

CHAPTER III

The Dynamic of Palestine Israel Conflict

To date it is very difficult to stop the Israeli military. The problem is not disability or inability of the United Nations but there is no serious willingness of the institution that should be able to stop the illegal action of Israeli terrorist extremist. This can be understood because either in the UN constitution or U.S. officials, lobby dominance of Israel is still so strong that whatever they do it could get justification. This is an irony that must be ended immediately. Evil collaboration of U.S. and Israel should be ended for the creation of peace on earth.

So far, peace process of Israeli-Palestinian is experiencing a serious obstacle. Involvement of international strength in realizing peace between the two nations becomes very necessary. International strength such as the United Nations as an international organization of international community representatives should be fairer towards problem solving of both nations.

A. Background of Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

In the development of history of Arabs-Israel-Palestine, the root was born around 1917, when for the first time British Foreign Ministry, James A. Balfour in his declaration told and gave opportunity to the Zionists that

Britain would help the formation of Jewish national settlements in Palestine. After the declaration, Zionists then performed a large-scale immigration. As a result, Palestinians conducted various attacks as a reaction to Jewish immigrants sustainable in the Palestinian territory.

UN resolutions did not get a good reception from both of them, even had made an open war. However, the most impressive in the both nations warfare is the different orientation. Palestinian nation in the war fought with the Jewish because of the desire to maintain the ancestral land of their nation. Israel fought to burn the Palestinian people that in fact do not like the presence of a new nation of Jewish. By looking at the past history, the Arabs actually found having more enough evidences and stronger reasons than the Jews who based their claim on Palestinian land only based on historical reasons.

An Arabic Politician said that using the holy book as the background, no one can answer questions or claim to the land they lived for nearly 2000 years ago. Core and root of Israel's dilemma actually lies on one of two realities that are very difficult, i.e. leaving the Israeli identity that relies on the Zionism because of the existence of new internal realities among Jews and Israel itself and in the environment of the Palestinians, or fulfilling the demands for recognition of Palestinian independence. Facing one of the two

difficult options, Jewish communities and the State of Israel faced a global crisis, which is extraordinarily difficult.⁶²

Since the Jews entered Palestine, the conflict between them occurred continuously. The basic defeat of the Palestinians was when Israel proclaimed its independence in December 1948. But before Israel proclaimed its independence, UN once mediated the conflict between them by issuing a resolution of No. 181 on 20 November 1947 confirmed that the land of Palestine will be divided into Arab and Jewish States.⁶³ UN Resolution brought disastrous for the Middle East that continues to date. At that time Arabic states chose to war rather than to accept the resolution with the Jewish State.

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⁶² Ibid

⁶³ Musthafa Abdul Rahman, *op cit* Page xxix

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For the Jewish people an anxiety developed increasingly when witnessing the increasingly wide gap between the ideals of Zionism ideology and the realities they face in a confrontation with the Palestinians and Arabs generally. There is no doubt that the extraordinary power that drives the emergence of the State of Israel in the Palestinian territories is the ideology of Zionism.

Ideology of Zionism can be shortly defined as belief about the return of the Jewish people and their Diasporas (overseas, wanderings and exiles) for centuries, so it can save them from the power of the non Jewish people. Therefore, Zionism aims to realize a country which is fully Jewish in ethos and character after being in the Diaspora for more than 2000 years and thus they are able to survive on this earth.

On May 29, 1946 the Arab Countries through the Arab League front pledged a common attitude that the problem of Palestine is no longer the domestic problems of the Arab-Palestinian people, but it is a common problem

of the whole Arabic nations. Britain which overwhelmed dealing with the increasingly complicated situation eventually handed the Palestinian issue to the UN.⁶⁵ The UN established a special commission consisting of 10 neutral countries in order to formulate a political solution.

The majority of commission members wanted to set up two separate states in Palestine, namely the Arab and Jewish states. The city of Jerusalem was set as an International city under the UN. The minority members of the commission of India, Iran, Yugoslavia wanted the establishment of two states with their own government, but joined in the central federation under one president, one constitution and one nationality.

