

Prospects for Peace in Israel - Palestine



Jeff Warner

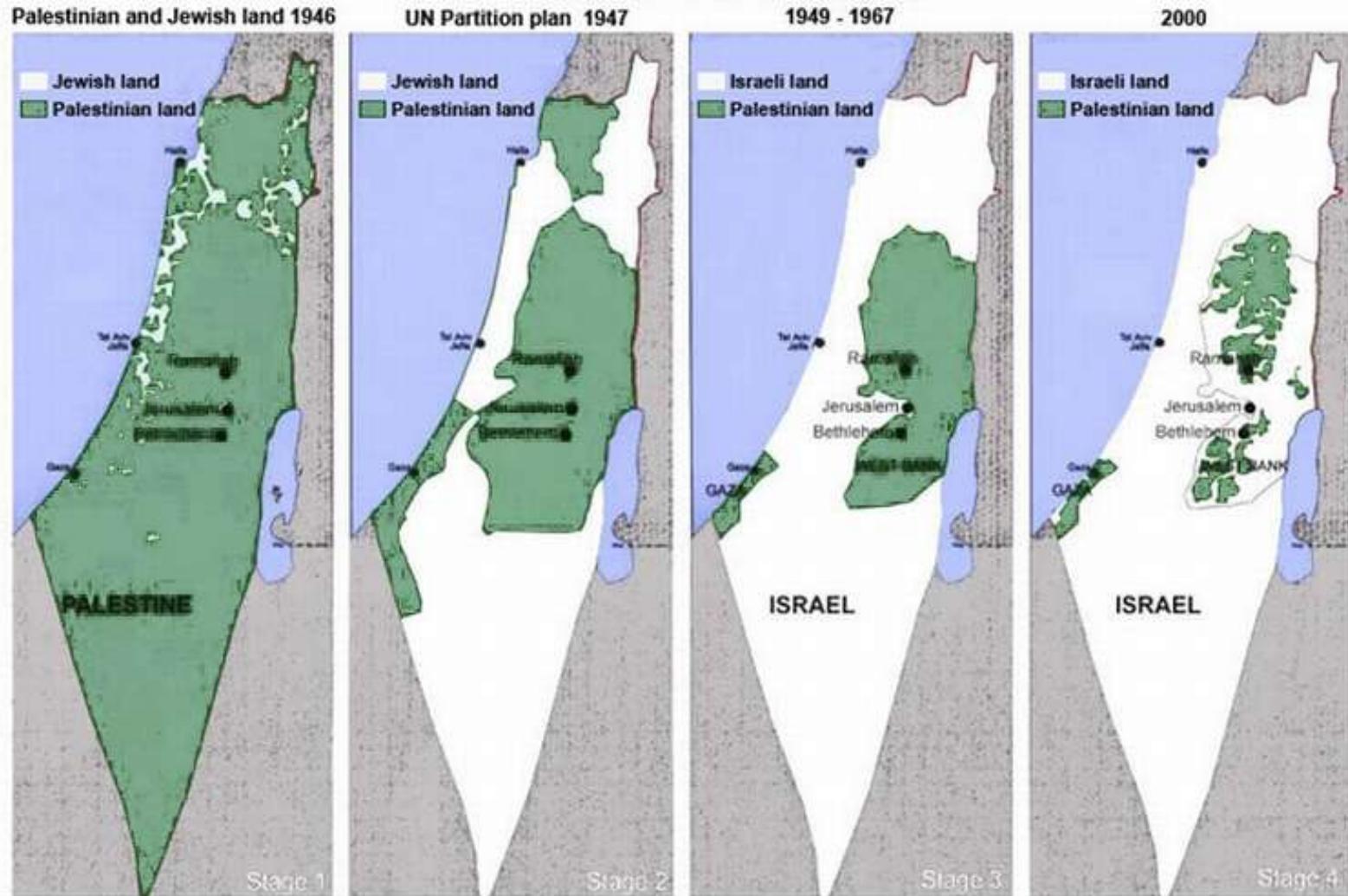
LA Jews for Peace

Cousins Club of Orange County
First Friends Church, Whittier, CA
February 11, 2009



Palestinian Loss of Land

Is the corollary to Israel's Drive for All the Land



Prospects for a Lasting Peace are:

Long-term: Absolute

Short-term: Grim

But the Struggle for Peace Is Too
Important to Abandon

Join **LA Jews for Peace**

in a Demonstration for Peace at the
Westwood Federal Building

Many Sundays: 1:00 to 4:00 PM

A 90-second video:

Imperial History of the Middle East

Israel-Palestine on California

From Los Angeles to Monterey

Area

I/P = 27K km² ~ Massachusetts

I = 21K km² ~ New Jersey

P = 6.3K km² ~ Delaware

Population

I/P = 11 MM < LA + Orange Co.

