

The One State versus Two State Solution

A Presentation by Marian Kromkowski

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The One State versus Two State Solution: Why the Latter is No Solution At All

Our organization in Northern Michigan, Mideast: Just Peace shows films and brings in speakers on Palestine on a monthly basis. www.nrec.org/justpeace We strive to counter the US media's take on the conflict in the Middle East. Our goal is to provide a voice to the Palestinian resistance, to oppositional Israelis and/or Jews and to residents of this country who do not agree with this government's unfettered support for Israel. I belong to the last group. I am a US citizen. I am married to a Jewish man, so half of my family is Jewish. I have made a choice to speak out on the issue of Palestine. I do so because I am outraged by what I know my country has done to support and encourage the continued enslavement of the Palestinian people. I must admit that at times I feel like a solitary voice out there in the North Country. But I am also continually amazed at the level of support for the Palestinian cause. Here in the US support is strongest among people who have personal knowledge of the situation. It is also strong among people who listen to the stories of others who have personal knowledge. It is strong among those who are curious and commit themselves to getting more answers than those provided by the US media. I have not been to Palestine, but many in our area have traveled there with the Michigan Peace Team, the International Solidarity Movement and other organizations. They come back and share information. When we do not have speakers with personal accounts, we use movies to open people's eyes.

One of the films we sponsored this past year was “*Crossing the Lines*”. In this documentary Leah Green of the Compassionate Listening Project compiled dozens of interviews of Palestinians and Israelis from a number of political and religious backgrounds. The lament of Daniel Seaman from the Israeli Government Press Office rang especially true for me. He says of the Palestinians:

“They are not looking for a solution, they are looking for justice and when you look for justice there are no compromises.”

He is correct. “No Justice/No Peace” is not just another chant. It is the key to the solution.

The Two-State Solution is not just. It is no solution to the turmoil in historic Palestine because at its core it is it does not undo any wrongs. It is unjust because it is premised on the continued acceptance of the Zionist claim to at least three quarters, if not all, of Palestine as being the exclusive land of the Jews. It is fundamentally flawed as it denies Palestinians the Right of Return; it abandons the Palestinians living within Israel; it does not provide Palestinians any semblance of an independent sovereign state and it allows the US to maintain its role as the main imperialist occupier of the entire Middle East.

In 1939 the MacDonald White Paper commissioned by the British government recognized that two states would not work. Regarding a partition, it forewarned of

“a fatal enmity between the two peoples” and the situation in Palestine becoming **“a permanent source of friction amongst all peoples in the Near and Middle East....”**

How much different history could have been if this White Papers’ recommendation of

“[the establishment of an independent State] one in which Arabs and Jews share in government in such a way as to ensure that the essential interests of each community are safeguarded ...” had been embraced.

We all know that history took another course. Let’s review some facts:

In 1947 the Partition Plan imposed the first of the two-state solutions upon historic Palestine.

- **It provided for a Jewish State on 56.4% of Palestine.¹**
- **In 1947 70% of the population of Mandate Palestine was Arab.²**
- **Jews owned only 7% of the land.³**
- **Within the Jewish State on 56% of the land there were to be some 407,000 Palestinians.**

Moving into 1947-1948 we see Zionist fighters using military force and terror to capture 22% more of historic Palestine and to drive out some 750,000 Palestinians. The result was the creation of the State of Israel on 78% of historic Palestine.⁴

In 1967, Israel occupied the remaining 22% of Palestine.⁵

In many respects since 1948 the discussion of a Palestinian state has revolved around the allocation and division of this remaining 22%.

So what is wrong with a Palestinian State on 22% of historic Palestine? I will speak to seven of the reasons.

Number 1: The Two-State Solution validates the Zionist claim to exclusive possession of 78% of Palestine.

Israel's political and legal structures are predisposed towards benefiting Jews. This type of religious preference is foreign to US political discourse. Our country was founded on the fundamental concept of separation of church and state. Continued acceptance of a religious state holds Israel to a lower standard than Americans expect of themselves. According to the latest Census, the United States is 75% "white". However, there are few proponents of preserving America's "white character". Yet, its Israeli equivalent is repeated time and time again. Does it really represent some "sweet ideal" or does it describe a racist and backwards expression of ultra-nationalism?

