



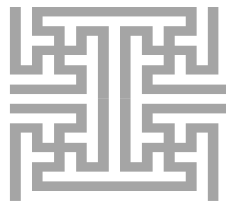
Center for Restorative Justice & Peacemaking

An International Resource Center in Support of Restorative Justice Dialogue, Research and Training

RESOURCE MATERIALS FOR DIALOGUE ON THE ISSUES OF THE ISRAELI/PALESTINIAN CONFLICT

SUPPLEMENT TO THE GUIDE TO ARAB/ PALESTINIAN/ JEWISH DIALOGUE

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INTRODUCTION

Dialogue and deliberation on the political issues of the Israeli Palestinian conflict can be a challenging process for dialogue groups. Part of the challenge is the different narratives and interpretations of historical and current events and group identity and allegiance that influence those interpretations. Dialogue and deliberation on the issues requires the willingness for people to engage in a collaborative learning process. Groups can 1) identify topics they want to discuss, 2) identify and agree on what materials they want to study, including books, articles, films, documents, or other source material, and 3) engage in a joint inquiry using the materials as the basis for that inquiry.

Below is a range of source material, organized in two main categories, *Focus on the History and the Issues*, and *Focus on the Future*. Each category has a number of reading selections, all accessible through the web, which groups can review and come to agreement about which ones to read. The selections were made based on the range of views they represent and the credibility of the authors. Groups are encouraged to do their own research and identify other readings that meet the needs of the members. There are many more issues and readings that groups can chose to pursue. The presentation of these materials was provided to make reading material easily accessible and provide readings representing a range of perspectives.

STEPS FOR STRUCTURING DIALOGUE ON SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES

Step 1: Identify an issue for discussion. Agree on an issue that the group will discuss. The group might brainstorm a list of critical issues and prioritize them. Select the top two or three issues and schedule them for discussion over an agreed upon time period.

Step 2: Express perspectives on issue. When an issue is identified, give all participants an opportunity to express their views about the issue, using a round robin/talking circle format. Encourage participants to talk from personal experiences, beliefs, and knowledge.

Step 3: Identify new learnings or perspectives. Participants should practice listening without judgment to the perspectives offered by others and paraphrasing them to check for understanding. It may be useful to have participants write down the essentials of the perspective presented. If this approach is used, participants should re-read what they have written, check or underline what they can affirm, believe, or agree with. Participants can also identify what they heard from each other's remarks that differs from their previous understanding of the issue.

Facilitator questions:

- *As a result of what you have heard, do you have any uncertainties about the views you have held? How do they relate to this discussion?*
- *What experience or information might alter your views or perspectives?*
- *What surprises helped you break through stereotypes or exaggerated assumptions?*

Step 4: Identify differences and commonalities. Identify points of commonality and difference among the views expressed. Facilitators might want to keep a record of these comments on chart

paper or take notes and distribute them to participants. Facilitators should identify areas of agreement, disagreement, and areas about which people are confused or need more information. Ask students to quickly jot down the essentials of the perspective presented. As they re-read what they have written, ask students to check or underline what they can affirm, believe, or agree with.

Step 5: Engage in collaborative learning. Facilitators should ask how can participants can share additional information that will shed light on the differences, clarify questions, and gain understanding about the differences. Groups can agree to read articles or books, view films, or bring in speakers. The group can identify what they want to learn, what joint learning activities they will engage in and agree on a time line for doing.

- Engage in inquiry into the differences.
- Ask people to explain the “other side” to check for mutual understanding of the issues.
- Participants should be able to articulate the full range of views about the issue that have surfaced.
- Explore the values, principles, and interpretations of history and current events that underlie the different perspectives.
- Ask participants to examine doubts, difficulties or weakness in their perspectives or positions.
- Examine how narratives or arguments can be distorted or manipulated. Ask questions like:
 - What information might have been omitted or distorted?*
 - Have people been scapegoated? If so, how?*
 - Has blame been inappropriately assigned? What underlies the blame?*
 - Have events in the past been interpreted through present-day perspectives? What are the risks of this approach?*

Step 6: Reassess areas of agreement and disagreement. With new knowledge, participants may find increased commonality on issues or interpretations of history. Check to see where there is still uncertainty, lack of understanding, or ambiguity.

- Ask if there is a way those differences could be bridged.
- Explore areas of agreement and commonality.
- Ask if participants want to act on any of these areas together.

I. FOCUS ON HISTORY AND THE ISSUES

Zionism

QUESTIONS FOR DIALOGUE

1. Zionism is a word that triggers very different reactions, from the very positive to the very negative. What is your understanding of the meaning of Zionism?
2. What was Herzl’s concept of Zionism and what were his motivations for advocating a Jewish state?
3. How does each of the authors define Zionism?

4. The connection between Zionism and racism has been a highly controversial and emotional issue. How do you view this in light of the readings below?
5. Is there any common ground between advocates of Zionism and advocates of Palestinian self-determination?
6. Has your understanding of Zionism changed from reading the material provided and from the dialogue about what it means?

