

# **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**

## **The War on Gaza, the “Cease-fire,” and the Fight to Lift the Blockade**

Testimony of a Palestinian Activist in the 1948 Territories • Appeal of Arab Workers Union • Interview with Professor Haim Bresheeth, Initiator of the “Open Letter to Israeli Academics” • More Than 350 Survivors and Descendants of Nazi Genocide Condemn the Massacre of Palestinians in Gaza • “But Is It Good for the Jews?” by Lawrence Davidson

---

### **HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS**

- The Palestinian Revolution and the Jews (May 1970)
- The PLO Charter of 1964
- The PLO Charter of 1968

**Handala Will Soon Be Able to Turn Around!**

*by Jacques Werstein*



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>Presentation — by Dialogue Review</b>	<b>page 1</b>
<b>Interview with a Palestinian Activist in the 1948 Territories at the Onset of Israeli Offensive</b>	<b>page 3</b>
<b>Arab Workers Union Appeal to Labour Unions and Civil Society Organisations (based in Nazareth)</b>	<b>page 5</b>
<b>Interview with Professor Haim Bresheeth, Initiator of the “Open Letter to Israeli Academics,” on the Current Situation in Palestine and the Israeli Society</b>	<b>page 8</b>
<b>More Than 350 Survivors and Descendents of Nazi Genocide Condemn the Massacre of Palestinians in Gaza</b>	<b>page 12</b>
<b>“But Is It Good for the Jews?” by Lawrence Davidson</b>	<b>page 13</b>
<b>Handala Will Soon Be Able to Turn Around! by Jacques Werstein</b>	<b>page 16</b>
<b>DOCUMENT: The Palestinian Revolution and the Jews — Published in Beirut in May 1970 in Fateh newspaper</b>	<b>page 18</b>
<b>DOCUMENT: The Palestinian National Charter adopted in by the First Palestinian Conference (Jerusalem, 2 June 1964)</b>	<b>page 24</b>
<b>DOCUMENT: PLO Charter of 1968 (adopted by the Palestine National Council in Cairo on 17 July 1968)</b>	<b>page 27</b>



# Presentation

By Dialogue Review

This issue of *Dialogue* presents several documents published during the recent Israeli offensive against the population of the Gaza Strip.

The facts have been widely publicised: 2,150 people killed, 80% of them civilians, among whom 500 children; housing districts razed to the ground; tens of families blown to death in their homes by guided missiles. The total reckoning amounts to 20,000 people injured, many of whom will remain disabled for life, and 30% of the population has been displaced. The photos recall the bombings at the end of World War II. 134 factories have been destroyed, schools, hospitals have been destroyed, and practically the entire drinking water distribution system is now unusable. People worldwide, as well as significant layers of the Jewish population, have been shocked by this barbaric act and the relentless shelling and bombing widely shown in the media and supported by the major powers.

Making use of the historical sufferings of Jews to justify the policies of Israel and, consequently, the crimes against the Palestinian people is increasingly being publicly disapproved of. This is what the 350 survivors and descendants of victims of Nazi extermination camps have stated in a very dignified way. We are publishing their appeal in this issue. Something is changing.

Meanwhile, in the increasingly poorer and more violent Israeli society, contradictions are mounting to an explosive dimension between those who, in a vague and undefined way would like to imagine a peaceful future and those who demand the extermination of the Palestinians. The army is dominated by fundamentalist commanding staff bred in the West Bank settlements. Intolerance and hatred are

growing to unheard-of proportions among some layers of the Jewish population. Meanwhile, three weeks after the end of the aggression called "Protective Edge" an opinion rating presented on the Israeli second TV channel showed that one third of the Israelis were considering emigrating from Israel.

In spite of its military power and destructive capacity, the State of Israel has never been so weak. Its claim to stand for democratic values has been rejected by wide sections of the Jewish people world wide.

Something is changing, as is illustrated by the letter countersigned by 43 Israeli veterans of the 8200 unit specialising in mass spying on populations. Such a group initiative stemming from a "prestigious" unit of the Israeli army is unprecedented. These intelligence specialists declare they "*refuse to continue serving as tools in deepening the military control over the Occupied Territories*". They confirm that "*Millions of Palestinians have been living under Israeli military rule for over 47 years. This regime denies the basic rights and expropriates extensive tracts of land for Jewish settlements subject to separate and different legal systems, jurisdiction and law enforcement. This reality is not an inevitable result of the state's efforts to protect itself but rather the result of choice. Settlement expansion has nothing to do with national security. The same goes for restrictions on construction and development, economic exploitation of the West Bank, collective punishment of inhabitants of the Gaza Strip, and the actual route of the separation barrier.*"

Palestinian people imprisoned behind walls and barbed wire and a military blockade are subjected to jail-like surveillance of their every move with constant inside oppression. Imprison-

oned, put under control for 47 years for some, and for over 66 years for the Palestinians inside Israel.

In the State of Israel, some advocate massive expulsions and deepening control and imprisonment of the Palestinian population. Netanyahu demands that Palestinians recognise "Israel as the Jewish State" as a pre-condition for any negotiation. Writers and officials worry that the two state solution should be put aside as it would imperil the future of the Hebrew State. But what is the two state solution if not the continued imprisonment of all the components of the Palestinian people?

How could a territorial entity, derisively called the "Palestinian State", co-existing alongside a dominant and ultra-powerful State of Israel, be anything but a rump State deprived of the prerogatives of any other State? The Palestinian State proposed by the major powers is nothing more than a revamping of a largely rejected Palestinian Authority. Could it be otherwise?

Can "just and lasting peace" exist in the framework of continued partition of Palestine and rejection of the refugees' right to return? What would be the fate of the refugees in the countries they are living in if a so-called "Palestinian State" should be created? Would they be forcibly naturalised? Does this not open the way to new expulsions, new massacres?

After 50 days of unrestrained brutality, governments the world over have called a ceasefire and then turned their eyes again to Iraq and Syria. The state of Israel continues its repressive agenda just as after every ceasefire. In practise, "ceasefire" puts aggressors and their victims on the same level and only results in the continued siege of the Gaza Strip. The Israeli military blockade (Egyptian in the south) is still on. It prevents any reconstruction, forbids people from moving, strangles the people of Gaza and makes already dire living conditions still worse. Unconditional lifting of the blockade is a democratic demand.

### **Unconditional lifting of the blockade is a democratic demand.**

The crises in "Israeli society" and among its traditional sponsors, the affirmation of the unity of the Palestinian people are major elements in the present situation. Activists, groups or even whole populations who affirm their right to live, their refusal of barbarism are seeking solutions. Can they be offered another answer to their democratic aspirations outside the institution of equal rights throughout the territory of historical Palestine? Feeding the reflection and debate between worker and democratic activists on the solution to this situation is the objective of *Dialogue Review*.

— The Editors

## Interview with a Palestinian Activist in the 1948 Territories at the Onset of Israeli Offensive

### “We in the 1948 Territories Show Our Full Support and Solidarity with Our People in Gaza”

• **Can you please introduce yourself?**

I'm a Palestinian political activist born and raised in the 1948 Territories (known by the international community as Israel).

• **In the '48 Territories, and especially in Galilee in the North of Israel, there are daily clashes between the Palestinian population — particularly the youth — and the forces of repression of the Zionist State.**

Yes, and as your readers certainly know the main reason of the clashes between the Palestinian people and the Israeli police is the brutal murder of Muhammed Abu Khdeir (who was 16 years old) from Jerusalem. But what should be understood is that this assassination was the spark that set the fire in a political situation marked by the racism and the economic and social gap between the Israelis and the Palestinians. These are the reasons why the clashes have taken place.

At the same time, the collective punishment of the Palestinian people was no surprise. This is how Israeli policy is made. We have seen this collective punishment in the West Bank and now in Gaza.

• **Are you saying that it is the Palestinian people as such, wherever they live, who are being targeted? Are you saying that it is the very existence of the Palestinian people which is at stake?**

Absolutely. It's also important to point that the clashes in the '48 Territories started before the

ones in the West Bank. And it should be noted that those who got arrested in the last weeks are the same ones who got released in the Shalit deal in 2011. It shows that nobody was randomly arrested and that “the list was prepared in advance,” as a friend from Ramallah told me.

• **How did that movement that started in the West Bank spread to the '48 Territories? How does the population get organized?**

What happened and is still happening in the '48 Territories is that some movements organized protests in solidarity with the clashing people in Jerusalem. Those protests in different villages and cities ended up blocking the main roads in Israel. The Israeli police was called in. They invaded those cities and villages and clashed with the protesters. Most of the people who are joining the clashes are youth, but most of them are not “politicized” and are not activists in general. The protests are being organized by independent political movements. But when the clashes start, the people themselves are the leaders.

In the '48 Territories, popular committees have been established. They aim to protect the villages and the cities from suspected attacks. Those committees consist of youth and people who are volunteering to stay up the whole night in the main entrances of their cities and villages.

Such activities are reminiscent of the First Intifada.

• **Where did the main clashes take place?**

-In Nazareth, Um Al-Fahm, Acre, Jaffa, Arraba, Sakhnin, Tamra, Shefa'amr and in many other places.

• **What about the victims?**

First there were 115 arrests. At least 40 to 50 of them were minors. Later, the number rose to 200; several people were arrested in their homes during night raids. It's important to point that this is the biggest wave of arrests in the '48 borders since the Second Intifada in 2000.

As I already said, the policy of Israel is collective punishment. Just to give you one example: Yesterday, two Palestinian workers pulled

over to fix their car near Haifa. An Israeli settler ran over them with his car and killed two of them. One of them was from Tulkarem (West Bank), the other was from Jaffa ('48 border).

And now it is the Gaza population that is being massacred. We, the people and the movements in the '48 Territories, show our full support and solidarity with our people in Gaza, who are daily suffering from siege and bombing. Launching campaigns and protesting is the minimum we can do. We also call upon our comrades in Europe to launch campaigns and raise awareness about what's going on in Gaza, and to put pressure on their countries to stop supporting the occupation.

