

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**

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An open Letter to Mahmoud Abbas: No Surrender!

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**The battle over Palestine is
raging—and Israel
is losing:
Ali Abunimah on his new book**

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Presentation

In the beginning of this month of July 2014, the Palestinian populations of the Left Bank and Gaza Strip are massively hit by a wave of repression. Once again, the Palestinians are the victims of collective punishment. In history, the pretext of the collective responsibility of peoples has always been used to justify the worst crimes. Different institutional rights, the carving up of Palestine in “ethnic” zones, a fragmentation which some would like to envision as the borderline of a future State, are these not the root cause of the present speeding up of the segregationist drive and threats against the Palestinian people?

Avraham Burg, a former Speaker of the Israeli Knesset, has today lost practically all his illusions. He says: “The whole Palestinian society is a kidnapped society... Most of the Israeli who were drafted and served a significant term in the army, have broken into the homes of Palestinian families in the middle of the night and have simply dragged away a father, or a brother or an uncle.... This is kidnapping pure and simple and it happens every day.”

Ilan Pappé, whose most recent article we are publishing in this issue of Dialogue, states that “ethnic cleansing ends when it has been fully completed or when it is halted. Peace in Israel and Palestine means halting

ethnic cleansing as the prerequisite for any reconciliation.”

A “kidnapped” society, subjected to permanent “ethnic cleansing” a people taken as hostage, to whom the only future proposed by the major powers, - with the United States for a start - is to institute an open-air prison which will be derisively called a State, or the vision of equal rights for all the peoples living between the Mediterranean and the Jordan? Such is the question. Barbarism or equal rights in a single State, where any form of political, social or religious segregation has been ended? In Palestine as across the world.

A reader writes to us and asks:

“I think it is fundamental to show the reality of the situation, to make it known, in spite of the complicity of media.

“The notion of a single State and of the right to return seem to me far-away prospects, an ideological debate, .. while people are simply striving every day to survive. And yet, – this I am aware of – is there any other democratic solution in the long term?”

Dialogue review has no other objective than to facilitate this discussion in the labour and democratic movement on the international scale.

Editors.

The searing hypocrisy of the West

By **Susan Abulhawa**

July 1, 2014

Since the teens went missing from Gush Etzion, a Jewish-only colony in the West Bank, Israel has besieged the 4 million Palestinians who already live under its thumb, storming through towns, ransacking homes and civil institutions, conducting night raids on families, stealing property, kidnapping, injuring, and killing. Warplanes were dispatched to bomb Gaza, again and repeatedly, destroying more homes and institutions and carrying out extrajudicial executions. Thus far, over 570 Palestinians have been kidnapped and imprisoned, most notably a Samer Issawi, the Palestinian who went on a 266-day hunger strike in protest of a previous arbitrary detention. At least 10 Palestinians have been killed, including at least three children, a pregnant woman, and a mentally ill man. Hundreds have been injured, thousands terrorized. Universities and social welfare organizations were ransacked, shut down, their computers and equipment destroyed or stolen, and both private and public documents confiscated from civil institutions. This wonton thugery is official state policy conducted by its military and does not include the violence to persons and properties perpetuated by paramilitary Israeli settlers, whose persistent attacks against Palestinian civilians have also escalated in the past weeks. And now that the settlers are confirmed dead, Israel has vowed to exact revenge. Naftali Bennet, Economy Minister said, "There is no mercy for the murderers of children. This is the time for action, not words."

Although no Palestinian faction has claimed responsibility for the abduc-

tion, and most, including Hamas, deny any involvement, Benjamin Netanyahu is adamant that Hamas is responsible. The United Nations requested that Israel provide evidence to support their contention, but no evidence has been forthcoming, casting doubt on Israel's claims, particularly in light of its public ire over the recent unification of Palestinian factions and President Obama's acceptance of the new Palestinian unity.

In the West, headlines over pictures of the three Israeli settler teens referred to Israel's reign of terror over Palestine as a "manhunt" and "military sweep." Portraits of innocent young Israeli lives emerged from news outlets and the voices of their parents are featured in the fullness of their anguish. The US, EU, UK, UN, Canada and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) condemned the kidnapping and called for their immediate and unconditional release. Upon discovery of the bodies, there has been an outpouring of condemnation and condolences.

President Obama said, "As a father, I cannot imagine the indescribable pain that the parents of these teenage boys are experiencing. The United States condemns in the strongest possible terms this senseless act of terror against innocent youth."

Although hundreds of Palestinian children are kidnapped, brutalized or killed by Israel, including several in the past two weeks, there is rarely, if ever, such a reaction from the world.

Just prior to the disappearance of the Israeli settler teens, the murder of

two Palestinian teens was caught on a local surveillance camera. Ample evidence, including the recovered bullets and a CNN camera filming an Israeli sharpshooter pulling the trigger at the precise moment one of the boys was shot indicated that they were killed in cold blood by Israeli soldiers. There were no condemnations or calls for justice for these teens by world leaders or international institutions, no solidarity with their grieving parents, nor mention of the more than 250 Palestinian children, kidnapped from their beds or on their way to school, who continue to languish in Israeli jails without charge or trial, physically and psychologically tortured. This is to say nothing of the barbaric siege of Gaza, or the decades of ongoing theft, evictions, assaults on education, confiscation of land, demolition of homes, color coded permit system, arbitrary imprisonment, restriction of movement, checkpoints, extrajudicial executions, torture, and denials at every turn squeezing Palestinians into isolated ghettos.

None of that seemingly matters.

It does not matter that no one knows who murdered the Israeli teens. It seems the entire country is calling for Palestinian blood, reminiscent of American southern lynching rallies that went after black men whenever a white person turned up dead. Nor does it matter that these Israeli teens were settlers living in illegal Jewish-only colonies that were built on land stolen by the state mostly from Palestinian owners from the village of el-Khader. A huge portion of the settlers there are Americans, mostly from New York, like one of the murdered teens, who exercise Jewish privilege to hold dual citizenship; to have an extra country no matter where they're from, one in their own homeland and one in ours, at the same time that the indige-

nous Palestinians fester in refugee camps, occupied ghettos, or boundless exile.

Palestinian children are assaulted or murdered every day and barely do their lives register in western press. While Palestinian mothers are frequently blamed when Israel kills their children, accused of sending them to die or neglecting to keep them at home away from Israeli snipers, no one questions Rachel Frankel, the mother of one of the murdered settlers. She is not asked to comment on the fact that one of the missing settlers is a soldier who likely participated in the oppression of his Palestinian neighbors. No one asks why she would move her family from the United States to live in a segregated, supremacist colony established on land confiscated from the native non-Jewish owners. Certainly no one dares accuse her of therefore putting her children in harms way.

No mother should have endure the murder of her child. No mother or father. That does not only apply to Jewish parents. The lives of our children are no less precious and their loss are no less shattering and spiritually unhinging. But there is a terrible disparity in the value of life here in the eyes of the state and the world, where Palestinian life is cheap and disposable, but Jewish life is sacrosanct.