READING SELECTIONS

- **Definition of Zionism**, Jewish Virtual Library, American Israeli Cooperative Enterprise, 2004. "Zionism, the national movement for the return of the Jewish people to their homeland and the resumption of Jewish sovereignty in the Land of Israel, advocated, from its inception, tangible as well as spiritual aims."
<http://www.us-israel.org/jsource/Zionism/zionism.html>
- **The Jewish State**, Theodor Herzl (1896), Jewish Virtual Library, 2004
<http://www.us-israel.org/jsource/Zionism/herzl2.html>
- **From the First Zionist Congress (1897) to the Twelfth (1921)**, David Mendelsson, Jewish Virtual Library, 2004
"The first Zionist Congress was to have taken place in Munich, Germany. However, due to considerable opposition by the local community leadership, both Orthodox and Reform, it was decided to transfer the proceedings to Basle, Switzerland."
<http://www.us-israel.org/jsource/Zionism/firstcong.html>
- **Zionism Is Not Racism**, American Israeli Cooperative Enterprise, Jewish Virtual Library, American Israeli Cooperative Enterprise, 2004, "In 1975, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution slandering Zionism by equating it with racism. In his spirited response to the resolution, Israel's Ambassador to the UN, Chaim Herzog noted the irony of the timing, the vote coming exactly 37 years after *Kristallnacht*."
<http://www.us-israel.org/>
- **Defending Zionism in a Time of Occupation and Oppression**, Stephen Zunes, Tikkun Magazine, Mar/Apr 2004.
"As someone who has emerged in recent years as one of the more prominent academic supporters of Palestinian national rights and critics of Israeli policies and U.S support for the Israeli government, many people are surprised that I am unwilling to categorically denounce Zionism. I am not at all oblivious to the many crimes committed in the name of Zionism, but there is often real confusion as to how one defines it. Many supporters of the Palestinian cause tend to portray Zionism as its worst historical manifestations (just as many supporters of Israel do the same for Palestinian nationalism)."
<http://www.tikkun.org/magazine/index.cfm/action/tikkun/issue/tik0403/article/040313b.html>
- **Jewish Criticism of Zionism**, Edward Corrigan, Middle East Policy Council, Winter 1990-91, Number 35. "The Palestinian uprising or *intifada* and the Israeli campaign to suppress it have caused considerable anguish for many Jews around the world. A large number of Jews have even begun to reassess their support for Israel and critically analyze the ideology of Zionism which legitimates the Jewish state. One example of this phenomenon is a statement

that appeared in *The Nation* on February 3, 1988. It was endorsed by 18 prominent American Jews. http://www.mepc.org/public_asp/journal/9012_corrigan.asp

- **Christian Zionism: Israel's Best Weapon?**, Daniel Pipes, July 15, 2003 Christian Action for Israel. “Middle Easterners were widely puzzled in early 1994 when some leading American politicians, including Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) and Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), forwarded more assertive, tougher positions vis-à-vis the Palestinians than did the government of Israel. They were, for example, more reluctant than Jerusalem to let U.S. funds go to the PLO and they displayed more eagerness to move the U.S. embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.
<http://www.cdn-friends-icej.ca/weapon.html>
- **No, anti-Zionism is not anti-semitism**, Brian Klug, *The Guardian*, Wednesday December 3, 2003. “From the beginning, political Zionism was a controversial movement even among Jews. So strong was the opposition of German orthodox and reform rabbis to the Zionist idea in the name of Judaism that Theodor Herzl changed the venue of the First Zionist Congress in 1897 from Munich to Basle in Switzerland.
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/israel/comment/0,10551,1098625,00.html>
- **American Zionism, the Real Problem**, Edward Said, Media Monitors Network, March 14, 2001. “This is the first article in a series on the misunderstood and misjudged role of American Zionism in the question of Palestine. In my opinion, the role of organised Zionist groups and activities in the United States has not been sufficiently addressed during the period of the "peace process," a neglect that I find absolutely astonishing, given that Palestinian policy has been essentially to throw our fate as a people in the lap of the United States without any strategic awareness of how US policy is in effect dominated, if not completely controlled, by a small minority of people whose views about Middle East peace are in some way more extreme than even those of the Israeli Likud.
<http://www.mediamonitors.net/edward12.html>
- **Sharansky and the New Anti-Semitism**, by Adam Keller, *The Other Israel*, April-May 2004 Nathan Sharansky — former Soviet dissident and "Minister for The Jewish Diaspora" in the Sharon cabinet, has been touring U.S. campuses and European capitals, busily waging the "Campaign Against The New Antisemitism." One of his arguments deserves special attention. Sharansky claims that even when criticism of Israel's policies is shown to be factually correct, voicing it may still be branded as anti-Semitic...”
<http://otherisrael.home.igc.org/sharansky.html>
- **The Final Solution**, Jewish Virtual Library, 2004 A selection of articles and documents on the Holocaust
<http://www.us-israel.org/jsource/Holocaust/final.html>



Arab/Palestinian Nationalism

QUESTIONS FOR DIALOGUE

1. What was your understanding of Palestinian nationalism? Did you find anything in the reading materials that challenged your assumptions? What surprised you?
2. What are the different interpretations of Palestinian nationalism?

