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Israeli-Palestinian conflict – a catalog of problems to solve

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The state of mutual Israeli-Palestinian relations has been arousing the interest of the international community for decades. Since the end of the nineteenth century the world has followed closely the situation in Palestine. On its territory there was a growing number of Jews who were going on there to create their own state. It was finally born after World War II – in 1948. In addition to the Jewish State, in accordance with the resolution of the UN General Assembly a state for the Arab population was to be founded – unfortunately it has not been created to the present day.

The end of the Cold War gave a chance that so far unresolved issue would be resolved. In the 90s there were talks between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization. Their result is the so-called Palestinian Autonomy. It seemed that the creation of a Palestinian state was only a matter of time.

The article aims to outline the main obstacles on the way to reach a final agreement between the conflicting parties. The author will also try to outline the future scenarios and find the answer to the question whether the creation of the Palestinian state as well as the end of the dispute between Israelis and Palestinians is possible in the near future.

Every international conflict is a dispute about a specific good (e.g. land, access to natural resources, and the delimitation of the territorial sea). However, very often the components of conflicts become subjective values (prestige and international position of the parties, the pressures of society or the opposition). These subjective problems often

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make it more difficult to reach an agreement. The same is true in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. These subjective matters appeared in addition to the real problems.

Objective problems

Settling the three contentious issues (determining the statute of Jerusalem, settling the matter of Palestinian refugees, and solving the problem of Jewish settlers) is necessary to resolve the conflict between Israel and Palestine.

Jerusalem

The international community realized that the determination of the legal status of the city would be one of the most serious challenges. Therefore UN resolution of November 1947 about the partition of Palestine assumed that Jerusalem and the surrounding villages (among others Bethlehem) would be under the management of the international community. Unfortunately, the war that broke out in 1948 thwarted those intentions. As a result, the western part of the city (populated by Jews) became part of the Jewish State, and the eastern one (including the Old City) became part of Transjordan.

In 1967, Israel conquered Egypt, Syria and Jordan in the Six Day War. As a result of the victory the Israeli army invaded the eastern part of the city. Immediately after the occupation of the city the ideas of unification of both parts began to appear in Israel. Israeli politicians did not intend to withdraw from the *Al-Quds*. In June 1967, by the Western Wall of the Temple Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan said, “We have returned to our most holy places; we have returned and we shall never leave them”¹. Already on 27 June 1967 Israeli municipal law was extended to East Jerusalem². Finally, in 1980, the Israeli Knesset passed a law on Jerusalem, formally establishing the status of the city. In Article 1 of the act we read: „Jerusalem, whole and united, is the capital of Israel”³.

Activists of the Palestine Liberation Organization have always stressed that the condition for an agreement with Israel is the recognition of East Jerusalem as the capital of a future Palestinian State. However, the matter of Jerusalem is an important debatable question. Both nations believe that this city has a special significance for their identity. For Jews, Jerusalem is the cradle of their statehood. The Temple Mount (Har

¹ K. Armstrong, *Jerusalem: One City, Three Faiths*, New York 2005, p. 400.

² Israeli jurisdiction was also included in the lands of the 28 Palestinian villages around Jerusalem. See: N. Gordon, *Israel's occupation*, Los Angeles-London 2008, pp. 4-5.

³ The regulation belonged to the so-called *Basic law* legal acts, which later were the basis of Israeli constitution. The official website of the Knesset: *Basic Law: Jerusalem, Capital of Israel*, http://knesset.gov.il/laws/special/eng/basic10_eng.htm (access 11.05.2015).

ha-Bayit) lies in the Old Town. The Jewish temple was built on it. To this day only the Western Wall of the temple cloisters has survived, which for religious Jews is considered the most important place on earth. From 1948 for the next 19 years, Jews could not pray at the Wall. Some of them could not imagine a situation that the rule in this area could be passed into the hands of Arabs.

The other party also uses religious arguments justifying their rights to the city. For Muslims *Al-Quds* is the third most important city after Mecca and Medina. The followers of Allah believe that Muhammad was ascended to heaven from the Temple Mount (Al-Haram as-Sharif)⁴. The Koran also stresses the importance of Jerusalem. Sura 17 in the first verse evokes the city: „Exalted is He who took His Servant by night from Al-Masjid-al-Haram to the farthest mosque, whose surroundings We have blessed, to show him of Our signs. Indeed, He is the Hearing, the Seeing”⁵.