Arab Countries tended to agree with the second option, while the Jews were more interested in the first option. In November 1947 the UN General Assembly decided to accept the first option. Palestine was divided into 2 countries. The UN decision was supported by the big countries like the U.S., Russia and France. Britain and nine other countries abstained and all Arab Countries and Asian countries such as India, Turkey, Pakistan and Iran refused. Arab League conducted a protest loudly and tried to fail it.

As a result of the controversial decisions of the United Nations, the situation in Palestine increasingly heated. Armed clashes between the Arab - Jewish happened every day with a large number of victims. Amid the crunch the British decided to get out of Palestine on May 14, 1948. On the day when

⁶⁵ M. Amin Rais "Politik dan Pemerintahan Timur Tengah" IIGM Yogyakarta 1989 page 200

England truly withdrew its forces from Palestine, the Jewish National Council in Tel Aviv proclaimed Israel's independence. Within hours the U.S. gave de facto recognition of the independence, followed by Russia, France and other western countries.

Arab Countries reacted spontaneously to the independence of Israel with arms. Arab-Israeli war finally broke out. Until 1973, the war has lasted four times, namely in 1948, 1956, 1967 and 1973. Israel won the first three wars. In the 1967 war Israel captured Egyptian territory in Sinai, Jordanian territory in the west Valley of Jordan River and Syrian areas in Golan upland which has a total area four times of the original area of Israel.

B. Efforts to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict

In addition to the UN there are some countries that take part to help resolve the conflict. For example having a meeting to discuss peace efforts, for truce no longer occurs. Countries and world organizations that cover this for example are: the European Union, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Hizbut Tahrir and others.

European Union countries expect the Palestinians support the formation of the new Parliament to stop the violence. Pakistan also asserts that the international world should be fair to achieve peace. King of Jordan also call for that all parties must return to the Middle East council. Many parties, especially countries in the Middle East should help Palestine.

This can happen if there are other parties that support the economy, send volunteers and other assistance. This can be proven from the Iranian State in which the President Ahmadinejad then held a summit and discuss a deal to help the Palestinians in the financial. Palestinians certainly welcome this well, given Iran faces pressure from the West on its nuclear power. Arab League discusses how to provide funds for the benefit of the Palestinian Authority. Finalization is done in the Arab League summit in Khartoum, the capital of Sudan.⁶⁶

Here the strongest reaction came as a rejection of the Palestinians such as Israel's Prime Minister, at the time was Ehud Olmert, who held a meeting which stressed that his government is violently refusing to negotiate with the Palestinians in which at that time Hamas won the election including the armed organizations in Palestine, that supported the destruction of Israel. United States automatically helped Israel, and insisted that the Palestinians should stop their gun battle. Until now Palestinians especially Hamas never give up for their gun battle.

To date it is very difficult to stop the Israeli military. The problem is not disability or inability of the United Nations but there is no serious willingness of the institution that should be able to stop the illegal action of Israeli terrorist extremist. This can be understood because either in the UN constitution or U.S. officials, lobby dominance of Israel is still so strong

⁶⁶ <http://www.infopalestina.com/lihatberita.asp?id=8440>

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1. Settlement through negotiation

Some of negotiations initiated by the United States and the United Nations with the aim of completing these conflicts peacefully are as follows:

a. Oslo I and II Agreements

Oslo I agreement took place on September 13, 1993. This Oslo agreement is considered as a benchmark for subsequent negotiations. In 1995 the Oslo II agreement was agreed with the expansion of Palestinian self-governing power to the West Bank including Jenin, Tulkarem, Nablus, Qalqiliyah, Bethlehem and Ramallah. The agreement contains ten points of agreement, among others Israel will withdraw 80% of its forces from Hebron. the

Palestinians is demanded must fight terrorism and the Palestinian charter about the destruction of Israel.

b. Wye River Agreement

The election of Benjamin Netanyahu as Israel's Prime Minister caused the Oslo agreements faltering even stopping for nearly 2 years. In his leadership Netanyahu made the controversial measures such as opening the door of the tunnel under the western wall of Jerusalem that could endanger the foundations of the Aqsha Mosque. In addition, direct or indirect terror sponsored by the state was conducted by Israeli soldiers in Gaza and the West Bank.