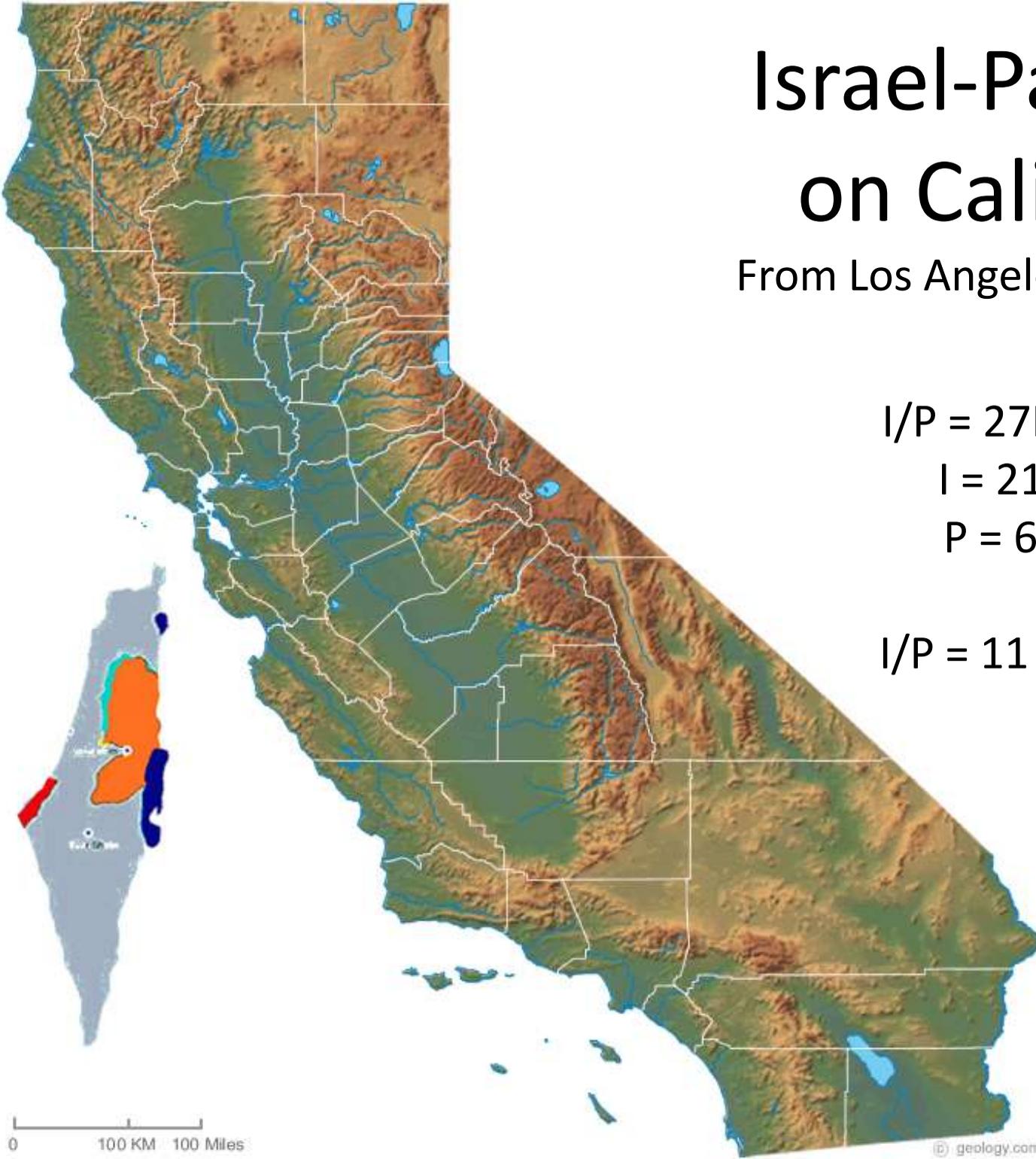
I = 7.1 MM

P = 4 MM

J = 5.4 MM

P = 5.4 MM

? = .2 MM



0 100 KM 100 Miles

Quick Recent History

- 1882 Zionism .
- 1917/20/22 [90] Balfour Declaration (San Remo Treaty & US Congress resolution, Mandate document).
- 1929 [80] First Arab-Jewish violent confrontation (Hebron).
- 1930s Anti-British riots, White Paper
- 1947/48/49 [60] UN Partition; War; Right of Return; Armistice (Green Line) .
- 1964 Start of PLO, declared Israel "illegal, null and void."
- 1967 [40] Israel launches Six-Day War against Egypt, Jordan and Syria .
- 1973 Yom Kippur war started by Egypt and Syria; Arafat's first attempts to negotiate.
- 1978/79 Sadat visit; Egypt-Israel treaty; Camp David Accord.
- 1982 Israel invades Lebanon.
- 1987-91 1st intifada.
- 1988/93/96 Arafat & PLO accept Israel existence & 2-state solution on 22% of Mandate Palestine.
- 1993/95 Oslo Accords I and II; Settlements expand.
- 1994 Jordan-Israel treaty; Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin assassinated.
- 2000 2nd intifada, Israel tightens occupation.
- 2005 Abbas elected President & snubbed; Gaza unilateral withdrawal, Hamas claims credit.
- 2006 Hamas wins election , Gaza closure (siege) starts; 2nd Lebanon War.
- 2007 Hamas-Fatah mini civil war in Gaza, Israel tightens closure; Annapolis Conference.
- 2008/09 Israel-Hamas cease-fire; Free Gaza Movement; Gaza War.

Israel-Palestinian Conflict is Important for Americans

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict has global ramifications in a part of the world crucial to Western, and especially American, political and economic interests. **U.S. support of the Israeli Occupation and present war fuels anger and alienation among Muslims and others towards the US and its European allies.**

- "Not everyone in the Middle East views the Palestinian issue as the greatest regional challenge, but the deep sense of injustice it stimulates is genuine and pervasive." B. Scowcroft and Z. Brzezinski , 2008
- Similar advice by the Baker-Hamilton Iraq Study Group, 2006
- Essential message of Mearsheimer & Walt book, 2007

Only when a just solution is reached that genuinely addresses Palestinians' grievances and needs, including Palestinians in refugee camps, will they signal to the rest of the Arab and Muslim worlds that the time has come to normalize relations with Israel and its American and Western patrons. This is the Palestinians ultimate clout.

Grasping for Straws: Obama has a Mandate

“...Across the political spectrum, Israelis understand that real security can only come through lasting peace. And that is why we – as friends of Israel – must resolve to do all we can to help Israel and its neighbors to achieve it. Because a secure, lasting peace is in Israel's national interest. It is in America's national interest. And it is in the interest of the Palestinian people and the Arab world. As President, I will work to help Israel achieve the goal of two states, a Jewish state of Israel and a Palestinian state, living side by side in peace and security. And I won't wait until the waning days of my presidency. I will take an active role, and make a personal commitment to do all I can to advance the cause of peace from the start of my Administration.”

(June 4, 2008)

One-State Solution

Rational:

- Justice, including Right of Return (UN Gen. Ass. Res. #194, 1948)
- Separation does not work (*e.g.*, India-Pakistan)
- A one, bi-national state has in fact existed since 1967
- Can't undo the Israeli settlement project
- Populations too mixed to separate

Problems:

- No support in Israel
- Little support in Palestine
- Does not satisfy Palestinian nationalist imperative (flow of history)

Mechanism:

- Secular, democratic state characterized by one-person, one-vote
- Bi-national state - federal government plus cantons

Two-State Solution

A **viable** two-state solution entails three, **not four**, central components.

- 1) Israel fully withdrawal to the Green Line (the 1949 border commonly referred to as the “1967 border”) with possible 1:1 land swaps.
- 2) Sharing Jerusalem as a capital of two states with land control according to the 1967 borders with land swaps to guarantee that each side has control over its own religious sites and large neighborhoods.

Above points mean dismantlement of Israeli settlements and the return of Jewish settlers to Israel proper.

- 3) Acknowledgment of the right of return of all Palestinians but with the following stipulation: While all Palestinians will be able to return to the fledgling Palestinian state, only a limited number agreed upon by the two sides will be allowed to return to Israel; those who cannot exercise this right or, alternatively, choose not to, will receive full compensation.
- 4) Demilitarized Palestinian state, perhaps with NATO and other foreign troops to protect Israel (???) and the Palestinians [lacks sovereignty].

More About Two-States

The cruel irony is that the majority of Jews and Palestinians in the region support the two-state solution, but **the parties cannot reach an agreement because sizable minorities in both camps reject this solution.** These minorities hijacked the respective political arenas, and succeeded in creating a deadlock that can only be overcome if the international community, and particularly the US, assumes a more interventionist role.

Two-States vs. Two-States

Everyone talks about two-states, but they are talking about incompatible entities. Palestinians deserve an economically viable, sovereign state.

Two States Plus

Recognizing that the footprint of the occupation makes a viable two-state solution impossible, what if the Palestinians accept a non-viable state, but with an overarching confederation that, like the EU, gives citizens of all member states freedom to travel, live where they want, and work where they want.