You can not forget the importance of the city for Christians, the Palestinians. The place of Christ’s death, according to his Palestinian followers should be part of the Arab state.

Today, the Israeli establishment seems to reject any possibility of compromise in this regard. Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu during the election campaign in 2015 threatened his compatriots that his main opponent is ready to give the Palestinians the eastern part of the city⁶.

Jewish settlers

Jews in the areas of modern Israel began to appear only in the mid-nineteenth century. One of the components of the idea of Zionism was the concept of the expansion of Jewish settlements in the territories, which were later to form the area of the Jewish State. The first Jewish settlers not only settled the Palestine with Jewish element, but also practiced a new image of the Jew. Jew in his own country had to be a man who denied the features of the Jew from the Diaspora. The settlers changed their names, worked on their land and were ready to fight anyone who tried to hinder the realization of the dream plan – to create their own state.

The first settlers snatched the land from the desert, modernized the country and built the foundations of the Jewish state. After seizing in 1967, the West Bank, Gaza

⁴ Archangel Gabriel was to accompany him. From: Abu Amr, *The Significance of Jerusalem: A Muslim Perspective*, „Palestine-Israel Journal of Politics, Economics, and Culture”, N 2 (1995) <http://www.pij.org/details.php?id=646> (access 29.10.2012).

⁵ Koran (tr. J. Bielawski), Warszawa 1986, p. 302.

⁶ S. Winer, M. Newman, *Netanyahu: Herzog would give Palestinians capital in east Jerusalem* <http://www.timesofisrael.com/netanyahu-keeps-trying-to-woo-kulanu-leader-kahlon/> (access 11.05.2015).

Strip, Golan Heights and Sinai Peninsula, Israel revived the idea of a Greater Israel. Some Israelis began to believe that winning the biblical regions of Israel was not an accident. The concepts of explaining these events appeared. One of the Israeli rabbis Zvi Yehuda Kuk believed in the inseparable link between the Torah, the People and the Land of Israel. He also claimed that the establishment of Israel, and later occupation by it all the biblical Jewish lands, is proof of the close coming of the Messiah⁷.

The views of Rabbi Kuk began to enjoy increasing popularity. Their supporters tried to put the words of the spiritual leader into practice. The movement Gush Emunim (Bloc of the Faithful) was founded, the aim of which was to encourage the Jews to establish settlements on seized in 1967 territories. New Jewish settlements were illegal under Israeli law, but the Jewish administration did not decide on their liquidation. The number of settlers was increasing⁸. Part of the society that did not fully identify with quasi-religious slogans of the Bloc watched the settlers with kindness. For many Israelis, it is them who were the continuators of the Zionist idea of the settlement, due to which the State of Israel was established.

Today, the problem of the settlers is burning even more. Although the movement Gush Emunim no longer exists, but new Jewish settlements are still being created and the existing ones are growing. According to data collected by B'Tsellem at the end of 2013, there were already 547 000 settlers living in the West Bank and East Jerusalem⁹. The last right-wing governments of Israel conducted a large-scale settlement policy. At the same time, they paid no attention to reservations coming from all over the world that were raised against such actions. Even traditional ally of Tel Aviv – the United States repeatedly emphasized that such measures should not be carried out because they block the peace process.

The authorities of Palestinian Autonomy have often indicated that a necessary condition to continue the dialogue with the Israelis is to suspend the settlement action. In my opinion the suspension of support for Jewish settlements in the territories occupied in 1967 by the government in Tel Aviv will not change anything. A large part of the settlers believe that they should live in Judea and Samaria (this is how the West Bank is called in Israel) because The Highest wishes it. It is difficult to find rational

⁷ A. Skorek, *Radykalny nurt religijnego syjonizmu – doktryna ruchu Gusz Emunim* [in:] „Studia Judaica” 2008. No 1(21). http://www.studijudaica.pl/sj/SJ21_2008_Skorek.pdf (access 25.10.2012).

⁸ You can read more about the activities of the settlers of Gush Emunim in the article by Marcin Szydzisz, M. Szydzisz, „*Tę ziemię dał nam Bóg*”: wpływ czynnika religijnego na postępowanie Izraela na terytoriach okupowanych (działalność ruchu Gusz Emunim) [in:] *Religia w stosunkach międzynarodowych*, A. Solarz, H. Schreibe (edit.), Warszawa, Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 2012, pp. 276-286.