Such condition invited reactions from western countries. To resolve the ongoing conflict, the United States as the most-interested country in the Israel-Palestinian attempted to initiate negotiations, i.e. the Wye River negotiations in the United States in 1998.

This agreement contains the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the West Bank, and Israel must hand over 13% of West Bank territory to Palestinians. Both sides started last conference about Palestine, Jewish and Jerusalem settlements and the PLO central council must remove anti-Israeli articles in the three months since starting to withdraw the troops. But it was just a deal. The Wye River agreement was not implemented and even frozen by Prime Minister Netanvahu.

In 1999 he started its aggression into Gaza. It is a clear proof that Israel does not intend to do peace negotiation.

c. Camp David II Negotiations

Israeli elections in May 1999 which was won by Ehud Barak's Labour Party initially gave hope for future peace. Israel's Prime Minister Ehud Barak and Palestinian leader Yaser Arafat signed Sharm El Sheikh Agreement in Egypt in September 1999. Prime Minister Barak did not carry out is the agreement, he preferred to reach a final agreement directly rather than gradually.⁶⁷

That factor made the United States president Bill Clinton with the approval of Prime Minister Ehud Barak held Camp David II Negotiation in July 2000, but this negotiation failed. The negotiation had brought about Israel's political crisis; because most of the political parties united in a coalition government of Prime Minister Ehud Barak opposed the too big concession given to the Palestinians in the negotiation.

This resulted in the downfall of Prime Minister Ehud Barak, as political crisis coiled around Israel that forced Prime Minister Ehud Barak to resign and hold elections quickly. Along with this, the Palestinians activated Al Aqsha Intifada as reaction of their disappointment over the failure of Camp David II negotiation.

Then since March 2001, Ariel Sharon served as prime minister, with his hard policy made the peace process has not moved yet. Even the escalation of Israel-Palestinian violence increased.

d. Peace Map Concept

The United States in the previous negotiations always became a single player in initiating the peace efforts. But this time the United States together with the UN, Russia and the European Union tried to do the peace efforts; this group produced a peace concept which was called peace map.

This concept was based on the speech of George W. Bush on June 24, 2002 about two-state solution for Israel-Palestinian conflict.⁶⁸ The value of peace map concept is actually very strategic, not because promising for the birth of Palestinian state in 2005 but because it is part of the new political policy of United States in the Middle East, after tragedy of September 11, 2001 in New York and Washington DC.

e. Geneva Initiative

This initiative was signed on October 12, 2003 attended by 700 international leaders. This initiative was achieved through a

⁶⁸ Kompas, 23 Desember 2003. Peta perdamaian masih sebuah konsep semata

process of dialogue for 3 years by involving 50 figures of Palestinians and Israel, which was held alternately in the city of Ramallah, Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Geneva and the Arab city and other European cities.

With the aim of achieving final agreement for Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and after that both parties are not allowed to propose charges again. In this case American attitude supported the agreement but this Geneva initiative is an unofficial since it was initiated by nongovernmental figures and even some of them are in the opposition ranks.

2. Settlement Through Resolution

The 1997 Balfour Declaration promised a Jewish state in Palestine land in the Zionist movement. Because of the legitimacy of the Balfour declaration the Jewish people in Europe began to perform immigration to Palestine land in 1918. But the process of Jewish immigration from Europe to Palestine land began in 1930.

UN issued resolution No. 181 on November 29, 1947 which affirms the division of Palestine into Jewish and Arab states. The resolution led David Ben Gourion proclaiming Jewish state on May 14, 1948. The UN resolution and declaration of Jewish state in 1948 resulted in the continuing conflict in the Middle East. Arab countries at that time

then chose war rather than accepted the UN resolution No. 181 and the declaration of the Jewish state.

Arab-Israeli war in 1967 has led the birth of the UN Security Council resolution no.242 which was successful to be issued on November 22, 1967 by voting to seek a compromise settlement of the conflict. Then the most burdensome resolution for Israel was issued by the UN security's council in 2002 no.1397 about the recognition of the existence of Palestinian state. The resolution invited the Palestinians to behave negatively because basically the Palestinians never acknowledge the existence of the state of Israel.

