
DIALOGUE

**REVIEW FOR DISCUSSION BETWEEN
ARAB AND JEWISH ACTIVISTS OF PALESTINE**

IN DEFENCE OF THE RIGHT OF RETURN, FOR THE ONE STATE SOLUTION

END OF TERM REPORT PUBLISHED IN ENGLISH, ARABIC, HEBREW AND FRENCH

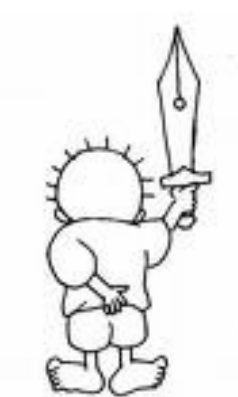
Israeli politics and the West : the more it changes, the more it stays the same, by Haim Bresheeth — Palestinian Youth Network : Interview with a young Palestinian — The Palestinian question, the Kurdish movement and the Turkish left, by Kenan Kalyon — On Zionism, by Ben Ehrenreich — The consequences of Gaza's resistance on Palestinian policies, by Salah Mohamed — About the debate on "solutions", by François Lazar — A Declaration of the Fath (1st January 1969).

MAY, 2009

3\$ 2£ 4€ NUMBER 23

Contents

Introduction	page 3
Israeli politics and the West: the more it changes, the more it stays the same. by Haim Bresheeth	page 5
Palestinian Youth Network : Interview with a young Palestinian	page 11
The Palestinian question, the Kurdish movement and the Turkish left. by Kenan Kalyon	page 12
On Zionism. by Ben Ehrenreich	page 14
The consequences of Gaza's resistance on Palestinian policies. by Salah Mohamed	page 17
About the debate on "solutions". by François Lazar	page 19
A Declaration of the Fath (1st January 1969)	page 22



www.dialogue-review.com

Introduction

The terrible aggression against the Gaza Strip's civilian population that took place (as always) with the complicity of the United States, the European Union and all those connected with them, represents the latest consequence of the Nakba, which started when the UN voted for the partition of Palestine on 29th November 1947.

The acknowledgement of these facts, which we repeat over and over again in our review, as do many militants and democratic groups, brings up an essential question: why should it be incompatible with the existence, along with the Jewish populations, and with equal rights, in a single State, for the Palestinian populations to also be granted their rights? And by Palestinian populations we mean not only those enclosed in the refugee camps, but also those living within the Hebrew State, those living in the "occupied territories" since 1967, and also the entire Diaspora.

You can read hereunder some extracts of a book by the historian Arno J. Mayer, published recently . One has to admit that the reflections, remarks and analyses of this author, which are founded on facts that nobody can deny, fit in perfectly with the discussion that the review Dialogue is proposing to organise?

Mayer writes: "*One can assert that Israel has become a terrorist or rogue State*". In the historian's opinion, as he sees the ever-increasing disillusion within the State of Israel, "*(...) it is estimated that in 2006 almost 650,000 Israelis, i.e. 12.5% of the Jewish population to be found in Israel, actually live abroad, of whom 60% in North America and 25% in Europe. In that same year, 4,500 Israelis chose to become German citizens; with at least 100,000 Jews in Germany, the Jewish population there has now reached the third position in Europe. The brain drain has brought 20% of the Israeli university professors to leave for the United States and one also sees many doctors, as also specialists in physics, chemistry, IT and economy, emigrating. Jerusalem is being transfigured and both the lack of democracy and the shrinking of the intellectual horizons are contributing to an unexpected yerida (the departure of Jews from the State of Israel. The opposite of the aliyah – Editor's note), which, rather like the refusal to do one's military service, seems to be getting less and less stigmatised*".

Arno J. Mayer, who describes himself as "*a non-Jewish Jew, with a Zionist family background*", goes on to describe the powerful grip that militarism has on the Jewish populations and points out that "*it is no longer possible for the country to survive without its unlimited American credit card, which guarantees its oversized military budget (one can significantly note that that account is currently administrated by Stanley Fischer, an American executive who previously had high-level jobs within the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and Citigroup – until 2005, at which time he became governor of the Bank of Israel). Debates at the time of elections also very largely exclude topics such as the absolute priority given to guns rather than butter, the total indifference with which the Mizrahim (Jews of Eastern origins – Editor's note) are treated and the ever-lasting discrimination which is the lot of the Arab-Palestinian minority. The fact that Israel is totally dependent on the United States from a political standpoint is absolutely never mentioned (...). If you calculate military expenditure per capita, Israel is the worldwide no. 1 – ahead of the United States, who only comes third. Even though it is largely financed by the United States and by the Jewish Diaspora, the exorbitant military expenditure – 10% of the GDP – stifles the social budget (...). In 2005, nearly 34% of Israelis, among which the Palestinian Israelis (who describe themselves as "the inside Palestinians" – Editor's note) were either earning the minimum wage or even less; nearly 50% of the students ceased their studies without having acquired any degree. The politicians divert the social discontent by exacerbating the eternal "struggle for survival" against the Palestinians, while a large number of Israelis lend an ear to the noisy ultra-nationalist, religious, anti-Arab and Muslim-phobic sirens*".

Since he wrote this book, the offensive against the Gaza Strip, with its wake of barbaric acts, has brought about an unprecedented movement of rejection of the State of Israel, by Jewish militants and intellectuals who cannot stand the coldly murderous politics of a State which is supposed to represent them.

You will read in this issue of Dialogue contributions that explain why it is necessary to organise this debate and to pursue it at an international level. The debate needs to be brought to those – and their number is ever-increasing – who refuse to let crimes be committed in their name. And also to Palestinian militants and youth who are at the moment trying to regain the democratic foundations of their movement of national liberation, while they are confronted with the dislocating crisis within their traditional political representation, which is a consequence of the Oslo Agreement. For all of them, peace is not possible without justice. And justice is not possible without starting with the democratic demands of the region's populations.

That is the debate to which Dialogue proposes that militants of the labour and democratic movement should contribute.

Israeli politics and the West: the more it changes, the more it stays the same

By Haim **Bresheeth**

In the wake of the criminal attack on Gaza, started by Israel on December 27, 2008, and lasting more than a month, leading to the death of around 1500 Palestinians, the wounding of many thousands, and the destruction of the infrastructure in the Gaza strip, and in the light of the results of the Israeli elections, one is advised to review the situation; this is even more urgent when one considers the growing opposition to Israel in many parts of the world, and the better understanding in many quarters of the unjust, criminal and extreme methods of Zionism, in trying to secure its continued hold over Palestine. Will Gaza lead to a change in the relationship to Israel, especially in the western democracies? What are the likely developments we can foresee as a result of public opinion and political elite changes due to the Gaza barbarities, and the new stance of the Netanyahu regime? What, if anything, has changed, and what does this change offer, or threaten?