David Ben-Guion Golda Meir

Israelis & Zionism Want

- Jewish State
- Democratic State
- All the Land (Ertz Israel)

**120 Seats
in Knesset
Hadash: 4
Meretz: 3**



Menachem Begin



Yitzhak Rabin



Ariel Sharon



Ehud Olmert



Eli Yishai



Avigdor Liberman



Benjamin Netanyahu



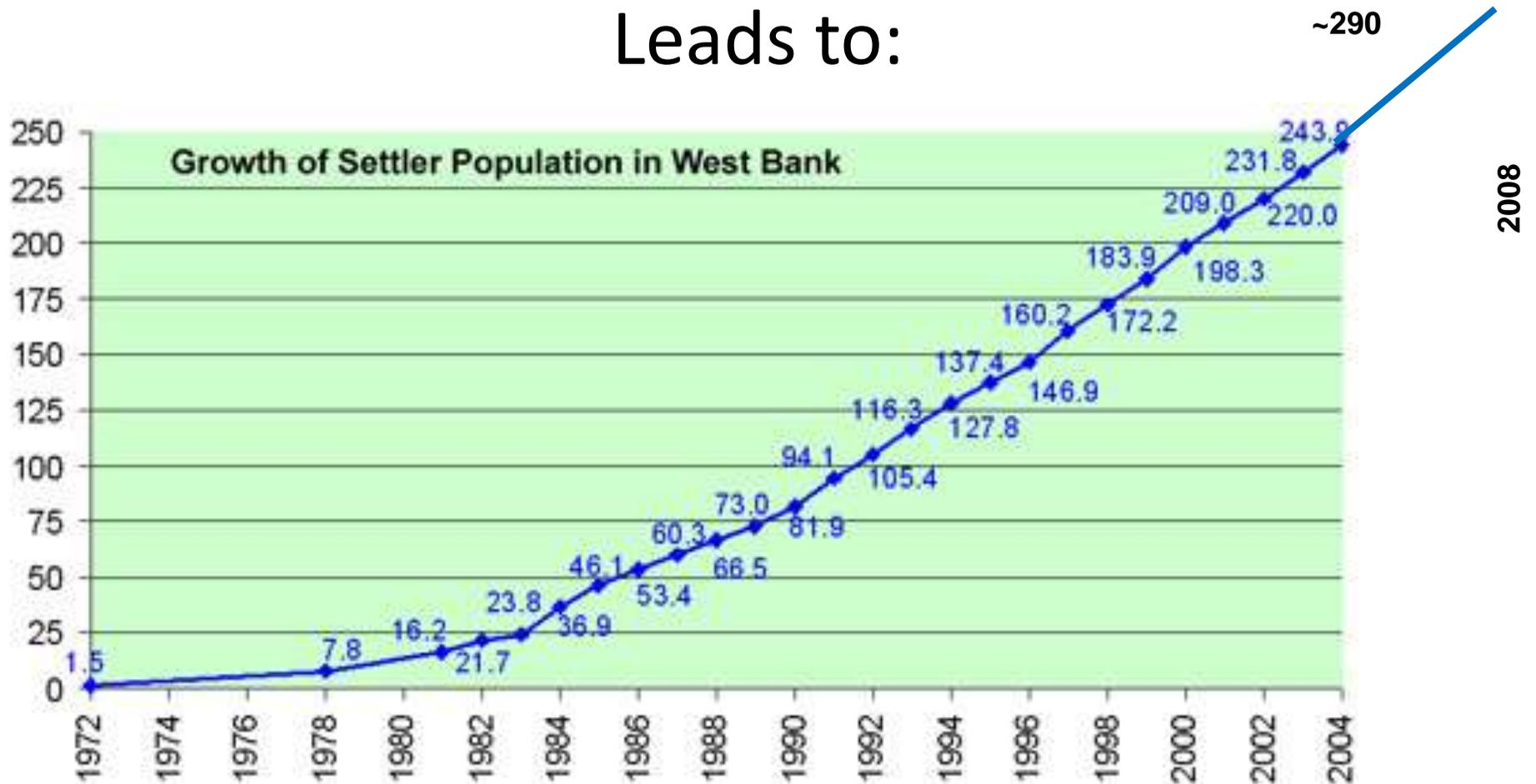
Ehud Barak



Tzipi Livni

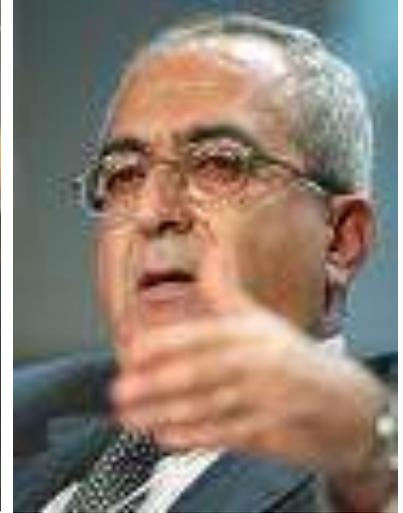
More and More Settlers (Colonists)

Leads to:



- Roadblocks, Checkpoints, Israeli-Only Roads,
- Fragmentation of West Bank,
- Destruction of Palestinian Life and Economy.

