THE PALESTINIAN STATE FROM THE PALESTINIAN PERSPECTIVE, THE ISRAELI PERSPECTIVE AND THE TWO-STATE SOLUTION

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Abstract - The study aimed to develop scientific and logical solutions for the establishment of a viable Palestinian state and to coexist with the Israeli people who will have their own independent state and end the Arab-Israeli conflict that has lasted for many years and decades. The importance of the study stems from the fact that it will highlight the common interests of the Palestinian people and the Israeli people and the gains that the two sides will make in achieving security in the region and support their international position. The study concluded that the Palestinian-Israeli conflict can not continue indefinitely and will never achieve security and peace in the region. There will be no gains to be made by Israel in the continuation of its occupation of the Palestinian territories, with the cumulative violence. The study recommended the need for the establishment of a Palestinian state full of sovereignty in the time of the right of the Palestinian people, who plundered his land to enjoy this viable state and Israel must agree to establish it with international, Arab, American and European support.

I. INTRODUCTION

American governments have followed and have not been able to end or solve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict throughout history. The billionaire Donald Trump is the current American president. He calls many statements regarding the end of this conflict, which is classified as an eagle, especially after hosting Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas The latter, who said: "I will achieve unless it is achieved by me."

Can US President Trump end the Palestinian-Israeli conflict? And for who would it be? Will the two sides declare the two countries from a common perspective or not?

US President Donald Trump wants to record a historic achievement that no president before him could achieve in terms of the Arab-Israeli conflict and a historic settlement that would end the conflict between the Palestinians and the Israelis.

In view of the fact that President Trump is exerting great efforts in this field on the basis of the implementation of an international regional conference similar to the Madrid Conference, to launch a new course of negotiations entitled Normal relations between the Arab countries of a political, diplomatic and commercial nature between the Arab countries on the one hand and Israel on the other hand This means that there is an effort and a heavy effort that President Trump is trying to push, but according to past experience, there has been a strong influence for the "Zionist lobby" In the United States, hampered the direction of many US presidents who made an effort to settle and mitigate the conflict at least as happened with former US President Barack Obama, where the Zionist lobby and within the framework of Congress to stop his efforts to freeze settlement In return for negotiations, in addition to the ability of the Israeli government in the past to redraft Bush's promises, which were distorted in favor of the Israeli project at the expense of legitimate rights. The end of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is in favor of the Israeli project. In the meeting between Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu and the envoy of US President Trump Jason Greenblatt, one of the Israeli requirements was recognition of the Jewishness of the state, but this condition was temporarily suspended but will be reintroduced, In addition to changing the educational curricula and street names and stop the allocations of the families of martyrs and detainees and the wounded and the abolition of the PLO, this is the difference if the dispute is not resolved between the parties and consensus on points that facilitate both.

There is satisfaction after the meeting between the Palestinian and American presidents, pointing out that this was manifested in the warm language spoken by the White House with Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas, in addition to the determinants of the solution requested by Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas from US President Trump to have a state Palestinian side next to an Israeli state.

This is an issue that everyone fears. Finally, the parameters of President Trump's plan are linked to the implementation mechanism. For a specific period of time, are there real guarantees for follow-up and implementation?

And the second extent of its ability to find real guarantees to achieve the first part, and the third, there is the desire of the US President Trump to make a breakthrough to the crisis in the Middle East, noting that this desire need tools to ensure the rights of Palestinians to end the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories, and this is not the work easy .ooa bilateral negotiations without a clear international intervention, it will not Israelis and Palestinians to deal up, The difference vast with regard to the core issues, and this issue is not easy but it is not impossible. "The American role of a central pivot, but is in need of support and assistance of international institutions, including P Here the United Nations window states.

II. STUDY PROBLEM

The ultimate goal of both the Palestinian and the Israeli sides is to end the conflict between them and to establish a Palestinian-Israeli state. They can coexist with each other.

- Can Western countries and with the support of achieving this great dream that the Palestinian people wish with American support and Israeli approval?

It has the following sub-questions:

1. What international instruments are used to resolve this conflict?
2. What are the means and methods used to implement any agreement on the horizon and pressure the Israeli side to implement any decision issued in this regard?
3. What are the most important roles that will be played by the countries that will oversee any agreement between the Palestinians and the Israelis?

III. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1. Clarifying the ways to end the conflict between the Palestinian and Israeli sides.
2. To clarify the role of international and Western countries in support of ending the conflict.
3. Highlighting the north-west trend.

IV. IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

1. Ending the Arab-Israeli-Palestinian conflict and understanding on all outstanding issues.
2. The importance of the establishment of the two Palestinian and Israeli and their impact on the region.

V. STUDY METHODOLOGY

Because political and social phenomena are complex, complex and multidimensional phenomena, preventing them from being studied in one integrated approach, the study is conducted in what is known as methodological integration, which is not based on a particular curriculum but rather on several approaches.

In particular, the study relied on linking three approaches:

1. **The analytical descriptive approach:** To study any phenomenon, it must be described and diagnosed, and here will be described several phenomena.
2. **The approach of the national interest:** This approach considers that the pursuit of achieving the national interest of the state is the ultimate goal of its external policy, in the sense that national interest is the main focus of the state.

VI. STUDY LIMITS

A) Location Limit:
Deals with the two-state solution in realistic and geographical logic.

B) Objective Limit:
Focuses on the substantive scope of the role of diplomacy and their impact on Israel's national security.

1. The Israeli project in building the State of Israel.
The declaration of the State of Israel came to guarantee what the Jews sought. The Declaration stated that the establishment of the state in the Land of Israel was the birthplace of the Jewish people. Here, the spiritual, religious and political identity was established. Here, the state was established for the first time. After he forcibly exiled from his country, the people kept his faith in him for the duration of his exile. He did not stop praying or lose hope of his return and the restoration of his political freedom. The Jews sought generation after generation, driven by this relationship. Historical and traditional to re-establish their feet in Their old homeland, and masses of them have returned over the past decades.
The Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, recognized this right and reaffirmed it in the mandate of the League of Nations, which in particular granted its universal acceptance of the historical link between the Jewish people and the Land of Israel and its recognition of the right of the Jewish people to rebuild its homeland National.
The State of Israel will open its gates to Jewish emigration to reunite the exiles and will foster the development of the country for the benefit of all its inhabitants without discrimination in religion, race or sex. It will guarantee freedom of religion, belief, language, education and culture. The Holy Places will be protected for all religions. The State of Israel is ready
To cooperate with United Nations agencies and representatives in the implementation of the General Assembly resolution of 29 November 1947 and take steps to ensure the economic unity of the entire territory of Israel. In announcing their state, they said that we appeal to the United Nations to help the Jewish people build its own state, and we welcome the State of Israel into the community of nations. We appeal to the Arab population of the State of Israel in the midst of the attack that has been waging on us for months to maintain peace and to participate in the building of the State on the basis of full citizenship based on equality and appropriate representation in all the institutions of the Provisional and Permanent State. We extend our hand to all neighboring States and their peoples. Peace and good-neighborliness, and we call upon them to establish ties of cooperation and mutual assistance with the sovereign and endemic Jewish people in its territory.

Declaration of the State of Israel

And in order to confront the Arab armies and break up the Palestinian presence with all its elements and its social, political, military, economic and civilization components. Palestine will remain prey to Zionist military organizations and then to the army. [1] the Israeli benefit of the existence of the Israeli military that it collects in its organizational structure all the parts corresponding to the organs of the state, [2] even after retirement, in favor of both the state and the institution. Theodor Herzl, a Polish citizen who established political Zionism, The first to invite the convening of the Basel Conference in Switzerland in 1897, and the Basel Conference at the time set the Zionist objectives in "creating a homeland for the Jewish people in Palestine guaranteed by public law" using the following means [3]:

1. That the Jewish agricultural and industrial workers colonize Palestine on certain bases.
2. To link and organize world Jewry in a way that is compatible with each country with local and international organizations.
3. Strengthening Jewish national consciousness and consciousness.
4. Initiate steps to obtain governmental approval to achieve Zionist goals.

Herzl felt that there is a need for two bodies to implement the previous program: the Association of Jews, which was later in the World Zionist Organization and a Jewish company developed its idea until the name of the Jewish Agency, which played a large role in encouraging Jews to migrate and stability in Palestine by providing all facilities and procedures And within the country.

It is evident through the presentation of Zionist Jewish efforts in building the State of Israel, that this

Construction was done in two phases:

The first stage was the creation of the idea of the Jewish people through immigration and the creation of the state through the Basel Conference.