⁹ Statistics on Settlements and Settler Population, <http://www.btselem.org/settlements/statistics> (access on 12.05.2015).

arguments that would refute this belief. Moreover, their opinion must be taken into account, since they constitute a substantial proportion of the electorate. The surveys argue for the importance of this issue for Israelis. At the end of 2013, opinion polls showed that more than half of Israelis believed that all Israeli settlers should remain under the authority of the State of Israel¹⁰.

The other party to the conflict will not accept the Jewish settlement activity. Palestinians realize that Jewish settlements are drifting away the vision of building a state based on the 1967 border. The authorities of PLO perfectly understand that their compatriots are not able to accept further concessions to Israel. The decision of the PLO to recognize the State of Israel, and thus renunciation of claims to the entire area of Palestine, met with the opposition of the society (among others support for Hamas results from this fact, because the organization decided not to recognize the Jewish state). The government in Ramallah must firmly reject subsequent border cessions. This happens not only because it is hard to imagine such a rump state, but also because of public opposition. Palestinians are not ready for further territorial concessions¹¹.

Palestinian refugees

The final objective problem to be solved in the course of Israeli-Palestinian talks is the issue of Palestinian refugees. During the war in 1948, about 750 thousand Arabs fled or were expelled from areas occupied by Israeli troops. They got themselves in the vast majority of areas controlled by other Arab states (Jordan, Lebanon and Syria). The international community was trying to create conditions for them to live, and therefore they established UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East). UN did not end its activities on ad hoc actions. They wanted to solve the refugee problem comprehensively. In 1948, the General Assembly adopted a resolution which called in point 11:

Resolves that the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for

¹⁰ As many as 68% of respondents considered that this was the most important issue. *Israeli and Palestinian Public Opinion on Negotiating a Final Status Peace Agreement*, Released at the Saban Center at the Brookings Institution, December 6, 2013, p. 15 [in:] <http://www.sadat.umd.edu/is-pal-report.pdf> (access 14.05.2015).

¹¹ The survey proved this. In 2013, 71% of Palestinian responders thought all the Israeli settlers should be removed, *ibidem*, p. 16.

loss of or damage to property which, under principles of international law or in equity, should be made good by the Governments or authorities responsible¹².

Besides bringing to life UNWRA, the international community also decided to define the concept of „Palestinian refugees”. In the light of this definition, they are the people who for at least two years before escaping lived in the British Mandate of Palestine, and their escape resulted from a desire of saving their own lives and was the result of the loss of their homes during the Israeli-Arab war. This definition was later extended to the descendants of those people (also adopted children)¹³.

Such a broad understanding of the term¹⁴ caused that today a group of Palestinian refugees has already exceeded 5 million people. Peace negotiations on this point are particularly difficult. It is impossible to imagine that the authorities in Tel Aviv would agree on the possibility of return of 5 million Arabs. Israel, at the arrival of new citizens, would cease to be a Jewish State. In addition, the government in Tel Aviv has begun to pay attention to the problem of Jewish refugees. In the '50s, a group of about 800 thousand Jewish immigrants came to Israel from Arab countries. Israeli authorities stress that most of them were expelled from their previous places of residence, leaving their possessions there¹⁵. Tel Aviv notes that they solved the problem of Jewish refugees on their own by giving them citizenship and integrating them with the rest of the community. The issue of Palestinian refugees, according to Israeli politicians, could be solved in the same way by Arab states. Integrating them with the citizens of the countries to which they came, was relatively simple. Israeli authorities note that it did not happen not because of objective difficulties, but because of the political choice. Regimes of Arab states, neighboring Israel, wanted the refugee problem to exist all the time. Palestinian refugees became one of the bargaining chips in Arab-Israeli negotiations.

Israeli authorities made one more attempt to torpedo the Palestinian claims in this regard. Since 2014 the government in Tel Aviv has said that a precondition for peace

¹² Resolution 194 of the General Assembly http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/194%28III%29 (access 14.05.2015).

¹³ Palestinian refugees, <http://www.unrwa.org/palestine-refugees> (access 14.05.2015).

¹⁴ Understanding of the term „Palestinian refugee” does not fit the definition of a refugee. In the light of the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees of 1951 this is the person who „due to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of their nationality and is unable or unwilling, owing to such fear, enjoy the protection of that country or who has no nationality and as a result of such events, is outside the country of their former habitual residence can not or do not want to, because of these fears, return to it.” In the light of this definition, a child of a refugee is no longer a refugee.

http://www.hfhrpol.waw.pl/pliki/Konwencja_Dotyczaca_Uchodzcow.pdf (access 14.05.2015).