This exceptionalism and supremacy of Jewish life is a fundamental underpinning of the state of Israel. It pervades their every law and protocol, and is matched only by their apparent contempt and disregard for Palestinian life. Whether through laws that favor Jews for employment and educational opportunities, or laws that allow the exclusion of non-Jews from buying or renting among Jews, or endless military orders that limit the move-

ment, water consumption, food access, education, marriage possibilities, and economic independence, or these periodic upending of Palestinian civil society, life for non-Jews ultimately conforms to the religious edict issued by Dov Lior, Chief Rabbi of Hebron and Kiryat Arba, saying "a thousand non-Jewish lives are not worth a Jew's fingernail."

Israeli violence of the past few weeks is generally accepted and expected. And the terror we know they will unleash on our people will be, as it always is, cloaked in the legitimacy of uniforms and technological death machines. Israeli violence, no matter how vulgar, is inevitably couched as a heroic, ironic violence that western media frames as "response," as if Palestinian resistance itself were not a response to Israeli oppression. When the ICRC was asked to issue a similar call for the immediate and unconditional release of the hundreds of Palestinian children held in Israeli jails (which is also in contravention of international humanitarian law), the ICRC refused, indicating there's a difference between the isolated abduction of Israeli teens and the routine abduction, torture, isolation, and imprisonment of Palestinian children.

When our children throw rocks at heavily armed Israeli tanks and jeeps rolling through our streets, we are contemptible parents who should be bear responsibility for the murder of our children if they are shot by Israeli soldiers or settlers. When we refuse to capitulate completely, we are "not partners for peace," and deserve to have more land confiscated from us for the exclusive use of Jews. When we take up arms and fight back, kidnap a soldier, we are terrorists of the extreme kind who have no one to blame but ourselves as Israel sub-

jects the entire Palestinian population to punitive collective punishment. When we engage in peaceful protests, we are rioters who deserve the live fire they send our way. When we debate, write, and boycott, we are anti-Semites who should be silenced, deported, marginalized, or prosecuted.

What should we do, then? Palestine is quite literally being wiped off the map by a state that openly upholds Jewish supremacy and Jewish privilege. Our people continue to be robbed of home and heritage, pushed to the margins of humanity, blamed for our own miserable fate. We are a traumatized, principally unarmed, native society being destroyed and erased by one of the most powerful militaries in the world.

Rachel Frankel went to the UN to plead for their support, saying "it is wrong to take children, innocent boys or girls, and use them as instruments of any struggle. It is cruel...I wish to ask: Doesn't every child have the right to come home safely from school?" Do those sentiments apply to Palestinian children, too? [Here](#), and [here](#), and [here](#), and [here](#), and [here](#), and [here](#) are video examples of the abduction of Palestinian children from their homes at night and on their way to and from school.

But none of that matters either. Does it? It matters that three Israeli Jews were killed. It doesn't matter who did it or what the circumstances were, the entire Palestinian population will be made to suffer, more than they already are.

*First publication : thehindu.com
by courtesy of Susan Abulhawa.*

Open Letter to Mahmoud Abbas: No Surrender!

This letter, signed by 108 eminent Palestinians, was delivered by hand to Mahmoud Abbas on 10 April 2014

Mr Mahmoud Abbas
President of the Palestinian National Authority
Ramallah, Palestine

5th of April, 2014

Dear President Abbas,

In view of the intense pressure being brought to bear on the Palestinian National Authority by Israel and the U.S. Administration to negotiate a final agreement which will claim to settle all past and present rights and demands of the Palestinian people, and considering the present interruption in negotiations brought about by Israel's customary practice of renegeing on its commitments, we Palestinian and other Arab scholars and professionals with longstanding commitments to the Palestinian cause send you the following message:

1. We urge you to stand firm for the national rights of all Palestinians, and to declare that no individual or group of individuals has the unconditional authority to reach a final agreement on behalf of the Palestinian people. Only the Palestinian people, in their global multitude, have the right to accept or reject a final settlement proposal. Any such proposal must be submitted for consideration to a Palestine National Council (PNC) whose members are chosen by all Palestinians in free, fair and open elec-

tions, and meeting in freedom beyond Israeli interference.

2. Notwithstanding U. S. and Israeli pressure, the Palestinian people have a number of fundamental collective and individual rights, above all the internationally-recognized right of return to their homeland. These rights inhere in the Palestinians as individuals, as families, and as a people; by their very nature, they are not subject to negotiation and cannot under any circumstances be bartered away.

3. The parameters of the current talks, like those that preceded them, preclude the fundamental Palestinian right of self-determination; an Israeli return to the pre-1967 borders without adjustments; removal of all or even the majority of Israeli colonists and colonies from the West Bank and East Jerusalem; Palestinian sovereign control of East Jerusalem; autonomous control of borders, airspace, water and other resources, and the freedom to enter alliances with other states, which are the minimal hallmarks of sovereignty. What is on the negotiating table, in other words, is not a sovereign Palestinian state, even in those fragments of historic Palestine whose future status is nominally being negotiated, but rather the shimmering and evanescent outline of such a state, wholly inadequate to the rights and needs of even that minority of the Palestinian people currently resident in the territories occupied in 1967.

4. Nor do these talks seriously ad-

dress the rights — above all the right of return — of the members of the Palestinian diaspora who live in exile outside historic Palestine and who constitute about half of the Palestinian people. Neither do these talks address the rights of Palestinians living within pre-1967 Israel, including their right to equality with Jewish citizens and the restoration of the property that had been confiscated from them in the wake of the Nakba of 1948. On the contrary, in the new demand that Israel be recognised as a “Jewish state,” these talks threaten to confirm official Palestinian acceptance of the negation of all these rights. Such recognition would abandon these Palestinians to continuing discrimination and in all likelihood a deterioration of their circumstances, if not outright ethnic cleansing. By excluding Palestinians inside Israel and those in exile, the negotiating framework excludes the majority of the Palestinian people.

5. Given the above, while the Palestinian people should be consulted via the democratic process already alluded to in order to make their determination, it is in effect inconceivable that they would accept now or in the future the parameters of the present negotiations, which are incompatible with their rights and legitimate aspirations. We therefore believe that the time has come, once and for all, to declare a final break from the pattern of endless negotiations established more than two decades ago at Oslo, which has only provided time for Israel to annex and colonise more territory and impose crippling restrictions on Palestinian life. The time has come, then, to facilitate a new dialogue among the Palestinian people about the future and aims of the Palestinian struggle, and the appropriate means to secure the rights of all Palestinians

— those living under occupation, those living with second-class status in Israel, and those living in enforced exile. We are confident that you will enjoy the support of the overwhelming majority of the Palestinian people if you take it upon yourself to help facilitate a new national dialogue with these ends in view.

6. It is abundantly clear not just to us but to countless other observers that you and your leadership will soon be trapped in an impossible situation, which calls for urgent action to pre-empt. We call on you to take the initiative rather than helplessly waiting for the inevitable moment when you will be presented with what will be packaged to the world as an honest and neutral set of American proposals but will in fact have been jointly concocted with Israel and will be irreconcilable with the fundamental rights of the Palestinian people. You will in effect have no choice but to reject these proposals, thereby allowing the U. S. and Israel, yet one more time, to depict you and the Palestinian people as obstacles to peace. Rather than waiting, we urge you to act pre-emptively, and to declare, before the anticipated Framework of U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry becomes public, a clear statement of principles making clear in positive rather than negative terms that you are committed to a formula for peace that is premised on the internationally-recognized rights and needs of all Palestinians.

