

DIALOGUE

REVIEW FOR DISCUSSION BETWEEN
ARAB AND JEWISH ACTIVISTS OF PALESTINE
IN DEFENCE OF THE RIGHT OF RETURN, FOR ONE STATE SOLUTION
END OF TERM REPORT PUBLISHED IN ENGLISH, HEBREW AND FRENCH

In this issue

Three months before the 20th anniversary of the Oslo Accords:
the relevance of the Palestinian refugees' right to return today



Entrance to the Aida refugee camp in Bethlehem



Painting on the Wall

Contents

- A few points and facts to continue a much-needed discussion. By François Lazar - page 4**
- Uri Avnery's Specious Attack On The One State Solution
By John Spritzler - page 5**
- Without Return, Palestine Will Not Be Free.
By Abir Kopty - page 8**
- Meeting with Hassan Abu Ali,
member of the Central Committee of the
Popular Front of Liberation of Palestine - page 10**
- The October War and the PLO Charter,
forty years on. By Samir Hassan - page 11**
- After Zionism, one State for Israel and Palestine
(SAQI Books – London 2012). By Sam Ayache - page 17**
- In Israel the law does not apply to every citizen. An inter-
view of Haneen Naamnih - page 22**

www.dialogue-review.com

A few points and facts to continue a much-needed discussion

By François Lazar

It will soon be twenty years since the Oslo Accords were signed. On the ground, the constitution of the Palestinian Authority and the carving-up of the Left Bank into three zones have simply enshrined the Israeli agenda, negating the most elementary rights of the Palestinian people and the continued theft of their lands. Without the billion dollar subsidies contributed especially by the Gulf countries, would not the Palestinian Authority, which was appointed to keep the people in line, have failed a long time ago?

Shortly after the signing of the Oslo Accords, the Left Bank was partitioned into three zones. Zone A, which covers 18% of the territory and included the major Palestinian cities, was placed under the control of the Palestinian Authority. Zone B, representing 22% of the territory, passed under the control of the occupation army, but with the auxiliary administrative responsibility of the Palestinian Authority. And lastly, Zone C, amounting to 60% of the territory and covering a number of Israeli settlements, was placed under full control of the occupation army. While Zones A and B are divided into more than 150 disconnected cantons, surrounded by the wall and barbed-wire fences and controlled by over 350 military check points, Zone C concentrates practically all the natural wealth and is a homogeneous territory. According to the B'Tselem association, the Israeli population there has grown from 110,900 to 350,000 inhabitants in the space of 20 years.

Also in the space of those twenty years, the so-called “peace-process” – a phrase that is still used by the media and governments throughout the world to refer to one of the biggest diplomatic frauds of contemporary history – has simply rubber-stamped Israel's policies of crushing and repressing the Palestinians. Is it not the case that the Palestinians have been divided as never before with the creation of the Palestinian Authority, whose leaders have constantly drained the PLO of any content, and by the separation from the Gaza Strip? Within this framework, an increasing number of voices are calling for a return to the roots of the Palestinian national movement, as represented by the PLO's founding Charter.

Moving from one “temporary solution” to another “temporary solution”, each time supported by successive US presidents, the State of Israel has been gaining ground. Discussions on the prospect of a Palestinian State are only intended to play for time, as everyone is aware that such a prospect will never come into being. First and foremost because it rules out the possibility of implementing the refugees' right to return, but also because Zionism is fundamentally focused on exclusion. Permanently maintaining the principle of a “process” evokes the image of a war of attrition and endless war, because if there is such thing as a process in this region of the world, what it actually amounts

to is a process of strangling.

The sole purpose of the numerous visits to the region by John Kerry – and before him, Clinton and Rice, sometimes accompanying President Bush – is to conceal this situation and, with the help of well-disciplined media channels, to make believe that a “solution” is supposedly just round the corner. The main point, in a region where the major powers are no longer at the helm in historical terms, is to enable the State of Israel to keep its capacity to maintain order. These operations, however, have never blunted the Palestinian people's sense of injustice, their capacity to resist and to demand equal rights. Nor have they contained the economic and social crisis, which an increasingly broad layer of the Jewish Israeli population regard as a situation fraught with uncertainty and instability.

Is it correct to say, as *Dialogue Review* has been doing for over ten years, that democracy will not exist on the territory of historic Palestine unless the right to return of Palestinian refugees and equal rights for all the component parts of the region's population are enacted? Can it be said that any other perspective will simply prolong the process of dispossession and imprisonment of all the Palestinian people?

We invite our readers to continue this discussion and to send their contributions.

06.25.2013

Uri Avnery's Specious Attack On The One State Solution

By John Spritzler,
14 May, 2013

Uri Avnery may be the most sophisticated defender of Israel's ethnic cleansing of Palestinians. He defends this ethnic cleansing while posing as a great friend and sympathizer of Palestinians, supposedly proven by his opposition to Israel's occupation of the West Bank and support for a "two state solution." Avnery's latest piece, "The Donkey of the Messiah," will, with its feigned concern for "being realistic" and specious "logic," no doubt mislead some people to abandon their support for the essence of any One State Solution, which is the right of return (to their homes and villages inside what is now called Israel) of the approximately seven million Palestinian refugees and compensation for property stolen from them by the Israeli state. Here is why Avnery's "logic" and "realism" are indeed specious.

Avnery's first salvo against the One State Solution consists of knocking down a straw man argument, namely the argument that, as many advocates of One State mistakenly argue, "facts on the ground (i.e. the Jewish settlements in the West Bank) make a two state solution impossible." It is not hard to knock down this strawman argument, and Avnery does it quite effectively. He argues that the Jewish settlements in the West Bank could be moved just as other Jewish settlements were moved from Gaza and North Sinai. Knocking down a strawman argument is a very powerful debater's trick; it works as long as the audience loses sight of the fact that it is a strawman argument that is being knocked down.

So why then is the "facts on the ground" argument merely a strawman argument? It's a strawman argument because the reason why there should be a One State Solution has nothing to do with whether or not a Two State Solution is or is not

possible given "facts on the ground." Even if a Two State Solution (meaning the denial of the right of return of the Palestinian refugees, limiting their residence only to the "Palestinian" state, not the part of Palestine now called Israel) were easy to implement it would still be morally wrong.