— *Interview conducted by  
Jean-Pierre Barrois on July 11, 201*

# Arab Workers Union Appeal to Labour Unions and Civil Society Organisations

(Nazareth, 20 July 2014)

## Stop the terrorist war on Gaza!

### Stop the sacking of Arab workers for showing their solidarity with the people of Gaza!

The Arab Workers Union of Nazareth calls on all civil society organisations and all progressive international trade unions throughout the world to openly take a clear position condemning the barbarous terrorist attacks carried out by the Israeli occupying forces against the population of the town of Gaza, the refugee camps, and throughout the Gaza Strip.

This area is the scene of murders on a daily basis, targeting hundreds of children, men and women. The most recent of these took place in the Shuyayia neighbourhood and the town of Khan Yunis. The trade union calls on the international organisations, as well as on all progressive forces, political parties and trade unions, to demonstrate and strengthen their protests and solidarity with the civilians of Gaza, who are undergoing extermination. On another level, the Arab Workers Union of the town of Nazareth has urged the progressive forces, trade unions and political parties to condemn every kind of racial discrimination suffered by the Palestinian workers (who have Israeli nationality), especially after several Israeli employers had sacked dozens of Arab workers because of their solidarity with their brothers in the Gaza Strip. Furthermore, several Israeli workplaces have banned their employees from speaking Arabic to each other.

It should be noted that for more than a month now, all of the towns and villages of Galilee, the Negev region and Nazareth have witnessed big demonstrations by the people following the murder by burning alive of the child Mohammed Abu Khdair, born in Jerusalem, and also in solidarity with the people of Gaza. These popular demonstrations saw violent clashes between the demonstrators and the army and police forces, which resorted to repression in order to disperse the angry crowds. We should emphasise that the number of people detained in the 1948 zones is now over 150.

We urge all the revolutionary forces, parties and trade unions throughout the world to express their solidarity and demonstrate against the murders being committed by Israel in Gaza.

We invite all trade union comrades and friends to condemn every kind of racial discrimination against Arab workers in Israel and also to condemn the repression carried out by the Israeli police against the Palestinian demonstrators in the 1948 zones.

#### Endnote

[\*] The International Trade Union Committee in support of Palestinian working men and women was set up in December 2006 in Algiers, by trade unionists from 23 countries who participated in an international conference in support of Palestinian Arab workers of Nazareth being subjected to the Wisconsin Plan.

# Interview with Salah Salah

## (Member of the Palestinian National Council in charge of the Right of Return)

### • Why did the Zionists decide to attack Gaza now?

You know, it is not the first time that the Zionist Forces attack Gaza. They have been doing this regularly from time to time. Not only in 2009 and in 2012, but even before Hamas was founded, in both 1967 and 1956. However, now the Zionist movement is by far more aggressive than ever before. They bombard homes and demolish buildings to attack and kill the people who are living inside, and this way many families have been completely wiped out.

The Zionist are making use of Hamas as a pretext to their war, claiming that it against terrorism they fight, however the true aim for this barbarian and destructive attack has - from my point of view - the following perspectives:

- 1 – To affirm the division between Gaza strip and the West Bank geographically and politically.
- 2 – To test the reaction of the new regime in Egypt, and whether it still continues and mediates as before, or if it has changed?
- 3 – To check what new weapons and resources the Palestinian resistance is in possession of.

In addition to this, the Zionists were very anxious about the mass demonstrations and strikes, in Al-Khalil, Jerusalem and 48 area, to come to a halt and not develop into a third intifada. And we noticed that this possibility took another direction, and turned into solidarity with Gaza and supporting the fight there, instead of leading and organizing an intifada in

all of the historic area of Palestine (West Bank, Gaza, 48 area)

### What is the situation in Gaza exactly?

What the Zionists are surprised by is the amount and degree of weapons that the Palestinian Factions are in possession of. It is not easy for the Israelis to continue, they are darkening their casualties, and placing the media under strong control, not permitting them to publish anything.

The Palestinian situation is stronger than expected, and this is why the Palestinians dare to put forward their conditions to a cease fire, and not like before when the enemy was attacking and other countries (mainly Egypt) were mediating on primarily on the terms of Israel. Now the Zionists put forward their conditions for a ceasefire, but so does the Palestinians. Now the Israelis can attack, but so can the Palestinians. The situation has changed, and it is not like before when the Palestinians were just crying and asking for help.

In the end of this war the siege will be raised, many prisoners will be released, and a new balance of force will be established. And so, the Zionists will think it over a thousand times before attacking Gaza once again.

### What about the International reaction?

At the governmental level, mainly USA and Europe, the situation is incredibly bad, as usual, as these imperialists, who helped establishing Israel and since then sustain it, have taken the side of Israel once again.

However, as for the people of the international society, the situation has changed. I appreciate that large demonstrations, strikes, mass movements, actions for the solidarity with the Palestinians and rejections of the (Israeli) massacres have taken place all over the world. This means that the Public opinion is beginning to realize the reality of the Zionist racist regime (Israel).

### **The Solution?**

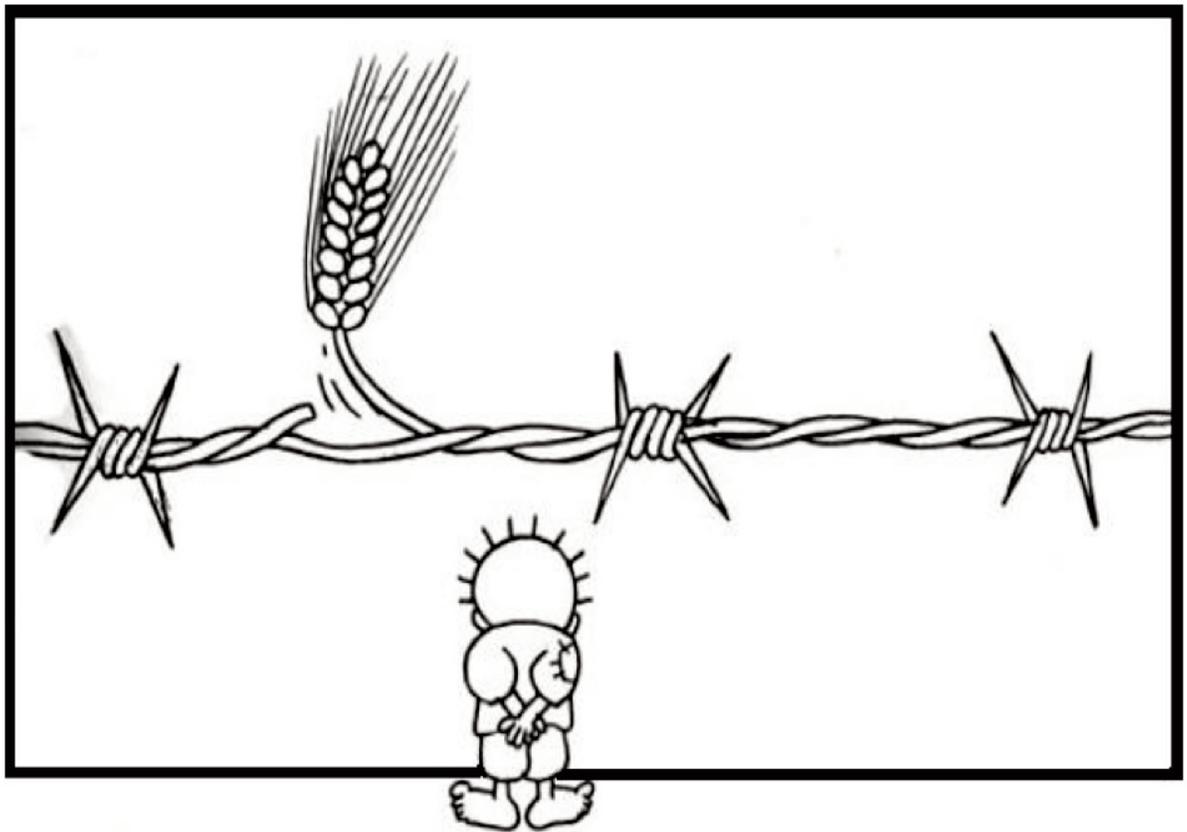
The solution to a cease fire is: That the Zionist attacks are brought to an end, that the siege will be raised, that the prisoners be released, and that the demolished houses and infrastructure will be reconstructed. And finally is the solution, to reconsider the convention of PLO, mainly the paragraph which talks about one Palestine Democratic state, with one citizenship, where the refugees can return to their homeland, and where there is no distinc-

tion between religion, race, color or any other differences we might have as people. So we can put an end to war, live all together, in peace, and guarantee a bright future for our children.

### **Mahmoud Abbas?**

As he is the president of the Palestinians (PLO Authority State), he should be concerned about the Palestinians. From his long experience of negotiations he should reach to the conclusion that Israel does not want peace and that they will not agree to the Palestinians gaining their independent state. He must therefore stop this and turn to other options, starting from the first step: To hold a meeting for all the Palestinian Factions and discuss all the possible alternatives, reaching to a new strategy to face the Zionist one.

— Interview conducted on July 24, 2014



# Interview with Professor Haim Bresheeth, Initiator of the “Open Letter to Israeli Academics,” on the Current Situation in Palestine and the Israeli Society

[*Note: Professor Haim Bresheeth is a film studies scholar, filmmaker and photographer, based at SOAS University of London, UK. He was born in a DP camp in Italy after World War II to two survivors of Auschwitz, and emigrated to Israel with his parents in 1948, where he grew up in Jaffa. He served in the Israeli Army as a Lieutenant between 1964 and 1967. He left Israel for London in 1972.*]

**DIALOGUE:** As a new and brutal Israeli offensive is hitting the civilian population of the Gaza Strip, we are once again seeing practically all countries, as well as the media, unconditionally supporting the so-called “right of Israel to defend itself”. In this context, you have taken the initiative of addressing an open letter to Israeli academics. As an academic yourself, of Israeli origin, can you explain your initiative to us, its impact?