For over four decades, ever since 1967 and the devastating war started by Israel, ending with full Israeli control over the whole of Palestine, western nations have been playing an odd and damaging game, one which in reality has made a just political solution in the Middle East all but impossible. Under the guise of different statements, policies and ideologies, one factor has remained constant – the unwavering, and unprincipled support of the Israeli political system by all Western governments, with scant (or totally absent) regard to the Palestinian people and its rights, not to mention its plight. During this whole period, and in the face of numerous UN and Security Council resolutions calling for Israel to withdraw from the Occupied Territories of Palestine, and to vacate its illegal settlements, Israel was able to continue settling the said territories, with wanton disregard of the UN, the Security Council, the Geneva Conventions, the International Court of Human Rights, the International Criminal Court, and too many international convention to list here, notably those on torture, nuclear proliferation, Chemical and Biological weapons and war crimes, to mention the main ones. One can hardly think of any other regime on earth which has broken, negated or ignored international law more systematically than Israel: it has invaded and conquered four of its neighbouring countries (it is still occupying territories which belong, or belonged to all four), it has attacked installations in a number of other countries, such as Tunisia, Iraq, Syria or Sudan, and had developed nuclear, chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction with total impunity, not to mention the active support from France, UK and USA.

A large number of researchers have tried to unfathom the reasons for this unswerving political, military, diplomatic and financial support and underpinning of Israel, an aggressive neo-colonial settler society, by a large group of democratic and sometime progressive nations, ranging widely, from the EU to the USA and Canada, Australia, India and Japan, the main players. Israel has been able to count on the support of this powerful bloc of nations, the richest on earth, for almost all of its six decades of existence. Such support has been crucial for its ability to flaunt international law, as well as the custom-and-practice of international behaviour, and to instigate and maintain a stranglehold on the Palestinian Occupied Territories, to terrorise other states in the region, and to act as the local policeman on behalf of the new empires. It seems, therefore, that any theorization of the relationship which does not start from the real meeting of interests between the western capitalist bloc and Israel, is constructing its arguments on a less-than-stable foundation. Such might be the position of those who base their arguments for the bond between Israel and those world powers on structures of influence, such as the AIPAC (American Israel Public Affairs Committee) – the so

called Jewish Lobby, and its undoubted powers of persuasion. While only a child might doubt the real influence of AIPAC (and of similar Zionist lobbies elsewhere), it seems that, as argued by Noam Chomsky ¹, AIPAC would have much less influence on the USA administration, where it to promote a case which Americans will not recognize as an integral part of their mission, part of their national goals. Arguably, the lobby has been crucial in turning the Israeli agenda into such an integral part of the USA mission ², as it has been understood by a number of USA administrations and presidents across the political spectrum. That the lobby has been successful in this task is clear – any incoming president, even at the earliest stages of his campaign, must, it seems, indicate how deeply he is in support of Israel and Zionism, and make the traditional pilgrimage to Jerusalem, to meet with the Israeli elite. This is not the case with any similar ethnic group in the USA – presidential candidates do not see the need to go to Rome in order to pull Italian Americans, or to Poland, to persuade Polish Americans to vote for them. It will also be unthinkable that they will be expected to make a statement in support of such governments, in order to persuade voters from those communities. The same can be said, to a lesser extent, about a wide range of European leaders; from Berlusconi to Merkel, and not forgetting Sarkozy, EU leaders seem also enthralled by Israeli influence and interests. A lot has been written about the Holocaust, as a turning point in European and western politics, as far as Jews, and later Israel, are concerned. It is certain that this is so, and the various lobbies' operations on behalf of Israel, are making much use of this factor, using and abusing the Holocaust, in order to elicit specific benefits to Israel; no one has clarified this mechanism better than Norman Finkelstein ³, and his work, and the work of many others, has exposed this cynical use Israel and Jewish lobbies are making of this terrifying event in world history, partly by 'privatizing' the Holocaust into an exclusively-Jewish affair. However, only an anti-semitic will be ready to accept that influence exerted by Israelis and other Jews over western democracies, is a result of some secret cabal, rather than the rational outcome of common interests. So, what are those interests which bind the western democracies to Israel so tightly?

That the Jewish state should present itself as an agent of the west, capable of rendering crucial services to its members, was, after all, the foundation on which Herzl has built political Zionism. This thesis saw the new state to be constructed in the Middle East as a sub-contractor of European imperialism of the period; it mattered little to Herzl which empire he would serve – the main point was to identify the most likely empire, persuading its leaders that such services are unique, and can only be offered by a colon, a dependable body of colonists of European origin, with an agenda which will separate them automatically and permanently from the indigenous population ⁴.

Those basic attitudes still form the operative premise of Zionism. Empires might come and go – the ottomans give way to the British Mandate, and young Israel changes over to the French, before finally settling on the USA as its protector and paymaster, to whom services will be granted. This contract has withstood the test of time. Year after year, resolutions in the Security Council or the General Assembly of the United Nations had attracted the veto or the negative vote of the USA, even on those occasions that it found itself isolated with Israel and Micronesia. The understanding and agreement between the unequal partners is strategic and long-term. The USA has contributed to tiny Israel more funds over the years than to all other countries combined, which says something about American priorities. So what are the services granted which the USA finds so worthwhile?

If Israel did not exist, the USA will have to invent it, it seems. In the whole Middle East, Israel seems like the only dependable, long-term client state, on which the USA can count. It is a non-Muslim, non Arab, racialised ethnocracy, seen as part of what the American term the 'Judeo-Christian' tradition ⁵. In other words, the USA and Europe still perceive Israel as the only country in the Middle East which must, by definition, depend on them for survival, hence safely connected to western interests. That it has for so long fought a range of Arab and Moslem countries is a bonus of serious proportions – Israel has collected much information on most Arab countries, has a large military and civil intelligence community, with many tens of thousands of trained operatives, as well as

operational methods it has developed over the years. In comparison to the other regimes in the region, it is much more dependable from a western perspective: most of the other countries have undergone a severe colonial period, which had shaped the perception of the west in those cultures, giving rise to deep-seated opposition to Europe and the west, the past colonial powers. In the few cases where an outspoken leader is supportive of western priorities, he may indeed be murdered, like Anwar Sadat was, or deposed like the Iranian Shah, leading to a reversal of policies in such countries. The leaders of the Gulf countries are obviously problematic – anti-democratic, unelected monarchs installed by the British Empire, far from liberal or democratic sentiments, and liable to disappear at some point with little notice. Israel is different – it is a colony itself, feared, hated and despised by millions in the Middle East. Hence, it not only serves western goals in the region and is supported in turn, but also serves as a political lightning rod: instead of the anti-colonial sentiment being directed against the west, and specifically the USA, it is instead focused on Israel, and the USA is seen by (too) many in the region as an honest broker, something it can never be, as the puppet master behind the Israeli marionette ⁶.

This leads, periodically, to Israeli plans offered to the paymaster for approval, premised on resolving problems which affect both sides of the relationship; an example to this may be the Israeli plans to attack and topple Ayatollah Khomeini, and dispose of the Islamic Republic, as early as 1981:

“The idea of American-Israeli cooperation against Iran is not new for Sharon. On the contrary, in 1981, when he was just appointed Minister of Defense, he offered the Pentagon a daring plan: in the event of Khomeini’s demise, the Israeli army would immediately occupy Iran, in order to forestall the Soviet Union. The IDF would turn the country over to the slow-moving Americans, once they arrived. For this purpose, the Pentagon would stockpile in advance the most sophisticated arms in Israel, under American control, to be used in this operation.” ⁷

Needless to say, the plans for an Israeli attack on Iran and destroying the Islamic Republic, have never been suspended; rather, Israel continues to pressurize the USA administration, in order to get a green light for such an attack. After the attack was vetoed by president Bush, during the last months of his reign, it seems that president Obama is considering it again.