After decades of struggle to achieve fundamental Palestinian rights, we are not ready to surrender, and we reject the attempt by anyone to surrender in our names. We call upon you in your capacity as Chairman of the PLO to recall without delay a democratically reconstituted Palestine National Council (PNC) and entrust it with the process to arti-

culate a new path to a just and lasting peace that will secure the rights of the Palestinian people. Were you to follow this course, you would have not only the support of the Palestinian people but also surely the endorsement of the majority of the people of the world, who have for decades been resolute and steadfast in their support of the Palestinian cause.

Respectfully,

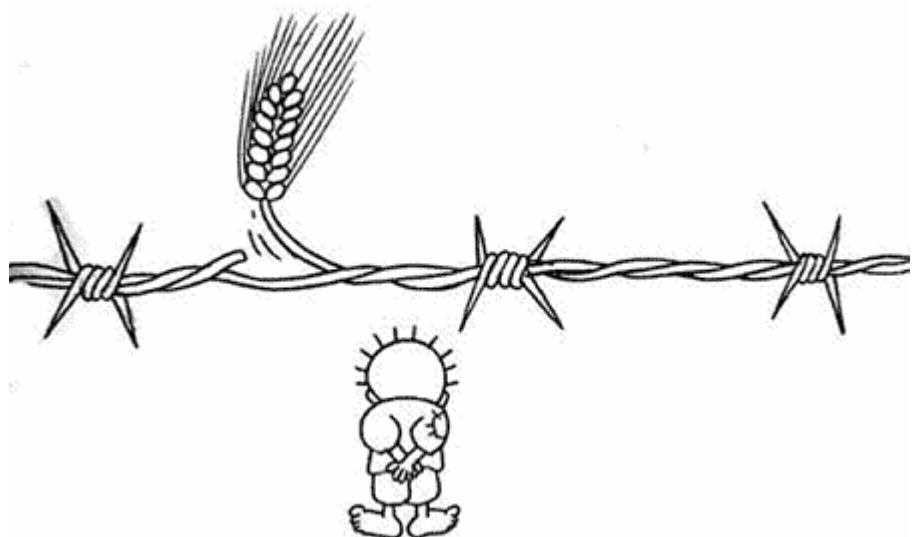
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Dr As'ad AbuKhalil, Professor of Political Science
Dr Baha Abu-Laban, Professor of Sociology
Mr Khairi Abuljebain, One of the founders of the PLO
Mr Nader Abuljebain, Engineer
Dr Lila Abu-Lughod, Professor of Anthropology and Women's Studies
Dr Bashir Abu-Manneh, Professor of Comparative Literature and Middle East Studies
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Dr Gilbert Achcar, Professor of International Relations
Dr Mamdouh Aker, Physician & Human Rights Activist
Mr Naser Al Ardah, Economist & Founder of the NGO Engage and Social Enterprise
Mr Hani Al Hindi, A Founding Member of the Arab Nationalist Movement
Dr. Bayan Nuwayhed al-Hout, Professor of Political Science
Dr Anis Mustafa Al-Qasem, Lawyer, Member of the Palestine National Council
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Dr Rabab Ward, Professor of Electrical and Computer Engineering
Mr Riad Yassin, Engineer
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Dr Elia Zureik, Professor of Sociology

After lengthy deliberations, this Open Letter was composed by a coordinating committee entrusted with the collection and verification of signatures, follow-up and the handling of a reply, composed of: Dr Hani Faris, Dr Saree Makdisi and Dr Seif Da'na



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

The battle over Palestine is raging—and Israel is losing: Ali Abunimah on his new book

Reprint from *Mondoweiss*

Ali Abunimah and his publishers at Haymarket Books knew what they were doing when they scheduled his book launch for Israeli Apartheid Week earlier this month.

Abunimah's tour has tapped into the growing sense on college campuses that Zionism is something to be opposed. And Abunimah, the co-founder of the *Electronic Intifada* and author of the new book *The Battle for Justice in Palestine*, has played a key role in giving voice to that sentiment.

The feeling that Palestine solidarity is on the move on college campuses was palpable at the New School in early March, where I witnessed Abunimah go after Benjamin Netanyahu's claims that Israel was a global beacon because of its prowess in technology. It was a Friday night. But at least 100 people, if not more, came out and repeatedly applauded Abunimah's talk.

Since then, as Abunimah has gone to other states, the boycott, divestment and sanctions (BDS) movement on campus has continued to make waves, from the University of Michigan to Loyola. I sat down with Abunimah earlier this week to get his take on where the battle over Palestine is in the U.S. and on campus. We also talked about South African apartheid, the Palestinian Authority and the potent coalitions the BDS movement is forging in the U.S.

Alex Kane: Your book is aptly titled *The Battle for Justice in Pales-*

tine, and it's a look into the depressing reality for Palestinians and an exploration of what to do about that reality. What's the status of that battle for justice, in the U.S., the world and in Palestine?