Avnery, however, doesn't limit himself to knocking down a strawman argument. He anticipates what I say in the above paragraph and executes a pre-emptive strike against it, asserting that it is simply not realistic to base one's view here on what is morally right. He writes:

'The people who speak now of the "one-state solution" are idealists. But they do a lot of harm. And not only because they remove themselves and others from the struggle for the only solution that is realistic.'

Avnery is dead wrong about what is and what is not "realistic." Avnery argues that non-Jews and Jews cannot realistically be expected to live together in one state, citing their different religions and languages, and pointing to a list of nations in which there are efforts of minority ethnic groups to break away from their "One State" as evidence. But Americans include Spanish and Chinese speakers and others as well, with different religions and cultures, and nobody argues that the United States cannot remain one state.

What prevents people of different ethnic, religious, language or racial groups from living together peaceably is not their differences but the deliberate efforts of ruling elites to use these differences to pit people against each other to divide-and-rule over them. Croats and Serbs intermarried extensively until, following Tito's death, the communist rulers of each group orchestrated violence against the other in the name of their own group in order to use

divide-and-rule to hold onto power that they feared losing in a wave of opposition (from both Croats and Serbs) to their one-party communist rule. Realism starts by understanding how ruling elites use divide-and-rule this way, spreading this understanding far and wide, and aiming to remove from power ruling elites who use divide-and-rule this way. The hostility and fear and mistrust that exists between Jews and non-Jews in Palestine is entirely caused by the efforts of elites (and would-be elites) to control "their own" people by making them fear the other. Israeli rulers control Jews by making them fear non-Jews and Palestinian elites (in Hamas and the PLO) control non-Jews by posing as their defenders against "the Jews."

The way that Israeli leaders make Jews fear non-Jews is by attacking non-Jews in the name of "the Jews"; by ethnically cleansing 78% of Palestine of non-Jews in the name of making it a "Jewish state"; by thereby making the non-Jews angry at the "Jewish state" and by telling Jews that the anger is vicious irrational anti-Semitic hatred of people just for being Jewish. Israel's first prime minister, David Ben-Gurion, knowingly lied to Jews in 1947-8, telling them that "the Arabs want to drive the Jews into the sea."

Avnery would have his readers believe that realism means accepting, as a permanent fact of life, that ruling elites will remain in power and will use divide-and-rule to pit people who differ in some way against each other. On the contrary, realism means identifying the real cause of ethnic conflict and aiming to end it. The realistic way to end it is to build a movement of ordinary people against the elites who foment ethnic conflict. And the first realistic step in this process is to explain to people the fact that elites are using divide-and-rule to control and dominate them, and that things like ethnic cleansing are injustices aimed at

fomenting the anger on which divide-and-rule is based. In other words, a realistic solution needs to do what Avnery avoids like the plague: explain to Jews in Israel (and to the general public in countries such as the United States whose governments support the Israeli government) that the idea of a Jewish state based on removing most non-Jews is not an idea that helps ordinary Jews but is, on the contrary, an idea that enables a Jewish elite to dominate and oppress ordinary Jews. Anybody who doubts how real this oppression is should recall the massive demonstrations in Israel in the summer of 2011 against the growing economic inequality that was making it impossible for working class Jews even to pay the rent (which is why the protest started with people living in tents on Rothschild Blvd. in Tel Aviv.)

Avnery's "realism" is actually the farthest thing from it. To see this, look at what Avnery offers as his "realistic" solution:

"I am an optimist, and I do hope that eventually Jewish Israelis and Palestinian Arabs will become sister nations, living side by side in harmony. But to come to that point, there must be a period of living peacefully in two adjoining states, hopefully with open borders."

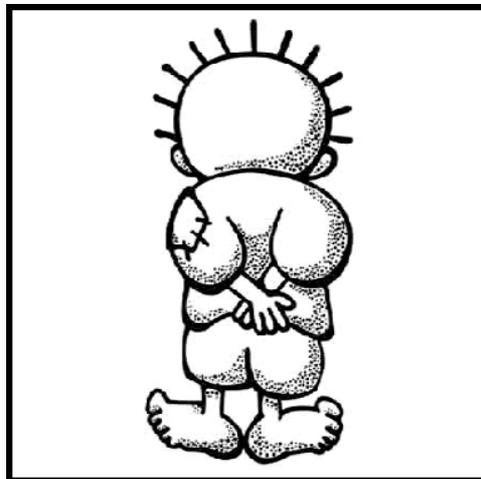
The two "sister nations" in "two adjoining states" in Avnery's hoped-for scenario will both be ruled by the same Jewish and Palestinian elites who presently control Israel and the Palestinian Authority and Gaza. These elites are thoroughly anti-democratic, privileged, dominating and (in the case of the Jewish ones) extremely wealthy. Their control over "their own" people today depends on their posing as protectors against the boogeyman enemy-- "the Jews" or "the Arabs" as the case may be. This would not change if there were two states. Ordinary Jews and non-Jews would continue to be oppressed by "their

own" ruling elites and pitted against each other, occasionally violently. To see what two states like this would look like, one only has to look at the "two states" of Israel and the officially un-occupied and "Palestinian-ruled" Gaza Strip.

The most realistic thing people can do is to start Thinking about Revolution. Until

we do this we will remain in a world where we have no power to affect the big decisions, and the likes of Uri Avnery will keep telling us that realism means learning to accept that our only choice is to live with what the elites do to control us.

www.newdemocracyworld.org/



Without Return, Palestine Will Not Be Free

By Abir Kopty
May 15, 2013

Many often express solidarity with Palestinians speaking only about ending the occupation that started in 1967, ignoring the root of the problem: the ethnic cleansing of 78% of historic Palestine in 1948. The occupation in 1967 was simply a completion of the plan.

Palestinian refugees (5.3 million) along with the internally displaced Palestinians, citizens of Israel who are not allowed to go back to their villages (250,000), compose about half of the Palestinian nation (11.6 million). Does it make sense to be in solidarity with a nation by ignoring rights of half of them?

In discussing the Right of Return, which stands at the core of the Palestinian struggle for liberation, many often argue that the return is not a “realistic” option; there is no room for everyone.

In the early 1990s, the Israeli government and the Jewish Agency brought more than a million Jewish (and Christian) Russian immigrants, who have never been to Palestine and many of whom did not even have Jewish ties. The Jewish Agency’s main global goal until today is to recruit Jewish immigrants to be used as a “demographic” weapon. So apparently there is always room for Jews, but not to the displaced natives.