Furthermore, the UN Security Council issued resolution numbered 1402, 1403 and 1405 as an addition to the previous resolution, i.e. resolution no. 1397 and 1435. But, although so many resolutions were issued by the UN Security Council against Israel, Israel did not fully comply with the resolution. Nevertheless America as a country that "is said" as a pioneer of world peace never and even seemed blindfold on the disobedience of Israel in response to the resolution of the UN Security Council. From some of the efforts taken by the UN Security Council in order to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict are often unable to cope and create world peace.

The international community considers that United Nations in carrying out its role has imbalance in the implementation. This happens

because of the veto owned by countries of permanent member of the UN Security Council; in this case the veto is used by the United States in order to protect the interests of the state of Israel.

a. The position of Israel after peace efforts

Until now, Israel still gets protection from the United States; with its veto Israel was been doing truce to the Palestinian because the United States has a veto in the UN. Where as the UN Security Council has given a warning for Israel to withdraw for the sake of common security. Israel actually was worth worrying because many party organizations such as Hamas, Fatah and others were present in the truce.

With the entry of Hamas into the Palestinian government and the full support of the Palestinians it will give legitimacy for Hamas to get a policy to attack Israel to protect Palestinian interests.⁶⁹ Although there was a loss due to the conflict, Israel was not backward, while many parties forced Israel to stop attacks for peace. This happens because of the veto owned by countries of permanent member of the UN Security Council; in this case the veto is used by the United States in order to protect the interests of the state of Israel.

⁶⁹ Kursi untuk Hamas, 43 kursi untuk Fatah (accessed on 9 August 2007), taken from <http://www.eramuclim.com/herita/6127965100-76-kursi-hamas-43-kursi-fatah.html>

b. The position of Palestine after the peace effort

For the Palestinians generally, they had different opinion about the peace treaty which would give them trial time to govern themselves, the pros and cons. At least there are three perspectives that see the peace with Israel differently.

The three perspectives come from the reactive, proactive, and Islamic groups. For the reactive view, they believe that given the weak position of PLO, it would be better to limit themselves from hard initiatives, run a wait and see attitude and only answer the initiative from the U.S. or the others. To strengthen its position, the PLO was recommended to develop good relations with Arab countries.

From the cease action, it endured so many victims that many people lost their relatives. Especially in the Palestine, Israel conducted truce mostly on Palestinian civilians. So from the monitoring of Middle East Policy Council annual average from 2000 to 2010 many people killed in the conflict. In 2000, 300 people killed in Palestine while in Israel are only 50 people, the next year the number increased and Israel also has doubled the number. In 2002 it was also very incessant because almost exceeded 1000 people to Palestine and Israel only 350 people, whereas in 2003 from the conflict the number of killed victims for Palestinian

575 and Israel 200 people. In 2004 it increased again so that the Palestine and Islamic states infuriated to see the anarchist of Israel, nearly 900 people were killed in this incident, while Israel only 100 people. In 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008 the average of number of people died around 450 people, it is smaller number because at the time it was not as incessant as in 2009 which reached nearly 1300 Palestinian civilians killed, while Israel is only 30 people.

C. The Dynamic of conflict since 2000-2009

Among this conflict and the resolution and the agreement where built by United Nation in the reality still a lot of cases in Palestine from the bombing from Israeli etc start from on 2000, The Israeli Army withdraws from southern Lebanon, in compliance with U.N. Resolution 425. Syria and Lebanon insist that the withdrawal is incomplete, claiming the Shebaa Farms as Lebanese and still under occupation.