READING SELECTIONS

- Lesch, "**Palestine Mandate (1922-1948)**," in Philip Mattar, ed., *Encyclopedia Of The Palestinians*, New York: Facts on File, 2000
"Palestinians were caught in an impossible situation throughout the Mandate period. While other Arab territories gained independence after World War II, the aspirations of the Zionist movement blocked self-determination for the Arabs of Palestine."
http://www.parcenter.org/resources/encyclopedia/encyc_pman.html#Top
- **The Myth of Palestinian Nationalism**, Joan Peters, From Time Immemorial, 1984, Eretz Yisroel.org. "Over the decades, as the nineteenth-century Palestinian Jews were reinforced by successive waves of Jewish refugees, anti-Jewish violence erupted spasmodically in the Holy Land. Observers labeled these outbreaks as "European anti-Semitism," "Ottomanism," and later, "anti-Zionism."
<http://www.eretzyisroel.org/~peters/nationalism.html>
- **Palestinian Nationalism and the Struggle for National Self Determination**, Gordon Welty, in Berch Berberoglu, ed., *The National Question* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995), pp. 15-35 1995. "The development of the Palestinian national movement can be traced back at least to the beginning of the twentieth century, when the crumbling Ottoman Empire gave rise by the end of the First World War to the territorial expansion of the Western imperialist powers -- including France, Britain, and later the United States -- into the Middle East. Palestine, the provincial territory controlled by the Ottoman state, had for centuries been home to the Palestinian people."
<http://student.cs.ucc.ie/cs1064/jabowen/IPSC/php/db.php?aid=5181>
- **The Mentor Who Shaped Begin's Thinking**: Jabotinsky, Mark Bruzonsky, Washington Post, Outlook Section, Sunday, November 16, 1980. "Of all the problems with U.S. policy in the Mideast, one of the most profound is the reluctance of many Americans -- including many Jews -- to understand the ideological convictions of Menachem Begin and the radically altered basis of Israeli policy under his stewardship. Symptomatic of this reluctance was the scant attention given to last week's Jabotinsky Centennial Dinner in New York."
<http://www.flwi.ugent.be/cie/Palestina/palestina44.htm> bv 4/20/05
- **Searching for Meaning**, Dr. Azmi Bishara, Amin, May 13, 2004
"The Palestinian people fell under Israeli occupation just as the Third World liberation movement was getting under way, and the more that movement progressed the more complex the Palestinian problem became. The Palestinian plight has much in common with

other Third World nationalist causes, but the factors that have aggravated its complexity are unique to it.”

http://amin.org/eng/azmi_bishara/2004/may13.html



The Occupation of the Palestinian Territories

QUESTIONS

1. What are your thoughts about the occupation? What are the different perspectives on the occupation?
2. The readings below speak to the impact of the occupation on Palestinian lives. What perspectives did you gain from the articles?

READINGS

- **Broken Lives: A Year of Intifada**, Amnesty International, November 2001
"All Palestinians in the occupied territories have been collectively punished. Almost every Palestinian town and village has been cut off by the Israeli army. Curfews on Palestinian areas have trapped residents in their homes for days, weeks or even months. Hundreds of Palestinian homes have been demolished."
<http://web.amnesty.org/library/Index/engMDE150832001?OpenDocument&of=COUNTRIES\ISRAEL%5COCCUPIED+TERRITORIES>
- **Forgotten Villages: Struggling to Survive Under Closure in the West Bank**, Oxfam, Oxfam Briefing Paper No. 28, September 2002
"Closure is a policy restricting the movement of Palestinian people, vehicles and goods in the occupied territories. Since Israel first implemented closure in 1991, both the geographic scope of closure and the level of enforcement have increased steadily and systematically, restricting Palestinians to smaller and more limited areas."
[http://www.oxfam.org.uk/what we do/issues/conflict disasters/bp28 closure.htm](http://www.oxfam.org.uk/what_we_do/issues/conflict_disasters/bp28_closure.htm)
- **Myths & Facts Online, A Guide to the Arab-Israeli Conflict**, By Mitchell G. Bard, Jewish Virtual Library, American Israel Cooperative Enterprise
<http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsourcemyths/mftoc.html>
- **Amnesty: 100 Palestinian children killed by IDF in 2003**, Ha'aretz Update, Wednesday, May 26, 2004
"Amnesty International's newly-released annual report charged Wednesday that the Israel Defense Forces killed some 600 Palestinians, including more than 100 children, between January and December 2003. According to the report, most of those who died were killed unlawfully, in "reckless shooting, shelling and bombing in civilian residential areas, in extra-judicial executions and through excessive use of force." The report goes on to criticize the deaths of around 200 Israelis, at least 130 of them civilians and including 21 children, who were killed in suicide bombings and other "deliberate attacks" by Palestinian militants."
<http://www.haaretzdaily.com/hasen/spages/431892.html>

Oslo Peace Accords and Camp David

QUESTIONS

1. There has been blame on both sides for the collapse of the Oslo peace process. What is your perspective on the failure of the process?
2. From reading the articles, what new information or perspectives did you gain from the commentators? Has it changed your views of Oslo? If so, how?