Over the years, Israel has assisted, trained and supplied the Kurdish militias in Iraq, for example, as part of fighting against the Iraqi regime. In the latest Iraq war, Israel has helped the US and UK forces with intelligence and translation services, and there are unconfirmed reports about hundreds of Israeli operatives in Iraq, especially in the Kurdish region.

A recent example of the complexity of Israeli operations, are the events in Sudan, in January 2009; while busy destroying Gaza and killing its people, Israel has found time to bomb an area in Sudan, killing 39 people, who supposedly included some arms traders and traffickers. The facts are still being studied, but it seems certain that Israel has in this instance delivered a service to its Washington bosses – the arms dealers in this area are behind much of the piracy in the Indian Ocean and the red sea, of the Sudanese and Ethiopian coasts, and Israel has the capacity to bomb locally at short notice, alone among the western states. While arguably USA planes stationed in the Gulf could do this, it is unlikely that Saudi Arabia would have allowed this kind of action from its soil. The use of Israel is removing all responsibility from the USA or EU, the two blocs who would be served by such and similar actions.

That in Israel itself, only the USA is sometimes (not always, and not by all) trusted as an ‘honest broker’ between Israel and the Palestinians, is simply the result of shared interests and agendas. That other western nations accept that only the USA can achieve anything in the Middle East is not surprising either; a recent editorial in The Guardian

makes this point clearly, when relying on the USA to become more efficient in its control function in the Middle East:

"Only a US president can insist that Israel keeps food, oil and electricity going into Gaza. Only he can say no to a government which is planning to build 3,000 housing units between the West Bank settlement of Ma'aleh Adumim and East Jerusalem. Only he can insist that Israel does not choke off a Palestinian state before it is even born."

Even the Palestinian leadership has, ever since 1993, fully depended on the USA as the only agent of political change, capable of bringing about the creation of a Palestinian state of some kind. That they have so done, and publicly put their trust in the paymaster and controller of a Zionist Israel, is one of the many failures of this leadership; instead of having an independent policy and developing means of attaining their goals, they have continuously put their trust in the very powers which have financed and directed their continued subjugation. This failure to read the political picture is both sad and less than surprising – Arafat has spent most of his life under one Arab despot or another, and the only way he could achieve anything was by trying to curry favour with those in power, as he lacked any real power himself, and could only operate under sufferance. This style of political operation was transferred to the rump of Palestine Arafat was pseudo-controlling after 1993, and as the USA seems to be the only power which could, if it so chose, force Israel to meet its obligations, then appealing for its favours was supposedly all that could be done.

It is this kind of policy which has led to one cul-de-sac after another; As all USA presidents could be trusted with the Israeli agenda, there never was an opening for Palestine in that quarter. To depend on the good will of the powerful is always a mistake; to depend on it in those conditions was sheer folly. But one has to go further in order to understand the deep bond now evident between Israel and the western nations; to do so we need to consider the deep political shift during the 1980s and 1990s, and especially after the fall of communism in 1989, and how it affected western, and especially American thinking about the Middle East.

The recent events – the Gaza criminal bombardment and invasion by Israel, and the subsequent Israeli elections – have put the conflict in a new context altogether. Despite the unquestioning support given to Israel by the main western nations, and especially by the USA, UK, France and Germany, it seems that Israel has at last managed to infuriate and inflame public opinion across the globe against the war crimes committed in Gaza, something which has not happened before. Beyond the immediate anger of millions with this unhindered mass murder, and their frustration with their governments' collusion, it seems that the international community is now starting to mobilise heavily against Israeli atrocities; an example is the UN commission on war crimes which has been appointed to inquire into the Gaza war. Another type of international initiative is the growing Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement (BDS) now active in many countries and in all walks of life. The growing disillusion with the fig-leaf of the 'peace process', under which protection Israel has continued and intensified its illegal settlements, the Apartheid Wall, and such murderous operations as the Lebanon Invasion in 2006 and the Gaza war started in December 2008, and the realisation that the two-state solution has been made impossible by careful Israeli sabotage since 1967, leads to new discourse and new options being laid on the public table of media and academic debate.

Ironically, during the same period, in which world opinion has formed strong anti-Zionist understandings and positioning, Israel itself has buried its head deeper in the sand – Israeli political discourse has become even more obtuse, racist and exclusivist, now also excluding, for the most part, the two-state solution, and hence allowing other options, such as the one-state solution, to be aired in public for the first time. This option, the only one left on the table, now that Israel has made sure that no workable two-state option is there, is not new – it is the liberal alternative suggested in 1947 by a group of Arab and other states to the UN, instead of the famous (Partition) Resolution 181 – the

one which brought about not only the partition, but also the Nakba, and turned Palestine into a series of broken and disconnected communities, and almost a million Palestinians into refugees, unable to return to their homes and country.

The main difference between past Israeli administrations and the current one seems not of action, but of positioning – while in the past the position was: ‘continue the settlement process, and speak interminably about peace, allowing for the illusion of the Two State solution’, the new regime in Jerusalem is saying clearly, for the first time, that such a solution is not on the cards. This new stance is re-igniting the discussion on the One State solution, of course.

While not being a new idea, it is the only one offering life together without the promise of a struggle to the death between both communities. This is well understood by Israeli politicians – Olmert and Livni have continuously stated that without movement towards a Two-State solution, the One-State will become the new and lasting context for a future solution – something they are both totally against, of course. That the Israeli Jewish electorate has given most of its votes this time to right-wing parties, including extreme-right parties, is an interesting act of public denial in the Israeli polis - the voters have acted not through ignorance about the hostility to Israel's policies, but instead, with defiance against such surging positioning abroad. Not for the first time, Israel is facing the classical dilemma – on the one hand it must secure and use international support for its policies, while on the other, its public and politicians are disdainful and resentful towards the international coalition of western states which make its crimes possible... This fundamental contradiction at the heart of Israeli politics is explosive – it cannot be contained for ever; The harder such positions become, the more untenable they become.

The new government is not just right-wing, but one which is not offering Israel and the Palestinians any political solution, only a continued military, financial and political subjugation. This is not just short-termist and lacking in vision, but also very difficult to argue for, after more than four decades of illegal occupation, so what do they think they are going for? One is tempted to pose a question about the long-term aims of such a policy.