First: Creating People's Idea / Migration:

It is rare for a country to invest all the resources available to itself and others to adopt itself, like the one invested by the State of Israel. The Zionists have marketed themselves as people and were treated as people before they were a people. This idea suggests that the basic element and principal component of the state, represented by the people, was present and representative before the existence of the State of Israel. This state was given political patronage, [4] and transformed it from a promise to a reality. The age of British colonialism helped to encourage Jewish immigration to Palestine, a law that gives priority to a Jewish immigrant who has less than £ 1,000, The wealthy Jews immigrate to Palestine in the wake of the global economic crisis [5] 1929 beneficiaries of this law.

Second: Creating the idea of the State / Basel Conference:

The parameters and characteristics of the Zionist movement and its objectives were determined at the Basel Conference held in Basel, Switzerland, in 1897. The alliance between the Zionist and colonial schemes was also documented. This alliance resulted in the birth of the Zionist entity and its support to this day. The idea was based on Herzl's proposal at that conference based on the implantation of a strong and Western state in the Arab region. This force is the Zionist entity and the West found its way in this proposal because it was aimed at establishing a state that would serve as a political and economic base to achieve its political and economic interests. A unified Arab state. Britain's support for this idea is shown later by a recommendation made at the London conference of then British Prime Minister Henry Campbell Bannerman that "the creation of a human and strange barrier on the land bridge linking Europe to the ancient world and linking them together in the Mediterranean Sea, In this region and on [6] close to the Suez Canal is an enemy force for the people of the region and a friend of European countries and their interests.

The establishment of the State of Israel is the result of the hard work of the Zionist movement, which left no way or method except to follow it and even devised new methods to reach its goals even if it had to lie, deceive and falsify the facts that link the land of Palestine to the Jews historically and ideologically.

Jews have used religion as a tool to serve the interests of the Zionist movement to secure foreign markets [7] for their economic interests. In his book, The Founding Myths of Israeli Politics, Raja Jaroudi emphasizes the previous statement about the use of religion for interests rather than as a motive for which the State of Israel was established. [8] Indeed, the establishment of Israel is a political doctrine, a national doctrine and a colonial doctrine.

First: International recognition :

The international recognition of the resolutions and international undertakings topped by the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate and the Resolution 181 of the United Nations, in addition to the great international support by Britain and then America, which began its role later after its dominance after the First World War and then the Russian role Which developed positively in the 1940s in particular.

1. The Balfour Declaration:

The Balfour Declaration, a letter from British Foreign Secretary Arthur James Balfour to Lord Lionel and Walter Rothschild, leader of the British Jewish Rally, was sent to the Zionist Union. This promise is one of the important stages in the development of the Zionist entity, [9] under which Balfour pledged to establish a national homeland for the Jews in Palestine. It is noteworthy that the Declaration of Independence used this document as a legal basis to justify the declaration

of independence of the State of Israel, The Balfour Declaration of the Jews to emigrate to Palestine in the war of the Zionist movement at the time to change the demographic reality, where the number of Jews under the British Mandate jumped from 83794 people in 1922 to 608230 in 1946, The figures recorded between 1941 and 1951 were the most disquieting. While a total of 61,905 Jews entered during the period, 86,5067 Palestinians were expelled between 1947 and 1948, which confirms the "wholesale replacement" of the indigenous population of the Jewish population They have come from different countries. [10] Britain has played a major role in the appointment of the Jewish Agency as a public body in the Mandate instrument. Article 4 states: "A suitable Jewish Agency shall be recognized as a public body to advise and cooperate with the Department of Palestine And other things.

At the same time, the mandate document ignored the Palestinian people, whose Mandate was established for the sake of its welfare and independence. The British Mandate draft was drafted in close consultation with the leaders of the Zionist movement. It was pointed out that Britain had focused its policy in Palestine on the implementation of [11] Included in the mandate instrument: "The situation of the country in the economic and administrative political conditions that allow the establishment of the Jewish national homeland and facilitate Jewish immigration to Palestine, and encourage settlement.

2. Partition Resolution 181:

Britain continued to reject any outside interference with what was happening in Palestine, considering it an internal affair and protested many of the resolutions and recommendations of the Security Council or the General Assembly until 1946 when it decided to internationalize the case only when it was confirmed that the international conditions [12] The United Nations General Assembly, on November 29, 1947, passed Resolution 181 on the partition of Palestine on the grounds that the establishment of two states, one Arab and one Jewish, and the internationalization of Jerusalem were the best solution to the Palestinian problem. And so on In general, the Zionists welcomed the partition plan, while Arabs and Palestinians felt unfair[13].