Maintaining a "Jewish State" and continuing the Zionist Project cements the erasure of the true history of the creation of Israel. It ignores the devastation to the indigenous Palestinian. It cloaks a colonizer's claim to land and resources as legitimate.

In preparation for this talk, I came across Walid Khalidi's introduction to "*Before the Diaspora*" He alludes to these historical distortions at play. His words exemplify the seriousness of "No Justice/No Peace". His comments on the nature of the relationship between Palestine and history as follows:

"The parties to the conflict tend to be deeply immersed in the history of their struggle. The injustices and their origins overwhelm the oppressed more than they do the oppressor. The intensity and duration of this feeling is affected by several factors: the nature of the injustice that was inflicted, the attitudes of other parties toward the injustice, and, finally, the conduct of the oppressor after it committed the injustice." Khalidi continues: **"In the case of the Palestinians—the wronged party in their conflict with the Zionists—we find these factors have combined to perpetuate and increase the weight of the millstone of history."**

Elevating the anti-Zionist struggle to the forefront will light the path and the way forward will become more clear. It is hypocritical to decry the challenge to the "Jewish character" posed by a one-state solution when the essence of the Zionist project itself is and was to destroy the indigenous "Arab character". American proponents of the preservation of the "Jewish character" of the state of Israel are in essence opponents of integration. As such, Zionism is analogous to racism. Capitulation to racism has had its price. Deference to Zionism has and will continue to have tragic consequences. Putting off this struggle will only delay it. Will Zionism just wither away under the demographic forecast of there being a Palestinian majority by the year 2015? Given the past and current Zionist practice, that is unlikely. Peace, justice or security in the area will not materialize if Israel continues to deny its racism and its violent past. Nor will there be peace, justice or security for anyone if Israel adheres to its exclusivist religious nature. As activists, we must acknowledge, understand and deal with the fact that this is the proverbial "nut to be cracked". The Zionists themselves recognize the soft-underbelly of the validity of the

State of Israel. This past summer the 34th World Zionist Congress called for the drafting of legislation making anti-Zionism a crime.⁶

Let's compare this struggle to South Africa and the anti-Apartheid/anti-racist movement. More than 5 million settlers of European origin lived in South Africa for generations. Those of us old enough to have been involved in the US anti-apartheid struggle do not recall any defender of the indigenous South African population of that country advocating a two-state solution. No one called for a European state along a demilitarized, subordinate African state. Why? Because it would have meant the continuation of dependant Bantustans. It would have been a mockery of self-determination and justice for the indigenous South Africans.

The South African struggle is not completed. However, its successes are due in large part to its uncompromising stand against the racist/Apartheid system. Similar to the South African example, a solution for Palestinians must include the elimination of the fuel that flames the conflict. That fuel is not a religious conflict between Jews and Muslims. It is a conflict that is fueled by the existence of a *Zionist* Israeli state based on religious exclusivity and colonial expansionist practices. Prior to the beginning of the Zionist project, Palestine had a history of peaceful coexistence between people of diverse ethnicities and religions. Zionism is an aberration of Judaism. Palestine should return to being a home for all: Jews, Christians and Muslims: one democratic secular state for all with equal rights without regard to race, religion, ethnicity or sex.

Another example of a rejection of a type of two-state solution can be found in the United States and its continued struggle against segregation. Prior to 1954 separate public schools for black and whites were legal, if they were equal. The United State Supreme Court ruled this to be unconstitutional in the case of Brown v The Board of Education. The Court stated:

“To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their heart and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone.

The court further noted: **The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the negro group.”**

So far, there have not been any configurations of two-states side by side based on a fair and/or equal division of land, resources and authority put on the table. However, even if fair and equitable division could be achieved, there is a serious problem with a division that gives the *color of law* to a preference to a religious group who obtained the land in the way it did. Would we accept a lawful division along the terms of race in this country given this country's historical exploitation of African-Americans? Both of those examples provide cover to ideologies that should be rejected: the ideologies of Zionism and racism respectively.