To the degree that a coherent policy exists in Jerusalem, it must be presumed that it is premised on ethnic cleansing, as all the other options have now been rejected out of hand, especially the Saudi option of a regional peace agreement with all Arab states on withdrawal from the Palestinian Occupied Territories, as well as the bottom lines of Oslo, Camp David, The so-called Road-Map, and now Annapolis. With all the negotiated political solution out of favour with the Israeli public and leadership, what is left is a struggle to the bitter end, until one group or the other manages to slaughter or exile its adversary. In what is really a most bizarre turn for most people, Israel has made clear that what it is worried, and wary about, are just peace negotiations and agreements, as those must involve withdrawal from its mini-empire. What the Israeli society seems to prefer to negotiated peace is self-initiated war/s. Israelis, on the whole, trust their military prowess more than their political ability to enforce a solution which will be acceptable to them, and the latest fiascos in Lebanon and Gaza seem unable to push the Israeli society back into the rational discourse zone. Instead, more apocalyptic scenarios are being adopted – a nuclear attack by Iran on Israel, for example, and more and more apocalyptic solutions are being put forward, including the ethnic cleansing of Palestinians from parts, or the whole, of their land, in order to allow the ideological and practical apartheid buried within the concept of Israel as the Jewish State. The attraction of military aggressive solutions is obvious - after all, Israel has managed to sell the rest of the world a thesis that in the past was limited to itself and the American Century ideological bunker – the Huntingtonian concept of the ‘clash of civilizations’ - and has also pioneered the presentation of the Arab/Moslem as the other of the west. As such, Israel presents itself as the bulwark against the Arab and Islamic culture, which, goes this argument, is alien and other than that of the ‘Judeo-Christian’ cultures of the west. In this role of stopping the advance of this alien and hostile culture, Israel has received

all the assistance that could be given to it by western states, and especially by the USA. Thus, the result of a military conflict between Israel with the latest and best technological weapons, and the lightly-armed Palestinian militias, is not too difficult to foresee. Should Palestinian militias cross an invisible line, one defined and dictated by Israel, then the Israeli military machine will crush them, and intensify the process of ethnic cleansing started in 1947, and never stopped since. The western democracies will not intervene, as this will be presented and understood as another phase in the conflict; they have never intervened to stop Israel harming the Palestinians, in the way the USSR and the USA intervened in 1956, getting Israel out of its Sinai conquest. Such is the stark reality facing the Palestinians, I believe.

The choice between further mass expulsions of Palestinians from their homes, as opposed to the continuation of the occupation and speedy settlement which will eventually make life impossible for Palestinians anyway, is not a real choice; but this is what is now being presented as the only choice, by the elimination of all other options from Israeli and American discourse. For those who put their hope in the new broom in the White House, It should be remembered that never before has the USA forced Israel into a position that was not acceptable to it. As the only way to resolve the conflict is forcing Israel, now more distant politically from such solutions than it ever was, then the option of Mr. Obama playing tough with Israel is not a real one; after all, he still hopes to be re-elected in 2012...

The dangers described above are not just those of not achieving a just solution, but much deeper ones. In the absence of a political plan for resolution of the conflict, in a political vacuum of the kind which existed during the Bush years, the main danger is that of Israel advancing its control project by both incipient settlement and quantum leaps of ethnic cleansing, in tandem, as opportunities present themselves. In a period of deep economic decline, the eye of the world is less than fully-focussed on regional conflicts, and those powers, like Israel, who have an uncompleted regional control project, have a longer leash in such times of confusion and fear. The lack of a clear position then becomes itself a position, a freezing of the situation into acceptance and inaction. This is what the incoming Israeli regime is building upon, and unless there is worldwide movement which continues to agitate and act efficiently against the stasis (as was the case with the movement against South African Apartheid, Anti Apartheid) - the signs are that a just peace and a politically negotiated settlement of the Palestinian Nakba is further than ever.

Prof. Haim Bresheeth is Director of Research of the School of Social Science, Media and Cultural Studies, University of East London, UK

-
- ^[1] Chomsky, N "[The Israeli Lobby](#)", ZNet, *March 28, 2006*.
 - ^[2] As noted "The Israel Lobby" by John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt in the London Review of Books, *March 23, 2006*
 - ^[3] Finkelstein, Norman, *Beyond Chutzpah: On the Misuse of Anti-Semitism and the Abuse of History*, University of California Press, Los Angeles, *2005*
 - ^[4] Herzl, Theodor, *The Diaries*, edited by Marvin Lowenthal, Dial Press, New York, *1956*
 - ^[5] This concept itself is an odd one. The first two millennia on Christianity were not known for excellent relations between the two religions, to put it mildly. Anti-semitism is an invention for which the church holds the copyright.
 - ^[6] Israel is, at the best of times, a complex and difficult puppet to operate; it has its own agenda, sometimes in contradiction to its colonial masters' wishes. While it is more dependable than Saddam's Iraq and Iran under the Shah, it keeps a large measure of autonomy, enough to persuade its own elite of its independence.
 - ^[7] Avneri, Uri, "Oil, Sharon and the Axis of Evil: The Great Game". Counterpunch, *February 11, 2002*

Palestinian Youth Network : Interview with a young palestinian

— You participated in the creation of the Palestinian Youth Network in November 2007. Can you tell us how it came about?

The first PYN conference was actually held in Paris, in November 2007. The idea was born in parallel, in France and in Spain, and came from members of the GUPS (General Union of Palestinian Students) who wanted to bring all Palestinian youth together in a single structure, to discuss the situation and the political perspectives of the national liberation movement. In fact, an informal meeting had been held in Barcelona in 2006, with young people from 7 or 8 countries, in order to make acquaintance and talk about Palestine. From there, the proposal for creating a real network took form. The idea spread quickly, but with no financial backing. (At the Paris conference, each participant paid for their own transportation).

— What did 100 young Palestinians talk about for 3 days straight? I imagine that your discussions were very political?

We especially talked about Palestine, and of course as soon as you start talking about Palestine, it always becomes political. There was a lot of support for the conference, notably the presence of Ghada Karmi, Omar Barghouti, Ahmad Mansour and the appearance of Salah Salah and others. Our discussions gained by an account of the history of the Palestinian national movement and were stirred by permanent debates on the Oslo Agreements and their failure; the single-state solution; the two-state solution based on the partition of Palestine; and on the idea that today there is a political vacuum, pushing the refugees to the fringe.

— Refugees who are however in the majority.

That is correct, in the majority and strongly united in their infeasible claim to the right to return; let me specify, the right to return and the reconstruction of destroyed villages, with material and financial reparations for the prejudice of suffering sixty years of exile. The question that was asked was "How can we make them visible?" This discussion on the refugees and their role has driven many young people to seek active political engagement, to assert Palestinian identity, which is essential to all those born outside.

— What are your projects?

We have decided to create an association, to write bylaws and to set up an internet site (www.pal-youth.org). A preparation committee was created and last year saw the second Madrid conference with once again 150 youths, this time from 33 countries. An organisation committee was set up, with the objective of creating PYN branches in the 33 countries represented and of preparing a third international conference in the next two years. This conference will be extremely important in that we wish to adopt a policy charter, which will be the fruit of all the discussions held by the different branches between now and then.

The Palestinian question, the Kurdish movement and the Turkish left

By Kenan Kalyon

If one first cursorily glances at the Palestinian question, one can analyse it very simply as a “national question” of a well known kind: it shows almost all the features that are specific to a national struggle since, basically, two peoples exist. One of them is oppressed, the other one is the oppressor. The Palestinian nation has been fighting for decades for its right to self-determination and it has repeatedly been granted that right by international legal bodies.