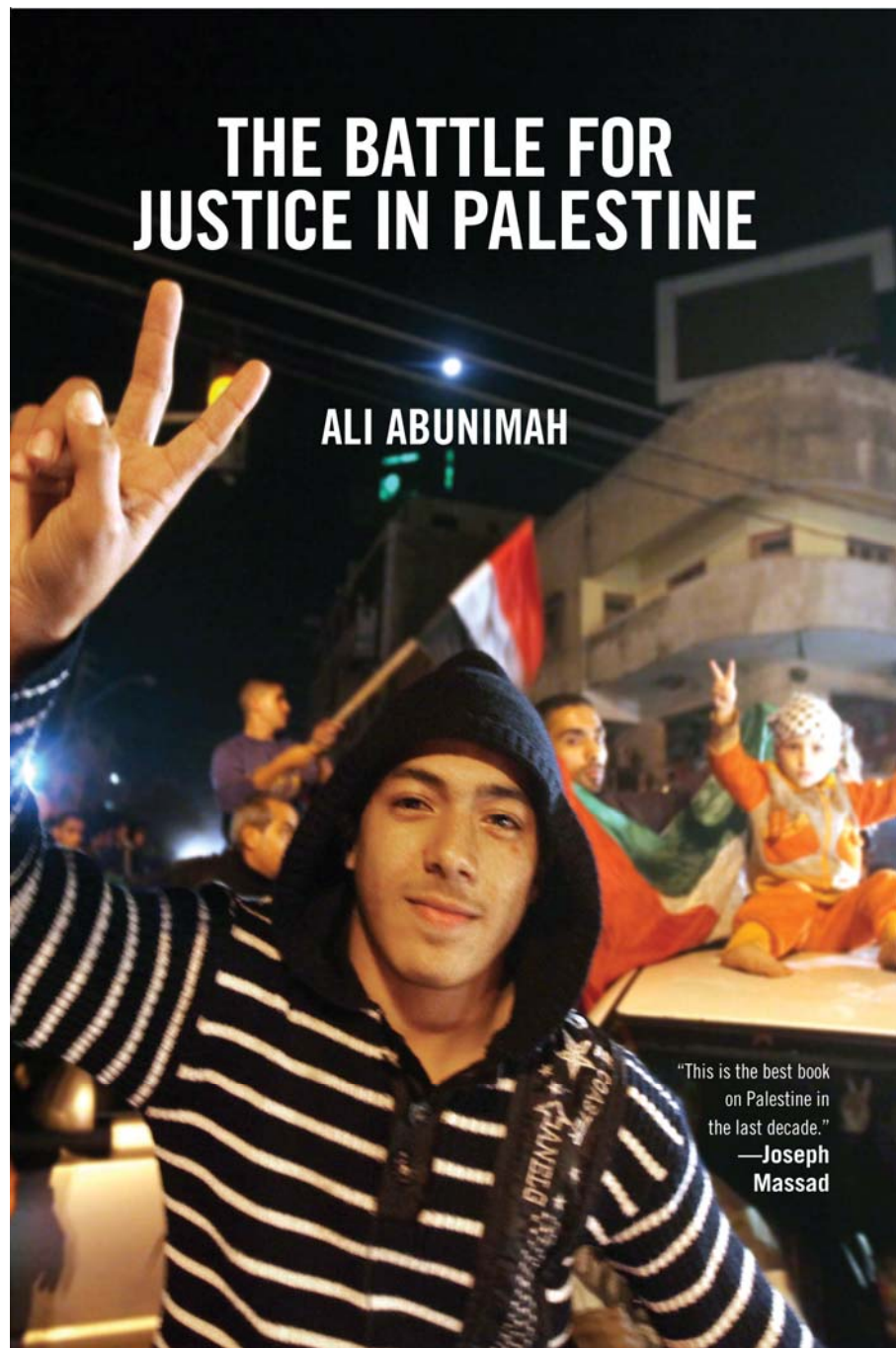
Ali Abunimah: The battle is raging everywhere, particularly here in the United States. And I thought it was important to highlight that in the book, because when you do look at the situation in Palestine on the ground—although there's plenty of Palestinian protests and resistance, and certainly no sense of Palestinians giving up on their rights—you can easily feel the situation on the ground is stagnant at best, and deteriorating at worse. It's deteriorating in the West Bank with Israel's relentless theft and colonization of land. It's deteriorating in Gaza where the siege is even tighter than ever, where in recent days you see electricity being cut off once again and Israel closing the only food and fuel crossing into Gaza. And it seems to be getting worse in present-day Israel, where it seems every other week a new racist policy is passed—most recently the law to discriminate between Palestinian Christian and Palestinian Muslim citizens of Israel. So it's not to discount the struggle people there are waging, but I wanted to focus on the fact that in the U.S. and other parts of the world, Palestinians are winning many battles, and Israel and the Zionist movement are really faltering in their efforts to win hearts and minds.

AK: But the Palestinian Authority is certainly not helping this battle,

though the Israel lobby may be faltering. In fact, you say the PA is hurting it, both internally with neoliberal economic policies and externally with policies of capitulation during the peace process. Could you expand on those issues?

AA: That's right. It all makes sense when you understand that the Palestinian Authority is part

and parcel of Israeli occupation and Israel's system of apartheid. It is a native colonial authority, often compared to the Bantustans, the so-called Black homelands in apartheid South Africa. It's not exactly like them but that's a pretty good parallel for them. And what I document in *The Battle for Justice in Palestine* is an issue that hasn't gotten enough attention, which is



that, under the guise of state building and nationalism and national liberation, the Palestinian Authority and a small Palestinian economic elite have been deepening their ties to the Israeli occupation and making a handsome profit as a result. While the vast majority of Palestinians have been getting poorer, there are a few billionaires like Bashar Masri, the builder of the Rawabi luxury housing development project near Ramallah, who are making a killing. That really needed to be exposed because this neoliberal economic development has been marketed by the likes of Thomas Friedman and other commentators in the U.S. as this great thing that is actually helping Palestinians towards independence when in fact it's deepening the grip that Israel has on the Palestinian economy.

AK: How exactly is it deepening that grip? You talk about the debt Palestinians are in, and the economic cooperation between Palestinian elites and Israeli companies that profit off the occupation. Could you add more details on this process?

AA: In *The Battle for Justice in Palestine* I talk about a number of examples of this. One I mentioned is Bashar Masri, the Palestinian billionaire who is building this housing project called Rawabi in Ramallah. It's been marketed all around the world. There have been glowing media profiles of it, talking about Palestinian state building in action, that this is going to produce affordable housing for Palestinians and for a new middle class.

And in fact, Rawabi is built on land that was taken from surrounding Palestinian villages and land owners, in some of the same ways that Israel has taken land from Palestinians, using the abusive and unac-

countable power of the Palestinian Authority to develop a private, for-profit project. It's also untrue that this is affordable housing. This is actually unaffordable housing for the vast majority of Palestinians, who cannot ever dream of living in Rawabi. And I think it represents the unaccountable and opaque role of global financial capital. This Rawabi project is financed by Qatar, to the tune of about a billion dollars. So it also shows how that there is a kind of normalization between Arab countries and Israel and the occupation. Because you have to remember that Rawabi is built with a huge amount of Israeli input. Many of the suppliers are Israeli.

Bashar Masri has claimed that all Palestinians, because they're under occupation, have to rely on Israel to some extent for cement and other building materials. And he's absolutely right about that. But in his case, he actually boasts about how much he buys from Israel, something like 80-100 million dollars worth of supplies a year, and his company calls this an "economy of peace," when it's actually an economy of exploitation. So that's one crucial example.

The others I talk about in the book are the turn towards these extra-territorial Export Industrial Zones where the Palestinian Authority has signed secret deals with companies, or government-sponsored companies abroad—I talk about one company, a Turkish one, in particular—that is managing or will be managing an industrial zone in the north of the West Bank. These agreements are totally silent about labor rights, environmental protections, and other rights for Palestinian workers. And at the same time they provide these companies almost total sovereignty, including the sovereignty to set up their own private armies to prevent anyone,

including Palestinian Authority officials, from entering the industrial zone. And the World Bank and IMF are explicitly advocating in reports they have published that this should be the model for Palestine, that Palestinians should become cheap labor for Israeli companies so they can export to the Arab world. It's really a dystopian vision.

AK: So what does this assessment of the Palestinian Authority and the elites that support it say about the future of Palestine? It certainly brings to mind the end of apartheid in South Africa, where the African National Congress signed onto neoliberal policies that kept in place the economic systems that developed with apartheid.

AA: That's exactly right and that's a parallel I make in the book. I do think that there's a lot to learn from the transition in South Africa, 20 years after the official end of apartheid. One of the widely noted problems in South Africa is that the country turned towards neoliberalism, leaving the white elite in control of the economy, while millions of black people are poorer than ever. And what I say in the book is what makes Palestine unique is that this is happening before there's any political transition. It's already underway. So Palestinians need to think not only about political resistance to Israeli apartheid and Zionism, but economic resistance and ways to make Palestinian communities resilient to these neoliberal assaults. What I also say, in that sense, is Palestinians are fighting the same fight that people in Greece, Spain, all over the region and all over the world are fighting against unrestrained financial capital and neoliberalism. That struggle in Palestine has to be tied to a broader and deeper global struggle for economic sovereignty and local control over people's resources.