In Israeli society, the history of the region is distorted and contorted. Israeli historian Ilan Pappé notes as follows:

“In the collective Israeli memory there are two 1948’s: one is totally erased and one is totally glorified.”⁷

I would add that many in the US only know this version of history. Therefore, we have a formidable task ahead of us.

The Zionist underpinnings of the conflict must be understood and confronted. Ideas do not just float around in the atmosphere. Ideas lead to actions. Both Jews and Palestinians have been the victims of ethnic cleansing. In both cases and in all cases of ethnic cleansing there are ideas that precede the acts. You do not have to read much Zionist writings without understanding that Zionism embodies the concept of an exclusively Jewish state.⁸

What then goes hand in hand with this principle is the goal of removing non-Jews, to wit the Palestinians from all of historic Palestine. The act whether it is called euphemistically “transfer”, or more graphically ethnic cleansing or more precisely genocide is what is happening today. Doctrines of separation lead to doctrines of genocide.

The next three reasons confront serious logistical problems with the Two State Solution. Consistently under any proposed Two State Solution, the Palestinians have a minimal amount of land, but no real control over the land and, hence, no real sovereignty.

Number 2: A Palestinian State on 22% of the land is ecologically unfeasible.

The State of Israel includes the coastal regions and the most fertile lands. The Palestinians are left mainly with mountainous and arid regions. For example, in Gaza, 5,000 Israeli settlers, comprising less than 1% of the population control 40% of the fertile land. The 1.2 million Palestinians, comprising 99% of Gaza get the rest.

Israel has also insisted upon control of the water. Control of water erodes the basics of national sovereignty. Let’s look at the facts:

- **Israel uses or diverts 85% of the water available in the West Bank.**
- **The Western Aquifer, in the western section of the West Bank, supplies approximately 40% of Israel’s agricultural waters and almost 50% of its drinking waters.**
- **Over 80% of the withdrawals from the Mountain Aquifer, which lies underneath the center of West Bank, go to Israel or Israeli settlements.**
- **In Gaza, the 5,000 settlers comprise less than 1% of the population, but use 60% of the drinking water.**
- **In the West Bank, the settlers represent approximately 10% of the, but use some 37% of the water. This leaves the remaining 63% for the 1.9 million Palestinians.**
- **The settlers use on average 600 liters of water each day.**
- **Palestinian water usage does not even meet the World Health Organization’s minimum daily standard of 100 liters.**

- **Daily per capita water use in Israel amounts to 350 liters, while the average Palestinian only uses 70 liters per day. If you include industrial usage of water, Israeli usage is 5 times higher than Palestinian.**
- **Since October of 2002 there has been a ban of Palestinians drilling new wells. Of the 750 Palestinian wells existing prior to 1967, less than 1/2 are still functioning.**
- **26% of Palestinian West Bank cities area not connected to water systems. (some 150 villages) They get there water from rainfall, springs or water tankers. Tankers get stopped at checkpoints and often do not get through. Prices are often different for Palestinians and Israeli settlers. It is estimated that Palestinians spend as much as 39% of their household income on water purchases.⁹**

A further exploitation of water and arable land can be seen in the building of the Separation/Apartheid Wall. Israel is constructing a wall along the entire 220 mile length of the West Bank. It is estimated that the Wall and its surrounding areas will encompass some 10% of the West Bank. Current projections also include enclosures on the east side of the West Bank. Thousands of Palestinians will be separated from the land and water resources by this Wall. In just the first phase of the Wall, access to 30 groundwater wells has been lost. Already over 35,000 meters of pipes have been destroyed in preparation for construction of the wall.¹⁰

In addition to the allocation of water issues, there are pollution issues. The Israeli settlements and industries are mostly located on hilltops. They have already created an environmental nightmare. The settlements have been dumping untreated sewage and wastewater into the valleys below. According to a 1997 study, settlers were 6 times more polluting than the Palestinians. The some 200 Israeli industries in 7 industrial zones in the West Bank dump untreated industrial effluents onto Palestinian streams and agricultural land.

Given the current level of destruction, the exploitation of a scarce resource and Israel's insistence to sovereignty over these subterranean resources what are the chances of water resources being equitably shared between two power-imbalanced states?