According to a well known argument, there is one single, straightforward solution: the oppressor people must recognise the right of the oppressed people along with all the consequences and independent Palestine must be created on the Gaza and West Bank territories to join in the family of States existing around the world. The Turkish Left considers that the solution is that simple. If, however one gives the Palestinian solution a more in-depth examination, one can perceive that such simplification is – in this case – incorrect, and that the Palestinian question belongs to quite a different category than other national questions. Why?

First, we are facing not a regional but a “universal” question. “Universal” because it is neither an Arab versus Israeli conflict, nor a conflict which would simply be tied to the status of Jerusalem (for the three religions).

This question is actually based on a global, especially Western, question: the “Jewish question”. During the process of formation of Nation-States that saw nationalisms gain ground, the Jews became the chosen targets of the mounting bourgeoisies. They were repressed, turned out of their homes, systematically destroyed. The Dreyfus trial took place even in a country with a revolutionary, secular and republican tradition such as France. In many countries, hostility against the Jews turned into the mounting wave of racism and fascism. We know much about the Holocaust implemented by the Nazis. Zionism put this curse to use in order to become a majority trend among the Jews, which led to the foundation of the Israeli State.

Thus, as the Western world had failed to solve its own “Jewish question”, and above all, had exported it abroad, the Jewish populations turned to the task of finding a new homeland. And thus it was that the Palestinians were preyed on in their turn by the Jews. The Palestinian question is a universal question for just that reason.

In that framework, we must give a radical answer to the following question: is the State of Israel legitimate? Can a State that deprives a people of its homeland be legitimate? What is the root of the legitimacy of that State which continues to systematically settle colonists in territories on to which it relentlessly expands? The more so a it is a Theocratic State?

From that point flows the most important assertion: the two state-solution cannot solve the Palestinian question either in the present or in the future. A State in which Gaza and the West Bank could only be linked through a corridor shrinking to the limitations imposed by the Hebrew State. A State carved up into cantons. A State where drinking water resources are controlled by the Israeli State. A State where the State of Israel can pick and choose the people it needs. Such a Palestinian “State” is no genuine state and cannot possibly survive. The solution to the problem lies with a “South Africa-like” method, which the leaders of the Hebrew State and their imperialist allies refuse to

heed. The solution only lies with a single, secular, State which accepts the return of all the refugees on their native land.

But, for such a State to be founded, two indispensable and indivisible pre-requisites have to be met. On the one hand, the demise of the Zionist State; on the other hand the issue of the emergence – on the Palestinian side - of a secular and revolutionary current capable of inspiring those movements which, inside the Israeli State, are fighting for the dissolution of the Zionist State. Unless those two pre-requisites are met, the Palestinian question will remain in an impasse.

The two State-solution, which actually means building a “nation” on religious and ethnic criteria to determine who is a citizen, can only be quite a sick and reactionary way of forming a “nation”. Should such be the case, the two States will continue being hostile to each other and no peace will be possible.

If we speak of the impasse of the Palestinian question, we should also pay some attention to the Kurdish question. On the basis of the solution to the Palestinian question, in Turkey, the Kurdish movements proposes the following solution: “For a democratic republic of Turkey”.

Should we not wonder at the Turkish left's lack of interest in that proposal?

Kenan Kalyon is the leader of the Workers' Socialist Movement.

The present article is an excerpt from issue N° 1762 of BIRGÜN daily (February 10th 2009) reproduced in Dialogue with the author's permission



On Zionism

by Ben Ehrenreich

It's hard to imagine now, but in 1944, six years after Kristallnacht and three years after the earliest deportations of German Jews, Lessing J. Rosenwald, president of the American Council for Judaism, felt comfortable equating the Zionist ideal of Jewish statehood with "the concept of a racial state—the Hitlerian concept." For most of the last century, a principled opposition to Zionism was a mainstream stance within American Judaism. Arthur Hays Sulzberger, publisher of the New York Times, helped draft the American Council for Judaism's core principles in 1943, including its explicit rejection of "the effort to found a Jewish National State in Palestine."

Even after the foundation of Israel, anti-Zionism was not an uncommon or particularly heretical position: assimilated Reform Jews like Rosenwald and Sulzberger believed that Judaism should remain a matter of religious rather than political allegiance; the ultra-Orthodox saw Jewish statehood as an impious attempt to "push the hand of God"; and Marxist Jews—my grandparents among them—tended to see Zionism, and all nationalisms, as a distraction from the more essential struggle between classes.

To be Jewish, I was raised to believe, meant understanding oneself as a member of a tribe that had again and again been cast out, mistreated, slaughtered. The Nazi genocide and the millennia of oppression that preceded it did not entitle us to a homeland or grant us a right to self-defense that superceded anyone else's. If they offered us anything exceptional, it was a perspective on oppression and an obligation born of the prophetic tradition: to act on behalf of the oppressed and to cry out at the oppressor.

For the last several decades, though, it has been all but impossible to cry out against the Israeli state without being smeared as an anti-Semite or worse. To question not just Israel's actions, but the Zionist tenets upon which the Israeli state is founded, has for too long been regarded an almost unspeakable blasphemy.

At the same time, Israel has too-comfortably taken on the role of the oppressor, imagining itself a David while playing Goliath. It is no longer possible to believe with an honest conscience that the deplorable conditions in which Palestinians live and die in Gaza and the West Bank come as the result of individual Israeli policies, or of specific leaders or parties on either side of the impasse. The problem is fundamental: founding a modern state on a single ethnic or religious identity in a territory that is ethnically and religiously diverse leads inexorably either to a politics of exclusion (think of the 139-square-mile prison camp that Gaza has become) or to genocide. Put simply, the problem is Zionism.

It has been argued before that Zionism is an anachronism, a leftover ideology from the era of 19th century romantic nationalisms wedged uncomfortably into the realities of 21st century geopolitics. This is true enough—the Zionist equation between Jewish identity and statehood was born from the same intellectual currents that gave birth to the German and Italian nationalist movements. We know where those led.

But Zionism is not merely outdated. Even before 1948, one of its basic oversights was readily apparent: the presence of Palestinians in Palestine. That was sufficient to lead some of the most prominent Jewish thinkers of the last century, many of them Zionists, to balk at the idea of Jewish statehood. The Brit Shalom movement—founded in 1925 and supported at various times by Martin Buber, Hannah Arendt and Gershom Sholem—argued for a Jewish presence in Palestine under the framework of a secular, binational state in which Jews and Arabs would be accorded equal status. Their concerns were

both moral and pragmatic. The establishment of a Jewish state, Buber feared, would mean "premeditated national suicide."

The fate Buber foresaw is upon us: a nation that has lived in a state of war for decades, a quarter million Arab citizens with second-class status and more than five million Palestinians deprived of the most basic political and human rights. If two decades ago comparisons to the South African Apartheid system felt like hyperbole, they now feel charitable. The white South African regime, for all its crimes, never attacked the Bantustans with anything like the destructive power Israel visited on Gaza in December and January, when 1,300 Palestinians were killed, one third of them children.