READINGS

- **1993 Declaration of Principles** (Oslo Accords)
<http://www.fmep.org/documents/index.html>
- **What Went Wrong? The Collapse of the Israeli-Palestinian Peace Process**, Jerome Slater, *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 116, No. 2, Summer 2001, pp. 171-199.
"The perception of the Camp David summit of July 2000 is that Barak made a generous offer which Arafat perversely rejected. But Barak's proposals fell far short of a fair compromise. A strong case can be made that at both Oslo and Camp David, Arafat went too far in accepting Israeli-created facts on the ground."
http://www.psqonline.org/cgi-bin/99_article.cgi?byear=2001&bmonth=summer&a=01free&format=view
- **The demise of the Oslo Process**, Joel Beinin, Middle East Report Online, March 26, 1999
"The Oslo negotiations did not occur because the PLO suddenly decided to pursue a diplomatic resolution to the conflict with Israel. The PLO had signaled its willingness to negotiate with Israel as early as the mid-1970s, but no Israeli government was interested in testing its intentions."
<http://www.merip.org/mero/mero032699.html>
- **The 94 Percent Solution, A Matrix of Control**, Jeff Halper, *Middle East Report*, No. 216, Fall 2000
"Since 1967, Israel has laid a matrix of control over the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Because the matrix operates by control and not by conquest, it enables Israel to offer a generous 94 percent of the West Bank, creating the illusion of a just and viable settlement. In fact, we are witnessing the emergence of an apartheid-style regime."
http://www.merip.org/mer/mer216/216_halper.html
- **Camp David and After: An Exchange**. These competing views of what happened at the Camp David summit in July 2000 and the ensuing Israeli-Palestinian crisis appeared in the New York Review of Books June 13 and June 27, 2002. They include: 1) An interview with Ehud Barak by Benny Morris, 2) Reply by Hussein Agha and Robert Malley, 3) Further comments by Morris, Barak, Agha, and Malley. <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/14380>

Settlements

QUESTIONS

1. Settlements have been a central issue of the conflict and of the peace negotiation process. What is your view of the settlements in Gaza, the West Bank and Jerusalem?
2. Was any information in the reading selections new to you? Did it give you a different perspective on the issue of settlements?
3. Can you articulate the Palestinian view on the settlements? The Israeli view?
4. The Fourth Geneva Convention has been cited as the basis for condemnation of the settlements. Do you think it applies to the settlement policies of Israel?
5. What needs to happen regarding the settlement issue to resolve the issue in a just way?

READINGS

- **Myths and Facts about Israeli Redeployments & Jewish Settlements**, Jewish Virtual Library, 2004 "MYTH: Israel is obligated to withdraw from 90% of Judea and Samaria during the three "Further Redeployments..."
http://www.us-israel.org/jsource/breaking/m&f_settlements.html
- **Land Grab: Israel's Settlement Policy in the West Bank**, B'Tselem, May 2002
"Israel has created in the Occupied Territories a regime of separation based on discrimination, applying two separate systems of law in the same area and basing the rights of individuals on their nationality. This regime is the only one of its kind in the world, and is reminiscent of apartheid in South Africa."
http://www.btselem.org/English/Publications/Summaries/Land_Grab_2002.asp
- **Israel Settlements in the Occupied Territories: A Guide**, Foundation for Middle East Peace, March 2002 "The Oslo agreements did not expressly prohibit expansion of settlements, but they did preserve the 'integrity and status' of the West Bank and Gaza Strip during the interim period. Nevertheless, settlement construction continued and the settler population doubled."
<http://www.fmep.org/reports/v8n6.html#anchor386430>
- **Middle East: The Sky's the Limit**, Dan Ephron, *Newsweek*, May 27, 2002
"In Ma'aleh Adumim, the largest settlement in the West Bank, the schools and health services are better and the houses are cheaper because of Israeli government subsidies. Israelis who move to the West Bank also get a 7 percent tax break. However you do the calculation, it doesn't add up to better peace prospects."
<http://www.peacenow.org/nia/news/ephron0502.html>
- **Israeli Settlements and International Law** (May 2001), Jewish Virtual Library, From Israeli Foreign Ministry Jewish settlement in West Bank and Gaza Strip territory has existed from time immemorial and was expressly recognised as legitimate in the Mandate for Palestine adopted by the League of Nations, which provided for the establishment of a Jewish state in the Jewish people's ancient homeland. Indeed, Article 6 of the Mandate provided as follows..."
<http://www.us-israel.org/jsource/Peace/settlelaw.html>