It is noteworthy that the resolution won the majority by 33 votes to 13 votes, with 10 abstentions [14] including the British vote, the third item of which reads: "The two independent Arab and Jewish states, And the international rule on the city of Jerusalem, two months after the full evacuation of the armed forces of the mandated authority, [15] in no event at all, on October 1, 1948. "However, history proves that Britain was the first planner to issue and implement this resolution . Where they helped the Jews by supplying them with weapons and supplies to suppress the Palestinian revolution and also sold the Jews airports and camps full equipment when the hour of decolonization, During February and March 1948, British forces withdrew from large areas and land where Israeli settlements were located and handed them over to the Jewish Agency. During this period Jews were active in importing arms, supplies and volunteers from different parts of the world. In its unprecedented support for the Jews, Britain made its withdrawal from Palestine until 14-5-1948 so that the Jews could declare their state on the eve of the same day.

Comparison between the Israeli and Palestinian models of state building:

A comparison between the Israeli and Palestinian models of state-building may be largely unfair, because the Palestinian model lacks many of the elements that were available and invested in the Israeli model. The main differences between the two models are as follows:

1. common goal: Jews found common denominators among them in different countries and countries and cultures, in the sense of searching for the common motive for building the state, while not available in the Palestinian situation, the difference in political programs and reality on the ground is a prominent feature, Despite the homogeneity of culture and unity of place.
2. The external support of the major powers: The Israeli model enjoyed the unlimited support of large powers and great political influence such as the United States of America and the United Kingdom, while the weakness of the Arab situation and the weakness and fragmentation within one state or between the state, To the Palestinians in building their state.
3. State access mechanism: The building of the Palestinian state is through negotiations and the ceiling of these negotiations is not the establishment of a state, and Israeli behavior during the negotiation of any possibility to create a Palestinian state. While the Israeli model has been recognized with formal channels and political support, and has not experienced any stage of instability or lack of clarity.
4. Readiness of institutions: The institutions of the State of Israel were ready for work and employment at the moment of state declaration, knowing that these institutions worked before the declaration of the state. While the Palestinian model is based on institution-building and statehood at the same time.
5. 5 - Sustainable Economy: The Declaration of the State of Israel coincided with a strong economy and qualified human and material potential, which helped greatly in the operation of the industrial machine and the commercial, agricultural and service sectors at the same moment declared by the State and even preceded it. While the economy in the Palestinian model is

a captive economy of the Israeli economy, the material and financial resources are very limited. Much of the economy and material resources are based on external assistance and grants, with great neglect in the agricultural and industrial sectors that form the mainstay of the Palestinian economy.

6. Exploitation of human resources: The Palestinian model is based on the lack of transparency in recruitment and the adoption of unfair standards in the recruitment of individuals and the exploitation of human competencies and neglect of many aspects of the labor market, which could be invested in the required form work to build a conscious Palestinian citizen and citizen Capable of contributing to the building of society and the state as it should.
7. Political discourse and international communication: The Palestinian Authority is still unable to market internationally the Palestinian rights guaranteed by the laws and humanitarian laws and has not yet reached the grassroots required at the international level. Unlike the Israeli who used all methods to promote the idea of a "Jewish national homeland" in Palestine at all levels.

Obstacles to the establishment of a Palestinian state: Demographic and geopolitical reality in the West Bank and Gaza Strip:

Over the past two decades, the Israeli-Palestinian negotiation process has been obstructed by many doubts, lack of confidence and lack of credibility, which have produced a reality that requires a political will to emerge from its political, geographical and legal complexities. Israel has been at each stage of the negotiations to undermine what preceded it and calls for the start of negotiations from scratch and to deny what has been achieved in the past, and there are complications associated with the policies and positions of countries sponsoring the negotiations, led by America and the European Union regarding the policies of occupation in the West Bank Western and Gaza and rejected the idea of unilateralism to seek the membership of the State of Palestine in the United Nations and the importance of resorting to negotiations in this area, International positions regarding the establishment of a Palestinian state were dependent on the political development of the peace process or on reactions to Israeli violations of settlement expansion, land confiscation and other measures that would undermine the pillars of the state and make their realization impossible. The most prominent positions in these statements issued by the administration of the United States of America on the different heads. European positions have fluctuated in place with regard to the Palestinian state in terms of emphasis on the importance of a two-state solution to end the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, As it stated by the French President and the Spanish counterpart that the Union is launching an initiative to establish a Palestinian state advanced level in eighteen months from the declaration, which was launched in February 2010, regardless of the start [16] the final status negotiations and remained on the Israeli position case of a Palestinian state, Israeli conditions, and continued to impose a fait accompli by continuing to create more settlements and the construction of the Israeli apartheid wall deep into the West Bank of the West, Jerusalem and the confiscation of land policy, and the demolition of houses in the old Arab neighborhoods of operations stops from the city of Jerusalem in order to Judaize the city Counting control on the ground and a process of bringing Jewish immigrants instead of Arab Jerusalemites.

All indications are that the Zionist occupation seeks to harass the Palestinian people and force them to leave their land, in a desire and a desire in a land without a people to achieve what the occupation leaders aspire to and to complete their plans related to the demographic and geopolitical conflict, which casts a shadow on the possibility of establishing a Palestinian state, And the loss of an important element of its core. The next part of the research includes geopolitical reality, which will shed light on reality The political one linked to the Palestinian issue internationally, with a focus on the main players in this field, I mean the European Union, America, Russia. Regional, Arab, Turkish, Iranian, and Palestinian positions by identifying the positions of the Palestinian factions, particularly Fatah, Hamas, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine,[3] the Islamic Jihad and the Islamic Jihad. Finally, the Israeli position and the measures of the Israeli occupation on the ground, which hinder the establishment of a Palestinian state.

International Attitudes towards the Palestinian Cause and its Impact on the Establishment of an Independent Palestinian State

1. American position:

The American administrations have devoted considerable space to the Middle East in general, and to the Palestinian cause in particular, especially after the signing of the Oslo Agreement and the end of the transitional period, which was decided in 1999 and which the Palestinians regarded as the basis for the peace process and hoped to lead to the establishment of a Palestinian state. Ben Da refers to the establishment of an independent Palestinian state, It is noteworthy that the American policy before Oslo was mostly against the establishment of a Palestinian state in this context can be referred to the initiative launched by US President Ronald Reagan on 2/9/1982 after the Lebanese war and included his position on the establishment of the state, where he stated in the first item that "No Palestinian state in the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip, it seems clear to me that peace can not be achieved by establishing an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and

Gaza Strip." [17] New settlements in the occupied Arab territories since the United States, under former President George W. Bush, reaffirmed its interest in two states, one of which Israeli and Palestinian, as a solution to the conflict between the Palestinians and the Israelis, the concept of the Palestinian state is very vague due to the divergence of views between the parties concerned about the meaning of this state. If we are facing different theses between a state that is fractured or incomplete sovereignty or sovereign, viable or viable without sovereignty [18].

Perhaps the American momentum that has surrounded the two-state solution has given a strong impetus to all parties concerned to respond to the idea in principle, but all parties, including the United States, went to an explanation that satisfied them and continued to deal with this interpretation without interfering directly with those who violated it. [19] The concept is an unidentifiable bird roaming the space without a situation or identity becoming apparent to him.

According to a poll published in the Jerusalem Post, a majority of Israelis believe the Obama administration is more pro-Palestinian than Israeli. Half of the respondents (50 percent) of the Jewish Israelis believe that the administration is "pro-Palestinian," while 6 percent see it as "pro-Israeli," while 36 percent said it was "neutral" and the rest without Ray. The poll shows a clear shift in public opinion in Israel compared to the results of similar polls conducted until mid-May, before the US president's reconciliation speech with the Muslim world in Cairo.