**HB:** You are totally right. The western supporters of Israel — the US, UK, the EU, Canada, Australia — are well beyond listening to arguments on human rights, illegal occupation, settlements or war crimes. They have supported Israel as part of their strategy of confronting the Arab and Muslim world, and of controlling the Middle East. They are also driven by the guilt feelings over the Holocaust, which are periodically stirred and abused by Israeli propaganda. To read the Israeli voices, one would get a very interesting picture: Israel is under attack. It is in mortal danger from Hamas rockets, Israel only wants peace, but the Palestinians only want to destroy it, etc. Netanyahu has spoken of “millions under the missile threat in Israel”. You would have thought that Israelis have never harmed anyone, and are now living under a cruel, destruc-

tive blitz.

Of course, there is nothing further from the truth. The great gift of Israeli propaganda is reversing the facts, and they have done that for decades. So let us get some fact straight. Israel has for 57 years refused to get out of the Palestinian, Syrian and Egyptian territories it occupied in 1967. It did that in the same manner it refused to carry out the UN resolutions in 1949 that demanded the return of the refugees, resulting from ethnic cleansing by Israel. It defied the UN, the Geneva Convention, the International Criminal Court and the European Court of human rights. It committed numerous war crimes, and never, ever paid in any way for committing them. It has blockaded Gaza for over seven years, making life almost impossible, and has killed thousands of Palestinians since 1967 in its periodic illegal and immoral, brutal incursions into Gaza, the West Bank, Syria and Lebanon. Since 1967, Israel has created a similar number of refugees to that of 1948.

What has happened to Israeli society in those five decades? The society has become totally directed towards the continuation of the occupation. All parts of the social structure have collaborated in this massive task — instead of dealing with social problems — Israel dealt with settlements. To do this, massive force and oppression had to be used, of course, which meant the militarisation of society, all levels of society. Israel has the fourth strongest army on this planet — a country of less than 10 millions! It is also the fourth largest exporter of lethal armaments in the world - Israel lives (well) on death and destruction, and uses Gaza as the largest labo-

ratory of testing new weapons. Israel denied any rights to more than 5 million Palestinians in the Occupied Territories of Palestine, has oppressed and killed many without reason and without legal process, and impeded the economic, social educational, environmental and cultural life of Palestine.

All this could not be done without using thousands of academics, in all disciplines — those who design and build the housing and settlements, those who design and operate its IT system of fighting criticism online, those who research new and more destructive weapons, new methods of questioning, medicalised ways of oppressing prisoners, those who work on Israeli propaganda — the list is enormous and wide-ranging. Most Israeli academics are totally supportive of whatever is done by the government, however illegal and immoral it is. The myth of liberal academics in Israel is still very strong in the west. Israel is actively pushing this myth. There is nothing further from the truth. A case in point is the current phase of destroying Gaza.

Over 1,600 academics from across the world have, in few days, signed a call to Israeli academics to stand up with academics in Gaza, and demand an end not only to the murderous attack, but also to the occupation itself — the source of all political evil in Israel.

These signatories included leading academics and intellectuals from across the world: Noam Chomsky, Angela Davis, Etienne Balibar, Naomi Klein, Jacques Ranciere, Slavoj Zizek, John Berger, Richard Falk, David Palumbo-Liu, Sara Roy, Baroness Tonge, Sir Patrick Bateson, Ahdaf Sueif, Jacqueline Rose — the list goes on for another 1600 names (you can read the letter and the whole list on <http://haimbresh.eeth.com/gaza/an-open-letter-to-israel-academics-july-13th-2014/>).

Despite this large number of international luminaries signing this call, only 70 Israeli academics signed it! This is much less than 1% of the total number of academics in Israel; It means, one assumes, that 99% of Israel's academics support the war crimes by the Israeli state, a similar number to the support within

the Jewish population of Israel!

We suspected that many will not sign our call, but the results are shocking even for us, who initiated the call. It gives us a new factual foundation for a wide-ranging academic boycott of Israel by academics from across the world, against the illegal occupation and the apartheid policies and realities. This we intend to operate over the next decade as a means of recruiting academics everywhere for the battle for Palestinian rights and for a just peace in Palestine. This will be done in confrontation with our governments, whose active support is making the Israeli war crimes possible. We shall win this struggle like we have won the struggle against apartheid in South Africa, by a large coalition of moral support for Palestine from across the globe.

**DIALOGUE:** What can be said today on the state of mind of the “Israeli Jewish society”? The Israeli settlers of the West Bank, particularly the ones guilty of lynching Mohamed Abu Kdheir, are being presented to us as extremists.

But aren't they the harshest expression of the policy that presents the Palestinians as pariahs that must be got rid of?

**HB:** There is no doubt that the murderers of Mohamed Abu Kdheir are not only extremists, but are deeply and incurably sick. If that was the problem, then it could have been resolved. The problem, however, is the deep disturbance in the Israeli polis itself, a severe malaise of its social structure, not just of few extremists.

Decades of illegal occupation, oppression and denial of rights to millions of people without any legal or civic status, a system of control through racist apartheid policies and regulations . . . have created a new type of society in Israel. Israel liked to boast of being the “only democracy in the Middle East”. How can a democracy be racist by law, to support the denial of human rights, to support and commit war crimes?

Sociologists have termed the phrase “herren-

volk democracy” to describe this phenomenon, first about South Africa, then about Israel. It basically means a society where a “master race” theory separates those who enjoy full rights, from those who have none, the separation being made on an ethno-national basis. In both societies, the existence of apartheid policies meant that millions of human beings were denied basic human rights, and that their life was worthless, and the law could not be used to defend them, as they lacked rights afforded to humans.

This racist theory and praxis over many decades — Israel has survived, while South Africa had to bow to change, as both societies have instigated their unequal legal structures in the same year: 1948 — mean that most Israelis do not perceive Palestinians as humans. Many of Israel’s leaders have called the Palestinians by derogatory names — Begin has called them “biped animals”, others came up with “cockroaches in a bottle”, and the voices speaking today on social networks are even more extreme, and more prevalent. Anyone daring to criticise the war crimes in Gaza now lives in danger, and thousands of calls were made in the last 20 days for murder, burning and destruction of all who criticise the operation in Gaza. Universities have warned staff and students that they are monitoring social media for such voices, for example, under the term “extreme statements”. Some academics were already (!) sacked or suspended, though we have no accurate figures yet.

If one wanted to be clear about what this means, Israel has been turning very quickly from a proto-fascist society, into a militarised herrenvolk democracy, set up to deny the rights of the other ethnicity/nationality for ever. That in both countries this was done by a colonising group to the majority indigenous group is yet another similarity between both racist societies.

Thus, we are not speaking here of the few extremists; we are dealing with a sick social stratum, where millions of Jewish Israelis believe themselves to be superior to millions of Palestinians. In such a society, as we have seen in the troubled history of the 20th century, mass

crimes can be, and normally are committed against the disenfranchised group. Their blood is allowed - they become the Homo Sacer and can be killed with impunity. This is the reality of the new Israel.

**DIALOGUE:** In this extremely difficult situation, how can a democratic solution guaranteeing equal rights for all the populations living between the Mediterranean and Jordan be envisaged? Many speak of an occupation that has been in place since 1967, but what is there to be said of the situation since 1948? What do you think of Ilan Pappé’s analysis, which indicates that the Nakba is a process that has never ended?

**HB:** I totally agree with Ilan Pappé on this. The Nakba has not only continued, as I pointed out above, but has intensified. Since 1967, the life of Palestinians in the whole of Palestine are no longer safe, and they can be killed, made into refugees, lose their property, lose their livelihood or their right to live, or be educated, at any point in time. If some people believed in a two-state solution in 1967, it soon became clear that Israel will do anything at all, anything possible to make sure that such a situation is not possible.

The two-state solution is not possible, not because the Palestinians did not accept it - they always did, though it meant being left with only 22% of their country. It was Israel which made it impossible, by building the settlements, mass confiscations of land, destruction of houses, villages and communities, brutal oppression and the building of the illegal Apartheid wall. The two-state solution, the mainstay of the western powers and the UN, is dead and buried, because Israel killed it. Israel has never been prepared to even a miniature Palestinian state next to it.

This raises the question of what remains possible. Unless and until the international community acts with force to make Israel accept a just peace in Palestine, our options are limited. The current situation in Palestine, where four million Palestinians have no rights whatsoever, while almost 1.5 million of them are second-class citizens in a racist state, is

surely untenable.

Bearing in mind that there is only one state between the river Jordan and the sea, and that state is racist Israel, then we must act to turn this state around - into a state of all its citizens - a secular democratic state with no special rights to any ethnic, national or religious group. Surely, to demand a democratic society with full rights to all citizens is the normative solution elsewhere, and why would this not be acceptable for Israel? Only anti-democrats will be fighting against this solution; only those who willingly accept the racist assumptions Israel makes about the Palestinian people. This single democratic state in the whole of Palestine is the only solution left, because Israel has made all others obsolete.

Of course, this state cannot be Jewish, Moslem or Christian, or even Buddhist. It cannot be either a Zionist state, or a confessional one. A single, secular democratic state will be the society which will replace the racist her-

renvolk democracy now controlling Palestine. A large group of Israeli and Palestinian intellectuals have collaborated on working out the necessary foundation for such a state, and such a future equal society in Palestine, and their efforts are displayed on the One Democratic State website: [http://www.1not2.org/One\\_State\\_in\\_Palestine/Welcome.html](http://www.1not2.org/One_State_in_Palestine/Welcome.html)

We simply hope that this moral and just solution to the Palestine conflict can be accepted by both sides, with the help of the international community. If this solution were also rejected by Israel, then it would be drawing battle lines not just with Palestine, but also with the whole world. I hope that the realities of such a misguided position will be avoided, as they were in South Africa, and that we can start building a common society, rather than continuing the destruction of Palestine.