AK: I want to go to your first chapter, which I found incredibly compelling. You don't start your book with a laser focus on Palestine. Instead, you focus on mass incarceration in the U.S., what Michelle Alexander dubbed the New Jim Crow, and what all of these things say about the U.S.-Israel relationship. Explain that choice. Why focus on that first?

AA: This was very important to me, and it was a learning experience to better understand the New Jim Crow and mass incarceration in the United States. And again, there's a parallel to South Africa. We just talked about how South African apartheid ended officially, but economic apartheid has remained and become more entrenched.

Well in the United States, Jim Crow and segregation ended officially with the civil rights legislation that was passed in the 1960s and 70s. But what Michelle Alexander argues, very compellingly, is that a New Jim Crow took its place, with mass incarceration, primarily of people of color and especially with African Americans, which means that by many measures, African Americans, particularly African American men, are as badly off today as they were during Jim Crow, which is absolutely shocking.

There are a couple of parallels with Israel. One is the ideology that allows the United States to talk about itself as this very liberal, democratic, egalitarian country where everyone has individual rights and equality before the law, while in reality imprisoning more of its population than any country in history, and more of its ethnic and racial minorities than any other country on earth. And this is parallel to the Israeli or Zionist ideology. People of color, indigenous people, African Americans, are viewed as a demo-

graphic threat that needs to be controlled with ever-more sophisticated and total methods of control. This is where Israel has really tapped into an American sensibility.

I talk about this huge conveyor belt of police chiefs being taken on jets to Israel, where they are taken to prisons like Megiddo prison, where Palestinian prisoners are tortured, including Palestinian children, and where Palestinian prisoners have died under torture. And they come out and they say, “wow this is so great, I’m going to take what I’ve learned back to LA, back to Chicago and back to New York.” And this is a marketing strategy by Israel, where Israel takes a huge market share of what it describes as a \$100 billion global homeland security industry and they see these big U.S. city—and small city police forces—as a primary market. Those police forces and those cities are ground zero for mass incarceration and the New Jim Crow. What I say is that because the affinities are so close, we’re not talking about separate struggles. We’re talking about the same struggle, and companies like G4S, which Palestinians are resisting in Palestine and the BDS movement is targeting, are also profiting from mass incarceration and the New Jim Crow in the U.S. So how much more powerful would we be if we were really building a joint struggle against Israeli occupation and apartheid and against, for example, mass incarceration in the United States?

AK: But it’s not as if mass incarceration and surveillance would not be happening in the U.S. without Israel, of course, and I know that’s not what you’re arguing. So how do these things interact?

AA: I’m definitely not arguing that if it weren’t for Israel, then the United

States would be a place with there’s no racism and no police abuse and no mass incarceration—far from it. I actually say in the book the United States needs no lessons from anyone on how to operate racist systems against its own citizens. What I’m arguing is that the post-9/11 anti-terrorism and security mania allows Israel to repackage its technologies of control and repression, which are in fact tested on Palestinians under occupation, to repackage them as foreign expertise and technical expertise. So that’s why you often see American officials talking about how the “Israelis are the experts, they live in a tough neighborhood. They understand these things.”

And so you have airports all over the United States buying expertise from the former head of security at Ben Gurion Airport, a program called behavioral recognition detection, which is supposedly some really sophisticated way of telling if somebody is a potential terrorists. So you have Transportation Security Administration officers in Boston blowing the whistle, and saying actually, behavior recognition is just racial profiling, and what we’re being told to do is to treat African Americans, Latinos and other people of color with extra scrutiny and suspicion. And so that’s the behavior, of course, that is all over the country, this kind of racial profiling, but now it gets to be packaged as some kind of sophisticated Israeli technology.

AK: All these connections are quite depressing, but they also have implications for the Palestine solidarity movement in the U.S. You have a chapter on the “war on campus” over Palestine, and you write about the connections made between Latino and Chicano activists and Students for Justice in Palestine. What’s so important about those connections?

AA: Well that’s another really good

example. Just in the past few weeks, the Obama administration, which has been one of the main promoters of this native Israeli expertise both in security and other technologies, awarded a \$145 million contract with Elbit Systems, an Israeli arms company that is involved with the construction of the illegal wall in the occupied West Bank. And now, these technologies, tested and experimented on Palestinians, are going to be used on the U.S.-Mexico border. So the parallel that students are seeing—Latino and Chicano students and Palestinian students—is the settler-colonial assault on people who have been on the land for a long time. The Chicano people have been in what is now the Southwest United States since before it was the United States, as have indigenous people of course. But you have someone like Governor Jan Brewer in Arizona who are claiming that these people are invading the United States with the aim of destroying its culture. And she talks about them as a kind of demographic and cultural threat—exactly the same way Israel and Zionists talk about Palestinians.

I think there are other parallels between Senate Bill 1070 in Arizona, which allows the profiling of any person of color for them to be challenged as an unlawful or undocumented immigrant, and laws that Palestinians face every day and African asylum seekers face every day under Israeli rule. So these are connections students are making and building a joint struggle around, and that's a really important and positive development.

AK: You have a clear vision to end the battle over Palestine: a one-state solution, which your first book was about. Specifically, you devote much ink to the question of how a one-state solution would impact Israeli Jews, and the question of both Pa-

lestinian self-determination and Israeli Jewish self-determination. How do you envision a one-state solution overcoming the objections of Israeli Jews, and how does Palestinian and Israeli Jewish self-determination play into this vision?

AA: Since I wrote *One Country*, my first book, there have been a lot of developments in this discussion, and a lot more people are open to this idea of a single democratic state than they were at that time. And that's really great. I wanted, in this book, to answer some of the skepticism and objections that still persist. The main one is, "a single state sounds very nice but Israeli Jews will never accept it." And so I wanted to look at other examples where you have a settler-colonial regime, where the people benefitting from it were absolutely opposed to ending their own privilege and control. Of course, South Africa is one example of that, and Northern Ireland is another. And I wanted to trace that solid opposition—in South Africa, the vast majority of whites were opposed to ending apartheid and ending white minority control until very close to the end of the apartheid regime. And I think a lot of people don't know that. They think that somehow, whites in South Africa were all for ending apartheid. They fought against ending apartheid tooth and nail, just as Israeli Jews are doing right now. I wanted to trace how that change takes place, how when that change is underway, people really begin to shift their narratives. I thought that it was really important to show that what appears to be a stagnant situation today of solid opposition can actually begin to change very rapidly once people begin to understand that the balance of power is shifting and there's really no future for a system based on oppression and racialism.

AK: My last question is about the tools we use to go towards that vision. Obviously, the boycott, divestment and sanctions (BDS) movement could be one tool, although it's important to note the BDS movement doesn't take a position on states. Where do you see the BDS movement playing into the larger battle over Palestine?