Palestinians



Mahmoud Abbas Marwan Barghouti Salam Fayyad



Yasser Arafat



Khaled Meshaal

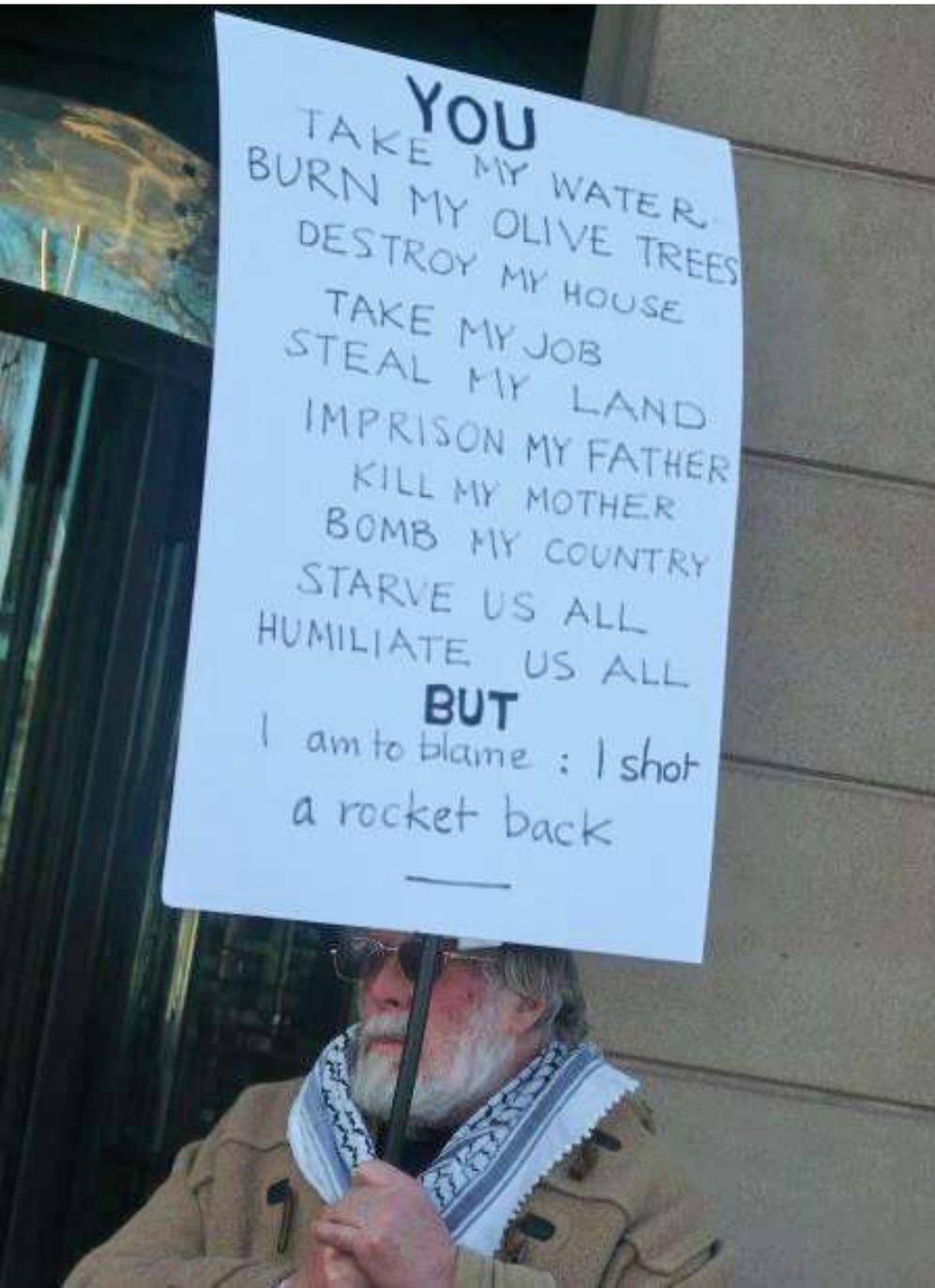


Ismail Haniyeh



Mahmoud al-Zahar

Palestinians Have Lost the PR War



Palestinian have:

- Not explained concessions; PLO accept 2-states with Israel on 78% of Land.
- Not promoted “Certificates of Authenticity;” International Court of Justice in Hague, All UN resolutions except #181.
- Rely too much on violence; Suicide bombers and rockets on civilians.
- Not explained the real Camp David II story; ”Offer was not generous, did not start intifada 2.

Hamas Should Recognize Israel

- Understand that demand for this by Israel and U.S. is just a way to postpone negotiations.
- Understand that it is hard for Hamas to do because PLO got little for doing it in 1988, besides, no one wants to recognize someone who is persecuting them, and which Israel anyway (UN Partition boundary, Green Line, everything).
- Hamas would get following advantages:
 - Democratic action – 55% in West Bank & 66% in Gaza agree.
 - Preempt Israel on boundaries.
 - Call Israel and U.S.'s bluff to negotiate.
 - Go to EU for food and reconstruction aid and political support.

With out recognition, only friends are Iran, Syria (maybe), and Hezbollah, and what good are they? How did they help during the recent massacre? How are they helping with the reconstruction?

United States



Barack Obama



George Bush



Condoleezza Rice



Elliott Abrams



Bill & Hillary Clinton



Rahm Emanuel



George Mitchell



Gen. James Jones

Obama's Envoy George Mitchell Starts with a Good Record

Considered a scrupulously impartial broker by all sides.

Wrote that among the useful lessons learned from the 1998 Good Friday Agreement is that:

- All parties to such conflicts need to be included, even those associated with violence (e.g., Shin Fein=IRA and Republicans – Hamas in Palestine)
- Preconditions, especially those related to ideological goals, "ought to be kept to an absolute minimum."

The 2001 Mitchell report to analyze the causes of the second intifada:

- Condemned Palestinian terrorism
- Condemned Israel's disproportionate use of force, most of it against unarmed demonstrators.
- Criticized Israeli settlement expansion, which had enraged Palestinians and undermined the Oslo talks.
- Refuted claims, then widespread in the US media, that the intifada had been cooked up by the Palestinian Authority.

A Plan:

President Obama should Act for America

President Obama must speak out clearly and forcefully about the fundamental principles of the peace process and justice for Palestinians.

He must be determined and politically bold.

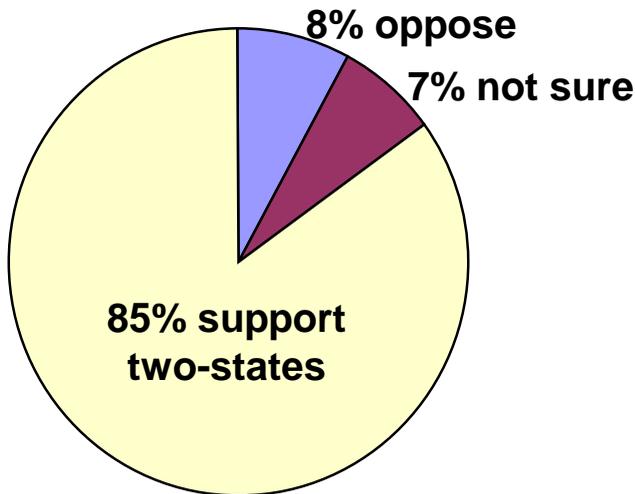
He needs a peace plan that allows the majority of the people on each side to decide; not the local leadership or a rejectionist minority.

1. Frame the issue in terms of American vital interests.
2. Draft a proposal using the well-known guidelines (end occupation, Green Line basis of border, 1:1 land swaps, share Jerusalem, agreed resolution to refugee right of return, truly sovereign and viable Palestinian state), and submit to the two sides for minor alterations.
3. Hammer out a final proposal, and publicize it widely.
4. Bring “Obama Plan” to a referendum in both Israel & Palestine, with the U.S. and international community applying pressure by declaring that the two parties will be rewarded if they support the initiative and penalized if they do not.

Polls Suggest Jewish Americans will Support “Obama Plan”

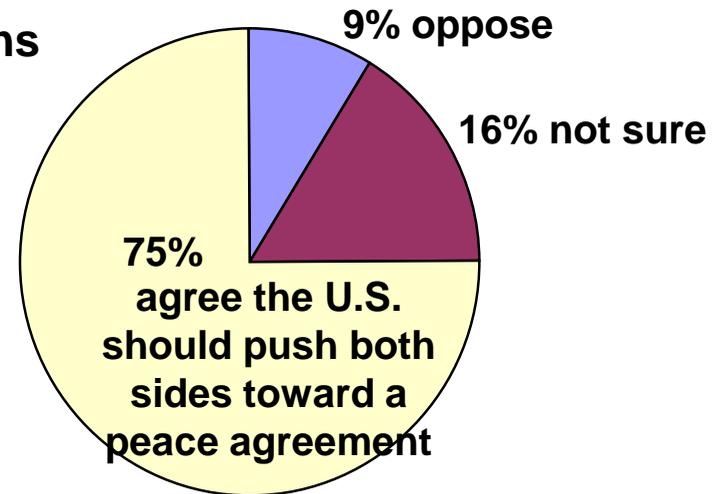
Jewish Americans

**N = 500
+/- 4.5%**



Jewish Americans

**N = 500
+/- 4.5%**



Polls of Israelis and Palestinians yield similar results.