In 2004, Arnon Soffer, a strategist at Israel's National Defense College, told the Jerusalem Post that sealing off the Gaza Strip would create "a human catastrophe," predicting, "The pressure at the border will be awful. ... if we want to remain alive, we will have to kill and kill and kill. All day, every day." Then, Soffer's comments seemed unhinged. Today, they represent an accurate description of recent Israeli military policy in Gaza, the logical outcome of a government based on ethno-religious exclusivity.

The consequences of Zionism have been more difficult to deny since the Gaza invasion. Criticisms that once were muted have grown bold; questions that once were unutterable are now asked openly. Deprived of any moral ground to answer from, the defenders of Israeli state violence are growing shrill. UCLA professor Judea Pearl recently told an Israeli internet news site that it is not anti-Semitism that worries him, "but another, more dangerous epidemic, one called anti-Zionism."

This sort of rhetoric used to frighten Israel's critics into silence. That appears to be changing, thanks to Israeli policies that have rendered the once apparently inevitable two-state solution less and less feasible. Years of Israeli settlement construction in the West Bank and East Jerusalem (approvals for settlement construction were up 830 percent in 2008) have methodically diminished the viability of a Palestinian state. (Note the uncertain phrasing of Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's statement at a recent press conference in Jerusalem: "the inevitability of working toward a two-state solution seems inescapable.") This may prove irrelevant: Israel's new prime minister has refused to endorse the idea of an independent Palestinian state, which suggests an immediate future of more of the same: more settlements, more punitive assaults, ethnic cleansing at a slow and steady boil.

Il of this has led an increasing number of intellectuals and political leaders to revive the debate opened by Brit Shalom in the 1920s and argue for the creation of a single, binational state in which Jews and Arabs have equal political rights. Establishing a secular, pluralist, democratic government in Israel and Palestine would of course mean the abandonment of the Zionist dream. It might also mean the only salvation for the Jewish ideals of justice that date back to Jeremiah.

At the moment, this may seem utopic and naïve. In their infancy, most good ideas do. The alternatives, though, are too ghastly to consider. The obstacles are of course enormous. They include not just a powerful Israeli attachment to the idea of an exclusively Jewish state, but its Palestinian analogue: Hamas' ideal of Islamic rule. Both sides would have to find assurance that their security was guaranteed. What precise shape such a state would take—a strict, vote-by-vote democracy or a more complex federalist system—would have to involve years of painful negotiation, wiser leaders than now exist, and an uncompromising commitment from the rest of the world, particularly from the United States.

Meanwhile, Judea Pearl's characterization of anti-Zionism as an "epidemic" more dangerous than anti-Semitism reveals only the unsustainability of the position into which Israel's apologists have been forced. Faced with international condemnation, they seek to limit the discourse, to erect walls that delineate what can and can't be said.

It's not working. On college campuses around the country, students and professors are organizing a divestment campaign modeled on the movement that helped pressure the South African government to end Apartheid in the early 1990s. It shouldn't matter, but many of them are Jews. Their goals and principles are neither anti-Semitic nor particularly radical. They require only that we take our own values seriously and no longer, as the book of Amos has it, "turn justice into wormwood and hurl righteousness to the ground."

A version of this essay was published in the Los Angeles Times on March 15, 2009. Ben Ehrenreich is the author of the novel The Suitors and of many other.



The consequences of Gaza's resistance on Palestinian policies

By Salah Mohamed

If you think that the war against the Gaza Strip is over, you are wrong. It is true that the waves of slaughter and destruction have stopped but instead there is a situation in which the whole of the Gaza Strip has become a permanent target for the Zionist military machine. This machine is a knife under the neck of the "Palestinian body." Its goal is to exert permanent pressure and make use of blackmail.

The fact remains that this war is only an episode in the series of hostile wars and massacres organised in a methodical way by the occupying State against the Palestinian and Arab people over the past six decades of the conflict between the Palestinian liberation project and the Zionist project. The most recent wave was in fact even more deadly and bloody than the others.

The fact that it has given way to a political and diplomatic battle — directed both before and after the ceasefire by the US-Israeli duo — does not mean that the war is finished. This alliance was made, in complete harmony with the European Union, in order to avert the fallout deriving from the national resistance put up by the people and limit its impact. The agreement signed between Tzipi Livni, the Foreign Minister, and Condoleezza Rice, the Secretary of State, in which European countries were involved, has widened the area of the new offensive. In addition to taking hold of the Egyptian border, thereby tightening its stranglehold on the Gaza Strip, the security-targeted war has extended to the three seas to reach the NATO-controlled zones and therefore challenged the sovereignty of several Arab countries, with no reaction from any of them.

Embarked on a course based on competition, the colonialist countries have acted only to defend their interests and protect the security of Israel, which explains why Sarkozy was so quick to send his submarine near the coast of Gaza when bodies had not yet been buried. The exaggerated support given to the occupying State, against our people's longing for freedom, has intensified the consequences of the offensive. Assured of unswerving support, the Olmert government, wrongfully assuming a victorious attitude, made the truce dependent on the creation of a 500-metre-wide buffer zone along and into the Gaza Strip. This zone was established on agricultural land worked by Gaza farmers. Moreover Olmert has made the opening of passages conditional on the release of prisoner Chalit.

The first lessons to be drawn from the events in Gaza and the heroic resistance of its people are linked with the very nature of the occupying State, its governments, its parties, the creation of that State and its functions. Such brutal and savage war was primarily aimed at terrorizing citizens by killing as many of them as possible. It sought to demolish everything that related to their own existence — their houses, fields, facilities... — through massive air raids and the use of banned bombs or even of types of bombs that had never been used before. Those bombardments wiped off the map vast areas in the eastern and northern parts of Gaza. In the southern end of the Gaza Strip, they razed to the ground residential districts in the area that forms a border with the town of Rafah in Egypt. The methods used by the Zionist army against the civilians, the injured and the hostages are so well known that there is no need to mention them ...How could such hatred of the Palestinians be accounted for except by the fact that those people are prisoners of the Zionist ideas that made it possible to appropriate the largest part of Palestine in order to establish the Israeli State. It was in this manner that the colonialist project in the region was achieved, by driving the Palestinians out of their land, by denying their identity, in accordance with the slogan: "A land without a people for a people without a land."

The unavowed objectives of the war, concealed by Omert & Co, can be summarized in the following way: to carve up the land and israelize East Jerusalem by wiping out its historical character.

This was obviously accentuated after the Annapolis agreement signed in November 2007 with the aim of imposing a *fait accompli* to prevent the creation of a Palestinian State on the lands of the West Bank, colonized in 1967, in addition to the Gaza Strip. How is it possible to regard this as having won minimum national rights? The colonialist and racist State wants to impose the form of a Palestinian State that would serve its interests, especially its function as an instrument of security deprived of all the foundations of a State, and its subservience to occupation.

Such a State which, in a methodical way, consistently tries to get rid of its inhabitants, to shirk any responsibilities towards them, to terrorize them by means of wars and massacres, forces Palestinians to reflect on the following questions: a State that is so bloodthirsty and so lacking in any sort of humanism or moral standards will never be able to accept a fair solution. So what is the point of negotiating with it? How can we achieve a political solution while it has wrecked all the bases for such a solution?