At the time, a relative majority of Israelis (31%) believed that his policy was pro-Israel, 14% were pro-Palestinian and 40% neutral. The Obama administration deliberately leaked an informal initiative [20] The most important items are:

1. To cut areas of East Jerusalem under Israeli control, to keep holy places under Arab Islamic sovereignty and to place international forces in the West Bank and the Jordan Valley.
2. Resolve the organizations and turn them into political parties with new names
3. Israel maintains its sovereignty over large settlement blocs and small colonies are negotiated within a period not exceeding three months
4. Cut areas of East Jerusalem to be under Israeli control to keep the holy places under Arab Islamic sovereignty and the establishment of international forces in the West Bank and the Jordan Valley.
5. Resolve the organizations and turn them into political parties with new names.
6. Israel maintains its sovereignty over large settlement blocs and small colonies are negotiated within a period of no more than three months.
7. The remaining areas of the West Bank remain demilitarized zones and Israel controls the airspace and prevents the Palestinian Authority from signing security and military agreements with other countries while continuing security cooperation and coordination with Israel.
8. The announcement of the establishment of a Palestinian state in the summer of 2011, with the annexation of the Gaza Strip to the state after the end of the division, and with regard to refugees, the absorption of specific numbers in the Palestinian state and their resettlement in specific areas in the Jordan Valley and the areas between Nablus and Ramallah.
9. The release of Palestinian prisoners shall commence once the peace agreement has been signed.
10. The remaining areas of the West Bank remain demilitarized zones and Israel controls the airspace and prevents the Palestinian Authority from signing security and military agreements with other countries while continuing security cooperation and coordination with Israel.
11. Declaration of the establishment of the Palestinian state in the summer of 2011 to be attached to the Gaza Strip state after the end of the state of division, as for the refugees are absorbed in specific numbers in the Palestinian state and resettlement in specific areas in the Jordan Valley and areas between Nablus and Ramallah are Start releasing Palestinian prisoners immediately after signing the peace agreement

The path to the establishment of a Palestinian state [21] is a just and comprehensive solution. There is no other way. The actions of some Palestinian factions are rejected from the European point of view and the description that Europe launches on such operations The West must be just in self-determination. There are many strategies [22] followed by the West:

1. The principle governing the negotiations for the establishment of this State is "land for peace".
2. The legal framework on which any reference is made to negotiations between the Palestinian and Israeli sides with a view to reaching a formula for the desired State is the resolutions of the United Nations, in particular resolutions (1397, 338 and 242).
3. The regional conditions ripe for the emergence of the Palestinian state are Prince Abdullah's initiative adopted by the Arabs at the 2002 Beirut Summit calling for full normalization between the Arabs and Israel within the framework of a final settlement of the Palestinian issue.
4. The mechanisms adopted to facilitate the implementation of this vision are the road map and the Quartet.

To understand the details of European positions, European attitudes towards the Palestinian state must be followed by:

1. In 1976, the European countries issued a statement called the "November Statement" in which Israel demanded [23] to withdraw from the Arab territories occupied in 1967 in preparation for the establishment of a Palestinian state.

2. The Venice Declaration was issued in 1980 by the European Community in Venice, Italy. The Declaration was characterized by its clear language and clear expressions regarding the recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the establishment of their independent state, demanding that Israel stop building settlements on [24] as illegal, which the group described as an obstacle to peace, the European Union and the United States contributed to the Madrid peace conference in 1991 to pave the way for the establishment of a Palestinian state, In the Florence Declaration of 1996, European countries expressed their previous position on the Palestinian state, warning at the same time of the dangers of backing away from the peace process and providing support and support for any serious negotiations leading to the establishment of a viable Palestinian state [25] living side by side With the State of "Israel" safe.

With the formation of the Quartet of the Middle East at the end of the twentieth century, the European Union became a member of the Commission and Europe has tried hard to crystallize a position and vision of the Palestinian state, considering negotiations and nothing else is the way to establish a Palestinian state with reference to the EU's refusal to "Violence" by some Palestinian factions. The principle of negotiation is "land for peace", based on Security Council resolutions 242 and 338 And 1397).

British Prime Minister Tony Blair, in an article published in the UAE's Al Bayan newspaper on March 18, 2005, outlined his position on the Palestinian issue in terms of adherence to the two-state solution according to the roadmap, which requires international support to enable Palestinians to own infrastructure. [26] Political and economic and security to establish a viable state It is noteworthy that the European positions in this period did not differ significantly from the US towards the Palestinian issue, except for Europe's positions on the issues of particular articulation with regard to the wall and settlements and Hamas; where the European position is clear in terms of desire Hamas's participation in political life, unlike the United States of America, As a result, the Israeli side accused Europe of favoring the Palestinians by adopting a range of positions, such as the Europeans' focus on building a viable state through economic support for projects in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip [27]. US $ 295 million went mostly to development projects.