The UN certifies full Israeli withdrawal. The Camp David Summit between Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak and Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat aimed at reaching a final status agreement collapses after Yasser Arafat would not accept a proposal drafted by American and Israeli negotiators on September 2000 there are Right wing Israeli Opposition Leader Ariel Sharon visits the Temple Mount which is administered by a Waqf (Under Israeli law, each religious group is granted administration of their holy sites). The day after the visit, violent confrontations erupt between Muslims and Israeli Police. Arafat

names the second intifada the Al-Aqsa Intifada after Sharon's visit, for the Al-Aqsa Mosque contained within the Temple Mount (holy also to Jews and Christians). This event is considered by some to be one of the possible catalysts of the second intifada, however, it is commonly accepted in most circles that there had been numerous underlying causes October 2000 events in Israel. Also in foreign state especially in Palestine organization, The proactive group consisting of those who are secular and those who are Islamists suggested the PLO to propose the initiative and the new policy and not just performing a reaction toward the initiative from the external party. This group consists of the intellectuals while Fattah was led by Mahmod Abbas and the left group.

Meanwhile, the Islamist group was led by Hamas and Islamic Jihad. Although more reactive groups are run by the PLO, but the more popular in the community is proactive and even to Islamist groups tend to dominate the undercurrent of society Palestine. At least there are eight opponents of artifacts of PLO agreements, namely:

- 1) HAMAS
- 2) Islamic Jihad Organization
- 3) Folk Front for the Liberation of Palestine
- 4) Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine
- 5) Palestine Liberation Front
- 6) Palestinian Folk Struggle Front led by Khalid Abdul Majid
- 7) Thunder Group which wings Baathist Syria
- 8) Revolutionary Communist Party

In addition to the above rejection on the grounds of party, with the agreement PLO's Chairman Yaser Arafat was accused of selling land of Al-Quds to the Jews and conspired with Jewish people. According to them, this accusation was leveled because in addition to the formal agreement, there was a secret document of PLO-Israeli agreements that were considered harmful to the Palestinian by the opposition groups. In addition to the fact the two areas that were returned by Israel to the Palestinians turned out to lands that have no meaning and do not contain a lot of sense economically. Gaza is a waste territory that no one wants while Poor Jericho is a poor town in the West Bank in which both of them have economic and security burden values for Israel.⁷⁰

Thus the Palestinians with the conflict will be poorer and caused many victims for having not enough weapons as Israel although Israel had a loss due to buying weapons; even underground roads of Palestine were destroyed by Israel. Palestine got more hunger for it. With the entry of Hamas into the Palestinian government which have the full support of the Palestinians it will give legitimacy for Hamas to get a policy to attack Israel for protecting Palestinian interests.

Solidarity demonstrations held by Palestinian citizens of Israel escalate into clashes with Israeli police and Israeli Jewish citizens. 13 Arab civilians (12 with Israeli citizenship) are shot and killed by Israeli police and one Jewish civilian is killed by an Arab citizen. In Hezbollah cross-border raid 3 Israeli soldiers are

killed and their bodies kidnapped and Northern Israel is shelled in an attempt to ignite the Israeli-Lebanese border too, but Israelis decide on limited response.

Then in 2002 occurred again in The Battle of Jenin, as part of Operation Defensive Shield, Israeli forces enter a Palestinian refugee camp in Jenin where about a quarter of suicide bombings since 2000 had been launched from. The battle cost the lives of 23 Israeli soldiers and 52 Palestinians, of which 30 were militants and 22 were civilians. This particular event sparked a great deal of controversy. A Hamas Palestinian Islamic law student explodes himself with a belt filled with metal balls for shrapnel. 19 Israelis killed, and over 74 wounded.

US President George W. Bush calls for an independent Palestinian state living in peace with Israel. In a major speech, Bush states that Palestinian leaders must take steps to produce democratic reforms, and fiscal accountability, in order to improve the negotiations with Israel. He also states that as Palestinians show control over terrorism, Israel must end operations in the West Bank, and in areas which it entered under Operation Defensive Shield.

At least 223 Palestinians were also killed by fellow Palestinians According to William Zartman, a ripe moment for negotiation would come after the conflicting parties perceive the condition of Mutually Hurting stalemate (MHS) and a way out. The MHS provides the push to begin negotiation when the way out provides the pull into a negotiated solution. When the parties find themselves

locked in a conflict from which they can not win and this dead lock is painful for both of them (although not in equal degree), they tend to seek a Way Out.