It is to be feared that those negotiations might provide the US-Israeli duo with a let-out allowing them to do away with the right of return under the pretext of the strategic vision advocated by the United States: a vision passed on from one President to the other and that only expresses the nature of the relationships that link the United States with Israel. Those preposterous negotiations have only served Israeli interests, and this means they should be put an end to. It is absurd to carry on with negotiations that only consist in exchanging handshakes and always end with public statements announcing the next meeting.

In the aftermath of the Gaza massacre the Palestinian question can no longer follow a similar pattern. All the pretexts have been used extensively and a national alternative needs to be initiated, on the basis of a programme involving both the resistance against the occupying forces and political action, after the case regarding our cause has been transferred to the United Nations, asking that its own resolutions be implemented.

We also ought to review our political orientation, our programme and our slogans so that we could find out in what way we have failed and in what way we have succeeded. We could also determine responsibilities. That will enable us to unite our efforts on the basis of the strategic objectives of our struggle for liberation. In this framework the slogan of one single secular and democratic State on the whole territory of historic Palestine is going to be the main goal, which will make possible the return of Palestinian refugees to the land from which they were driven away following the implementation of Resolution 194

The right of return is the bridge to a democratic State. All short-term and medium-term programmes should have this solution in sight. It will have to be the criteria for all Arab, Palestinian or international policies. The Palestinian programme and political action should be shaped according to that principle.

The consequences of that hostile war are not going to be limited to what has been mentioned here. They will help Palestinian life by pushing it towards a culture of national unity as the basis for resistance. Our relationships with the Arab world and all the currents that support our cause worldwide also need a new surge of solidarity that will benefit each of our peoples.

About the debate on "solutions"

By François Lazar

In a recent analysis, after a series of comments that are on the whole relevant, the French journalist Alain Gresh¹, editor of *Le Monde Diplomatique*, draws the following conclusions:

"Some people claim that the only solution left is the creation of a Palestinian state alongside the state of Israel. Others argue that the massive colonization of the West Bank and Jerusalem make such an outcome unrealistic and advocate a bi-national state in which the two nationalities, Palestinian-Arab and Israeli-Jewish, enjoy equal rights. Others also refer to the South African model, a state in which all are citizens: one man, one woman, one vote. Anyhow it is hard to imagine a solution which does not receive the support of the majority of the people who are present today on the territory of historic Palestine. It should be remembered that it was possible to put an end to Apartheid only because the African national Congress (ANC) was able to work out a project for all the citizens of South Africa and to unite them, whether blacks, white or "coloured" in this fight."

This synthesis of the various "solutions" raises a problem in so far as it is presented as encompassing all the democratic solutions on discussion as to the way out of the conflict engaged by Israel against the Palestinian people. There is in fact a fourth solution not mentioned in the list compiled by the author, i.e. that of a single secular and democratic state in which all citizens would enjoy the same rights.

Whether it has been forgotten or mixed up with another "solution", or omitted as the result of a deliberate political decision, is not at this point in discussion a vital question. In a way, Alain Gresh is expounding here official doctrine that sets in stone the authorised "solutions" aimed at putting an end to the Naqba.

Let us deal quickly with the question of the two-state solution, in other words "a Palestinian state alongside the state of Israel." This is the proposal promoted by George Bush's roadmap, also put forward by Obama not long ago and supported by the "international community" and the political parties that are part of it. Such a solution, conform to so-called "international law", is already included in the 1947 partition plan. It means — and everybody is well aware of the fact — that the right of return is called into question and that, following official recognition of such a state, the refugees would de facto lose their refugee status in their host country. In this respect, the well-known Greater Middle East Plan, which for the moment has been put on the back burner, involved a similar solution to the "refugee question".

There is today on the historic territory of Palestine an Israeli state which, in order to further enforce the expropriation of Palestinian land, maintains the mass of Jewish workers in an ideological sphere which from early childhood instils ignorance and fear of another "genocide." For many people, and that is true of Shimon Peres or Barack Obama, the perpetuation of this situation entails the creation — alongside the state of Israel — of a Palestinian entity called a "state" out of derision, whose main responsibility would be to keep order within that "state".

What is first and foremost being undermined by international policies through the possible implementation of two States (whatever the form and the content, they will name a State a patchwork of Palestinian ghettos) is the right of peoples to self-determination, the right to a nation, and not only for Palestinian Arabs. What is attacked by the advocates of two States is the demand for a nation that, with the right of return for Palestinians, would allow Arabs and Jews to live together in peace with equal rights for all.

¹ De quoi la Palestine est-elle le nom? [What is Palestine the name of ?] on : <http://blog.mondediplo.net/2009-03-23-De-quoi-la-Palestine-est-elle-le-nom>

Let us now deal with the question of the bi-national state "*in which the two nationalities, Palestinian-Arab and Israeli-Jewish, would enjoy equal rights*". Before we proceed further, let us point out once more the systematic need to ethnicize the conflict by adding, in a clearly antithetical manner, the words "Arab" and "Jewish" to what is supposed to be a national entity! The bi-national State is in a way a continuation to the "two-state" solution, since the latter implies the recognition of a bi-national territory. As Alain Gresh explains, the bi-national state is based on the alleged principle that there are two nationalities, a "Palestinian-Arab" nationality, in other words linked to a historic presence on the Palestinian territory, and an "Israeli-Jewish" nationality, in other words linked to the — recent — existence of the state of Israel and a notion of religious faith. The word "Jewish" is a complex one in so far as it refers to populations who throughout the world identify with Judaism or practise the Jewish faith, and on the other hand to individuals who because of their personal and family history have chosen either to adopt this identity or discard it. As a result there would be a sort of extraterritorial nationality and for a not insignificant number of the individuals concerned, a nationality that is imposed on them. It must be added that while the Palestinian people really constitutes a homogeneous territorial and cultural entity it is much harder to refer to a Jewish people that would include Yemenis and Poles, who have very different customs, languages, ways of practising Judaism, diet, habits ... In France there are French Jews, in the United States there are American Jews, in Morocco there are Moroccan Jews, etc. who do not claim double nationality. In this respect, it is the notion of "Jewish populations" that reflects reality, unlike the notion of "Jewish people."

The reference to an international "Jewish people", bracketed with an "Israeli nation", is a racist concept, whose foundations are political, definitely not historical or cultural. The "Jewish people" is indeed a concept, i.e. an intellectual construction that is today systematically associated with the state of Israel. As is the case with all concepts, the purpose is to enforce it on reality at all costs. A nation is not a phenomenon that has an arbitrary nature; nor is it a psychological, cultural or "racial" reality. It is the product of historical development, of social and political conflicts. It is unquestionably true that religion is one of the many components in the formation of nations. At some stage in the historical development it is part of what constitutes the culture and social life of a people. However because it is the product of that development a nation cannot be founded solely on religion. With regard to the alleged "Jewish nation", as we have just said, the majority of the individuals who all over the world define themselves as Jews do not wish to live in the state of Israel but most often find they are perfectly integrated into the society in which they live.