The European position on the strategy of action towards the state of Palestinian institutions was based on laying the foundations of economic development, which was a fundamental pillar in the building of a Palestinian state. Without an independent economy, there would be no independent state, Palestinian conflict in establishing the state and ending the occupation, namely [28]:

1. Strengthening the public and private sectors and enhancing economic growth opportunities.
2. Strengthening the rule of law and order.
3. National cash transfer program.
4. Improving the performance of institutions in services provided to citizens.
5. Improve life opportunities - Social Safety Net Program.
6. Major reform initiatives.

The following is a description of the Palestinian positions on different political orientations, which would create a better understanding of the different Palestinian factions' views of the Palestinian state.

The position of the Fatah movement from the Palestinian state.

The Fatah movement is one of the most active factions of the national action. It is one of the most pragmatic factions in the world. It is accepted by its rivals and political opponents. Fatah's vision of a settlement and the state can be summed up. The available literature on the movement and the current experience during the negotiations indicate that Fatah is seeking to enter into negotiations for a final solution to reach a comprehensive solution to the Palestinian issue,[29] including the following items:

1. Israeli withdrawal from the Palestinian territories occupied in 1967, including East Jerusalem.
2. Resolving the refugee issue on the basis of Resolution 194.
3. Disengagement of settlements on Palestinian land.
4. Access to a peace agreement that guarantees the establishment of a Palestinian state alongside a state (Israel). In contrast, many Fatah leaders do not object to a kind of reciprocity in the Palestinian territories between the Palestinian state and the State of Israel.

The issue of refugees is an important part of Fatah's vision of the peace process. The Fatah movement adheres to UN Resolution 194, which stipulates the right of return and compensation with some flexibility. This was expressed by the late President Yasser Arafat when he called for a just and fair solution to the refugee issue and an end to their tragedy. (Israel) demographic. He called on Palestinians to be realistic about Israel's demographic needs.

From this point, since the founding of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), the Fatah movement has realized that there is opposition from some Arab regimes to the establishment of a Palestinian state. This led Fatah to put forward a new concept for the Palestinian state, believing that such a proposal would be accepted by regional and international parties, This proposal was represented in a secular Palestinian state in which Arabs and Jews live in peace without discrimination. In the wake of the failure to achieve this slogan, Fatah began to soften its political positions by sending public and private messages expressing its

readiness for incomplete solutions through the so-called stages or stages. Fatah's approval of the roadmap and President Bush's vision of a Palestinian state is acceptable to the Fatah movement, but in two respects, the Israeli withdrawal is comprehensive and complete of all the occupied Palestinian territories in 1967, Palestinian unity is a single geographical, political and legal unit to establish an independent Palestinian state with full sovereignty, with Jerusalem as its capital. It is one political unit of the Palestinian democratic political system, a viable state alongside the countries and peoples of the region and the world, Rejecting this position of any partial or partial solutions and the idea of separate administrations or the government of Gaza and any Palestinian state with provisional borders, whatever their nature and color. And the second does not see any impediment to the approval of the interim solution to withdraw from agreed parts of the occupied Palestinian territory to reach the Palestinian state, which will be its borders on the territory of 1967. A public opinion poll conducted by the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research in December 2006 on the interim solution showed that such a solution does not enjoy the support of Palestinian public opinion, especially among Fateh voters. 81% of the voters of Fateh supported a comprehensive solution to end the conflict and resolve all issues And the percentage of supporters of a phased solution was 17%. This ratio applies to [30] the rest of the other powers. It can be said that Fatah's vision of the state and the settlement was aimed at explaining a large number of strategies that the movement could adopt in the context of the Palestine Liberation Organization and finding a large base of solutions, one of which might lead to the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. Fatah is trying to deal with With all the political variables, but in this lose a solid ground and fixed positions can be a clear and specific vision of the state.

Perhaps the most prominent vision of the Fatah movement and the Palestinian National Authority, was to submit the file of Palestine to the full membership of the United Nations, to be the state 194, and explained the file of submission of full membership, the real Palestinian desire to get rid of the occupation and to live independently and peace and tranquility. President Mahmoud Abbas outlined his vision of the state of institutions in his address to the United Nations on 23 September 2011 through:

1. A democratic State consistent with United Nations resolutions.
2. A state with borders and sovereignty over land and population, free of settlers and settlements.
3. Resolving the issue of refugees and Jerusalem.
4. Building institutions and continuing to build them.