— *Interview conducted by François Lazar  
on 28 July 2014*

# More Than 350 Survivors and Descendants of Nazi Genocide Condemn the Massacre of Palestinians in Gaza

As Jewish survivors and descendants of survivors of the Nazi genocide we unequivocally condemn the massacre of Palestinians in Gaza and the ongoing occupation and colonization of historic Palestine. We further condemn the United States for providing Israel with the funding to carry out the attack, and Western states more generally for using their diplomatic muscle to protect Israel from condemnation. Genocide begins with the silence of the world.

We are alarmed by the extreme, racist dehumanization of Palestinians in Israeli society, which has reached a fever-pitch. In Israel, politicians and pundits in *The Times of Israel* and *The Jerusalem Post* have called openly for genocide of Palestinians and right-wing Israelis are adopting Neo-Nazi insignia. Furthermore, we are disgusted and outraged by Elie Wiesel's abuse of our history in these pages [of the *New York Times* — ed.] to promote blatant falsehoods used to justify the unjustifiable: Israel's wholesale effort to destroy Gaza and the murder of nearly 2,000 Palestinians, including many hundreds of children. Nothing can justify bombing UN shelters, homes, hospitals and universities. Nothing can justify depriving people of electricity and water.

We must raise our collective voices and use our collective power to bring about an end to all forms of racism, including the ongoing genocide of Palestinian people. We call for an immediate end to the siege against and blockade of Gaza. We call for the full economic, cultural and academic boycott of Israel. "Never again" must mean NEVER AGAIN FOR ANYONE!

Signed,

**Hajo Meyer**, survivor of Auschwitz, The Netherlands.

**Henri Wajnbium**, survivor and son of victim of Nazi genocide, France.

**Renate Bridenthal**, child refugee from Hitler, granddaughter of Auschwitz victim, United States

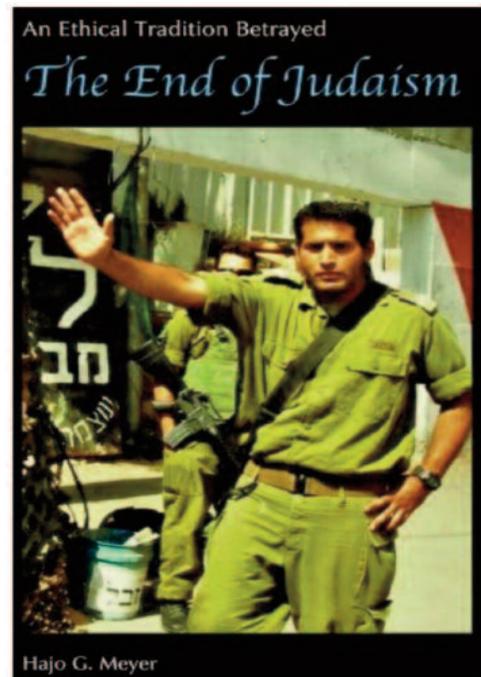
**Marianka Ehrlich Ross**, survivor of Nazi ethnic cleansing in Vienna, Austria. Now lives in United States. Annette Herskovits, survived in hiding in France and daughter of parents who were murdered in Auschwitz, United States.

**Irena Klepfisz**, child survivor of the Warsaw Ghetto. Now lives in United States. Karen Pomer, granddaughter of member of Dutch resistance and survivor of Bergen Belsen. Now lives in the United States.

**Hedy Epstein**, survivor sent to England on kindertransport, both parents and family members died in Auschwitz, only her grandfather survived. Now lives in United States.

**Lillian Rosengarten**, survivor of the Nazi Holocaust, United States.

**For the full list of signatories**, please go to group's website at: <http://ijsn.net/gaza/survivors-and-descendants-letter/>



**Hajo Meyer**, initiator of this appeal, devoted a large part of his life to denouncing the Zionist lies. He died on August 22, 2014, at the age of 90.

# “But Is It Good for the Jews?”

by Lawrence Davidson  
(1 September 2014)

## Part I – The Perennial Question

If you are over fifty and were raised in a Jewish household, you either heard this question, “but is it good for the Jews?” explicitly asked numerous times or were subtly encouraged to think the question to yourself. It reflects a group-centered concern born of the memory of anti-Semitic hostility and a seemingly unending vulnerability, and it can apply to almost any public action: federal or local legislation, cultural trends, foreign policy decisions, etc. I do not know how many of the younger generation of American Jews, known to be very secular and prone to religious intermarriage, still ask this question, but there can be no doubt that it is still there on the tips of almost every Jewish tongue of that generation for whom World War II is still well remembered.

After World War II most Jews assumed that the Zionist movement and the Israeli state were good for the Jews. Indeed, they assumed that they were necessary goods – necessary for the very survival of the Jewish people. To that end, it was alleged, Israel would provide a haven from the anti-Semitism that so devastated the Jews of Europe. There were those who took issue with this perspective, but they were few in number and without influence. Zionism triumphed and in 1948 the State of Israel was proclaimed. Today we have 66 years of history to judge Zionism and Israeli nationalism. So, after these six and a half decades, it is time we ask the question once more. Can we still assume that Zionism and Israel are good for the Jews?

## Part II – Looking for the Answer

Here are some observations, given by thoughtful and knowledgeable people, both

Jews and non-Jews, and some facts easily accessed, that help us answer the question:

— Israeli behavior toward the Palestinians has involved tactics of ethnic cleansing and mass murder, often justified as “self-defense.” In terms of the latest violence in Gaza, the United Nations estimates that at least 73% of the fatalities inflicted by Israel were civilians. There is good evidence that Israel has been purposely targeting Gaza economic assets so as to impoverish its people. To this end Israel’s Deputy Interior Minister Eli Yishai proclaimed that the “goal of the operation [code-named Protective Edge by the Israeli military] is to send Gaza back to the Middle Ages.”

— How do Israeli Jews feel about this situation? Or perhaps a better way of putting this would be: how have Israeli Jews been culturally programmed to judge such behavior on the part of their government? According to the latest polls up to 97% of them support the current operation in Gaza. Do outside opinions matter to them? Not to most. 63% assume that “the whole world is against us.” These numbers suggest that only a very few Israeli Jews understand what is happening to them as they live their lives in a state dedicated to the displacement of another people and the absorption of their land.

— One of those who sees the damage to the Jews is Zeev Sternhell, a well-known scholar and “Israel prize laureate.” He equates present-day Israel to Vichy France – a country “falling into the hands of the right-wing with the support of a vast majority of the population.” This includes the intellectuals, whom he defines as the “professors and the journalists.” Thus, the attack on Gaza has led to “absolute

conformism on the part of Israel's intellectuals" and the "intellectual bankruptcy of the mass media." According to Sternhell "democracy crumbles when the intellectuals, the educated classes, toe the line of the thugs or look at them with a smile."

— There is also a sense of alarm among some Jews outside of Israel. Henry Siegman is president of the U.S./Middle East Project and former national director of the American Jewish Congress. Referring to the latest Israeli attack on Gaza, Siegman observes that "the slaughter of Palestinian civilians and the Dresden-like reduction to rubble of large parts of Gaza by Israel's military forces in the name of its own citizens' security has exposed the hypocrisy that lies at the heart of Israel's dealings with the Palestinians. Israel's claim to the right of self-defense in order to prevent its victims' emergence from under its occupation is the ultimate expression of chutzpa." In addition he notes that "Too many Israelis seem to believe – indeed, to take absolutely for granted – that they have the God-given right to occupy, suppress, disenfranchise and displace non-Jews ... in Israel."

Siegman is not alone in his condemnation. Recently a number of Holocaust survivors and children of survivors placed a notice in the New York Times. In part it stated: "We are alarmed by the extreme, racist dehumanization of Palestinians in Israeli society. ... In Israel, politicians and pundits in The Times of Israel and The Jerusalem Post have called openly for genocide of Palestinians and right-wing Israelis are adopting Neo-Nazi insignia."

— Scott McConnell, the founding editor of the American Conservative is not Jewish, but he too has been observing Israeli behavior and its evolution. Here is how he describes the country's present state: "This now is Israel, a country ... where imposing collective punishment of innocents is the main point, whose elected officials pine openly for concentration camps and genocide. ... Hyper-nationalistic, loaded with nuclear weapons, deeply racist, persuaded that opposition to it is derived from anti-Semitism, feeling that the Holocaust gives it license to do whatever it wants and that the

normal rules of international conduct will never apply to it."

So, we must ask, just how good is all this for the Jews?

### Part III – Rising Anti-Semitism

Let's recall that Israel's reason for being was to give Jews shelter from the ravages of anti-Semitism. That was certainly Theodor Herzl's motivation. By any rational standard, Zionist Israel has failed in this regard. Indeed, with but very few exceptions, it is hard to imagine anywhere less safe for Jews than present-day Israel. And, there is growing evidence that Israeli behavior is a major source of today's increasing anti-Semitism.

M. J. Rosenberg, a well-known Jewish American commentator, has analyzed this latter issue and noted the difference in levels of publicly expressed anti-Semitic feelings during the leadership of Yitzhak Rabin and Benjamin Netanyahu. His suggestion is that when it appeared, during Rabin's prime ministership, that Israel wanted a just peace with the Palestinians (whether this appearance was accurate or not), public expressions of anti-Semitism went down. However, when Israel behaves with wanton aggression against Palestinians, as it has in Gaza, instances of anti-Semitism go up. Since wanton aggression has certainly characterized most of the history of Israeli behavior toward Palestinians, it is fair to say that such actions constitute an important source of growing anti-Semitism.

### Part IV – Finding the Answer

Most Zionists and Israeli Jews are ideologues. That is, they see the world through the ideology of Zionism and Israeli nationalism, and this narrows their ability to see things, especially their own behavior, in an objective way. For instance, they insist that their economic impoverishment, ethnic cleansing and periodic slaughter of the Palestinians are carried out in "self-defense." However, they absolutely refuse to consider that Palestinian violence against Israel is a reaction to Israeli policies and practices, particularly those of occupation, land confiscation and police state rule. In

other words, Zionism and Israeli nationalism have blinded Israeli policy makers and their supporters to the consequences of their actions. That state of mind is not good for anyone, be they individuals or groups.