The idea of the bi-national state founded on the recognition of ethnic origins, based on the alleged existence of two nations, is only a political deception bent on demonstrating that behind the democratic high-flown rhetoric there are indeed two sides with equal legitimacy. Furthermore the bi-national state, mixed up with the one-state solution, implies that the people living in the territories that have been occupied since 1967 are to become an integral part of a democratic Israel where the right of return would become conditional.

A. Gresh subsequently refers to the South African model which, with the end of Apartheid he says, became "*a state in which all are citizens*". There are two unquestionable facts. First of all the Hebrew state does indeed implement an Apartheid policy (the word includes both notions of separation and segregation) directed against all Palestinians under its control: whether it be in the form of separate, racist and deeply discriminatory development imposed on Palestinians inside Israel or within the framework of Bantustans surrounded by checkpoints and barbed wire fencing in the occupied territories since 1967. The second undisputable fact is that the international boycott of Apartheid South Africa was a popular campaign because it was supported at the time by labour and democratic organizations.

Another fact, which is not so often mentioned, is that although the Kempton Park Agreements of 1994 — bearing the stamp of the slogan "*one man, one vote*"— gave Blacks the right to vote, their living conditions have since then deteriorated. The agreements that put an end to institutionalized Apartheid left the infrastructures, the mines, the farmland, and the big means of production in the hands of white people. In

South Africa "*white businessmen appoint Blacks to their board of directors to make people believe that Blacks are running things, while keeping for themselves all administrative decisions and continuing to exercise power.*" (Lybon Mabasa, leader of the Socialist Party of Azania). Should that be taken as a model for the bi-national Israeli-Palestinian state-to-be? The right to vote in return for protracted economic and social enslavement? That is what the "South African model" is about! Anyway if a South African model is needed when it comes to deciding on the future of Palestine why not then refer to the slogan of the Black Consciousness Movement and demand: "*One Palestine, One Nation*", one nation united in its own diversity, because founded on the recognition of equal rights for all its citizens?

Such a demand implies the end of partition and the foundation of a single secular and democratic state, without which — as everybody knows — the right to return can in no way be implemented. Let us debunk a generally accepted idea: it is not because of the fierce colonization of the West Bank that the formation of a single state can be evoked today. That demand can be found at the very beginning of the national liberation movement. For many Jewish and non Jewish activists and intellectuals it is nothing new. Such a prospect may well arouse the wrath of Zionists and of all the supporters of world order. And this can be easily understood since it amounts to a denial of their very existence. But is there another solution founded on democracy and equal rights? Some might say disdainfully that a single state is utopian. Could they first make an honest assessment of what 60 years of a "realistic" policy have brought about?

A Declaration of the Fath (1st January 1969)

The unshakeable determination of the Palestinian people, resolved to take their own destiny in hand in order to recover their national territory and sovereignty, has created a situation in the Middle East that will be more and more difficult to ignore.

While swaying international opinion through an unprecedented campaign of misinformation, Zionist action until now has attempted deliberately to make the Palestinian problem forgotten, reducing it to a confrontation between Israel and the neighbouring Arab States whereas, in reality, it is a question of the existence and the future of a people who were driven from their national home 200 years ago. Therein resides the essential cause of the Middle East conflict.

By ruse, by force and by permanent aggression that is meant to generate the *fait accompli*, the legal right, Israel threatens the existence of this people by pursuing its annexationist objectives. This expansionism, illustrated by the taking over of Palestine, has been manifested throughout the past 20 years and most recently, following the attack of 5 June 1967, in the occupation of huge swathes of Arab territory, in contempt of basic human rights and any moral consideration.

The revolutionary action committed by the National Liberation Movement Fath and its avant-garde army "El-Assifa" witnesses the irreversible consciousness-awakening and will of the popular armed struggle of the Palestinian people to free their national territory, conquered and colonised by retrograde foreign forces founded on religious sectarianism and racial hate, and practicing a policy of discrimination and persecution of Christians and Muslims.

Faced with the strong-willed struggle of the Palestinian people against the usurpers of their country, Israel remains determined, as it always has been, to present this political struggle as solely a humanitarian and technical question concerning the situation of the refugees. But, by Israel's own admission, the desire to reduce and destroy the inflexible will of the Palestinian people as incarnated in the National Liberation Movement Fath, was one of the causes of the Zionist attack of 5 June 1967. This has only resulted in the intensification of the Palestinian People's revolutionary struggle. Thus the Palestinian people, deprived of the elementary right to exist on its own land, must use armed action to confirm its unshakeable faith in the future. The Palestinian people will stop at no sacrifice in order to restore the territory that is theirs.

The revolutionary struggle of the Palestinian people continues the long line of national liberation struggles against colonialism and imperialism. Israel is the product of outdated European expansionism and remains an instrument of imperialism, opposing the progress of Arab peoples and barring their liberation movement.

Confronted with the permanent danger to peace that Israel constitutes, the Palestinian National Liberation Movement Fath, sure of the fairness of its cause and decided to take back its usurped country, solemnly declares :

- 1) - The Palestinian National Liberation Movement Fath is the embodiment of the Palestinian people and their will to liberate their land from Zionist colonisation in order to recover their national identity.
- 2) - The Palestinian National Liberation Movement Fath does not fight against the Jewish as an ethnic or religious community. It fights against Israel, the embodiment of

colonisation founded on a racist and expansionist theocratic system, embodying Zionism and colonialism.

3) - The Palestinian National Liberation Movement Fath rejects any solution that does not take into account the existence of the Palestinian people and their right to self-determination.

4) - The Palestinian National Liberation Movement Fath categorically rejects the Security Council's November 22, 1967 resolution and the Jarring mission which issued from it. This resolution ignores the national rights of the Palestinian people. It silences the very existence of this people. Any so-called peaceful solution which ignores this fundamental given is, consequently, doomed to failure. In any case, the acceptance of the November 22 1967 resolution and of any pseudo-political solution, by any party whomsoever, does not bind the Palestinian people, who are determined to pursue their merciless fight against the foreign occupation and Zionist occupation.

5) - The Palestinian National Liberation Movement Fath solemnly declares that the final objective of its struggle is to restore the Democratic and Independent Palestinian State under which all its citizens, whatever their faith, will benefit from equal rights.

6) - Palestine being part of the Arab Nation, the Palestinian National Liberation Movement Fath will work towards the Palestinian State's contribution actively to the building of a unified and progressive Arab State.

7) - The struggle of the Palestinian people, like that of the Vietnamese people and the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America, is part of the historical liberation process of oppressed peoples against colonialism and imperialism

The 1st of January, 1969

Fath Central Committee

DIALOGUE

**REVIEW FOR DISCUSSION BETWEEN
ARAB AND JEWISH ACTIVISTS OF PALESTINE**

END OF TERM REPORT PUBLISHED IN ENGLISH, ARABIC, HEBREW AND FRENCH

dialoguereview@yahoo.com

CONTACT ADDRESS : REVUE DIALOGUE, 87, RUE DU FAUBOURG-SAINT-DENIS, 75010 PARIS, FRANCE