¹⁵ On Youtube, you can find even a short film made by the Israeli Foreign Ministry, which addresses this problem, *The Truth About the Refugees: Israel Palestinian Conflict*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=g_3A6_qSBBQ (access 14.05.2015).

talks with the authorities in Ramallah should be the recognition of Israel as a state for the Jewish people (by the way the government declared that it accepts the future Palestinian state as a homeland for the Palestinian people). The adoption of this postulate in principle would prevent stressing the right of return for Palestinian refugees.

Opinion polls evidence best the scale of the discrepancies of the parties in this matter. 95% of Palestinians interviewed in 2009 recognized the right of return and compensation as the most appropriate solution to this issue. At the same time, 77% of Israelis rejected this option. Positions of the two questioned groups were less divergent when the solution about *compensation and the right to choose where to settle in Palestine or another Arab state* was adopted. 63% of Palestinians and 38% of Israelis would be able to agree with this postulate, but 51% of the latter would be against it. 72% of Israelis were inclined to accept the closure of all refugee camps and distribution of their residents for compensation outside Israel, but only 41% of the Palestinians would regard this proposal as satisfactory, while 51% reject it consistently¹⁶.

Subjective problems

Beside the described objective elements needed to solve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, it is still necessary to pay attention to some subjective components.

A catalog of these elements is difficult to enumerate precisely. In my opinion among them, I must indicate the political realities characterizing the two antagonized communities, the ability of Israel to manage the conflict, international conditions and the mutual distrust of the parties.

The political reality of Israel and the Palestinian territories

Experts dealing with the Israeli-Palestinian peace process are not optimistic. The current Israeli authorities are not willing to intensify the talks. Prime Minister Netanyahu has repeatedly declared his readiness to negotiate but his declarations were with the intention to conciliate the international opinion, or torpedoing efforts for recognition of Palestinian statehood¹⁷.

Right-wing parties have legitimized the government for many years. Some of them (e.g. the ruling Likud), at least theoretically, is willing to talk with the Palestinians, but

¹⁶ A. Richman, *Attitude Factors in the Search for Israeli-Palestinian Peace: A Comprehensive Review of Recent Polls* http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/pdf/sep10/IsPal_Sep10_rpt.pdf (access on 15.05.2015).

¹⁷ The Israeli prime minister has consistently said that the way to the creation of a Palestinian state leads only through talks with Israel.

supporting cabinet the extreme Israeli groups (e.g. The Jewish Home) reject the possibility of compromise in their program¹⁸.

In addition, the political scene in Palestine went through a major evolution. In 2014, the government of national unity was created in Palestine. The two previously warring parties, Fatah and Hamas, agreed on the composition of a new cabinet. Hamas, ruling the Gaza Strip since 2007, firmly rejects the possibility of recognizing Israel. In divided into two camps Palestine the administration of President Mahmoud Abbas was considered as ready for talks. It is difficult to assume that the government, whose cast was influenced by Hamas, will be inclined toward compromising solutions.

Unfortunately, a more disturbing phenomenon is the fact that both societies are less and less willing to make concessions to the other side. At the end of that century, the vast majority of Israelis and Palestinians supported the peace process and believed that the result would be the creation of two states. In 2012, the percentage supporting the two-state solution was still considerable (52% of Israeli Jews, 85% of Israeli Arabs, 70% of Palestinians from the West Bank and 40% from Gaza)¹⁹. The results of another study are more disturbing. Israelis and Palestinians were asked whether they believed that a final agreement between the parties was possible. Only 22% of Israelis of Jewish origin and 35% of Arabs with an Israeli passport believed that it was achievable (respectively 64% and 39% excluded this possibility). Palestinians had even less hope for a definitive solution to the conflict. Only 22% of the population of the West Bank and 18% of the Gaza Strip assumed such a possibility, as much as 68% of Palestinians from the West Bank and 76% in Gaza ruled it out²⁰.

The last elections in Israel (March 2015) gave hope for a change of power. Some polls suggested the possibility of victory of the forces of the center-left. Analysts speculated that the new center-left government in Tel Aviv would open up to a real dialogue with the Palestinians. Finally, the winner of the elections was the right-wing Likud. It is characteristic that its leader Benjamin Netanyahu just before the vote strongly emphasized his uncompromising attitude towards the Palestinians. In one of his last

¹⁸ As a principle Naftali Bennett rejected the two-state solution in 2014. N. Bennett, *For Israel, Two-State Is No Solution* http://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/06/opinion/naftali-bennett-for-israel-two-state-is-no-solution.html?_r=0 (access 15.05.2015).

