://anacreon.clas.uconn.edu/~pressman/history.pdf>
- [10]. Qualitative Research Methods: A Data Collector's Field Guide,
- [11]. https://www.google.com.my/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=3&cad=rja&sqi=2&ved=0CDQOFjAC&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.ccs.neu.edu%2Fcourse%2Fis4800sp12%2Fresources%2Fqualmethods.pdf&ei=IqUwUfFXj_CtB7D3gdAP&usq=AFQjCNEmlrwUGuLNg8h31vnRRZ8K01gbsQ&sig2=DRzavOUrVo2A7SxANQ5nyA&bvm=bv.43148975.d.bmk
- [12]. Remenyi, Dan PhD, 2011, Field Methods for Academic Research – Interviews, Focus Groups and Questionnaires in Business and Management Studies, , First published March 2011 by Academic Publishing International Ltd, Reading, UK ,info@academic-publishing.org, ISBN: 978-1-906638-96-2. http://academic-publishing.org/pdfs/Field_methods_extract_web_13-5-11.pdf
- [13]. Timeline of the Arab-Israeli Conflict and Peace
- [14]. Process. <http://www.icsresources.org/content/factsheets/ArabIsraeliTimeline.pdf>
- [15]. Valenzuela, Dapzury & Shrivastava, Pallavi, Interview as a Method for Qualitative research,
- [16]. <http://www.public.asu.edu/~kroel/www500/Interview%20Fri.pdf>
- [17].