- **Israeli Settler Population Current and Projected** (1998-2005)
http://www.fmep.org/charts/chart9905_3.jpg
- **Settlements Now an Israeli Security Factor** Op-ed by George Hishmeh in The Daily Star (Beirut) based on interview with Geoffrey Aronson of the Foundation for Middle East Peace. Winston S. Churchill III, grandson of the famed British prime minister, recalled last October at the National Press Club here a telling encounter he had had in 1973 with the hawkish Ariel Sharon, now the Israeli prime minister, about Zionist objectives. “What is to become of the Palestinians?” Churchill asked. “We’ll make a pastrami sandwich of them,” Sharon said. Churchill responded, “What?” “Yes, we’ll insert a strip of Jewish settlements in between the Palestinians, and then another strip of Jewish settlements right across the West Bank, so that in 25 years’ time, neither the United Nations nor the United States, nobody, will be able to tear it apart.”
http://www.fmep.org/analysis/hishmeh_settlements_now_israeli_security_factor.html
- **Report on Israeli Settlement in the Occupied Territories**, Foundation for Middle East Peace, May-June 2004
<http://www.fmep.org/reports/2004/May-June/v14n3.html>



Palestinian Militant Groups and Suicide Bombings

QUESTIONS

1. In the era of the “war of terror”, Palestinian violence is roundly denounced in most quarters, by both Israelis and Palestinians. What are your views of Palestinian violence?
2. Is violence every justified as a form of armed resistance, as Hamas and others claim?
3. What are your views on the relationship between Palestinian violence and IDF force?
4. Many Palestinians, in their opposition to the security barrier, are trying to practice non-violent resistance but claim that the IDF reacts with excessive and sometimes deadly force. What are your thoughts?
5. What surprised you or changed your views from the reading selections?

READINGS

- **Hamas and Palestinian Nationalism**, Issam Aburaiya. Similar to the central role it played in the first intifada, (which erupted in December 1987), the Islamic Resistance Movement (known better by its Arabic acronym Hamas) has also been playing a central role in the second intifada (which erupted in September 2002). Its use of religious symbols and motives both constitute the igniting spark for the two intifadas and is today one of the main factors contributing to the continuation of the current intifada.”
<http://www.humanities.uci.edu/history/levineconference/papers/aburaiya.pdf>
- **Palestinian Arab Violations of President Bush's "Road Map" Plan**
A Survey of Week #31: November 25, 2003 - December 1, 2003
“On June 24, 2002, President Bush set forth the conditions that the Palestinian Arabs must fulfill in order to merit U.S. support for the creation of a Palestinian Arab state. Among the major obligations are that the Palestinian Arabs must “dismantle the terrorist infrastructure,”

"end incitement," "elect new leaders not compromised by terror," and unequivocally embrace democracy and free market economics. None of those conditions were fulfilled."
<http://www.zoa.org/pressrel2003/20031203a.htm>

- **Urgent Appeal to Stop Suicide Bombings**, (*Published in Al Quds newspaper on June 20, 2002*)
"We the undersigned feel that it is our national responsibility to issue this appeal in light of the dangerous situation engulfing the Palestinian people. We call upon the parties behind military operations targeting civilians in Israel to reconsider their policies and stop driving our young men to carry out these operations. Suicide bombings deepen the hatred and widen the gap between the Palestinian and Israeli people..."
<http://www.bitterlemons.org/docs/suicide.html>
- **A Near Death Experience**, Vered Levy-Barzilai, Haaretz, May 27, 2004
"While her co-bomber exploded himself in Rishon Letzion, Arin Ahmed was to wait nearby for the panicky people who would flee toward her, then detonate her bomb. Like Rasan who was to blow himself up in Tel Aviv, she never went through with her mission. Last week, the two were paid a visit in jail by none other than Defense Minister Benjamin Ben-Eliezer."
<http://www.haaretzdaily.com/hasen/pages/ShArt.jhtml?itemNo=178487>
- **Why Terrorism Works, Interview with Alan Dershowitz** by Suzy Hansen, Salon.com, September 12, 2002. "Alan Dershowitz says the world community opened the door to al-Qaida by rewarding Palestinian terrorists -- and makes the case for national I.D. cards and torture." <http://www.salon.com/books/int/2002/09/12/dershowitz/>
- **The Incommunicable Pain of Palestinian Terror**, Dr. Louis Rene Bares, Flame, Facts and Logic about the Middle East, The Jewish Press, August 29, 2003. "Perhaps the saddest and most loathsome aspect of Palestinian terror attacks on Israeli civilians lies, ultimately, in the general incommunicability of physical pain. While newspaper readers and television viewers around the world learn repeatedly about Arab explosions and bombs, about Jewish dead and wounded, they are never able to appreciate fully the true horror of Palestinian terrorism."
http://www.factsandlogic.org/outstanding_beres.html

The Security Barrier/Separation Wall

QUESTIONS

1. The construction of the barrier is deemed necessary by the Israeli government to control attacks against Israelis. What is your perspective on the barrier? What are the differing views of the barrier?
2. Some suggest that the barrier has started the third intifada and triggered a new round of protests by Palestinians. What has been the impact of the barrier? Does it provide security?
3. How have your views been affected by the information and perspectives in the readings?