Number 3. Non-contiguous enclaves do not provide sovereignty. The current map of the Occupied Territories reveals that sovereignty is logistically impossible to realize.

22% is no longer 22%. The territories are no longer contiguous. Again, let's look at the facts "on the ground".

- **There are now nearly 200 settlements. This does not include the many one to 20 person outposts. Some 383,000 settlers and the Jewish only bypass roads take up between 5 to 12% of the land.^{11,12}**
- **The Wall will encompass 10% of the land.**
- **If 22% has been reduced by approximately 20%. Palestinians end up with 17.6% of Historic Palestine.¹³**

These land based obstacles impact an individual's liberty and his/her pursuit of basic happiness. They also seriously compromise the coherent flow of people and goods between the major Palestinian towns. Such a "road map" severely restricts the urban, political, economic and social development of a sovereign state.

Number 4. Continued Israeli control of airspace and a demilitarized Palestinian State destroys self rule for Palestinians.

Control of land, control of underground resources, control of movement, control of economy would appear to be enough to render impotent any developing sovereign state. However, there are still two other dimensions that makes a state side by side with Israel unworkable. Israel maintains that it shall control the airspace over any Palestinian State. It also insists that any form of Palestinian State shall be demilitarized.

A report compiled by Eyal Weizman concludes that Israel already has the ability to monitor everything that goes on in the Occupied Territories.¹⁴ They use unmanned air vehicles, aerial reconnaissance jets, early warning Hawkeye planes, and Earth-Observation Image Satellite images to gather most signals out of the air. Weizman reports that since the beginning of the current Intifada, the Israeli Air Force has put in thousands of flight hours gathering piles of information and then disseminating the information to different intelligence agencies. This methodology is then used by the Israelis in their targeted assassinations. Control of the airspace guarantees that everything can be monitored, policed or destroyed from the air.

A demilitarized Palestine along side the third most powerful military force in the world creates an almost incomprehensible power imbalance. Military power does not always determine the outcome of events. But given the vast array of weaponry, including nuclear arms and chemical weapons, living in a small, disjointed demilitarized state next to such a superpower would pose a difficult challenge to any developing sovereign state.¹⁵

Number 5. A Two State Solution does not allow for the Right of Return.

Denial of Right of Return again gives the seal of approval to the Zionist claim that Palestine is the exclusive land of the Jews. UN Mediator Bernadotte stated in 1948 that

“it would be an offense against the principles of elemental justice if these innocent victims of the conflict were denied the right to return to their homes while Jewish immigrants flow into Palestine.”

Later in 1948 the UN General Assembly adopted Resolution 194 calling for the return of the refugees. Resolution 194 has been affirmed practically every year since 1948.¹⁶

Currently there are just under 4 million Palestinian refugees registered with the United Nations. This is the largest and most longstanding refugee problem in the world. Dr. Salman Abu Sitta and others have done tremendous work in documenting the feasibility of the actual return on the refugees.¹⁷

The expulsion of the Palestinians in 1947-1948 and again in 1967 and the subsequent denial of the Right of Return are three historical events that have made an indelible mark on the Palestinian community. Could there be a remedy short of the Right of Return? Perhaps, but not without the full consent of the Palestinian people.

If the Right of Return is not won with respect to all of historic Palestine and is limited solely to the Occupied Territories, there is not enough room on the approximate 22% to humanely and environmentally accommodate all Palestinians. Approximately 3.5 million Palestinians live in the Occupied Territories. That figure is expected to increase to almost 5 million by 2010. The population density of the Occupied Territories is already 4 times greater compared to that of Israel. As a further reference point, Israel's population was less than 5 million in 1990 and Israel is 3 times as large as the Occupied Territories. If the almost 4 million Palestinian refugees living elsewhere wish return to this 22%, that density will only increase.

Number 6: The Two-State solution does not address the rights of the nearly 1 million Palestinians living in Israel.

Generally Israeli citizens can be divided into three groups: Religious Jews who have full civil rights, without all the responsibilities; second-class citizenship for secular Jews and third class citizenship for all non-Jews, primarily Palestinians.