Based on the assumption of cost and benefit analysis, when the parties find themselves in painful path, they prepare to look for an alternative that is more advantageous.⁷¹ If the MHS provides the push, the Way Out is a pull to negotiated solution. It is a perception of the parties that a negotiated solution, although not necessarily a specific Solution, is possible to search and that the other party shares the willingness to search too. MHS and WO are both subjective and objectives.

It is subjective in the sense that both the MHS and WO are a matter of perception. But it is objectives in the sense that it can be created if outside parties can cultivate the perceptions of painful present and a preferable alternative.⁷² The trend of MHS perception can be seen through the polls done by Jerusalem Media and Communication Centre (JMCC).

The polls show that in the third quarter of 2002, more than 50% of Palestinian respondents in the West Bank and Gaza still supported the armed conflict.⁷³ However, on the first quarter of 2003, 74 % of Palestinian respondents support the case for a truce between Israel and Palestinian political factions.⁷⁴ The fact that a large number of people turned from supporting the conflict to supporting the cease fire indicated that they have been exhausted by the conflict

⁷¹ I. William Zartman, *Negotiation and conflict Management: Essay on Theory and Practice*, Oxon 200T, p.232

⁷² *Ibid*, p.233

⁷³ Micel K. Esposito, 'Quarterly Update on Conflict and Diplomacy 16 November 2002-15 February 2003', *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 32 No. 3, p. 129

⁷⁴ Michael K. Esposito, 'Quarterly Update on Conflict and Diplomacy 16 May-15 August 2003', *Journal Palestine Studies*, Vol.33 No. 1, p.131

and expected a peace negotiation to come. So here the total death since 2000-2006 were estimated to be 4,046 Palestinians and 1,017 Israelis. Note that these numbers do not differentiate between combatants and civilians.

From 2007-2009 on 2007 The United States sets a timetable for easing Palestinian travel and bolstering Israeli security. Israel including steps like removing specific checkpoints in the West Bank and deploying better-trained Palestinian forces to try to halt the firing of rockets into Israel from Gaza and the smuggling of weapons, explosives and people into Gaza from Egypt. Israel is wary over certain proposals so long as Palestinian militants continue to fire rockets at Israel. The Hamas-led Palestinian government rejected the initiative, in part because it favored Mahmoud Abbas.⁷⁵ Israel launches Operation Cast Lead or Gaza war against the Hamas controlled Gaza Strip, a full scale invasion of the territory in response to rocket attacks by Palestinian militant groups.

Hamas and other Palestinian groups retaliate by firing mortars and rockets into civilian population centers and Army bases in Southern Israel. After 22 days of fighting, Israel and Hamas each declare unilateral ceasefires. 13 Israelis are killed including 3 civilians. Between 1166 and 1417 Palestinians are killed, including between 295 and 926 civilians. So the totally people killed in Palestine almost 6000 people and Israel only including about a thousand begin 2000-2009. And Infrastructure damage

⁷⁵ http://www.english-people.com/en/2007/05/06/eng20070506_372296.html

severe even tunnel in Gaza Street has many closed because bombing from Israel.

D. Response Islamic community toward conflict

In this cases many respons from other sector in Islamic state, because too long the conflict make a lot of Islamic state leader critize in form ask to United Nations to eliminate Veto right because favour toward imperialism.⁷⁶ And in Egypt subway to connect among Israel Palestine to sale staple also closed by Egypt, Israel always threaten Egypt to no cooperate with Palestine because capitalism interest in Gaza Street conflict.⁷⁷ In this case Islam still favor Imperialism in the west because almost agreement in the United Nations did not produce result to stop conflict, with threaten from US that have veto right and Israel as adjutant from United States. This is very irony in Islamic need help to finished the conflict almost Islamic state in the world favour west to economic interest. Then in part Islamic organization do meeting like summit it also have no result. It should make Islam more unity to defence Moslem.

⁷⁶ <http://konspirasi.com/peristiwa/ahmadinejad-hapuskan-hak-veto-di-pbb/>

⁷⁷ <http://securitystudiesupdate.wordpress.com/2010/01/01/ialur-gaza-ekonomi->