So we are brought back to our original question – can we assume that Zionism and Israel are good for the Jews? The answer is no, we cannot. Zionism failed the Jews by insisting on an Israel for one group alone. That insistence

has inevitably led to racism, discrimination and ethnic cleansing. These are not practices that have characterized modern Jewry and so it is simply wrong to equate Zionism with Judaism and insist that Israel stands in for the world's Jews – errors now made by both Zionists and real anti-Semites. The more Jews who understand this, and begin to publicly distance themselves from both Zionism and Israel, the better, for they can safely assume both are bad for the Jews.



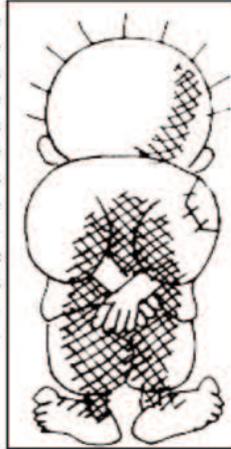
Drawing by Albert for Dialogue Review

# Handala Will Soon Be Able to Turn Around!

By Jacques Werstein

27 years ago, on August 29th, Palestinian cartoonist Naji al-Ali was assassinated by Israel's Mossad. Handala, the diminutive ten-year old kid he sketched in thousands of his cartoons is still very popular in Palestine. His figure is chalked or stencilled on the walls of refugee camps and on those of settlements as signs of resistance to Zionist oppression.

Handala is shown bare-foot, just like the Palestinian kids turned out of their homes by the 1948 Nakba to plod along the roads - just as 10 year old Naji al-Ali himself when he was expelled from Galilee with his family and walked all the way to Lebanon to the Ein-el-Helweh refugee camp.



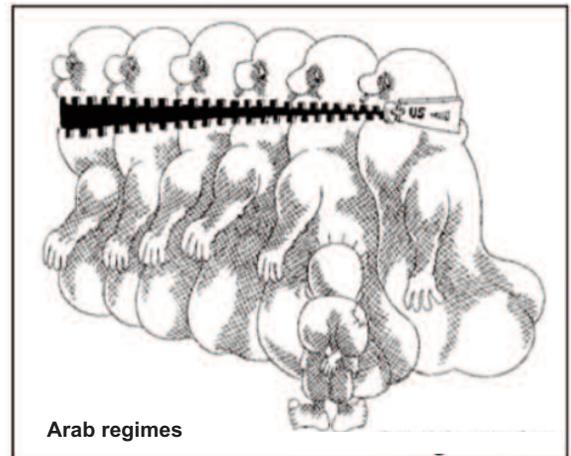
Since then Handala has stopped growing.

The drawing always shows his back, his hands behind his back. His head of hair looks like a porupine, whose quills serve as weapons. Naji explains that he *"is never shown from the front because he feels betrayed... He will start growing again when he is back on his own land."*

*At the beginning he was a Palestinian kid, but his conscience has grown and become the conscience of a nation, and then of the whole of mankind. He has pledged never to betray himself. Handala means bitterness."*

Naji realised over 10,000 drawings on the state of the Palestinian people's situation,

their sufferings and resistance to the oppressor. He bitterly criticises Palestinian authorities and the leaders of Arab countries without sketching anybody in particular.



All his life, Naji firmly opposed all the "Palestinian solutions" which did not comprise the right of Palestinians to live on the whole territory of historic Palestine.

When asked when Handala's face could be seen, Naji replied that his face would be seen only *"when the Arab citizens get their liberty and humanity... when the Palestinian State recovers all its territories occupied since the 1948 Nakba."* And, in one of his drawings, Handala was pictured writing: *"You are bowing to the United States, I do not recognise you"* on the locked door of an official building.

Today, though Israel has been handed an additional 250 million dollars for its war of extermination war, after 51 days of bombardments, massacres and destructions, the Palestinian resistance is holding up, and has established close unity between the Palestinians of Gaza,

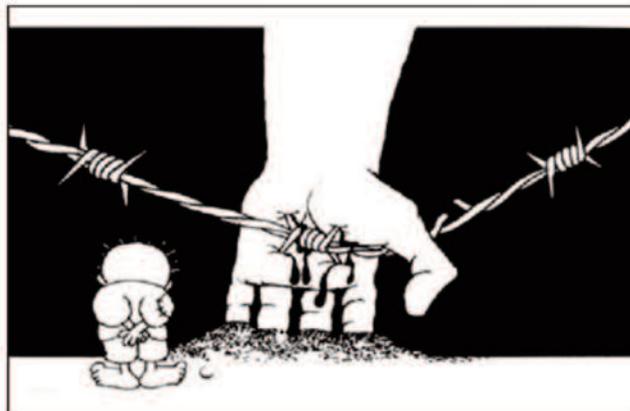
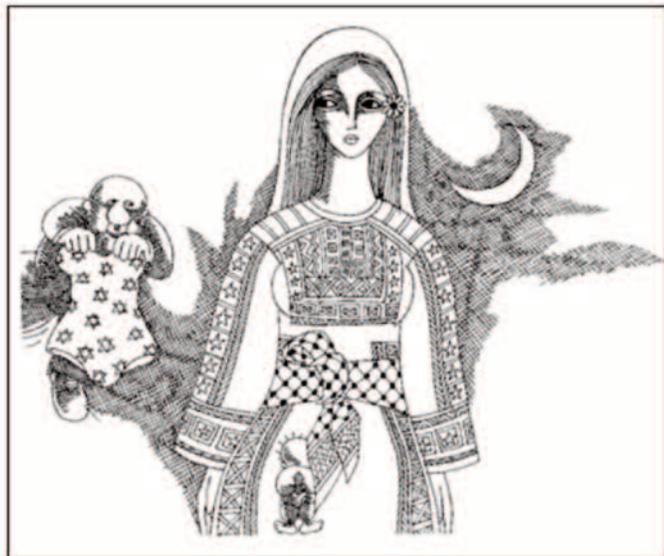
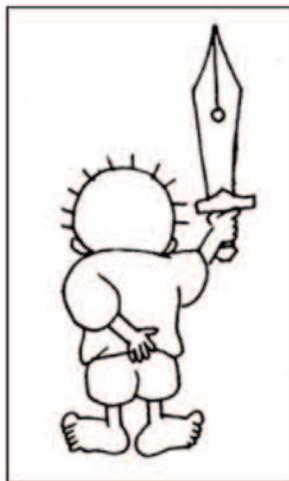
those of the West Bank, those of the “inside”, and those of the refugee camps. And from everywhere, just as if they kept in mind what Handala-Naji was saying: “*What sparks wars is the signing of peace accords with Israeli occupiers*”, Palestinian people address the Palestinian authority delegations who attend the “peace accords” discussions with Israel to remind them that, each and every time, peace accords have multiplied the number of settlements, separation walls, check-points and increased oppression, and laid the ground for ever more bombings and ever more brutality.

Palestinian people say: we will give up on

nothing. They say: we will accept no concession. The minimum is the immediate lifting of the blockade, reopening of the airport, of the port, free access for all the goods which are needed to rebuild, free access for all medicines and equipments for our hospitals, all the commodities and goods we need.

Zionist barbarity has lifted all the veils which shielded it from scrutiny and made it non-punishable.

Handala will soon be able to turn around!



## DOCUMENT

# The Palestinian Revolution and the Jews

*Published in Beirut in May 1970 in Fateh newspaper*

### NEW DEMOCRATIC PALESTINE.

The institution of a progressive society open to all the Palestinians is certainly a better solution than the one which consists in "sending the Arabs into the desert" or "throwing the Jews into the sea".

But this solution can only be made feasible if it is accepted by the sides which are concerned, as well as by the peoples across the world acting as an involved third party. We have to prove that this plan can come through.

We have already examined how the Palestinian revolution acted to reach that aim by emphasising its attitude towards the Jews. A revolutionary change has been highlighted: Palestinians no longer consider Jews as hereditary enemies; they clearly identify the racist-colonialist State of Israel and its imperialist allies as the enemy. By reading Jewish writings, by holding out their hands to progressive Jews across the world and by becoming more self-assertive as the revolution advances, Palestinians have changed their attitude.

Jewish attitudes have then been analysed. Zionist propaganda persists, considering Palestinians as a people of nomads, blood-thirsty terrorists and traitors. But a number of Jews - especially those living outside Palestine - are changing their opinion and are rallying to a call for a progressive and secular Palestine. Changing the mind-set and atti-

tudes of Palestine's Jews remains an important task of the revolution, which has yet to be achieved. But a war of liberation of the people, meant to destroy the imperialist-racist State, will create new living conditions and make new Palestine possible.

So the option presented to Palestine's Jews has radically changed. Before, the State of Israel had to be powerful, or they risked being thrown to the sea; today, instead of insecure living in an exclusive and racist State of Israel, the revolution offers open, secure and tolerant Palestine for all those who live in it. In the long run, the revolution tends in this way to win Palestinian Jews as well as non Jews to its liberation forces, and this is a meaningful step towards the achievement of the ultimate goal. But this necessitates deep changes in Jewish attitudes.

To reach this objective, we now need to work out and clarify the plan for a democratic Palestine.

### DIFFICULTIES AND LIMITATIONS

It is quite difficult and risky at this early stage of the revolution to make a clear and definitive statement about the new Liberated Palestine. Realism rather than romantic day-dreaming should be the basic revolutionary approach. We do not believe that victory is around the corner. The revolution does not underestimate the enemy or its imperialist allies. What will happen during the years of hard struggle for

liberation cannot be easily predicted. Will the attitude of Palestinian Jews harden or become more receptive and flexible? A further drift to the right, stepping up anti-Arab terrorism- in the Algerian O.A.S. tradition- followed by a voluntary mass exodus on the eve of liberation, would pose a completely different problem and would be quite regrettable. On the other hand, joining the revolution and working with it will lay firmer growth for the new Palestine. The revolution is striving hard to achieve the second alternative. Guerilla operations are basically directed at the military and economic foundations of the Zionist settler-state. Whenever a civilian target is chosen, every effort is made to minimize loss of civilian life- though one would find it hard to distinguish civilians and non-civilians in this modern Spartan militaristic society, where every adult is mobilized for the war. Hitting quasi-civilian areas aims at the psychological effect of shocking the Israelis into realization that the racist-militaristic state cannot provide them with security while it conducts genocide against the exiled and oppressed Palestinian masses. In the Dizengoff street bomb (Tel Aviv), Fateh guerillas delayed the operation three times to choose a place (in front of a building under construction) and a time (12:30 after midnight) to maximize noise but minimize casualties: The result, few were injured, but thousands were shocked and made to engage in serious rethinking.