READINGS

- **The Separation Wall – Separating Palestinians from their land**
Map of the Separation Wall
<http://www.gush-shalom.org/thewall/index.html>
<http://www.nad-plo.org/images/maps/pdf/northwest.pdf>
- **Fencing the Last Sky: Excavating Palestine after Israel's "Separation Wall"**, Peter Lagerquist, Journal of Palestine Studies, Issue 130 (Winter 2004). "Since 2002, the "Separation Fence" has emerged as Israel's most definitive effort at reshaping the West Bank to date. Surveying the project's genealogy, ideological underpinnings, and diplomatic context, the article maps its concomitant implications: the bantustanization of the West Bank and any Palestinian state on some 50 percent of the territory; the fragmentation of Palestinian society and economy; the expansion and consolidation of Israeli settlement; and the physical and "virtual" transfer that looms as its conclusion."
<http://palestine-studies.org/data/abstract-6071.html>
- **Anti-Apartheid Wall Fact Sheet: Negligence of International Law**, Nabil D. Baddour, MIFTAH, December 18, 2003
"Israel boasts a history decorated with defiance of international law and regulations, a tradition that remains today. Violations continue daily with the construction of the Separation Wall, amid hushed criticism from the international community. The most evident exploitation of Israel's breach of convention is the implementation of new borders within the West Bank, an occupied territory."
<http://www.miftah.org/Display.cfm?DocId=2872&CategoryId=4>
- **No Suicide Bombings = No Fence**, Yossi Alpher, Bitterlemons, 15/12/03
"If the Israeli public were persuaded that there would be no more suicide bombings, support for the fence would drop to near zero."
<http://www.bitterlemons.org/search.html>
- **Defensive Barriers**, AIPAC, 7/15/02 "With the Palestinian Authority having failed to put an end to terrorism, Israel is taking matters into its own hands by constructing a system of security fences to prevent terrorists from crossing into Israel."
<http://www.aipac.org/result.cfm?id=1352>




Refugees and the Right of Return

QUESTIONS

1. The right of return is one of the most important issues in the final status negotiations. Palestinians assert that it is a right guaranteed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Many Israelis claim that granting the right of return would destroy the Jewish character of the Israeli state. What are your views of the right of return?
2. What would constitute a just solution to this issue, from your perspective?
3. What new information and perspectives did you glean from the readings? Did anything you read change your views on the right of return?

READINGS

- **Amnesty International, "Right to Return: The Case of the Palestinians**
"The right to return to one's own country is a key human rights principle enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Amnesty International advocates the right to return regardless of the circumstances in which people have been exiled."
<http://web.amnesty.org/library/Index/engMDE150132001?OpenDocument&of=COUNTRIES%5CISRAEL%5COCCUPIED+TERRITORIES>
- **Palestinian Refugees and the Right of Return: An International Law Analysis**, Badil Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, Badil Information and Discussion Brief No. 8, January 2001 
"Historically speaking, the right of return had achieved customary status in international law by 1948 and hence was legally binding upon all states. UN Resolution 194 relating to Palestinian refugees simply reaffirmed this international legal principle."
<http://www.badil.org/Publications/Briefs/Brief8.pdf>
- **Opening the Debate on the Right of Return**, Sari Hanafi, *Middle East Report*, No. 222, Spring 2002
"Israeli discourse on Palestinian return psychologizes the conflict: there are a lot of writings about Israeli anxieties and about the Palestinian hater. The major concern is demography: how returnees would disorder the colonial legacy of expulsions."
http://www.merip.org/mer/mer222/222_hanafi.html
- **Dis/Solving the Refugee Problems**, Rosmary Sayigh, *Middle East Report*, No. 207, Summer 1998 "Israeli power, U.S. backing, Palestinian weakness, Arab complicity -- these are the basic ingredients for a coercive settlement of the 'refugee problem' based not on refugees' rights but on their disappearance."
<http://www.merip.org/mer/mer207/dissolv.html>
- **The Refugees, Myths and Facts on Line**, Mitchell G. Bard, Jewish Virtual Library, 2004.
<http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/myths/mf14.html>
- **Do Palestinian Refugees Have a Right to Return to Israel?** Ruth Lapidot, Jewish Virtual Library, 2004
"In the media and in interviews with Palestinian leaders, we often hear and read statements asserting that the Palestinian Refugees have a right to return to Israel. As will be shown, these statements are based on an erroneous reading of the relevant texts."
<http://www.us-israel.org/jsource/Peace/refreturn.html>
- **The Right of Return Revisited, The Connection**, 7/23/03, NPR Audio Broadcast with guests Shibley Telhami, Bennie Morris, and Gaber Suliman,
http://www.theconnection.org/shows/2003/07/20030723_a_main.asp
- **The Palestinian Right of Return**, Uri Avnery, *The Ethnical Spectacle*, February 2001.
"We Israelis need a scarecrow to frighten ourselves, one frightening enough to pump adrenaline into our national bloodstream. Otherwise, it seems, we cannot function."
<http://www.spectacle.org/0201/return.html>