AA: The boycott, divestment and sanctions movement is really coming of age now, and there's a dynamism that I think is just palpable, and what's really frustrating to Israel and to pro-Israel organizations is that this movement is so organic and so diffuse. It doesn't have a central leadership, it's not an organization, it's not, "the BDS," as some pro-Israel groups like to call it. It really is a set of principles and tactics that people can self-organize around, and that's what is happening across North America, Europe and increasingly in Arab countries, where people understand this is a powerful tactic.

What it does is it brings the focus right back to Palestinian rights and Palestinian agency. Some of the people who most oppose Palestinian rights—like Peter Beinart and J Street and others—what they like to do often is to portray this as coming

from outside the country. There's often a deliberate concealment that this is a Palestinian-led and Palestinian-driven movement, and there is an attempt to derail it and coopt it, with what Peter Beinart calls "Zionist BDS." But ultimately, it's a movement that puts before people a question: do you support Palestinian rights? Do you support rights for all Palestinians? And liberal Zionists cannot answer both those questions in the affirmative. That's why this has been such a powerful movement, because drawing fully on principles of human rights, international law and anti-racism, it places people before that question. And we've come to a decisive moment where people have to decide, are they with Israel and its self-definition as a so-called Jewish and democratic state—which I argue is totally incompatible with rights for everyone—or are they with these universal principles? And it's a very exciting moment. One of the things that emerged in the initial stages of this book tour is, how many different backgrounds this movement can bring together. That's why I have a great deal of hope that in the next coming years, we're going to win this battle. That's what keeps me going.

by courtesy of Ali Abunimah

In the absence of absence: A Palestinian family endures, and resists, the Israeli occupation

By **Basil AbdulRazeq Farraj**, May, 2014
First publication : Mondoweiss.com

“Some stories are better left untold,” many would say. I couldn’t agree more. Especially when pain, suffering and loss are invoked with the very act of remembering these “untold” stories. In Palestine, remembrance is not only a mental process; it is constituted and reflected by the present context that categorizes the pain, suffering and loss invoked by remembrance. Some stories are, possibly, left untold because they need not be told; they are continuously occurring and reoccurring. Some stories are, possibly, left untold because they are the life of many Palestinians; they are not “stories” but realities.

Stories are also a reflection of the love; care and hope that persists under an apartheid regime working to not only occupy the physical but also the mental.

Stories in Palestine are weapons inspiring hope and imagination.

The Israeli Occupation and its government fear our stories.

Our stories reveal the inhumanity, cruelty and ugliness of an occupation that continuously attempts to whitewash its crimes with a distorted image of democracy and tolerance; an image that is rapidly being dismantled by the growth and effectiveness of the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions movement and the resilience of the Palestinian people.

The occupation and its government fear stories because they hint, with every act of narration, the near fall of the apartheid state and its complete isolation.

Some stories are better left untold however; others deserve to be told despite the discomfort, pain and vulnerability that could come with their narration. Stories

are vital to our life and if left untold, hope could vanish. Stories (and their narration) under apartheid are as vital to our lives as oxygen is to our blood.

I am sharing with you one of my family’s many stories with the hope of sharing what I have learned, and continue to learn, from them. I share this story with the acknowledgment that it is not an isolated one nor is the only one— it is a story amongst many others emerging from a particular historical and political moment, and which continuously remind us of the resilience of the Palestinian people and their immense love of life.

One month left, two weeks, 1 week, 1 day, 2 hours, 1 hour. Our hearts start beating faster. The family gathers. The room is full with anxiety and hope. We sit on the couch waiting to hear the news. “Your father’s imprisonment has been extended for yet another six months,” the lawyer says. He adds, “It is administrative detention, you know?”

As with every other administrative detention, this process of waiting repeats itself. Six more months. Four more. Six more. Four more. Three more. Finally, freedom. Hugs. Tears. We hold tight. Once again, another late night raid and arrest. We wait again.

My father, Abdul-Razeq Farraj, the administrative and financial director of the Union of Agricultural Work Committees, has spent nearly 14 years of his life in Israeli prisons. On the 25th of February of this year, the Israeli Occupation Forces raided our house and arrested him again.

My father, along with almost all the other administrative detainees, is on a hunger strike demanding an end for the use of administrative detention – which allows

the Israeli occupation to arrest any Palestinian without charge and without trial because of a “secret file” that neither lawyers nor prisoners are allowed to see. My father is entering his twenty ninth day and is currently held in isolation in Ramleh Prison with no means of accessing the outside world. The hunger strikers have recently decided to stop taking non-food supplements as a measure to pressure the Israeli authorities to grant them their demands.

If you’d like to learn more about administrative detention and my father’s previous imprisonment, please watch this video which is an interview with my father:

This is not the first time my father participates in a hunger strike – he had participated in the 2012 hunger strike for a period of twenty four days. On May 8th, 2012 he managed to send a letter from prison to my family through the International Committee of the Red Cross – I was in Northern Ireland at the time. In his letter, which I carry everywhere with me, he writes:

My love Lamis (my mother), the most beautiful Wadea (my brother) and Basil:

Greeting filled with love to you all. I use this opportunity given to me today to write to you. I hope that you all doing great and are in good health especially Basil – I haven’t heard about his news in a while. Wadea, I hope university is going well and that you are doing great in your exams... Lamis, I hope you are taking care of your health and that you are, as I have always known you to be.

As for me, I’m doing good. Today, is the fourteenth day of the hunger strike and I am facing my body’s weakness with a determination and strength that reaches the furthest point of the sky. Don’t worry about me – what is important is your health and news. Please let me know how Basil is doing and send my love to my mother and all.

You are always in my heart. No, but, my heart beats because of you.

Warm hugs,

Abdul-Razeq Farraj

Throughout his numerous arrests, my father has always put us in front of him. He always puts his family, principles and hopes for a better future in front of anything else – he puts his dream of justice in the forefront. He, like the other Palestinian prisoners, is fighting for a better day and to ensure that my brother and I, and other Palestinian youth, don’t have to go through what he has gone through.

These are people who face weakness of their bodies with an unshakable strength and determination. They sacrifice for others, for thoughts and dreams to remain alive, for the unknown.

I have always known my father as such; through the limited time I have spent with him but mainly through the stories of others about him. People used to always tell me: “your father is a rock,” “your father is a school,” “your father never gives in.” The funny thing is, however, that he has never told my brother or I stories about his life, imprisonment, months in solitary confinement and interrogation.

My father’s determination and resilience indeed reaches the furthest point of the sky, and further. His willingness to sacrifice is unwavering. In his eyes you will see hope, determination, resilience, strength, motivation and love. You will see passion for more and more knowledge – passion to know about a world he is denied to visit: a world he has never seen.

He once told me, “Basil, it is true that you have visited a number of countries but believe me, through my readings I feel like I have travelled all over the world and visited them all.” In my father’s eyes, as in those imprisoned in the ever-expanding prison of freedom, you will see a genuine love for life – its trees, birds, peoples and the unknown it hides. This love breaks the strongest of all fortified prison walls and firmly stands in opposition to injustice,

oppression and occupation. This love is a force that triumphs and firmly stands over the Israeli Occupation. It is a love that inspires us all.