In conclusion, despite all uncertainties, there is the hope, the vision and the behaviour of the Palestinian revolutionaries designed to achieve a better future for their oppressed country. Answers must be thought out and found for myriad questions relating to this future. Even if the answers are tentative, they will start a dialogue which provides the road towards maturity and fulfilment.

#### PROFILE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PALESTINE:

##### 1. THE COUNTRY

Pre-1948 Palestine- as defined during the British mandate is the territory to be liberated and where the democratic, progressive state

is to be created. The liberated Palestine will be part of the Arab Homeland and will not be another alien state within it. The eventual unity of Palestine with other Arab States will make boundary problems less relevant and will end the artificiality of the present status of Israel, and possibly that of Jordan as well. The new country will be anti-imperialist and will join the ranks of progressive revolutionary countries. Therefore, it will have to cut the present life-line links with and total dependence on the United States. Therefore, integration within the area will be the foremost prerequisite.

It should be quite obvious at this stage that the New Palestine discussed here is not the occupied West Bank or the Gaza Strip or both. These are areas occupied by the Israelis since June 1967. The homeland of the Palestinians usurped and colonized in 1948 is no less dear or important than the part occupied in 1967. Besides, the very existence of the racist oppressor state of Israel based on the vacating and forced exile of part of its citizens is unacceptable by the revolution even for one tiny Palestinian village. Any arrangement accommodating the aggressor settler-state is unacceptable and temporary.

Only the people of Palestine: its Jews, Christians and Muslims in a country that combines them all is permanent.

##### 2. THE CONSTITUENTS

All the Jews, Muslims and Christians living in Palestine or forcibly exiled from it will have the right to Palestinian citizenship. This guarantees the right of all exiled Palestinians to return to their land whether they were born in Palestine or in exile, and regardless of their present nationality. Equally, this means that all Jewish Palestinians- at the present Israelis- have the same right, provided of course that they reject Zionist racist chauvinism and fully accept to live as Palestinians in the New Palestine. The revolution therefore rejects the supposition that only Jews who lived in Palestine prior to 1948 or prior to 1914 and their descendants are acceptable. After all, Dayan and Allon were born in Palestine before 1948 and they- with many of their colleagues- are

diehard racist Zionists who obviously do not qualify for a Palestinian status. Whereas newcomers may be anti-Zionists, and work ardently for the creation of the new Palestine. In the interview referred to earlier, Abu Iyad, one of the officials of Fateh, reasserted that not only progressive anti-Zionist Jews but even present Zionists who will be willing to abandon their racist ideology will be welcome as Palestinian citizens. It is the belief of the revolution that the majority of the present Israeli Jews will change their attitudes and will subscribe to the New Palestine, especially after the oligarchic state machinery, economy and military establishment is destroyed.

### 3. THE IDEOLOGY

The Palestinians in the process of, and at the time of liberation will decide on the system of government and on the political-economic-social organization of their liberated country. (One repeats at this juncture that the term Palestinians includes those in exile, under occupation and anti-zionist Jews).

A democratic and progressive Palestine, however, rejects by elimination a theocratic, feudal, aristocratic, authoritarian form racist-chauvinistic government. It will be a country that does not allow oppression or exploitation of any group of people by any other group or individuals; a state that provides equal opportunities for its people in work, worship, education, political decision-making, cultural and artistic expression.

This is no Utopian dream, for the fight to achieve the New Palestine inherently produces the requisite climate for its future system of government, i.e. a people's war of liberation brings out new values and attitudes that serve as guarantees for democracy after liberation. Witness changing attitudes towards collective work in refugee and guerilla camps in Jordan and Lebanon. Palestinians and other brothers joining them volunteer work and livelihoods. They are not exploited or enslaved labour. The values of human life changes. Unlike Israeli Napalm raids and indiscriminate killing, Palestinian guerillas kill

sparingly and selectively. New forms of human relations emerge. No master-slave relation can be attained among fighters for freedom. Increasing awareness of the international dimensions of their problem and discovery of who backs the oppressor and who supports the oppressed create new responsibilities to the international community, especially to the supporters of liberation and democracy.

Therefore, Palestinians after liberation will not accept subjugation from anybody and will not reintroduce oppression against any group for this will be a negation of their *raison d'être* and abdication of their revolutionary existence. This is quite obvious in Palestine refugee camps in Lebanon and Jordan. After twenty two years of oppression, humiliation and manipulation by secret police and local exploiters, the camps have awakened to the revolution.

In the process, the exiles have broken their bonds, have thrown out the secret police and its spies and allied exploiters, and have instituted democratic self-management. Medical, educational and social services are being provided locally through the revolutionary organizations in a self-help fashion that have brought back dignity and self-respect. Crime rates in these camps have drastically gone down to 10% of the pre-revolutionary magnitude. Self-discipline has replaced the police. The Net militia is providing the link between the revolutionary avant-garde and the base of the masses. Democratic checks are built in. These Palestinians will not accept oppression and subjugation from anybody and will not enforce it on anybody.

Newsmen and other foreign visitors have discovered that nowhere in the Arab World can they find equally mature and tolerant people vis a vis the Jews than in the camps in Jordan and Lebanon and especially among the Ashbal: the fighting lion cubs. These young Palestinians (8-16 years) are almost totally free of any anti-Jewish biases. They have a clearer vision of the New democratic Palestine than that held by bourgeois city-dwellers. These young people are the liberators of tomorrow. They will complete the destruction of Israeli

oppression and the rebuilding of the new Palestine,.

If the democratic and progressive new Palestine is utopia, then the Palestinian guerillas and camp dwellers are starting to practice it.

## TWO MISCONCEPTIONS

Several interpretations of the Democratic Palestine have sprung up in different quarters that require clarification and some corrections. An attempt will be made presently to discuss two of them that seem to be quite vital:

1. The call for a non-sectarian Palestine should not be confused with a multi-religious, or a bi-national state. The new Palestine is not to be built around three state religions or two nationalities. It will simply provide freedom from religious oppression of any group by another and freedom to practice religion without discrimination. No rigidification of religious lines is desired by the revolution. No hard and fast religious distribution of political offices and other important jobs is envisioned. The Lebanese model (where the reactionary, quasi-feudalist or commercial capitalist hierarchy divides jobs and offices on the basis of sectarian lines to perpetuate its domination of the masses) is completely alien to the revolution. Abu Ammar [Yasser Arafat] reiterated several times that the president of the liberated Palestine could be a Jew, or a Muslim or a Christian not because of his religion or sect but on the basis of his merit as an outstanding Palestinian.

Furthermore religious and ethnic lines clearly cross in Palestine so as to make the term bi-national and the Arab- Jewish dichotomy meaningless, or at best quite dubious. The majority of Jews in Palestine today are Arab Jews - euphemistically called Oriental Jews by the Zionists. Therefore, Palestine combines Jewish, Christian and Muslim Arabs as well as non-Arab Jews (Western Jews).

2. The New Democratic Palestine is NOT a substitute for liberation. Rather, it is the ulti-

mate objective of liberation. A client state in the West Bank and Gaza, an Avneri-style de-Zionized or pasteurised Israel or a Semitic Confederation are all categorically rejected by the revolution. They are all racist blue-prints to delude the Palestinians and other Arabs and continue Israeli hegemony and Palestinian subjugation. They all assume the maintenance of the basic aggression that led to the forced exile of Palestinians and the oppression of the masses. The sine qua non of the New Palestine is the destruction of the political, economic and militarist foundations of the chauvinist-racist settler-state. The maintenance of a technologically-advanced military machine through a continuous Western capital flow and exchange of population have led the expansionist Zionist machinery to perpetuate one aggression after the other. Therefore, liquidation of such machinery is an irreplaceable condition for the creation of the New Palestine.

## THE TRANSITION, AND AFTER

It is quite logical to expect specific transitional collective accommodations immediately after liberation, and even the few remaining in the normalised Permanent State, i.e. some collective or group privileges besides the pure individual privileges. Jews or non-Jews for that matter, would have the right to practice their religion and develop culturally and linguistically as a group, besides their individual political and cultural participation. It is quite logical for example to have both Arabic and Hebrew as official languages taught in governmental schools to all Palestinians, Jews or non-Jews.

The right of free movement within the country and outside it would be guaranteed. Palestinians desirous of voluntarily leaving the country would be allowed to do so. Immigration would be restricted in a transitional period to the return of all exiled Palestinians desirous of return. In a normal permanent state, however, subject to the agreed upon regulation and the absorptive capacity of the country, immigration would be open without discrimination. Freedom of access, visits and extended pilgrimage and tourism would be guaranteed - subject of course to the normal regulation - to all Jews,

Muslims or Christians of the world who consider Palestine a holy place worthy of pilgrimage and meditation.

### IS THE NEW PALESTINE VIABLE?

Several well-intentioned critics maintain that even if the creation of the democratic Palestine is possible, it will not survive for long. Their basic contention is that the population and cultural balance will be heavily favouring the Jews in the new Palestine. This -in their argument - will lead either to an explosive situation, or to the domination of the New Palestine by the Jews and a possible reversion to a neo-Zionist state in disguise. The argument is serious and looks quite plausible given the present setup, and the European Dichotomy of the "Arabs" as a backward group and the "Jews" as a modern one.