Many of the Palestinian villages that were uprooted by the Zionist militias are still empty. Israeli authorities have planted pine trees to cover up sights of their crimes and hide the history of the place. Organizations such as the Association for the Rights of the Internally Displaced and Zochrot are working with groups who are envisioning and planning the implementation of the Return.

The return is nothing but possible.

Some argue the Right of Return will put an end to a Jewish state. Those who use this argument, especially supporters of Zionism and the colonialist nature of Israel, often mix between the Jewish state and the Jewish people. They want people to believe that opposition to a Jewish state means destruction of Jews. This is not what Palestinians advocate.

Palestinians are tired of being asked to calm down the colonizers’ “fears”. It is the duty of Israelis to revolt against the manipulation of their government that is reproducing fear among their people in order to keep controlling their lives in a manner that serves their Zionist-colonialist agenda. If they seek real “peace”, it is their duty to prove their willing to give up their colonialist privileges. Palestinians have known Jewish and Arab joint living before 1948, a possibility that can be returned to when justice is guaranteed.

Some also claim that Palestinian leadership has given up the right of return by accepting the term of “just and agreed upon” solution to the refugee issue. This formula was also accepted by the Arab Initiative. This basically means that they granted Israel the right to veto the natural right of people to go back to their home. A leadership that more than half of the Palestinian people have not voted for yet is making historical and life-changing decisions in their name. The Palestinian Authority, which hijacked the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), does not represent Palestinians living in 1948 and refugees, both of whom compose about 60% of the Palestinian people. Let alone that Fatah and Hamas’s terms in West Bank and Gaza was ended long time ago, so neither of them can claim representing Palestinians in Occupied Territories

since 1967. The National Palestinian Council (PNC) held its last meeting in 1996. Its members are appointed and are not democratically and directly elected by the 11.6 Palestinians, therefore it doesn't represent them and its decisions do not reflect their will.

Furthermore, the absurdity here is that the same Arab countries that supported the Arab Initiative that gave up on the Right of Return are discriminating against the Palestinian refugees living in their borders and denying them dignity and equal rights in the name of protecting their Right of Return!

The Right of Return is, first and foremost, a natural right. Every person who was expelled or escaped from her/his home should be allowed back. Furthermore, it is guaranteed by international laws, UN resolution 194 and Human Rights Conventions. In addition, no one can decide in the name of a single refugee (or as a collective). It is a choice

they have to make on their own regarding their desires to return, or not.

The right of Return is at the core of the Palestinian struggle for liberation. The Nakba (The Palestinian catastrophe in 1948) is what unifies Palestinians; this is where injustice and colonization of Palestine began, not in 1967. The issue of return is a collective issue; the dream of return is present in every Palestinian. This is something no one can take away. The meaning of liberation of Palestine is not a narrow one of ending a military regime in the West Bank and the military siege on Gaza. It is a broader one that includes decolonizing Palestine, and implementing the return. Supporting justice in Palestine would mean understanding that without return, Palestine won't be free.

Abir Kopty is a Palestinian social, feminist and political activist. Website : <http://abirkopty.wordpress.com/>

Meeting with Hassan Abu Ali, member of the Central Committee of the Popular Front of Liberation of Palestine

Beirut, 6 June 2013

What do you think of the Oslo Accords?

From the outset, I was against the Oslo Accords because they did not even set out to achieve the Palestinian people's minimal rights, which includes the right to return. The other condition that we accepted was a step towards establishing a state based on the 1967 borders. But strategically, we promote the establishment of a Palestinian state on the whole historic territory of Palestine. I had addressed this issue at the conference held in Basel, Switzerland.

I should like to impart some truths. Before 1948, Jews, Christians and Muslims lived together in Palestine. And even today, Jews are living in a number of Arab countries, especially in Lebanon, with the highest concentration in the Mashreq region. It should also be said that the Zionist movement has murdered a number of Jews living in Arab countries, especially in Iraq, to push those living there towards emigration. It must also be noted that a number of Jews form part of foreign delegations who attend the commemoration of the Sabra and Shatila massacre.

What can you say about the Palestinian Authority, and how do you assess its activity?

The Palestinian Authority is a framework which does not fully reflect the Palestinian people. We advocate the re-organisation of the representation of the Palestinian people within the framework of the PLO, based on the axis of the slogans that reflect the interests of the Palestinian people.

What does the PLO Charter mean for you?

The Charter was adopted in 1964, but it

is still the solution most suited to the interests of the Palestinian people, as it associates all the parties without exception. The proposals it puts forward are the best and easiest to implement, including the formation of a democratic Palestinian State on the whole territory of historic Palestine. It guarantees justice for all, irrespective of their origins or beliefs. It demands the right of all Palestinians to return to their lands and homes.

How do you assess the US administration's ongoing agenda regarding the Palestinian issue?

The current US administration, just like all the successive administrations before it, guarantees the Zionist project by using its veto rights in all circumstances to defend Israel and oppose the rights of the Palestinian people. The US administration has given material, political support to Israel in every possible way.

What do you think of the Arab League?

The Arab League represents political regimes that have nothing in common with the aspirations of Arab people. Today it plays a role directly opposed to their aspirations. It is promoted by the Gulf States, which are the instrument of the US administration and its allies.



The October War and the PLO Charter, forty years on

By Samir Hassan

Four years after the October War of 1973, on 9 November 1977, Egypt's President Anwar El Sadat announced to the Egyptian People's Assembly that he intended to visit the Knesset (the Israeli parliament). PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat was present when the speech was delivered. On 17 November, Menachem Begin, the Prime Minister of the State of Israel, sent an official invitation to the President of Egypt. On the evening of 19 November, Sadat's plane landed in Israel. The next day, he declared to the Knesset:

"I come to you today on solid ground, to shape a new life, to establish peace. We all, on this land, the land of God; we all, Muslims, Christians and Jews (...). You want to live with us in this part of the world. In all sincerity, I tell you, we welcome you among us, with full security and safety (...) I have announced on more than one occasion that Israel has become a fait accompli, recognized by the world, and that the two superpowers have undertaken the responsibility of its security and the defence of its existence. (...) Once again, I declare clearly and unequivocally that we agree to any guarantees you accept because, in return, we shall obtain the same guarantees."