Despite the bulletproof glass, my father would always manage to lift our spirits whenever we visit him – visits which we are currently denied as a mean to pressure the prisoners to end the hunger strike by the Israeli occupation authorities. His smiles would break the walls separating us and have us feel his presence and warmth. I have always been amazed by his ability to not only live life within oppressive and unjust prison walls but to also create and nurture life.

My father doesn't speak much. In those rare times when my family is unified, my father would sit in the living room and silently enjoy these brief moments of unification as if he knows they are about to be violently interrupted shortly. His silence is full of love, memory, belonging, passion, and an attempt to recollect lost stories and memories.

My father: you are free despite the chains.

She saw my father being taken away more than seven times. She saw our house getting stormed and bombed by the Israeli Occupation. For many, many years she raised my brother and I by herself. She nurtured our lives in the midst of late night raids and long hours of anxious waiting for news regarding my father's imprisonment. She is continuously sacrificing for my brother and I, for a better future and for us to keep dreaming and imagining.

My mother, Lamis, is my mother, my father, my friend, my mother and keeper. She always manages to create life especially when life is being assaulted and forcibly taken away.

In my mother's eyes, you'll see an immense amount of love, an unshakable strength and determination. In her eyes you'll see the pain she had endured – and is enduring- raising my brother and I by herself. In her eyes you'll see her strength in front of lifeless Israeli soldiers. In her

eyes, you'll witness the passion of her job as an elementary school teacher.

In my mother's eyes you will see a love for life and the life of others.

It is this love for life that categorizes most of our stories. It is a love for life that I have seen in the eyes of my mother, my father and my brother, Wadea, despite all the hardships they are going through. It is a love for life that triumphs over the occupation and its apartheid tools. It is a love for life that keeps us, Palestinians, going. It is a love for life that allows us to imagine and fight for a just future.

This love for life inspires. It transmits hope. It is a Palestinian woman hugging a tree to prevent it from being uprooted by Israeli soldiers. It is the graduation of a Palestinian student. It is a dinner with a, finally, fully united family. It is the witnessing of next day's sun. It is the freedom of a free prisoner. It is an early morning kiss from a mother and her continuous blessings.

Upon sharing an early draft of this piece with my brother, Wadea, he commented, "Basil, I have only reservation: your piece is still missing something." He then added, "Maybe we can never fully account for our parents love, their continuous struggles and sacrifice. Maybe it is difficult to express everything or we might want to keep some stories for ourselves." My brother is right. Despite how much we try, there always will remain numerous untold stories and moments – possibly because we need something that is ours to hold on to in the midst of chaos.

I have learned, and continue to learn, from my family to love and fight for life.

We love life despite the occupation's continuous attempts to have us hate it. We love life because we deserve life. We love life because we will get life.

To my father and his empty stomach.

*Article sent from Ramallah
by one of our readers*

Who's afraid of the right of return?

By Alma Biblash

First publication : +972Magazine

The thought of six million Palestinian refugees entering Israel can be scary, even terrifying. But it turns out there are real, practical steps that we can take to mitigate those fears, and they don't have to come at the expense of those living here.

Implementing the right of return is the just solution both in terms of historical and present justice for Palestinian refugees. Approximately six million Palestinian refugees live across the world. There will be no justice until Israel recognizes its responsibility for the *Nakba*, and allows the dispossessed to return to their homes.

The almost automatic response to the idea of return, whether we're talking about someone who is interested in seeing the refugees return or someone who opposes it with all of his/her strength, is usually identical: it's not possible. But is that so?

Return as a necessity

The accepted view in Israel is that the Arab residents of Palestine fled during war time, which began after the Arab leadership refused to accept the UN Partition Plan. At the end of the war, the borders of the state included territories captured during the fighting. But hundreds of thousands of refugees who were expelled, live today either in difficult conditions in refugee camps or are dispersed across the world. If we want to build a society based on justice here – one in which our lives and welfare do not come at the expense of the Other – we must think about how to return justice to the

region, and refugees to their homes.

Palestinian refugees hold special status among the refugee population in the world, due to the fact that they are cared for by UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East) and not UNHCR (the UN Refugee Agency). Palestinian refugees are the only refugees who do not lose their status if they obtain citizenship in another country. Furthermore, their refugee status is passed down to their children and grandchildren. However, UNRWA does not work to return refugees to their homeland, as UNHCR often does with other refugee populations. There are those who claim that these facts only serve to perpetuate the plight of the refugees, and preclude them from establishing an independent and integrated life in the countries to which they fled.

The liberal Zionist left, which opposes both the occupation of 1967 as well as the right of return, tends to use the “human rights card” to describe the difficult living conditions of Palestinians in the West Bank. Far from their eyes, hearts and consciousness are millions of humans – third and fourth generations of refugees - living in camps.

The Israeli public hardly deals with the issue of the refugees and the uprooted, and does not understand the symbolic and real significance that the issue has among the Palestinian public living under our rule – a public that, regardless of Israel's attempts, is not going anywhere.

What happens if Israel becomes a Muslim state?

Recently, I was invited to lead a workshop on the issue of the right of return for a group of young people in the Sedaka-Reut youth group, which promotes Arab-Jewish cooperation. The group was curious, and after a short review of the facts came the discussion. I was overcome by the sensitivity and honesty of the group members, especially among the Palestinian ones. They spoke of their fears and concerns resulting from a drastic change in their lifestyles, which may take place should millions of people, who might be part of the same nation but seem very different, return. Their questions were no different from the ones I've heard hundreds of times from older and more experienced people:

What if the returnees turn the country religious and Islamic? What about women's rights? How will we fund all of the reparations and where will we build homes for everyone? What about the refugees from Gaza? What about the refugees who do not accept the notion of a shared land and want to expel the Jews?

The perception that there is no practical way to implement the return has been hammered into our collective consciousness. In order to get beyond it, we need to try bringing the idea of return back down to earth in two ways: the first through planning the return and a reconciliation process, and the second, implementing the return. Presenting a realistic, sober, sensitive and well-built plan is the ultimate answer to skepticism. And there is nothing that reduces anxiety like shedding light on the matter.

Planning the return is a complex

process, especially if we accept the basic premise accepted by most of those who deal with the topic (even by Palestinian refugees) that one of the main goals is to reduce to a minimum the potential harm caused to the current residents of the country.

Return plans must be specific for every region, must take into account the terrain, what is left from before the war, the identity of its original owners as well as that of its current owners. It must include detailed monetary compensation and plans to solve conflicts and disagreements.

The reconciliation plan has a few existing models, some of which were successfully used in South Africa and other places. On Zochrot's (an Israeli NGO dedicated to raising awareness about the Nakba among Israeli Jews) website, one can find examples of return plans, such as the Yaffa Document [Hebrew], which presents a detailed and sensitive plan for the return of Palestinian refugees to Jaffa and Tel Aviv.

The importance of asking questions

Even the second tool, practical return, can be made a reality. The return can be done in large and impressive actions, such as the one in Iqrit, where the third generation of uprooted Palestinians have returned to re-establish their village, or through small actions such as a symbolic return of uprooted communities and families to their lands. A friend of mine, a daughter of a family that was uprooted from a village that was destroyed in 1948 (and upon which an army base was established), told me about her family's trips to the village. During those trips, the elders would tell the younger generation

about life in the village prior to the 1948 war. This is also part of the return.