- **The 'Big Lie' Tactic- The Palestinian Right of Return**, Evelyn Gordon, Jerusalem Post, Tuesday, January 16 2001 “One of the most surprising developments of the past few weeks has been the support expressed by many ordinary Americans and Europeans for the "right of return" of Palestinian refugees to Israel. What is surprising about this proposition, put forth in numerous letters and opinion pieces published in the press recently, is that it accords Palestinians a "right" enjoyed by virtually no other refugees in history.”
<http://www.jpost.com/Editions/2001/01/16/Opinion/Opinion.19564.html>
- **The Palestinian Right of Return**, ADC Issue Paper 30, Ali Abunimeh and Hussein Ibish,
http://www.adc.org/issue_papers/ror/issuepaper30.PDF
- **Right of Return Revisited, A New Poll Misleads, National Review Online**, Max Abrahms, August 13, 2003 “Rarely do pollsters make waves like the Ramallah-based political scientist, Khalil Shikaki, who announced last month that the greatest obstacle to Israeli -Palestinian peace - the so-called Palestinian “right of return” to Israel – has been lifted.”
<http://www.nationalreview.com/comment/comment-abrahms081303.asp>
- **What Next**, Professor Sari Nusseibeh, Haaretz English Edition 9/24/01 “What can a level headed person among us (be he/she Jewish or Arab) see as a future prospect to the escalating bloody events in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict? This is a question all of us (whether we be levelheaded or aspire to be so) must consider patiently and detachedly.”
http://www.shaml.org/ground/Nusseibeh/sari_nuss/What_Next.htm

Other Final Status Issues

- **Jerusalem in Danger**, Will Jerusalem Be Divided? Zionist Organization of America.
http://www.zoa.org/pubs/Jerusalem_book.pdf
- **'Spartheid' in Jerusalem**, Dr. Menachem Klein, Foundation for Middle East Peace. “Enveloping Jerusalem is an attractive line for Israel since it is built on the Zionist ethos of 'taking our fate into our own hands', undertaking unilateral action and creating facts on the ground in accordance with exclusive Israeli interests. This ethos has an enormous attraction in Israel and it has only been strengthened by the assumption, a wrong one in my view, that 'there is no partner for a peace arrangement' or that ‘there is nobody to talk to.’”
http://www.fmep.org/analysis/klein_spartheid_in_jerusalem.html
- **Voice of the 'Wrecking Ball': Interview with Israeli Historian Avi Shlaim** by Don Atapattu, The Palestine Chronicle, May 13, 2004. “Avi Shlaim’s perspectives on the ongoing crisis in the Middle East are possibly more salient than most being both Jewish and an Israeli, but whose family origins are ethnically Iraqi. Indeed, the whole history of his whole life has been inextricably linked with the Arab-Israeli conflict; and has witnessed dramatic changes in fortune in direct relation to events in the Middle East as a whole.”
<http://www.palestinechronicle.com/story.php>

- **Water - A Dehydrating Predicament**, MIFTAH, February 23, 2004
 ”While perhaps one of the less dramatic aspects of the Middle East conflict, water is definitely one of particular importance, serving as a strategic imperative and major concern for the parties involved, in particular for the state of Israel, throughout the history of the conflict. “
<http://www.miftah.org/Display.cfm?DocId=3184&CategoryId=4>

II. Focus on the Future: Prospects for Peace

QUESTIONS

1. The Nusseibeh/Ayalon principles is an attempt to get both the Israeli and Palestinian publics to support principles of peace in order to move the leaders to a peace agreement. What do you think of the People’s Voice principles? What will it take to get the Israeli and Palestinian “street” to support such principles? What are some areas of controversy in the principles?
2. The Geneva Accords were an attempt to move the momentum of the Taba negotiations to a final status agreement. What are your views of the Geneva Accords? What do you like about the specific agreements? What are your concerns?
3. Some have expressed concern that the “facts on the ground”, including the massive settlements in the West Bank, the network of Israeli highways, and the economic and strategic interests on the part of Israel make it almost impossible to create a viable Palestinian state. What are your views? What new perspectives do you have as a result of reading the materials on one state/two state solutions?
4. Many people have said that there is significant consensus about what a final peace agreement would look like. What is lacking is the political will to accomplish a peace agreement. What are your views? What can the members of the public do to advance peace? What can concerned Americans and others outside of Israel and the Palestinian territories do to advance peace?

READINGS



The People’s Voice

- **The Peoples' Voice: Nusseibeh-Ayalon Peace Agreement:**
<http://www.fmep.org/analysis/nusseibeh-ayalon-agreement.html>
- **Briefing by Sari Nusseibeh and Ami Ayalon, Sponsors of "The People's Voice" Peace Initiative**, December 12, 2003.
http://www.fmep.org/documents/briefing_Nusseibeh-Ayalon_12-12-03.html



The Geneva Accords

- **Geneva Accord:** Text of detailed unofficial "virtual" peace agreement negotiated by prominent Israeli and Palestinians politicians and leaders and made public in October 2003.
http://www.fmep.org/documents/Geneva_Accord.html
- **The Geneva Accord - Open Forum** with Yossi Beilin, Yasser Abd Rabbo and other Drafters, Washington, D.C., 12/3/03.
<http://www.fmep.org/documents/index.html>
- **Geneva Accord - P.A. Selling Out Palestinian Rights?** Haithem El-Zabri, MIFTAH, October 20, 2003
The Palestinian Authority has given its blessing to a "symbolic peace treaty" reached in Switzerland between mid-level Palestinian officials and Israeli opposition leaders. In the so-called "Geneva Accord," the negotiators outline what they see as the necessary compromises for peace between Israel and the Palestinians.
<http://www.miftah.org/Display.cfm?DocId=2563&CategoryId=21>