Anwar El Sadat did not mention the PLO, which nevertheless was the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. When Begin replied, he never once uttered the word "Palestinian"; he spoke of the Arab population and of "Eretz Israel" (Greater Israel).

Less than one year later, on 17 September 1978, together they signed the Camp David "peace" Accord under the leadership of US President Jimmy Carter.

Forty years after the 1973 war, the guarantee that Egypt's government – whether exclusively military or a Muslim Broth-

erhood-armed forces association – will abide by the Israel-Egypt Accords remains the corner-stone of the situation in the Middle East.

The Rogers Plan in 1970

The Six Day War in June 1967 plunged the bourgeois regimes of the Middle East into a deep political crisis. Unable to solve the issue of war and of peace, most of them exhausted themselves by straining every nerve towards war. In Egypt as well as in Jordan, the masses were increasingly frustrated with this situation. Faced with the danger of their own working class's resistance, the remnants of the feudal order, the comprador bourgeoisies and the military castes directed their action against the resistance of working masses and youth. They were helped by the Rogers Plan (named after President Nixon's Secretary of State), the objective of which was to resolve the aftermath of the Six Day War while preserving the feudal-bourgeois regimes. The plan was accepted by all the ruling classes of the Arab countries, with the decisive help of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

"Black September" was a first implementation of the plan: in September 1970, King Hussein of Jordan butchered thousands of Palestinian resistance fighters who were living in Jordan. While tons of heavy weapons, armoured tanks, heavy artillery and napalm bombs were unloaded in Jordan and while King Hussein – with the assistance of several US and British advisers – was preparing the slaughter, Nasser did not utter a single word of protest. Three months previously, he had accepted the Rogers Plan and its so-called "peaceful solution". After the slaughter, on 26 September 1970 in Cairo, he sponsored the "reconciliation" of Yasser Arafat and King Hussein of Jordan.

Two days later, Nasser died. During his funeral, millions of Egyptian workers crammed the streets in Cairo, not to show support for the corrupt military regime – as was stated by the rulers of every country, from Nixon to Mao Zedong, to Brezhnev and France's Pompidou – but to scream their hatred for Jordan's blood-soaked king, who barely escaped being lynched by the crowds.

Lining up with US imperialism's plan

Anwar El Sadat, Nasser's successor, came to power in this situation. Like Nasser, he was a member of the military caste, a member of the Free Officers Movement. He had participated in the 1952 coup which had overthrown king Farouk.

The state that he had inherited from Nasser was split into several factions, and the working class entered into struggle, expressing their wish not to foot the bill or the regime's corruption.

On 15 May 1971, Anwar El Sadat launched a coup d'état against "Nasser's left wing". He ordered thousands of people arrested and ousted a large number of senior state officials, including Ali Sabri, Shaarawi Goma and Sami Sharaf, three of Nasser's long-standing direct collaborators and the backbone of the political structure he had instituted since the 1950s, those who had the closest links with the Kremlin's bureaucracy.

A few days after the coup, by the end of May, President Sadat received William Rogers himself in Cairo. His visit was the first in a long series by White House representatives, who commuted frequently between Cairo and Tel Aviv. Anwar El Sadat submitted several proposals

to them, in which he pledged to sign a peace treaty with the State of Israel if the territories occupied in 1967 were evacuated and Israel's army agreed to withdraw part of its troops, which would enable Egypt's army to recover control of both banks of the Suez Canal, with, as a counterpart, the possibility for Israeli ships to sail on this strategic waterway.

William Rogers recognised that Egypt's head of state had gone all the way in terms of concessions and that nothing more could be requested from him. But Israel's Golda Meir did not move an inch.

Sadat's coup expressed the Egyptian bourgeoisie's determination to put a final end to the dreams of regaining the Suez Canal and Sinai through military force, as advocated by the "Nasser left". It also expressed his alignment with US imperialism's plan. Sadat wanted to entrust Washington with the task of guaranteeing "peace" in the Middle East.

At the end of 1971, there was no prospect of an agreement with the State of Israel, but the White House granted Egypt a seven-year grace period for paying back a US\$125 million loan and ensured a new US\$237 million loan by the World Bank, to be paid back within fifty years.

Faced with the refusal of Israel's rulers, Sadat spared no efforts to push his political agenda of opening up to US imperialism. Two months after the May 1972 Brezhnev-Nixon summit, he requested that around 20,000 Soviet military advisers be sent back to their home country. The Kremlin bureaucracy complied without batting an eyelid. Being a keeper of the order around the globe, it accepted discarding its best supporters in the top circles of the Egyptian state because its primary consideration was to support this

state against any attempt by the masses that could threaten it.

The leaders of the Zionist state recognised that Sadat had given a slap in the face to the Kremlin's bureaucracy, but they encouraged the White House to let Egypt's regime slide into crisis. Furthermore, with the excuse of responding to the Palestinian attack in Munich on 5 September 1972, they increased the number of their attacks on Lebanon and Syria.

Mobilisation by the workers and students

Shortly after his 15 May 1971 coup, Sadat was to face strong worker and student mobilisations; in the face of fierce attempts to repress them, these turned into insurrection. At Shebin El Kom and Banha in the Nile Delta, workers went on strike to protest at rigged electoral lists. In a weapons factory in Helwan, the workers detained the managers because they had stopped providing work clothes in order to save money for the war effort. All the factories in Helwan declared that they would go on strike if the striking workshops were forced to re-open by the military. The army withdrew 36 hours after the strike started, and the demands were met.

On 20 January 1972, 30,000 students at Cairo University assembled in a rally against Sadat's policies and organised a sit-in against his refusal to receive a delegation they had appointed. The famous "student document" was drafted in this context. Students rejected seeking a peaceful solution with the State of Israel and demanded measures to implement a war economy: re-directing the capacity of military industries towards weapons production, especially light weapons; stopping production of luxury goods;

closing the wage gap; curtailing the privileges of economic elites. They demanded: the effective military mobilisation of the masses through the formation of democratic people's militias, which would be decentralised, linked to the workplace or living place and open to the people as a whole without any discrimination; the free circulation of information; an end to censorship and methods of falsification used in media; guaranteed freedom of speech at university; the release of political prisoners, starting with a number of Helwan workers whom the authorities had finally arrested; and unconditional support to Palestinian organisations, among others. The repression was brutal. There was fighting in the streets, thousands of students were arrested. Encouraged by the secret services, the Muslim Brotherhood took part in commando-style actions to intimidate the students.