Left question: “The right of the Jewish people to statehood and the right of the Palestinian people to statehood.” Poll by Zogby Intl. for Americans for Peace Now, 2004.

Right question: “the U.S. should push both sides to move toward a peace agreement, even in the face of objections from Israel or the Palestinians.” Poll by Prof. Steven M. Cohen for Ameinu, 2005.

Flow of History: Many nations have separated into ethnic, nationalistic, or religious states. Consolidations imposed by a colonial power or a military ruler (except for the U.S. in 1788).

Richard Falk on Peace

"Israel, all along, has not been prepared to enter into diplomatic process that gives the Palestinians a viable state, . . . [The Israelis] feel time is on their side. They feel they can create enough facts on the ground so people will come to the conclusion a viable [Palestinian] state cannot emerge."

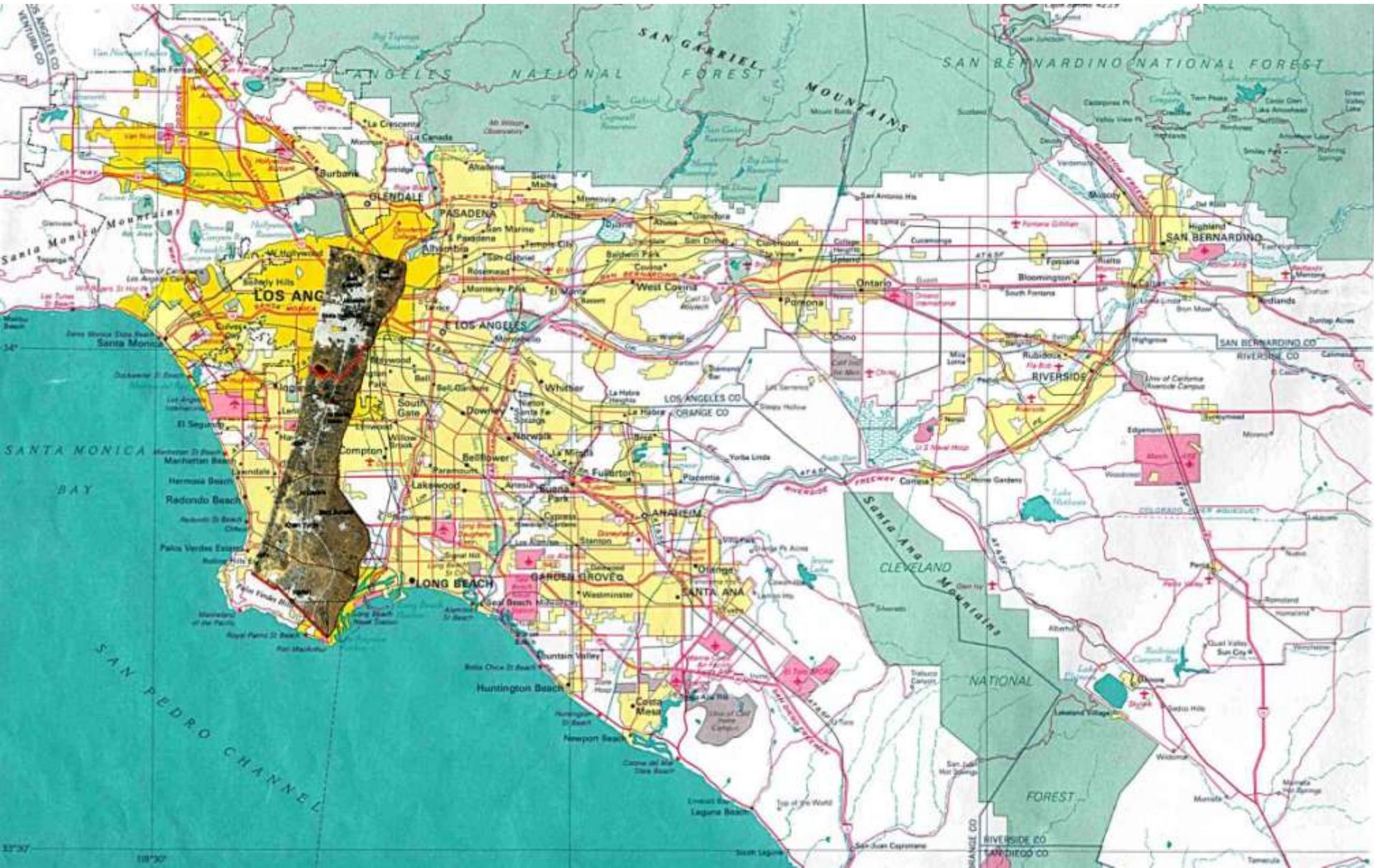
And Gaza: Israel is doing to the 1.5 million Palestinians in Gaza is "a crime against humanity." He condemned the collective punishment of the Palestinians in Gaza as "a flagrant and massive violation of international humanitarian law as laid down in Article 33 of the Fourth Geneva Convention."

Falk asked "the International Criminal Court to investigate the situation, and determine whether the Israeli civilian leaders and military commanders responsible for the Gaza siege should be indicted and prosecuted for violations of international criminal law."

Richard Falk is the U.N. special rapporteur for human rights in the occupied Palestinian territory; a former Princeton University law professor; Jewish.