The Road Map

- **The "ROAD MAP":** Proposal for 'Final and Comprehensive Settlement' to Middle East Conflict, May 1, 2003.
<http://www.fmep.org/documents/index.html>
- **Road Map or Road Kill?** Rashid Khalidi, The Nation, June 9, 2003. "Apparently having learned nothing from the collapse of earlier efforts, the mainly American drafters of the road map included several features that almost guarantee its failure. One is the absence of a fixed timetable. Thus either party (in practice the Israelis, if the past is any indication) can hold up movement from stage to stage and within each stage."
<http://www.thenation.com/doc.mhtml?i=20030609&s=khalidi>
- **The Palestinians are being asked to accept only 22% of Palestine for their state while Israel keeps 78%,** Myths and Facts Online, Mitchell Bard, Jewish Virtual Library. "The government of Israel has agreed to a two-state solution to the conflict with the Palestinians. Once Israel agreed to give the Palestinians the independence they say they want, they shifted their complaint to the size of the state they were being offered."
<http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/myths/mf24.html>
- **From Unilateralism to Multilateralism: Suggestions to Rescue Middle East Peace,** Hanan Ashrawi, MIFTAH, April 24, 2004
"In one fell blow, US President George W. Bush, having carried out a revolutionary reversal in American policy towards the Middle East, "succeeded" in subverting not only the road map, but any prospects for peace in the region. By lending legitimacy to the Israeli occupation's lawlessness and violations of international law, the US has ultimately negated

UN resolutions, including 194, 242, 338, 1397, international humanitarian law, and all other legal foundations on which a viable and just peace must be based.”
<http://www.miftah.org/Display.cfm?DocId=3734&CategoryId=1>



One State or Two State Solution

- **The End of Zionism**, Avraham Burg, The Guardian The Guardian, Monday, September 15, 2003. “The Zionist revolution has always rested on two pillars: a just path and an ethical leadership. Neither of these is operative any longer. The Israeli nation today rests on a scaffolding of corruption, and on foundations of oppression and injustice.”
<http://www.fmep.org/reports/2004/May-June/v14n3.html>
- **Is a Two State Solution Still Viable?** Middle East Policy Council, Capitol Hill Conference Series on U.S. Middle East Policy, Speakers: Stephen P. Cohen, Michael Hudson, Nathan Guttman, Khalil E. Jahshan, April 11, 2003. “...the question we're here to talk about today is whether the two-state solution is an idea whose time has come or whether it is an idea whose time has passed. And if the latter, what alternatives may there be short of protracted efforts by each side to annihilate the other and to carry out ethnic cleansing against the other within the Holy Land.”
http://www.mepc.org/public_asp/forums_chcs/32.asp
- **Two States, Not Necessarily**, M.J. Rosenberg, Israel Policy Forum, Foundation for Middle East Peace, June 20, 2003.
“There are many bits of conventional wisdom surrounding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Among the most common is the belief that it ultimately will end in a two-state solution. Prime Minister Sharon's endorsement of a Palestinian state - the first time that any Israeli prime minister has formally endorsed the two-state solution - has confirmed the idea that, sooner or later, President Bush's vision of "two states, Israel and Palestine, living side by side in security and peace" will be realized.”
http://www.fmep.org/analysis/rosenberg_two_states_not_necessarily.html
- **Israelis, Palestinians, and the Search for Peace**: lecture by Naomi Chazan, Deputy Speaker of the Israeli Knesset, given in Washington, 11/08/02. *Naomi Chazan, Deputy Speaker of the Israeli Knesset and a member of the Meretz Party, delivered the following lecture in Washington on October 8, 2002 sponsored by the Foundation for Middle East Peace.* I start with two caveats: I am a voice of the opposition in Israel to the left of the national unity government. We are trying very hard to promote an alternative approach to extricate ourselves from the present situation. That is the first caveat.
http://www.fmep.org/analysis/chazan_search_for_peace.html

UN DOCUMENTS

UN General Assembly Resolution 181, November 29, 1947.

UN General Assembly Resolution 194, December 11, 1948.

UN Security Council Resolution 242, November 22, 1967.

UN Security Council Resolution 338, October 22, 1973.

<http://www.fmep.org/documents/index.html>

INTERNET RESOURCES

Israeli Palestinian Conflict Internet Resources, Duke University

Comprehensive list of internet resources, including news resources, international organizations & the Israel/Palestine conflict, government agencies and political groups, maps, human rights, news agencies & online publications, peace organizations, NGOs, institutes, history, arts & culture

http://www.lib.duke.edu/ias/mideast/me_palestine.htm

MideastWeb

www.mideastweb.org

Bitterlemons

Bitterlemons.org is a website that presents Israeli and Palestinian viewpoints on prominent issues of concern. Readers can obtain a free subscription by entering their email address in the space provided on the home page or by writing to subscribehtml@bitterlemons.org (for the HTML version) or subscribetext@bitterlemons.org (for the text version).

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