The central answer to all the aforementioned questions is: let's talk about it. Let's put all the cards on the table. Let's not treat return as a monster or a hot potato. Let's build a plan for return and reconciliation and not just leave it for the experts to figure out. Let's think together about solutions and verbalize our fears without feeling ashamed. Let's think about how we can contain a number of cultures in one area in a way that enshrines respect for, and minimizes harm to the other. Let's put together a set of rules that will allow us to address the various needs of both the returnees and those who now live in Israel/Palestine.

Let's talk about it with everybody. Let's talk about redistribution of land and resources. Let's break the boundaries and dismantle the concept of separation. Let's replace it with a life of cooperation and re-

conciliation. Let's talk about concessions and compromise out of a place of equality, rather than necessity. Let's talk about recognizing the Nakba, the injustice that occurred in 1948 and every moment since then.

It is common to hear that the Left in Israel offers no alternatives, that it is so focused on opposing the occupation to the point that it cannot offer a positive vision. This is our positive vision. The return of the refugees to their country, from the river until the sea, and a life of cohabitation in a country that is already shared by two nations. The shared state in which Jews, Palestinians and others live already exists. It simply suffers from serious failures when it comes to justice and equality.

Alma Biblash is a feminist and human rights activist based in Jaffa.

Published with the authorization of Alma Biblash.

Ethnic Cleansing by Other Means

By **Ilan Pappé**, Jun 1, 2014

First publication : *Middle East Eye*

The term Nakba has become, understandably, a sacred entry in the Palestinian national dictionary. It will remain probably the principal way in which the terrible events of 1948 will be commemorated and recollected in years to come. However, conceptually, this is a problematic term. Nakba means a catastrophe. Catastrophes usually have victims but no victimizers. This leaves aside questions of accountability and responsibility.

It is for this reason, among others, that it was easy for the cynical or genuine upholders of the so-called peace process in “the Palestine question” to ignore this monumental event. It also allowed those who are more attentive to the Palestinian plight to view the Nakba as a distant event, happening more or less at the time of the Second World War – an event that may be of interest to historians, but one which has very little relevance to the situation in Israel and Palestine today.

This is why I suggested in 2007 to employ the term of ethnic cleansing to describe both the events of 1948 and the Israeli policies ever since. The legal, academic and popular definitions of ethnic cleansing fit the developments in Palestine in 1948 very well. The planned and systematic dispossession of the Palestinians which ended in the destruction of half of Palestine’s towns and villages and the expulsion of 750,000 Palestinians can only be described as ethnic cleansing.

But the term is not only important for understanding the particular events of that year properly, but it is also a concept that explains the Zionist thinking about the native population in Palestine before 1948 and the Israeli policies towards the Palestinians ever since.

From the very first encounter of both leaders and common members of the settler colonialist project of Zionism with the native Palestinians, they were regarded, at best, as an obstacle and, at worst, as aliens who usurped by force what belonged to the Jewish people. Liberal minded Zionists tolerated the presence of local Palestinians in small numbers, but even they subscribed to a deep conviction, planted into generations of Israeli Jews since 1948, that in order to thrive, and not just survive, having a future Jewish state over much of Palestine with no Palestinians in it, was the ideal scenario for the future.

The international silence in front of the 1948 ethnic cleansing of Palestine conveyed a clear message to the newly born Jewish state. The Jewish State was not going to be judged like any other political outfit and the world would turn a blind eye and provide it with immunity for its criminal policies on the ground. It was Europe who led the way, understanding that it could be absolved from the terrible chapter in the history of its Jews by granting the Zionist movement *carte blanche* to de-Arabise Palestine.

These two developments – the Zionist conviction that success in Palestine depended on the ability to downsize the number of the Palestinians in a future Jewish state to a minimum and the international complicity in allowing this ambition to be attempted in 1948 – turned the ethnic cleansing ideology into the DNA of the future Israel.

The vision was of a Palestinian-less state, but the tactics of how to implement it changed with time. While the ideological movement, Zionism, was able under the particular circumstances produced by the abrupt British decision to leave Palestine, to implement a brutal operation of massive ethnic cleansing of the local Palestinian population, the next stages had to be more sophisticated.

A simple truth was realized by those responsible for strategic planning vis-à-vis the continued presence of Palestinians on the land: expelling people and not allowing them to move – by enclaving them – produced the same affect demographically. The undesired population was out of sight either beyond the state's borders or within the state.

The ethnic cleansing of 1948 was incomplete. Inside the area that became Israel, a small minority of Palestinians remained. They stayed either because they lived in the north and south in the areas where exhausted Jewish forces arrived, unable to expel a population that was aware, more than those dispossessed in the early stage of the operations, of the real intention of the occupiers. Or they were spared by a local commander's decision to let them stay or leave them for further decision after the war. Resistance (sumud) and fatigue of the army left a Palestinian minority inside Israel. Political agreements allowed

Jordan to take over the West Bank and military considerations enabled Egypt to hold onto the Gaza Strip.

Brutal ethnic cleansing was still attempted between 1948 and 1956 and quite a considerable number of villages were still expelled in that period. But after 1956, this was replaced by the notion mentioned above that ethnic cleansing by other means could be achieved by imposing military rule on the Palestinian population where the main prohibition was the restriction of free movement into Jewish areas and informal, but very strict, prohibition from living there. This was accompanied by preventing the expansion of the living space of that community.

When the military rule imposed on the Palestinians in Israel came to an end in 1966, it was replaced by an apartheid system that prevented the spatial movement of the Palestinian community. At first it had great success, but it has proven to be less efficient in recent years. Not one new village or neighborhood was built for the community that represented 20 percent of the population while its agricultural and natural space was systematically Judaized in the north and the south of the state.

In the areas Israel occupied in 1967, ethnic cleansing by other means took similar forms. Immediately after the war, the Israeli cabinet seriously contemplated the repeat of the 1948 ethnic cleansing, but the idea was ruled out. It opted, instead, for colonization of the occupied territories. This strategy was used not only for the sake of changing the demographic balance, but mainly to create settlement belts that would enclave the Palestinian towns and villages in a way that would not allow expansion, strangulate them and encourage

emigration. The army, as recently exposed by journalist Amira Hass, has created training grounds in the West Bank to empty it from the Palestinian population. Ariel Sharon found an original version of this more sophisticated ethnic cleansing by Ghettoizing the Gaza Strip in 2005.

Present day Israel is also ideologically willing to resort to brutal ethnic cleaning as could be seen from the Praver plan in the Naqab (Negev) and the wish to ethnically cleanse the Arab population for old Acre (Akka). The peace process has provided an international umbrella for both the brutal and sophisticated ethnic cleansing. History tea-

ches us that ethnic cleansing does not peter out because the perpetrators get tired or change their minds. Too many Israelis benefit from, and are involved in, this project.

Ethnic cleansing ends when it is completed or when it is stopped. Peace in Israel and Palestine means stopping the ethnic cleansing as a precondition for any reconciliation.

by courtesy of Ilan Pappé



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**

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