As for population, the Jews in Palestine today number 2.5 millions which is compared to 2.6 million Palestinian Arabs (Christians and Muslims) in the occupied territories before 1967 and after it, and in exile. Birth rates and net natural growth rates are higher among Arab Palestinians compared to those for the Jews in Palestine. Immigration, however, has been the major cause of growth in the Jewish ranks. Nevertheless one must consider the fact that 250,000 Jews have permanently left Palestine (emigrated) since 1949 in a period where relative security prevailed. Most of the emigrants were European Jews. Whereas most of the new immigrants were Arab Jews who found it very difficult to stay in their countries after the creation and survival of the aggressor settler-state of Israel.

The process of the revolution will inevitably increase the tempo of emigration, especially of those beneficiaries of a racist state who will find it very difficult to adapt to an open plural society. Parallel to that development will be the increasing modernisation of the Arab countries and toleration of all minorities including the Jewish citizens. Fateh is already engaged in serious negotiations with several Arab countries to allow Jewish emigrants back and to return their property and to guarantee

them full and equal rights.

These factors are expected on the whole to maintain relative population balance in Palestine.

The pace of social and educational development is rising rapidly among the Arab Palestinians as well. It is estimated that the number of University Graduates among the Palestinians in exile exceed 50 000. Palestinians have successfully played the role of educators, professionals and technicians in several Arab countries especially those in the Arabian Peninsula and North Africa.

Arab Palestinians faced this cultural challenge in pre-1948 Palestine and managed in the relatively short period of 30 years to compete effectively with the Jews in agriculture, industry, education and even in the field of finance and banking.

Armed with the spirit of a victorious revolution, hopefully in comradeship with a significant number of Jews, the Arabs of Palestine will become effective and equal partners, in the building of the new country.

Integration of Palestine within the Arab region will add to its economic and political viability. The present Arab boycott will obviously be replaced by economic aid and trade, a goal which the settler-state of Israel completely failed to achieve, remaining thus an American ward and protégé during its entire existence.

### CONCLUSION

The Democratic, non-sectarian Palestine still lacks full clarity and elaboration, but this is the best that can be done at this stage in the arduous liberation struggle. The Palestinians have outgrown their bitterness and prejudice in a relatively short-time, through armed struggle. A few years ago, discussing this proposal would have been considered as a complete sell-out or high treason. Even today, some Arabs still find it very difficult to accept the proposed goal and secretly - or publicly - hope that it is nothing more than a tactical propaganda move. Well, it definitely is not so. The

Palestinian revolution is determined to fight for the creation of the New democratic and non-sectarian Palestine as the long-term ultimate goal of liberation. Annihilation of the Jews or of the Palestinian exiles and the creation of an exclusive racist or theocratic state in Palestine be it Jewish, Christian or Muslim is totally unacceptable, unworkable and cannot last. The oppressed Palestinian masses will fight and make all needed sacrifices to demolish the oppressor exclusive state.

The Israeli racists are greatly irritated by the idea of a democratic Palestine. It reveals the contradictions of Zionism and bares the moral schizophrenia that besets world Jewry since

the creation of Israel. The adoption by several significant progressive Jews of the new goal scares world Zionism. Several of these Jews were threatened and molested by Zionists for their sponsorship of the Democratic Palestine as the ultimate goal of liberation. The Zionists are stepping up their campaign to discredit the idea especially among the Jews. Their effort has been in vain. The force of logic and the effect of years of persecution in exclusive societies at the hands of racists are opening the eyes of Jews and others in the world to the only permanent solution that will bring lasting peace and justice to our Palestine: building a progressive, open, tolerant country for all of us.



## DOCUMENT

# The Palestinian National Charter

*adopted in by the First  
Palestinian Conference  
(Jerusalem, 2 June 1964)*

### INTRODUCTION

We, the Palestinian Arab people, who waged fierce and continuous battles to safeguard its homeland, to defend its dignity and honor, and who offered all through the years continuous caravans of immortal martyrs, and who wrote the noblest pages of sacrifice, offering and giving.

We, the Palestinian Arab people, who faced the forces of evil, injustice and aggression, against whom the forces of international Zionism and colonialism conspire and worked to displace it, dispossess it from its homeland and property, abused what is holy in it and who in spite of all this refused to weaken or submit.

We, the Palestinian Arab people, who believe in its Arabism and in its right to regain its homeland, to realize its freedom and dignity, and who have determined to amass its forces and mobilize its efforts and capabilities in order to continue its struggle and to move forward on the path of holy war (*al-jihad*) until complete and final victory has been attained,

We, the Palestinian Arab people, based on our right of self-defense and the complete restoration of our lost homeland- a right that has been recognized by international covenants and common practices including the Charter of the United Nations- and in implementation of the principles of human rights, and comprehending the international political

relations, with its various ramifications and dimensions, and considering the past experiences in all that pertains to the causes of the catastrophe, and the means to face it,

And embarking from the Palestinian Arab reality, and for the sake of the honor of the Palestinian individual and his right to free and dignified life,

And realizing the national grave responsibility placed upon our shoulders, for the sake of all this,

We, the Palestinian Arab people, dictate and declare this Palestinian National Charter and swear to realize it.

Article 1. Palestine is an Arab homeland bound by strong Arab national ties to the rest of the Arab Countries and which together form the great Arab homeland.

Article 2: Palestine, with its boundaries at the time of the British Mandate, is a indivisible territorial unit.

Article 3: The Palestinian Arab people has the legitimate right to its homeland and isan inseparable part of the Arab Nation. It shares the sufferings and aspirations of the Arab Nation and its struggle for freedom, sovereignty, progress and unity.

Article 4: The people of Palestine determine its destiny when it completes the liberation of

its homeland in accordance with its own wishes and free will and choice.

Article 5: The Palestinian personality is a permanent and genuine characteristic that does not disappear. It is transferred from fathers to sons.

Article 6: The Palestinians are those Arab citizens who were living normally in Palestine up to 1947, whether they remained or were expelled. Every child who was born to a Palestinian Arab father after this date, whether in Palestine or outside, is a Palestinian.

Article 7: Jews of Palestinian origin are considered Palestinians if they are willing to live peacefully and loyally in Palestine.

Article 8: Bringing up Palestinian youth in an Arab and nationalist manner is a fundamental national duty. All means of guidance, education and enlightenment should be utilized to introduce the youth to its homeland in a deep spiritual way that will constantly and firmly bind them together.

Article 9: Ideological doctrines, whether political, social, or economic, shall not distract the people of Palestine from the primary duty of liberating their homeland. All Palestinian constitute one national front and work with all their feelings and material potentialities to free their homeland.

Article 10: Palestinians have three mottos: National Unity, National Mobilization, and Liberation. Once liberation is completed, the people of Palestine shall choose for its public life whatever political, economic, or social system they want.

Article 11: The Palestinian people firmly believe in Arab unity, and in order to play its role in realizing this goal, it must, at this stage of its struggle, preserve its Palestinian personality and all its constituents. It must strengthen the consciousness of its existence and stance and stand against any attempt or plan that may weaken or disintegrate its personality.

Article 12: Arab unity and the liberation of Palestine are two complementary goals; each

prepares for the attainment of the other. Arab unity leads to the liberation of Palestine, and the liberation of Palestine leads to Arab unity. Working for both must go side by side.

Article 13: The destiny of the Arab Nation and even the essence of Arab existence are firmly tied to the destiny of the Palestine question. From this firm bond stems the effort and struggle of the Arab Nation to liberate Palestine. The people of Palestine assume a vanguard role in achieving this sacred national goal.

Article 14: The liberation of Palestine, from an Arab viewpoint, is a national duty. Its responsibilities fall upon the entire Arab nation, governments and peoples, the Palestinian peoples being in the forefront. For this purpose, the Arab nation must mobilize its military, spiritual and material potentialities; specifically, it must give to the Palestinian Arab people all possible support and backing and place at its disposal all opportunities and means to enable them to perform their role in liberating their homeland.

Article 15: The liberation of Palestine, from a spiritual viewpoint, prepares for the Holy Land an atmosphere of tranquillity and peace, in which all the Holy Places will be safeguarded, and the freedom to worship and to visit will be guaranteed for all, without any discrimination of race, color, language, or religion. For all this, the Palestinian people look forward to the support of all the spiritual forces in the world.

Article 16: The liberation of Palestine, from an international viewpoint, is a defensive act necessitated by the demands of self-defense as stated in the Charter of the United Nations. For that, the people of Palestine, desiring to befriend all nations which love freedom, justice, and peace, look forward to their support in restoring the legitimate situation to Palestine, establishing peace and security in its territory, and enabling its people to exercise national sovereignty and freedom.

Article 17: The partitioning of Palestine, which took place in 1947, and the establishment of Israel are illegal and null and void, regardless of the loss of time, because they were con-

trary to the will of the Palestinian people and its natural right to its homeland, and were in violation of the basic principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, foremost among which is the right to self-determination.

Article 18: The Balfour Declaration, the Palestine Mandate System, and all that has been based on them are considered null and void. The claims of historic and spiritual ties between Jews and Palestine are not in agreement with the facts of history or with the true basis of sound statehood. Judaism, because it is a divine religion, is not a nationality with independent existence. Furthermore, the Jews are not one people with an independent personality because they are citizens to their states.

Article 19: Zionism is a colonialist movement in its inception, aggressive and expansionist in its goal, racist in its configurations, and fascist in its means and aims. Israel, in its capacity as the spearhead of this destructive movement and as the pillar of colonialism, is a permanent source of tension and turmoil in the Middle East, in particular, and to the international community in general. Because of this, the people of Palestine are worthy of the support and sustenance of the community of nations.

Article 20: The causes of peace and security and the requirements of right and justice demand from all nations, in order to safeguard true relationships among peoples and to maintain the loyalty of citizens to their homeland, that they consider Zionism an illegal movement and outlaw its presence and activities.

Article 21: The Palestinian people believes in the principles of justice, freedom, sovereignty, self-determination, human dignity, and the right of peoples to practice these principles. It also supports all international efforts to bring about peace on the basis of justice and free international cooperation.