In March 1972, in the suburbs of Shubra, the workers from a group of private factories organised a joint march to the town hall to present a list of demands to the authorities (wages, contracts, social protection, legal limitation of the working day, etc.) Three hundred workers were arrested by the police. The movement hardened into a genuine insurrection of the Shubra neighbourhood.

The war that sacrificed the rights of the Palestinian people

Faced with the uprising of the masses, Sadat decided to prepare war in agreement with Syria's President Hafez al Assad, Saudi Arabia's King Faisal and Algeria's President Boumediene. The Kremlin bureaucracy agreed to give technological and tactical aid, on condition that any risk of the war spinning off into a US-Soviet conflict was made impossible.

On 6 October 1973, Egyptian troops crossed the Suez Canal and took up positions on the East Bank. In the Golan, Syrian and Iraqi armies, supported by Palestinian and Moroccan units, had won back some ground. In Egypt, a few days before the 6 October offensive, students who had been arrested were released. Hundreds of thousands volunteered as recruits in the training camps. But in contradiction with this sweeping mobilisation, Sadat was already preparing to stop the fighting.

On 11 October, the climate had already changed on the front line. Some commanders advocated pushing onwards, but those grouped around Sadat only wanted to bring the United States into a negotiation process.

Between 11 and 22 October, the Israeli army took back the initiative in the Sinai, after having done so in the Golan.

On 16 October, Sadat single-handedly took the initiative of giving a public speech in which he addressed President Nixon and proposed a "peace plan". On that same day, Kosygin, the representative of the Kremlin bureaucracy, was staying in Cairo to support Sadat in his decision to end the fighting.

On 20 October in Moscow, Kissinger and Brezhnev were working out the basis for stopping the fighting: a cease-fire followed by negotiations. Without consulting the Syrian and Iraqi leaders, Anwar El Sadat agreed to a cease-fire. Israeli troops continued advancing.

The October 1973 war was prepared by the Egyptian and Syrian states and by US imperialism. Israel's Prime Minister Golda Meir testified to this fact when she stated during a press conference that the Israeli government knew that Egypt and

Syria were preparing for war, but that "for international reasons" they had let those armies take the offensive. Abba Eban, Meir government's Minister of Foreign affairs, explained that at the 8 October assembly of the United Nations, he had "warned of war preparations on the Arab side by telegram six hours before the start of the fighting. Guarantees had been given to Egypt and Syria by a third party, so it was clear that Israel would not try to resort to pre-emptive action." (*Le Monde*, 10 October 1973).

To encourage the PLO to join in the war that was imminent, Sadat and Assad had proposed limiting its objective to instituting a secular state on the whole historical territory of Palestine and to agree on behalf of the Palestinian people to a "buffer state" comprising the West Bank and Gaza and the Arab sector of Jerusalem. The war and "peace-plan" proposed by Sadat sacrificed the Palestinian people's democratic rights and vital interests, and the right of Palestinian refugees to return on their lands, their villages and homes.

Everyone can gauge the recurring relevance of that position.

The Camp David peace treaty between Egypt and Israel dealt a severe blow to the struggle of the Palestinian people. It left them the prey to isolation and it opened the way to the 1993 Oslo Accords. These accords contradicted the PLO's 1964 Charter, which outlined the strategic axis of the movement in establishing a "democratic state within the historic borders of Palestine". Already in January 1998, in a letter sent to President Clinton, Yasser Arafat had confirmed that "all the provisions of the Charter which do not match the pledge that the PLO will recognise Israel and live in peace with it are cancelled". In December 1998, the National Palestinian Council

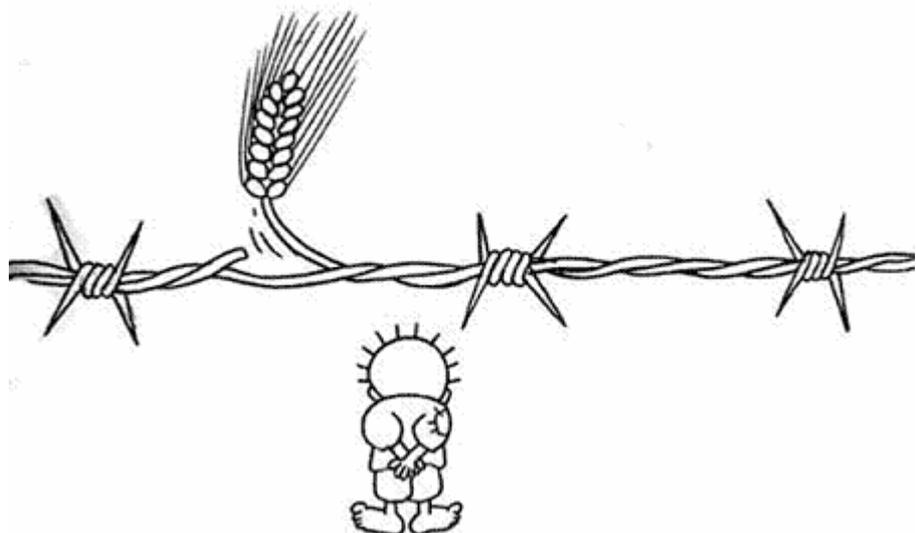
(NCP) had, by a large margin, expressed “*principled support*” for his determination to modify the Palestinian National Charter.

Already at that time, the intransigence of Israel's rulers expressed their determination to be considered as the only force capable of preserving imperialist interests in the Middle East.

In the view of President Sadat, the objective of the 1973 war, long prepared with the United States, aimed at obtaining the recognition that the Egyptian bourgeoisie was capable of playing its part in keeping imperialist law and order in the region, to step up the rhythm of negotiations with Israel's rulers and to open up Egypt's economy to the world market.

His successor Hosni Mubarak continued this agenda to the extent that he was overthrown by the revolutionary movement of the Egyptian masses on 11 February 2011. The Muslim Brotherhood, which claims to support the Palestinian cause, have got into partnership with the military and are continuously repeating that they guarantee that the 1979 peace treaty between Egypt and Israel will be respected. This is the major role devolved to them by Washington: to impose on Hamas, which rules the Gaza Strip, what Mubarak used to impose on Fatah.