¹⁹ *Israelis, Palestinians Pro Peace Process, but Not Hopeful Palestinians, Israelis have little faith in each other's leaders or Obama* <http://www.gallup.com/poll/161456/israelis-palestinians-pro-peace-process-not-hopeful.aspx> (access 14.05.2015). According to the date of June 2014 62% Israelis and 54% Palestinians still supported the idea of the states, *The Joint Israeli-Palestinian Polls*, <http://www.kas.de/israel/en/pages/11244/> (access on 15.05.2015).

²⁰ *Ibidem*.

pre-election rallies, he promised his supporters that during his rule there will be no Palestinian state²¹.

After the elections, the Israeli politician tried to retreat from earlier statements, but one can suspect that the government under his leadership will not do anything that will support Palestinian statehood.

Israel's ability to manage the conflict

The experts who closely follow the Israeli-Palestinian conflict agree that Israel copes with this issue well. The challenges that this country faced were not easy. The second intifada broke out in 2000. In contrast to the first spurt, it had a much more dramatic course. For the Jewish state and its citizens, suicide bombings had particularly severe consequences. Reinforced security measures and, in a sense, the construction of a wall separating the areas inhabited by Palestinians on Jewish settlements eliminated this type of danger. The effects of rocket attacks from the Hamas-dominated Gaza Strip were minimized by the construction of a missile defense shield (Iron Dome) and the reprisals taken by the Israeli military.

Administrating the areas inhabited by Palestinians due to the agreements signed by the parties in the 90s was passed to their own hands. In this way, the Israeli authorities got rid of a large part of the real problems that management of an unfavorably oriented society generates. At the same time, the concluded agreements give them the opportunity to influence on some of their key issues (security matters, water sources). Besides Israel indirectly benefits from international aid, which is granted to the Palestinian Autonomy. This is because the Autonomy authorities purchase a large part of the goods (electricity or fuel) from Israel.

The state of limbo, which we are currently experiencing, may be considered good by the Israeli authorities. The terrorist threat has been in general eliminated, and the benefits associated with the impact of the situation in the Palestinian areas are measurable. In this situation, the government in Tel Aviv has no specific reasons to engage in the peace process.

The international context

Another issue that has an impact on the state of Israeli-Palestinian relations is international conditions. During the Cold War, making permanent peace was basically

²¹ B. Ravid, *Netanyahu: If I'm elected, there will be no Palestinian state* <http://www.haaretz.com/news/israel-election-2015/1.647212> (15.05.2015).

impossible. Arab states supporting the claims of Palestinians were sponsored by the Soviet Union and were not ready for any compromises²². The collapse of the bipolar world began a new stage.

The peace process started in the 90s was heading in the direction of the overall settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian relationships. Unfortunately, the events of the new millennium led to undo the changes and hinder the realization of this idea.

Analysis of the contemporary position of the international community towards the parties to the conflict leads to the positive conclusion: the majority of countries in the world support a peaceful solution to the conflict. Unfortunately, these statements do not translate into its state. It turns out that, in practice, only the United States has real influence on the Israeli-Palestinian relationships. The American administration (especially under Democrats) has always stressed the need for peace between the warring parties. In practice, however, it was very often closer to the Israeli argument. Recent years have shown that the US authorities are moving away from firm and mindless support of the government in Tel Aviv. However, their distance towards Israeli policy does not translate into a change of the Israeli approach.

Another important player vitally interested in the situation in the region is the European Union. It, in turn, emphasizes on the rights of Palestinians significantly more. Unfortunately, the impact of the EU on the authorities in Tel Aviv is illusory. The establishment of Israel believes the majority of European politicians for pro-Palestinian, because the authorities in Tel Aviv maintain a large distance to most of their ideas. The only real force of pressure on the Israeli government, which the European Union could use, would be economic pressure. However, EU politicians in the near future will not decide to use it.