2. The position of Hamas:

Hamas sees Israel as an occupying state and invades it as a hostile racist regional project with territorial ambitions, a long arm of the Western colonial powers, especially the United States, to control the capabilities and wealth of the Islamic East and to prevent the establishment of an Arab Islamic unity in order to establish hegemony in its various forms. Based on this, Hamas believes that its conflict with the Israeli occupation is an ideological and existential conflict that can not be ended without the end of the State of Israel and the establishment of a Palestinian state. But after Hamas announced its new document and agreed to a Palestinian state on the 1967 borders, Their ideas of the components of the state and its elements.

3. US position and adopt the plan of John Allen settlement:

The administration of US President Donald Trump has adopted a security plan drafted by retired general John Allen, which outlines the steps and security measures that can be taken by the Palestinian and Israeli sides on the day following a final peace agreement between Israelis and Palestinians. Obama has been undisclosed and has not been disclosed before because of stalled negotiations between the two sides.

According to the Israeli leaks revealed by Haaretz, the majority of Israeli officers agreed to the plan and encouraged the Israeli political leadership to adopt it. However, the Israeli government headed by Benjamin Netanyahu rejected it and did not listen to the opinion of the senior officers in Israel because it does not view the security issue as an obstacle in the way Achieving peace.

The first weeks of US President Donald Trump's day saw a series of meetings led by the special envoy of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, Jason Greenblatt, with former US peace negotiators, including Obama administration officials. In one of these lengthy meetings, Greenblatt was briefed on a detailed security plan prepared by the Obama administration for the next day of the establishment of a Palestinian state. The plan within the former administration was known as the "Allen Plan," the American general who elaborated the plan, In the plan, the IDF gave the US team a 26-point document that identified all Israeli security concerns and interests in the West Bank and asked the US team to provide effective solutions for each of those points. It was thought in Israel that almost all the points in the document received satisfactory answers from the Americans, but the Israeli political leadership represented by Netanyahu and his then army minister Moshe Ya'alon rejected it despite the acceptance of its security chiefs.

One of the most important points discussed in the plan was a proposal by the US side to open an airport in the West Bank, which would allow direct Palestinian travel around the world without the need to pass through Israeli territory. The issue was not finalized, but the Allen team offered a possible solution to any security challenges that could occur.

Israel has also reserved an American idea for a squadron of Palestinian non-military helicopters that

would allow the Palestinian Authority to quickly transfer its "special forces" to locations suspected of trying to launch a "terrorist" attack. The Americans complained that "Israel" calls on the Palestinians on the one hand a quick reaction against terrorism, but on the other hand objects to proposals that make this Palestinian ability possible. One solution to this problem was the establishment of a limited "tunnel" in the West Bank that would allow Palestinians to use it under Israeli supervision. The plan also devoted time to finding security solutions for the Jordan Valley, including a US operations room, sensors, unmanned aerial vehicles and satellite imagery, and a major reinforcement of the Jordan-based border fence. The Americans also offered to build a second water barrier on the Jordanian side of the border, but the Israeli consensus was that this was not necessary. According to the report published in the Israeli newspaper that the Trump administration does not yet have a concrete plan to resume peace negotiations between Palestinians and Israelis, and that the president's statements so far were limited to expressing his desire to achieve "peace and love" for Israel and the Palestinians. The US national security adviser, General McMaster, said last month in Israel that the United States was committed to reaching a peace agreement while preserving Israel's security.

Proposed solutions to the two-state solution:

1. The establishment of a Palestinian state on the borders of the Palestinian territories occupied in 1967 - the West Bank and the Gaza Strip and the designation of East Jerusalem as the capital of this state - would constitute 22% of the historical land of Palestine. It is home to about 40% of the Palestinian people in the world.
2. The annexation of lands of strategic importance and a coastal area in the Sinai in exchange for waiving the demand for the right to land with high Israeli population density (settlements).
3. Easing the population pressure on the Gaza Strip and facilitating movement in the West Bank and linking them together
4. Building an international airport and airport for the independent Palestinian state.
5. Revitalize trade, tourism and fishing freely and control of the security forces over the territorial waters.
6. Establishment of new cities, power plants, oil pipelines and desalination plants.
7. Access to land equivalent to 100% of the area of Gaza and the West Bank before 1967.

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