But, in difficult conditions, Egypt's masses are resisting. They are not ready to give up on their rights, nor on their solidarity with the Palestinian people.



למען זכות השיבה
של הפליטים הפלסטינים
ולמען מדינה אחת על פני שטחה
ההיסטורי של פלסטין כולה

من اجل حق عودة
اللاجئين الفلسطينيين
من اجل دولة واحدة على
اراضي فلسطين التاريخية

IN DEFENCE OF THE PALESTINIAN
REFUGEES' RIGHT OF RETURN
FOR A SINGLE STATE
ON THE WHOLE TERRITORY
OF HISTORIC PALESTINE

After Zionism, one State for Israel and Palestine

SAQI Books – London 2012

By Sam Ayache

“After Zionism” may be more than the title of a book: the whiff is in the air.

Jeff Halper

Part 2

A binational state, two states or an apartheid state?

Jeff Halper (contribution N° 7) says he sides with the “Israeli peace camp” and with “critical Left” - but does not reveal the content of his criticism. In his contribution, he examines several hypothesis in the framework of the “one state solution” and in the framework of “two States”.

Among those hypotheses he advocates “a two-stage approach” with, in a first stage, the creation of two “semi-viable” States, then, in a second phase, instituting an economic federation of the Middle East “like the European Union – or even a looser confederation, as in the early days of the European Economic Community”. Jeff Halper believes that the framework of this “federation” would make it possible to solve the question of the right to return of the refugees: “The threat to Israeli sovereignty comes from the possibility of refugees claiming Israeli citizenship. By disconnecting the Right of Return from citizenship, the refugees would realize their political identity through citizenship in a Palestinian state while posing no challenge to Israeli sovereignty, thus enjoying substantive individual justice by living in any part of Israel/Palestine or the wider region they choose.”

Jeff Halper gives no detail on the lives of those citizens in those “semi-viable” States, nor on what bases such economic federation could be formed nor even what interests it would have to defend.

Jeff Halper above all fears that the “one state solution” should be formed on the pattern of Algeria: “once liberation takes place the colonial population simply leaves and the indigenous retake their country. This was the PLO’s position before it adopted the two-state solution in 1988 and it remains that of Hamas. Interestingly, just as Zionism is increasingly being characterized as a European settle colonial movement by the Palestinian Left and the Jewish national narrative is being entirely dismissed, many of our Palestinian partners are moving, albeit not in so many words, toward the Algerian model.”

He explains: “For the record, I do not consider Zionism a colonial movement... The initial impulse of Zionism was genuine: the notion of returning to one’s ancient homeland and reviving a national culture that could not be sustained in the Diaspora. As an anthropologist, I understand that the Zionist narrative was constructed and “invented”; but in that, Zionism was no different from any other national movement, including the Palestinians’. Self-determination means just that. »

John J. Mearsheimer (contribution N° 8) is the writer whose contribution is the most detailed in its analysis of Israel as an Apartheid State, which is unrelentingly structuring.

From the onset, he states that “The two-state solution is the best of these alternative futures. By no means an ideal solution, it is nonetheless by far the best outcome for the Israelis and the Palestinians, as well as for the United States”, immediately adding: “Nevertheless, the Palestinians are not going to get their own state any time soon. They will instead end up living in an Apartheid state dominated by Israeli Jews.”

John J. Mearsheimer has no illusion on the seriousness of the situation. He considers that *“the inevitable conclusion... will be the formation of a Greater Israel between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea.”* He adds: *“In fact, I would argue that de facto it already exists, as Israel effectively controls the Occupied Territories and rules over the Palestinians who live there. The West Bank and Gaza have not yet been incorporated de jure into Israel proper, but it will eventually happen – certainly in the case of the West Bank.”*

John J. Mearsheimer evokes a possible new ethnic cleansing targeting the Palestinians. He explains that *“we should not underestimate Israel’s willingness to employ such a horrific strategy if the opportunity presented itself. It is apparent from public opinion surveys and everyday discourse that many Israelis hold racist views of Palestinians, and the Gaza massacre in the winter 2008-9 makes clear that they have few qualms about killing Palestinian civilians. It is difficult to disagree with Jimmy Carter’s comment in June 2009 that “the citizens of Palestine are treated more like animals than like human beings”.* But John J. Mearsheimer adds: *“Still, I do not believe Israel will resort to this horrible course of action.”*

For John J. Mearsheimer it is only the political conditions and not scruples that would prevent Israel from resorting to ethnic cleansing: *“But that murderous strategy seems unlikely, because it would do enormous damage to Israel’s moral fabric, its relationship with Jews in the Diaspora and to its international standing. [...] No genuine friend of Israel could support this policy, which would clearly be a crime against humanity.”*

John J. Mearsheimer draws a conclusion: *“But if I am right, the occupation is not*

going to end and there will not be a two-state solution. That means Israel will complete its transformation into a full-blown Apartheid state over the next decade. In the long run, however, Israel will not be able to maintain itself as such. Like racist South Africa, it will eventually evolve into a democratic bi-national state whose politics will be dominated by the more numerous Palestinians. Of course, this means that Israel faces a bleak future as a Jewish state.”

John J. Mearsheimer ends his contribution by closely analysing how the pro-Israel lobbies are getting ready to manage this inevitable shift of Israel towards more and more offensive apartheid: *“The main problem that Israel’s defenders face, however, is that it is impossible to defend Apartheid, because it is antithetical to core western values.”*

He thinks a widening crack is opening among those Americans who support Israel: if a minority of *“righteous Jews”* will never condone an apartheid State, others on the opposite will become what he coins as *“new Afrikaners”*: *“Some righteous Jews, however, favour a democratic bi-national state over the two-state solution. On the other side, we have the new Afrikaners, who will support Israel even if it is an Apartheid state. [...] The new Afrikaners will of course try to come up with clever arguments to convince themselves and others that Israel is really not an Apartheid state, and those who say it is are anti-Semites. We are all familiar with this strategy.”*

A democratic, secular State in historical Palestine

Contribution N° 12 is has been written by Omar Barghouti. It is the most complete regarding the *“one state solution”*. He bases his demonstration on the interna-

tional right of oppressed peoples to self-determination which he envisages as “ethical decolonisation”. For him, resistance and solidarity against Zionist racism should be anchored in the law.