The situation in the region also affects the state of Israeli-Palestinian relations. The Middle East has been experiencing a turbulent period recently. First, the so-called Arab Spring shook the situation in the region. Now the real threat is the existence of the so-called Islamic State. Recent events have caused distraction of the world from the unresolved Palestinian problem. This becomes clear now. The international community is now focusing its attention on the growing importance of the so-called Islamic State. Its existence threatens to destabilize the region on a large scale. The Israeli authorities are also trying to link the Palestinian problem with radical Islam. Israeli politicians show analogies between the jihadist ideology and concepts of Hamas. They are trying to convince the international community that this is Israel that stands at the forefront of fighting against radical Islam in defense of Western values.

²² Egypt, which signed a separate peace with Israel, had to change its strategic ally and faced Arab ostracism.

Because media and world public opinion focus on the problem of jihadists, it diverts their attention from other unresolved issues in the region. Certainly, it does not serve the Palestinian cause. The authorities in Ramallah have tried to win attention of the world promoting the problem of Palestinian statehood. Diplomatic initiative at the UN, however, did not bring clear positive effects.

Mutual distrust of the sides of the conflict

A characteristic feature of both populations is the lack of mutual trust. Jews do not trust the Palestinian leaders. Palestinians treat Israeli politicians' declarations with mistrust. The scale of distrust is best illustrated by opinion polls. In 2013, only 2% of the inhabitants of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip thought Benjamin Netanyahu for benevolent. Mahmoud Abbas enjoyed the trust of only 2% of Israeli Jews and 24% Arabs with an Israeli passport²³. This lack of faith in the good intentions causes that any concessions of one party to the other are not seen as willingness to compromise or gesture of goodwill, but they are regarded as evidence of weakness and make adversary express even more far-reaching claims.

Such an attitude is very dangerous. In the policy, minimal trust to the other side is a necessary condition for compromise and agreement. Otherwise, their conciliatory attitude would be perceived as a political naivety or submission. In such conditions, it is impossible to find the necessary space for dialogue.

Scenarios for the future

Israeli authorities have the keys to the solution of the conflict. Palestinians are not able to force the government in Tel Aviv to specific solutions. The international community, in my opinion, has illusory influence on the Israeli elites as well. Only the pressure of Israeli society gives a chance to modify the approach of the authorities. Elections in 2015 showed that most Israelis are not ready for a change in this area. The current Israeli government consisting primarily of representatives of the right-wing parties does not give hope for a revision of the policy towards the Palestinians. It is hard to imagine that in the near future there would be a breakthrough in relations between the two nations. More likely is a scenario that will result in the intensification of the conflict. It seems that the Israeli government will continue to support the settlement program

²³ Interestingly 32% of Israeli Jews, 22% of Israeli Arabs, and only 2% of the inhabitants of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip declared positive attitude towards Obama. *Israelis, Palestinians Pro Peace Process, but Not Hopeful* <http://www.gallup.com/poll/161456/israelis-palestinians-pro-peace-process-not-hopeful.aspx> (15.05.2015).

and minimize contacts with the Palestinian authorities using the fact that they are also created by the radical Hamas.

We can expect further actions of Israel on the international arena, which will be an attempt to convince public opinion in the world that Islamic parties in Palestine are the Palestinian variant of jihadists from the so-called Islamic State, and Tel Aviv is the protector of the “free world”. A further diplomatic offensive of the government in Ramallah is also very likely. They would try to persuade other countries to recognize the Palestine statehood.

The belief that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the near future will be peacefully resolved, given the above-mentioned conditions, may turn out to be naive.

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Israeli-Palestinian conflict – a catalog of problems to solve

ABSTRACT

Article refers to basic problem connected with Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Author divided this catalog into two groups. The first catalog includes all objective obstacles: Jerusalem issue, Jewish settlement question and Palestinian refugees concern. The second catalog is less precise. Author indicates: political scene of two societies, Israel ability to manage the conflict, international conditions and mutual distrust of both Parties.

Konflikt izraelsko-palestyński – katalog problemów do rozwiązania

STRESZCZENIE

Artykuł dotyczy podstawowych problemów związanych konfliktem izraelsko-palestyńskim. Autor podzielił ich katalog na dwie grupy. Do pierwszej zaliczył wszystkie obiektywne trudności: sprawę Jerozolimy, kwestię osadnictwa żydowskiego i zagadnienie uchodźców palestyńskich. Drugi katalog jest mniej precyzyjny. Autor wskazał w nim na scenę polityczną obu społeczeństw, zdolność Izraela do zarządzania konfliktem, uwarunkowania międzynarodowe oraz wzajemną nieufność stron.