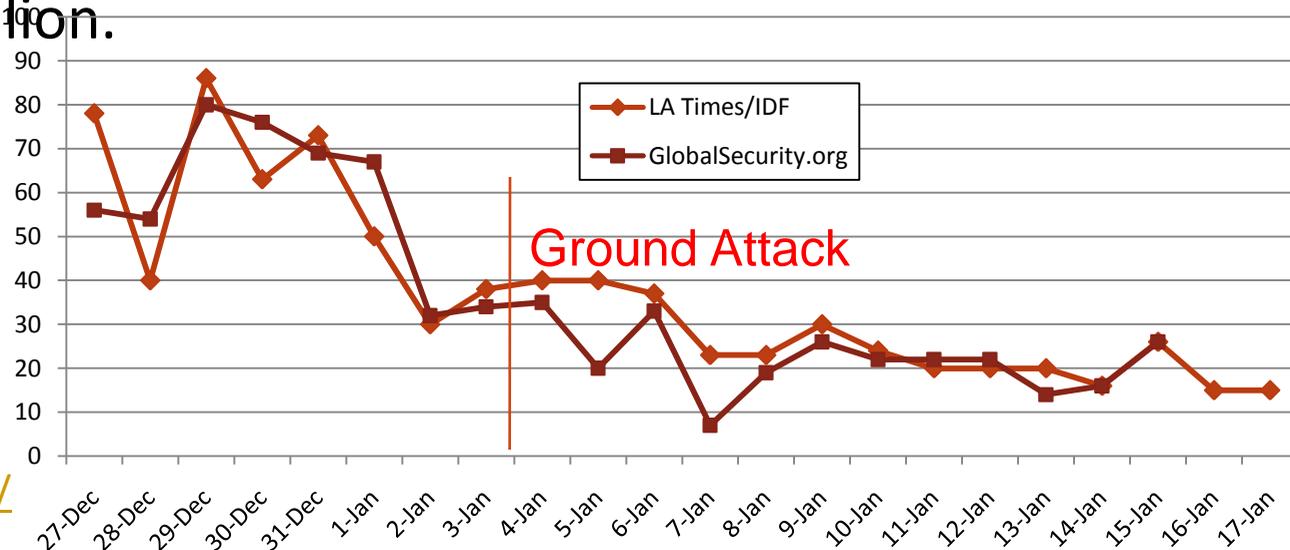
Gaza on LA

From San Pedro to Dodger Stadium; Whittier to Corona del Mar



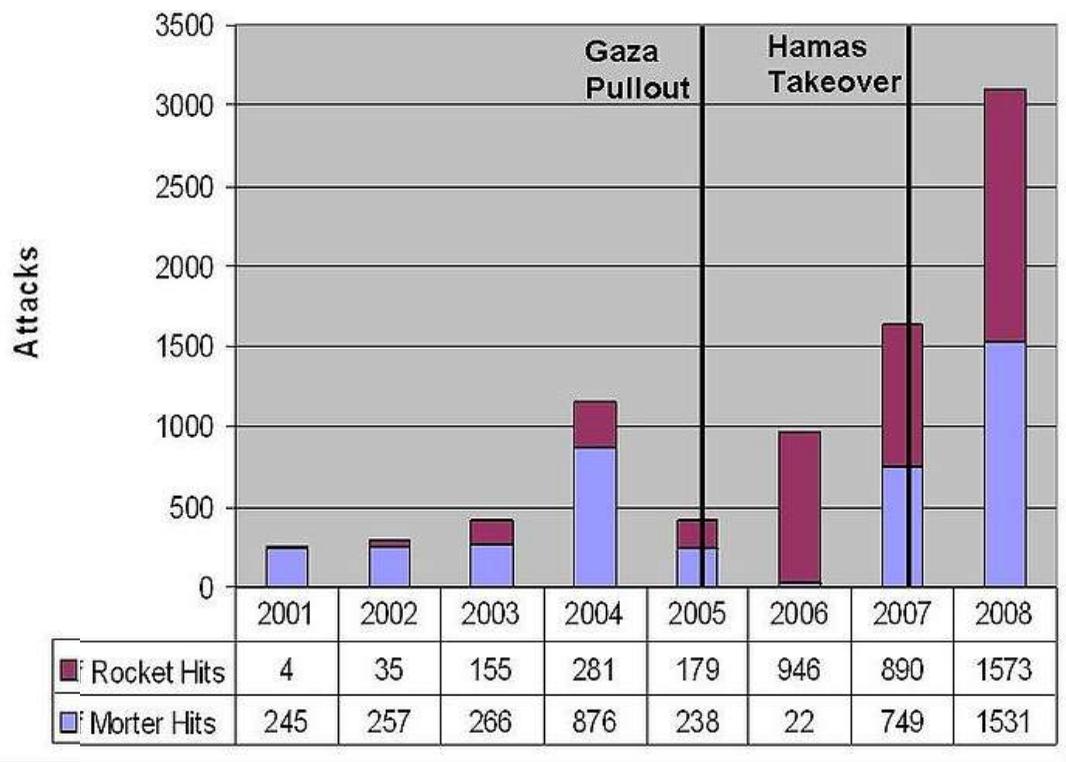
Cast Lead ~~War~~ Massacre

- Dec. 27 to Jan. 17 (22 days)
- Unilateral Cease-fires:
 - Israel 3-weeks: withdrawing troops and tanks; wants Hamas to stop smuggling arms from Egypt.
 - Hamas 1-week; wants Israel to open crossings.
 - Violations: Many Israeli; Some Palestinian .
- Dead: >1,300 Palestinians & 13 Israelis killed; >5,320 wounded; about half civilians, many women and children.
- Gaza infrastructure demolished (roads, utilities, medical system, government buildings, education system, housing stock, etc.).
- Damage estimate \$2 billion.
- Fatah weakened.
- Hamas strengthened.
- **Siege continues.**
- **Rockets continue.**