He writes: “*Decolonisation should not be understood as a blunt and absolute reversal of colonisation, taking us back to pre-colonial conditions and undoing whatever rights had been acquired to date. Instead, it can be regarded as a negation of the aspects of colonisation that themselves deny the rights of the colonized indigenous population and, as a by-product, dehumanise the colonisers themselves.*” He adds : “*This essay argues that a secular, democratic unitary state in historic Palestine (in its British Mandate borders) is the most just and morally coherent solution to this century-old colonial conflict, primarily because it offers the greatest hope for reconciling the ostensibly irreconcilable – the inalienable rights of the indigenous Palestinian people, particularly the right to self-determination, and the acquired rights of the colonial settlers to live in peace and security, individually and collectively, after ridding them of their colonial privileges.*”

Omar Barghouti explains what he coins as “*the Ethical De-Zionisation*”. He considers that Zionism is founded on the idea that there is a Jewish nation. He remarks that when Zionism began, liberal Zionist intellectuals conceived a Jewish national law in Palestine, harmonised with the national right of the predominantly Arab native population. Omar Barghouti rejects the idea of a bi-national State: “*A bi-national state solution, of course, cannot accommodate the Right of Return as stipulated in UN General Assembly resolution 194. Furthermore, by definition it infringes the inalienable rights of the indigenous Palestinians to part of their*

homeland, particularly the right to self-determination. Recognising the “national” rights of Jewish settlers in Palestine or any part of it cannot but imply acceptance of the colonists’ right to self-determination.” A bi-national State which would recognise the right to the settlers' self-determination would loom as a permanent threat of secession by the minority of settlers and this would undermine the Palestinians' self-determination. This argument therefore contradicts the argument of Jeff Halper who, in contribution N° 7, defines Zionism as a “*national movement*” and not as a colonial drive.

He therefore logically asks: are the Israeli Jews a nation? He answers that they are not and reminds us that if the Israeli Minister of the Interior does not recognise Israeli nationality, it is because Zionism is founded on the idea of a “Jewish nation” contradicting international laws: “*Furthermore, as early as 1970, the Israeli Supreme Court ruled that there was no such thing as Israeli nationality. [...] Jewish “nationality”, as embodied in the Israeli Law of Return, is an extra-territorial construct that includes the entire population of Jews around the world, something that does not accord with international public law norms pertaining to nationality.*” He considers that this Zionist law “*on return*” is explicitly racist as it grants citizenship according to a person's ethnic origin and also bans the return of Palestinians on the basis of ethnic criteria.

Omar Barghouti's analysis is grounded on the equal rights of citizens in a democratic State. : “*Accepting modern-day Jewish Israelis as equal citizens and full partners in building and developing a new shared society, free from all colonial subjugation and discrimination, as called for in the democratic state model, is the most magnanimous offer any oppressed indigenous population can present to its oppressors.*

Only by shedding their colonial privileges, dismantling their structures of oppression, and accepting the restoration of the rights of the indigenous people of the land –especially the right of Palestinian refugees to return and to reparations, and the right of all Palestinians to unmitigated equality- can settlers be indigenised and integrated into the emerging nation and therefore become entitled to participating in determining the future of the common state.”

Just as other contributions, Omar Barghouti's evokes the process of the abolition of apartheid in South Africa. However, he is the only one who highlights the major obstacle of economic apartheid: “... *the key obstacle delaying or obstructing this process is the prevalence of “economic apartheid”, or structural economic privileges disproportionately enjoyed by the white minority at the expense of social and economic empowerment programmes for the black majority.*” Still, he reckons that “*despite its aforementioned flaws in the field of establishing socio-economic justice*”, the South African experience can be a major source of inspiration.

In what measure can the one State solution be feasible?

Saree Makdishi (contribution N°5) ponders on the alleged “realism” of the two-state solution: “*The worst habit of the advocates of a two-state solution is that they never stop congratulating themselves on how pragmatic and realistic they are, as opposed to those supposedly dreamy and unrealistic, if not downright romantic, one-staters. [...] One reason they congratulate themselves is that they say a two-state solution is more realistic because the Israelis will never accept a one-state solution.*” He considers that such attitude relates to subjection to the oppres-

sors' good-will: “*Is it “realistic” or “pragmatic” to expect Palestinians determine their rights and articulate their aspirations on the basis of what Israelis deem to be acceptable?*” He refers to the lessons of history: “*...no privileged group in the history of the world has ever voluntarily renounced its privileges: not King Charles I of England, who was executed by his people in 1679 ; [...] not the slave-owning classes of the American south; not the white elites of the United States in the civil rights era of the 1960s; and not the white beneficiaries of Apartheid in South Africa in the 1970s and 1980s.*”

Ghada Karmi (contribution N° 13) teaches at the University of Exeter. She directly asks whether the “one-state solution” is feasible and recalls Omar Barghouti's arguments: “*At the beginning, one-state solution adherents tended to take that position on grounds of principle, international law and elemental justice.*” Then she adds: “*However, in more recent times, it has been the apparent impossibility of a two-state outcome that has swelled the ranks of the one-staters. A glance at the map of the West Bank’s Israeli settlements dotted all over the landscape, with Israeli “security areas”, bypass roads and “closed military zones”, should convince even the most ardent supporter of the two-state solution of its impossibility.*” Then she adds a very compelling argument: “*The fact that something is right and sensible, however, says nothing about its factual feasibility on the ground. And in this case there are formidable obstacles to its realisation.*” She lists the obstacles standing in the way of the one State solution. First, the lack of consensus among the Palestinians on the one State solution which stumbles on the “*current formal political position of both Israel and the PLO (such as it is), not to speak of the Palestinian Authority.*” She also notes that the Hamas too has – for the time be-

ing – accepted the two-state solution. But, she brings attention to the proposal imagined by Israeli author, Yoram Avnak in an article published in February 2010 in *Haaretz* newspaper: an “Israel/Palestine secular State” with total separation between the church and the State, totally banning religious parties and with strictly secular education. Religious education would be funded by parents, parliamentary seats would be equally distributed between the two communities and the Old City of Jerusalem would be under the authority of the United Nations Organisation. She notes that the author of this proposal “provides no strategy to get there.”