Article 22: The Palestinian people believe in

peaceful co-existence on the basis of legal existence, for there can be no coexistence with aggression, nor can there be peace with occupation and colonialism.

Article 23: In realizing the goals and principles of this Convent, the Palestine Liberation Organization carries out its full role to liberate Palestine in accordance with the basic law of this Organization.

Article 24: This Organization does not exercise any territorial sovereignty over the West Bank in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, on the Gaza Strip or in the Himmah Area. Its activities will be on the national popular level in the liberational, organizational, political and financial fields.

Article 25: This Organization is in charge of the movement of the Palestinian people in its struggle to liberate its homeland in all liberational, organizational, and financial matters, and in all other needs of the Palestine Question in the Arab and international spheres.

Article 26: The Liberation Organization cooperates with all Arab governments, each according to its ability, and does not interfere in the internal affairs of any Arab states.

Article 27: This Organization shall have its flag, oath and a national anthem. All this shall be resolved in accordance with special regulations.

Article 28: The basic law for the Palestine Liberation Organization is attached to this Charter. This law defines the manner of establishing the Organization, its organs, institutions, the specialties of each one of them, and all the needed duties thrust upon it in accordance with this Charter.

Article 29: This Charter cannot be amended except by two-thirds majority of the members of the National Council of the Palestine Liberation Organization in a special session called for this purpose.

## DOCUMENT

# PLO Charter of 1968

*(adopted by the Palestine National Council in Cairo on 17 July 1968)*

### **Article 1:**

Palestine is the homeland of the Palestinian Arab people and an integral part of the great Arab homeland, and the people of Palestine are part of the Arab nation.

### **Article 2:**

Palestine with its boundaries that existed at the time of the British mandate is an integral regional unit.

### **Article 3:**

The Palestinian Arab people possesses the legal right to its homeland, and when the liberation of its homeland is completed they will exercise self-determination solely according to its own will and choice.

### **Article 4:**

The Palestinian personality is an innate, persistent character that will not extinct, and is inherited by sons from parents. The Zionist occupation, and the dispersal of the Palestinian Arab people as a result of the disasters that befell it, do not deprive it from its Palestinian personality and affiliation and do not nullify that.

### **Article 5:**

The Palestinians are the Arab citizens who were living permanently in Palestine until 1947, whether they were expelled or remained there. Whoever is born to a Palestinian father after that date, within Palestine or outside is a Palestinian.

### **Article 6:**

Jews who were living permanently in Palestine until the beginning of the Zionist invasion

will be considered Palestinians. (For the Zionist invasion is considered to have begun in 19171.)

### **Article 7:**

The Palestinian affiliation and the material, spiritual and historical ties with Palestine are permanent realities. The upbringing of the Palestinian individual in an Arab and revolutionary fashion, the undertaking of all means of forging consciousness and training the Palestinians, in order to acquaint him profoundly spiritually and materially with his land, and prepare him for the conflict and armed struggle, as well as for the sacrifice of his property and life to restore his homeland, until the liberation is achieved is a national duty.

### **Article 8:**

The phase in which the people of Palestine is living is that of national struggle for the liberation of Palestine. Therefore the contradictions among the Palestinian national forces are of minimal importance that must be suspended in the interest of the main conflict between Zionism and Colonialism on the one side and the Palestinian Arab people on the other. On this basis, the Palestinian masses, whether in the homeland or in exile, organizations and individuals, comprise one national front which acts to restore Palestine and liberate it through armed struggle.

### **Article 9:**

Armed struggle is the only way to liberate Palestine and is therefore a strategy and not a tactic. The Palestinian Arab people affirms its absolute resolution and abiding determination to pursue the armed struggle and to march

forward towards the armed popular revolution, to liberate its homeland and restore its right to a natural life, and to exercise its right of self-determination and national sovereignty.

**Article 10:**

Fedaayeen's (freedom fighters) action forms the nucleus of the popular Palestinian war of liberation. This requires its promotion, extension and protection, and the mobilization of all the Arab and Palestinian masses and scientific capacities of the Palestinians, their organization and involvement in the armed Palestinian revolution to ensure the continuation of the revolution, its advancement and victory.

**Article 11:**

The Palestinians will have three mottoes: National unity mobilization and liberation. (The text of this clause came in agreement with the 10th clause of the old version of the national charter, that stipulates the Palestinian people's right to choose any political, economic or social system they believe suitable for their country)

**Article 12:**

The Palestinian Arab people believes in Arab unity. In order to fulfill its role in realizing this, it must preserve, in this phase of national struggle, its Palestinian personality and the conscience, thereof increase consciousness of its consistence and resist any plan that tends to disintegrate or weaken it.

**Article 13:**

Arab unity and the liberation of Palestine are two complementary aims. Each one paves the way for the realization of the other. Arab unity leads to the liberation of Palestine and that leads to Arab unity. Working for both goes hand in hand.

**Article 14:**

The destiny of the Arab nation, indeed the very Arab existence, depends on the destiny of the Palestinian issue. The endeavor and effort of the Arab nation to liberate Palestine flows from this connection. The people of Palestine assumes its vanguard role in realizing this sacred national aim.

**Article 15:**

The liberation of Palestine from the Arab view point is a national duty to repulse the Zionist, imperialist invasion from the great Arab homeland and to purge it from the Zionist presence . This full responsibility falls upon the Arab nation, peoples and governments, with the Arab Palestinian people at their lead. For this purpose the Arab nation must mobilize all its military, human, material and spiritual capacities to participate actively with the Palestinian people in the liberation of Palestine. They must grant and offer the people of Palestine all possible help and every material and human support and afford it means and opportunities enabling it to continue assuming its vanguard role in pursuing its armed revolution until the liberation of its homeland, especially in the present stage of armed Palestinian revolution.

**Article 16:**

The liberation of Palestine from a spiritual view point will prepare an atmosphere of tranquillity and peace for the Holy Land in the shade of which all the holy places, will be safeguarded, and freedom of worship and free access to all will be guaranteed without distinction or discrimination of race, color, language or, religion. For this reason the people of Palestine looks for the support of all spiritual forces in the world.

**Article 17:**

The - liberation of Palestinian from a human point of view will restore to the Palestinian human being dignity, glory and freedom. For this the Palestinian Arab people looks for the support of those in the world who believe in dignity and freedom for mankind.

**Article 18:**

The liberation of Palestine from an international view point, is a defensive act necessitated by the requirements of self-defense. For this reason the Arab people of Palestine are desiring to befriend all peoples, and looks for the support of the states that love freedom , justice and peace in restoring the legal situation in Palestine, establishing security and peace in its territory, and enabling its people to exercise national sovereignty and freedom.

**Article 19:**

The partition of Palestine in 1947 and the establishment of Israel is null and void from the very beginning, whatever time has elapsed because it was done contrary to the wish of the people of Palestine and their national right to their homeland and contradicts with the principles embodied in the charter of the UN, the first of which is the right of self-determination.

**Article 20:**

The Balfour Declaration, the mandate document and what has been based upon them are considered null and void. The claim of a historical or spiritual tie between Jews and Palestine does not tally with the historical realities nor with the constituencies of statehood in their true sense. Judaism in its character as a religion of revelation, is not a nationality with an independent existence. Likewise, the Jews are not one people with an independent personality. They are rather citizens of the states to which they belong.

**Article 21:**

The Palestinian Arab people in expressing itself through the armed Palestinian revolution, rejects every solution that is a substitute for a complete liberation of Palestine. and rejects all alternative plans that aim at the settlement of the Palestinian issue or its internationalization.

**Article 22:**

Zionism is a political movement organically related to the world imperialism and is hostile to all movements of liberation and progress in the world. It is a racist and fanatic movement in its formation, aggressive, expansionist, and colonialist in its aims, fascist and nazi in its means. Israel is the tool of the Zionist movement and is a human and geographic base for the world imperialism. It is a concentration and a way for imperialism to the heart of the Arab homeland, to strike at the hopes of the Arab nation for liberation, unity and progress.

**Article 23:**

The demands of security peace and the requirement of truth and justice oblige all states that maintain friendly relations with people,

and loyalty of citizens to their homeland, to consider Zionism an illegitimate movement and to prohibit its existence and activity.

**Article 24:**

The Palestinian Arab people believes in the principle of justice, freedom, sovereignty, self-determination, human dignity and the right of peoples to exercise them.

**Article 25:**

To realize the aims of this charter and its principles the Palestine Liberation Organization will undertake its full role in liberating Palestine.

**Article 26:**

The Palestinian Liberation Organization which represents the forces of the Palestinian revolution, is responsible for mobilizing the Palestinian Arab people in their struggle to restore their homeland, liberate it, and exercise the right of self-determination on it. This responsibility extends to all military, political and financial matters, and all else that the Palestinian issue requires on the Arab and international arena.

**Article 27:**

The Palestine Liberation Organization will cooperate with Arab states, each according to its capacities and will maintain neutrality in their mutual relations in light of the requirements of the battle for the liberation, and will not interfere in the internal affairs of any Arab state.

**Article 28:**

The Palestinian Arab people affirms the originality and independence of its national revolution and rejects every manner of interference, guardianship or subordination.

**Article 29:**

The Palestinian Arab people possesses the prior and original right for liberating and restoring its homeland and form its relations with other states according to the later's stands on the Palestinian issue the extent of their support for the Arab Palestinian people in their revolution to realize their aims.

**Article 30:**

The fighters and bearers of arms in the battle of liberation are the nucleus of the popular army which will be the protection arm of the Palestinian Arab people.

**Article 31:**

This organization shall have a flag, oath, and anthem all of which will be determined in accordance with a special system.

**Article 32:**

To this charter- is attached a law known as the

basic law of the Palestine Liberation Organization, in which the organization's structure is determined, its committees, institutions and the special function of every one of them, and all the requisite duties assigned to them in accordance with this charter.

**Article 33:**

This charter can not be amended except by a two-thirds majority of all the members of the National Assembly in a special session called for this purpose.



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

---

# **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](http://www.dialogue-review.com)**

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