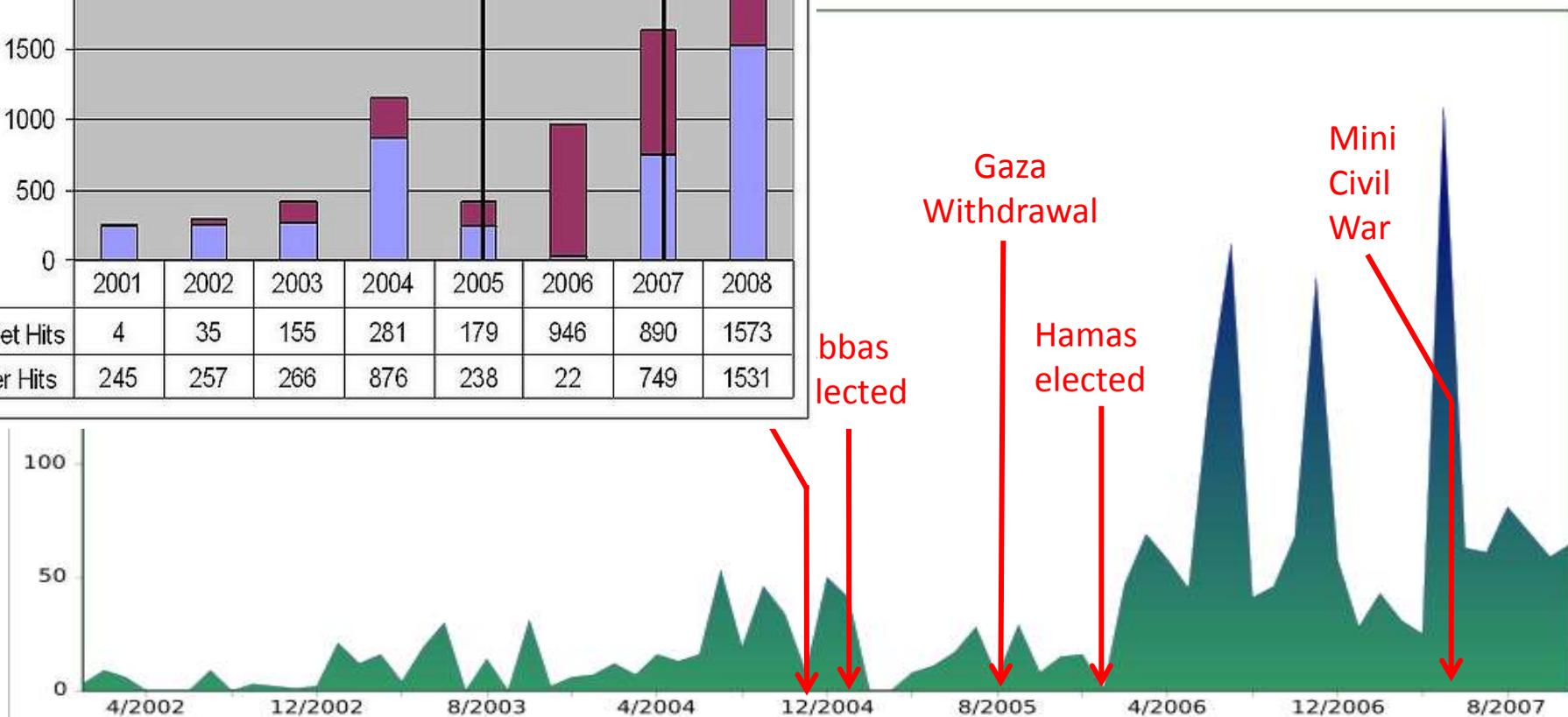


Cause of Cast Lead Massacre of Gaza

- Dec. 19 Hamas refused to renew the Israel-Hamas cease-fire and continued to shoot rockets into Southern Israel. Israel is attempting to stop the rockets.



Qassam Rockets from Gaza

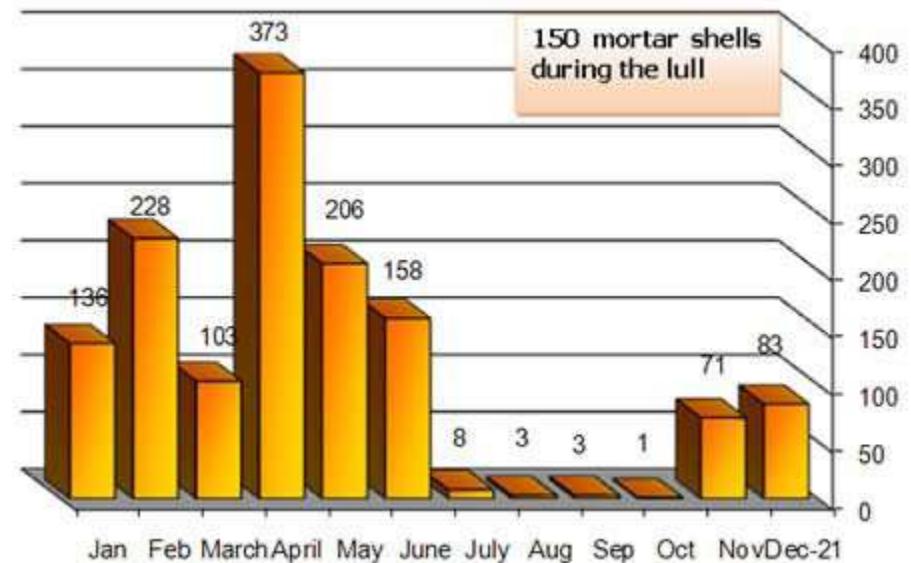
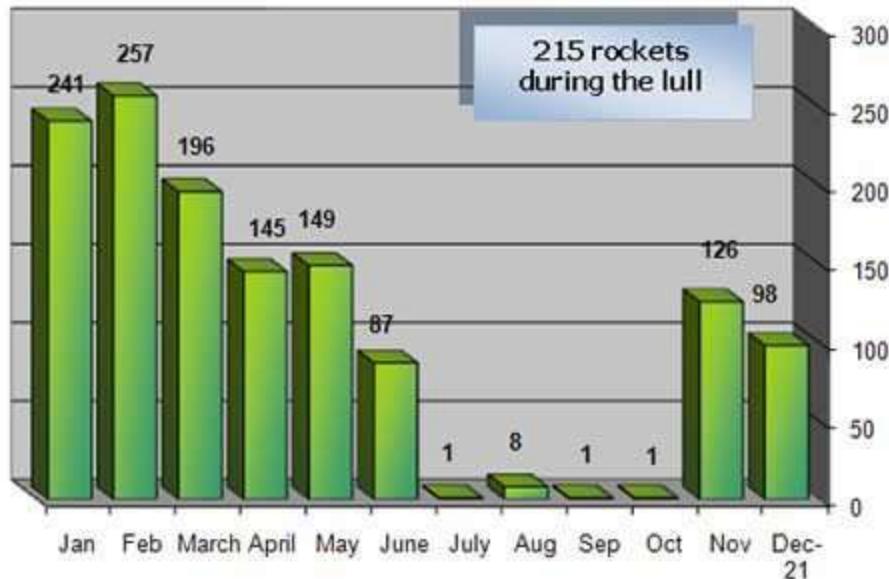


http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Qassam_rocket_attacks

Hamas actions (rockets) are reaction to Israeli actions.

Cause of Cast Lead Massacre of Gaza

- Dec. 19 Hamas refused to renew the Israel-Hamas cease-fire and continued to shoot rockets into Southern Israel. Israel is attempting to stop the rockets.
- Rockets stopped during the cease-fire; Israel broke cease-fire on Nov. 4 with two operations inside the Gaza Strip that killed seven “Hamas” members. “Hamas” shot mortars and rockets into Southern Israel. Israel closed Gaza crossings.
- June 19, six-month cease-fire started in July with two provisions: (1) prisoner exchange, and (2) stop hostilities and open crossings. **Israel never opened crossings beyond a trickle.** Prisoner exchange negotiation failed.



Assertion that Hamas does not/will not/cannot keep an agreement is wrong.

Gaza-Hamas Fact Sheet (Dec. 22, 2008)

Compiled by: Embassy of Israel

Source: Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center

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- Dec. 19 Hamas refused to renew the Israel-Hamas cease-fire and continued to shoot rockets into Southern Israel. Israel is attempting to stop the rockets.
- Israel broke cease-fire on Nov. 4 with two operations inside the Gaza Strip that killed seven “Hamas” members. “Hamas” shot mortars and rockets into Southern Israel. Israel closed Gaza crossings.
- June 19, six-month cease-fire started in July with two provisions: (1) prisoner exchange, and (2) stop hostilities and open crossings. **Israel never opened crossings beyond a trickle.** Prisoner exchange negotiation failed.
- Hamas-Fatah mini-civil war ended with Hamas in control of Gaza Strip. Israel and U.S. tighten siege on Gaza’s 1.5 million people in attempt to unseat Hamas. Rockets & Israeli airstrikes into Gaza..
- January 2006 Palestinian elections ended with Hamas victory. **Israel and U.S. imposed siege & economic restrictions on Palestinians in attempt to force Hamas not to assume leadership in Government.** Israel withheld tax and custom collections of \$50 million/month; U.S. stopped banking with Palestinians. Rockets & Israeli airstrikes.
- August 2005 Israel unilaterally withdrawals from Gaza; Hamas claims credit.
- January 2005 Mahmoud Abbas elected Palestinian President. Snubbed by Israel.
- 2000 Second Intifada starts, suicide bombers, aggressive Israeli military, checkpoints and roadblocks, wall, etc.
- Camp David II failure unfairly blamed on Arafat, Taba negotiation makes progress
- 1993 & 1995 Oslo Agreement; settlements double in size.