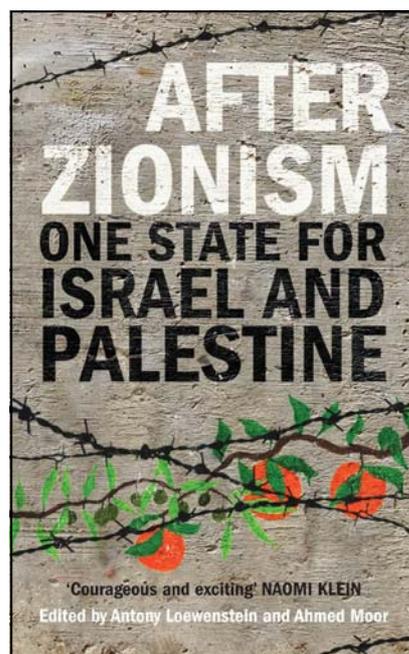
Ghada Karmi sketches a strategy and promotes the idea of “a voluntary annexation of the Occupied Territories to Israel, thus transforming the struggle against occupation into one for equal civil rights within an expanded Israeli state. This is based on recognition that Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories form one unit, and in effect make up what is one state. However, the difference between such a state and the one-state solution as advocated is

that the former deals unfairly with its Palestinian members and subjects them to an Apartheid regime. The Palestinian demand should therefore be for equal status with Israeli citizens, since they are in effect disenfranchised citizens of the same state.”

Ghada Karmi recalls the proposal which Marwan Barghouti, the Fatah leader, made in 2004 when in prison: she proposes the dissolution of the Palestinian Authority and launching a campaign for equal rights in a Greater Israel State: “That entails recognition of the current reality, that Israel is in fact one state, but one containing an oppressed Palestinian minority. The struggle must be to change that into a situation of equality.”

She remarks that the strategy will not be a smooth path but concludes on these words which aptly summarise the issues raised in this series of contributions:

“Yet what is the alternative? The two-state solution is defunct and the status quo is not sustainable”.



In Israel the law does not apply to every citizen

The Second Palestine Solidarity Conference discussed the single-state solution and the rights of the Bedouin. An interview of Haneen Naamnih published in German newspaper Die Welt (May, 14, 2013)

Israeli Palestinian Haneen Naamnih is a lawyer who collaborates with net magazine www.jadaliyya.com. She participated in the Second Palestine Solidarity Conference in Stuttgart, which ended on 30 June.

In the Negev Desert, which is part of Israel, there is conflict between the Bedouin who live there and the administration. What are the current issues?

The State refuses to respect the Bedouin's land ownership rights, despite the fact that these rights were already recognised by the Ottoman regime and under the British mandate. Currently, the Bedouin are being expelled from their lands and are being pressured to relocate to seven cities that were purpose-built for them, beginning in the 1960s. Many of them have lived to this day in places that are referred to as "non-recognised villages". There is no running water, and no education or health services.

But the Bedouin are citizens of Israel. Despite this, can they be forced to leave their land?

In Israel, the law does not apply to all citizens equally. Furthermore, a law is being applied which is tailored to Israel's Palestinians, a sort of state of emergency. On this basis, their title deeds to the land can simply be cancelled even though officially they are Israeli citizens. That is the "Bedouin law", following on from the Praver Plan.

What are the provisions of the Plan?

It was designed to find a solution for what is referred to as "the Bedouin issue". The plan provides for the cleansing of their former inhabitants from the said territories

in the space of five years. True, monetary compensation or lands in exchange are provided for, but only on condition that the people concerned give up every right they have over the land. Furthermore, the Plan considers that the Bedouin can be expelled from their land, their houses demolished and all the inhabitants relocated by the police without any due legal process.

Are the Bedouin willing to leave their villages?

No, they want to stay. They are asking that no new Jewish settlements be built on their lands, and they are asking for their villages to be connected to the public services. The village of al-Arakib, for instance, has already been destroyed dozens of times by the authorities, but each time, it has been rebuilt – the inhabitants are still resisting.

What can the Bedouin expect in the seven cities set aside for them?

Living conditions there are very poor. They are some of the poorest in Israel, with high crime rates, unemployment and drug problems. This is a well-known fact. It is also well-known that that through relocation, the traditional Bedouin way of life would finally be destroyed. It would amount to sending them to jail rather than relocating them.

During the Second Palestine Solidarity Conference in Stuttgart, the issue of founding a Palestinian State, therefore the two-state solution, was discussed. What would be the consequences for Palestinians with Israeli passports?

The two-state solution would mean that there would still be second-class citizens; that is why Israel must be decolonised (no settlements) and all the inhabitants must

be granted the same rights. This is possible only in a single, shared State.

Is the demand of a shared State popular among the Palestinians in Israel?

Up to now, it has not been taken up very widely. It is still a sort of dream; however, it is being discussed increasingly during conferences and also in Israel. At the same time, Israeli Palestinians are fully aware that the two-state solution is no longer tenable. I think that the single-state solution will eventually prevail.

Therefore, you think that two states bring no solution?

One should first concentrate on what is feasible, and secondly, one must find a tolerable solution for all those concerned. Only a shared state can afford a solution. This is also true for the Palestinians who are living abroad as refugees. Two states would not improve their situation. But, up to now, Israel has refused even to hint at their fate.

Second Palestine Solidarity Conference in Stuttgart, Germany
10th to 12th May 2013
The People Demand a Change of Political System in Historic Palestine
Working together for One Democratic State

المؤتمر الثاني للتضامن مع فلسطين في مدينة Stuttgart، ألمانيا
الشعب يريد تغيير النظام في فلسطين التاريخية نحو دولة ديمقراطية لجميع مواطنيها.
من 10 حتى 12 مايو 2013

DIALOGUE

**REVIEW FOR DISCUSSION BETWEEN
ARAB AND JEWISH ACTIVISTS OF PALESTINE
IN DEFENCE OF THE RIGHT OF RETURN, FOR ONE STATE SOLUTION
END OF TERM REPORT PUBLISHED IN ENGLISH, HEBREW AND FRENCH**

www.dialogue-review.com

**Dialogue, 87 rue du Faubourg Saint-Denis—75010 Paris (France)
Editor : Jean-Pierre Barrois.**