Real Israeli Reason for Cast Lead

- **Restore Deterrence Capacity.** Build fear of Israel among Palestinians and other Arab nations (after 2006 defeat by Hezbollah).
Partly Worked - Hezbollah did not come to Hamas' aid. But Hamas is still firing rockets.
Flaw in Logic – Israel does not consider occupation and especially siege of Gaza in calculating how to stop rockets. Believes it can stop rockets even though it continues the occupation.
- **Head-off a Palestinian (Hamas) “Peace Initiative.”** Hamas was getting “reasonable.” Leaders made statements accepting a two-state solution. Honored cease-fire even though Israel did not (by not opening crossings).
- Order to plan operation given six months before Cast Lead, before June 19 cease-fire.
- Cast Lead started when **Israel provoked Hamas** with Nov. 4 cease-fire violation and refusal to open crossings.

Thoughts on the War

Invasion was Fruitless

Israel has also always believed that causing suffering to Palestinian civilians would make them rebel against their national leaders. This assumption has proven wrong over and over.

Only hatred, bereavement, pain, and desire for revenge will come out of Gaza massacre. Rockets and siege continue.

War makes negotiations more difficult.

War Against an Unarmed Population

Israel is engaged in a "war to the bitter end" against Hamas in Gaza.

Ehud Barak, Dec. 28, 2008

The Israel army considers any Hamas-related object as a military target; thus many civilian objects are considered targets. This violates fundamental canon of laws of war to distinguish between military and civilian objects. B'Tselem, Jan. 1, 2009

Invasion violated U.S. law

Israel Likely Violated U.S. Law

Arms Export Control Act (P.L.80-829): Weapons use limited to “internal security” and “legitimate self-defense” only.

Foreign Assistance Act (P.L.97-195): “No assistance may be provided...[to] any country which engages in a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights.”

“Leahy Law” (Foreign Ops Appropriations Act): No aid to “any unit of the security forces of a foreign country if the Secretary of State has credible evidence that such unit has committed gross violations of human rights.”

Israel must be held accountable for violations. Congress should demand a State Department investigation and make sure it is done completely and accurately.

Congress must condition future appropriations to protect innocent Palestinians from being killed by U.S. weapons. Add to annual Foreign Operations appropriations bill the following: “Funds may be only used to support activities within the Green Line.”

Who is Violating the Cease-Fire?

LA Times , Jan. 28 **Israel responds to attack by Palestinian militants**

“Palestinian militants killed one Israeli soldier and seriously wounded another in a cross-border bombing Tuesday [Jan. 27] morning, prompting an Israeli counterattack that killed a Palestinian farmer and wounded a Hamas fighter. The clash . . . is the most serious threat so far to the separate cease-fires declared by Israel and the militant group Hamas that have largely held since Jan. 18.”

Actually Hamas fighter was wounded in a separate incident

Actual record of cease-fire violation Jan. 18-27.

1. Israeli forces killed a Palestinian farmer in Khuza'a east of Khan Yunis on Jan 18.
2. Israeli forces killed a Palestinian farmer east of Jabalia on Jan 19.
3. Israeli naval gunboats shelled the Gaza coast line, causing damage to civilian structures on Jan 21.
4. Israeli troops shot and injured a child east of Gaza City on Jan 22.
5. Israeli gunboat fire injured 4-7 Palestinian fishermen on Jan 22.
6. Israeli shelling set a Palestinian house on fire on Jan 22.
7. Israeli tanks fired on the border town of Al Faraheen, causing damage to homes and farms on Jan 24.

Israel Left Before the War

"Most level-headed politicians know the truth: There is no military solution," wrote Gideon Levy in the Ha'aretz daily paper Sunday, in an article headlined, "[Talk to Hamas](#)." "Still, no one dares ask why, for heaven's sake, not try to talk directly with Hamas."

Levy declared that Israel's refusal to negotiate with Hamas until it formally recognizes the Jewish state's right to exist was a political smoke screen. He advocated an immediate lifting of the blockade, an opening of Gaza's borders and an invitation to senior Hamas leader Ismail Haniyeh for direct talks on a common future.

"There's no chance that Hamas will change its stripes entirely, but direct talks may be more pragmatic than they seem," Levy argued. "It has some reasonable leaders who value life and want to improve the wretched situation of their nation. They too realize the current situation is a dead-end for both us and them."

LA Times Editorial, Dec. 22, 2008

"Israel should offer to lift the siege and boycott in return for a long-term calm."

Gideon Levy, *Ha'aretz*, Dec. 21, 2008

Israel Left During the War

Israeli leaders will boast of two “achievements”: the end of the rockets and the sealing of the Gaza-Egypt border (“Philadelphia route”). **Dubious achievements:** the launching of Qassams could have been prevented without a murderous war, if our government had been ready to negotiate with Hamas after they won the Palestinian elections. The tunnels under the Egyptian border would not have been dug in the first place, if our government had not imposed the deadly blockade on the Strip.

But the **main achievement** of the war planners lies in the very barbarity of their plan: **the atrocities will have**, in their view, **a deterrent effect** that will hold for a long time.

Hamas will assert that their survival in the face of the mighty Israeli war machine, a tiny David against a giant Goliath, **is by itself a huge victory**. According to the classic military definition, the winner in a battle is the army that remains on the battlefield when it’s over. Hamas remains. The Hamas regime in the Gaza Strip still stands, in spite of all the efforts to eliminate it. That is a significant achievement.

Israel Left After the War

The international community initially backed the Israeli operation, which was depicted as a response to terrorism. But the government's insistence on prolonging the operation over the course of three weeks, thus sowing significant death and destruction in Gaza, weakened the justification for the operation and caused tangible damage to Israel's international standing. What started as a just war today looks to the world like a brutal onslaught against a defenseless population.

Israel's isolation is noticeable from all directions. The Arab world is in an uproar due to the images of dead children and destroyed homes in Gaza. Relations with Turkey are at a crisis point. Once again, there are voices calling for the trial of IDF officers and Israeli politicians in European courts on charges of crimes against humanity.

Advertisement France is accusing Israel of complicating efforts to rehabilitate Gaza. Both "victory" and "restoring deterrence," which the country's leaders boasted of following the operation, are now questionable in light of the continued fire from Gaza and Hamas' increasing global recognition.

Instead of yet another military entanglement, Israel needs to sober up from the intoxication of power that overtook it in the wake of the Gaza operation and give a diplomatic arrangement with Hamas a real chance.

Ha'aretz Editorial, Feb. 1. 2009