There are two main examples of laws that directly discriminate against Palestinian Arabs by distinguishing between Jews and non-Jews:

- **Citizenship Rights & the Law of Return:**

National identity is the main factor in deciding the acquisition of citizenship in Israel. The Law of Return grants every Jew the right to immigrate to Israel. The Nationality Law automatically grants citizenship to all Jews who have done so. This privilege is for Jews only. Palestinian Arabs can only get citizenship by birth, residence or naturalization. Statistics show that 77% of the Israeli settler population was born not in Palestine/Israel but in Europe or America. The Law of Return means that my husband whose mother was Jewish has the right to become a citizen of Israel. Through him, I and our three daughters can become citizens of Israel. I, who have no connection to the land or history of the area, can go and live in any of the formerly Palestinian towns. Descendants of Palestinians in this country, whose families were forced out in 1948 and/or then again displaced in 1967, do not have this same right. This is the kind of absurd reality that confronts us today.

- **Special Status of Jewish Organizations:**

The Jewish National Fund, Jewish Agency, and World Zionist Organization have special constitutional status in Israel and are known as quasi-governmental bodies. These Jewish organizations explicitly aim to benefit Jews only. They also have authority for certain governmental functions, including developing the land and housing projects and settlements. Jewish neighborhoods will undoubtedly have running water, sewer systems, and money for roads. Palestinian neighborhoods often do not. No comparable government organization

performs the same functions for non-Jews. Consequently, Palestinian needs are systematically disregarded. For many years, Arab municipalities received less than half of the government subsidies Jewish municipalities were handed. 50% of Palestinian children living in Israel live under the poverty line. 50% of all children living in poverty in Israel are Palestinian, even though they represent only 20% of the population. [Ruth Sinai, Ha'aretz, 20 December 2000] It is estimated that only one half of 1% of the Trade and Industry Ministry's budget goes to 20% Palestinian segment of Israel society.

There is also widespread indirect discrimination against Palestinians. Those who serve in the military get government preferences. They include larger mortgages, partial exemptions from course fees, and preferences for public employment and housing. The Palestinians generally do not serve in the military and do not receive these benefits. A Two-State Solution relegates Palestinian citizens of Israel to third class status.¹⁸

Number 7. The current Two-State Solution guarantees continued US Occupation of the Middle East.

There is the visible control over the occupied territories by Israel now. The Two-State Solution does not provide any solution to the refugee problem, does not provide any relief to the Palestinian minority in Israel and does not allow for any real sovereignty in the Palestinian State.

The Two-State Solution also continues the not always visible, not so readily obvious US imperialist control over the region. It is the US government that has stalled progress toward a just peace. It is convenient for the US that there also exist willing partners in this scheme: the Zionists and Arab governments that afraid of their own people and are willing to collaborate with the US. These remarks will focus on the US/Israel connection.

Discussing this Zionist-Colonialist and Imperialist aspect of these issues with persons raised in this country is most difficult. Even with well educated folks it is hard because the analysis of the history of the Israeli/US/Palestinian conflict is a never ending struggle between facts and myths. Large segments of the US public have views sympathetic to Israel. They buy into the pervasive US media coverage that the Palestinians in the summer of 2000 rejected the "most generous Israeli offer ever made about peace".¹⁹ Many US residents also accept that but for Palestinian recalcitrance and deceit, the dispute could have been solved numerous times in the past.

Usually some personal experience is necessary to shatter this distorted historical charade. With such an event, some get to the point of questioning and doubting the standard explanations. But that really is not enough. A thorough serious study of history is necessary. With that life long project, some get to the point of lifting the "veil of ignorance" and then understanding a different reality. Some then get the courage to speak out or write on the topic so that principled discussion can be held. The reality shared here is one wherein the US has a strategic interest in forever continuing this conflict.

In *Fateful Triangle* Noam Chomsky describes the US and Israeli rejectionist stance toward peace in the Middle East. Ilan Pappé is another historian that should be explored. Ilan

Pappe spoke at a Palestine Solidarity Movement Conference in Ann Arbor, Michigan this past fall. He described the peace process as being an “American game.” The Israelis play, the “peace camp” in Israel plays, after 1988 the Palestinian National Council joined the game and peace activists that focus merely on ending the occupation play this game. In short the “American game” is the concept of the “peace process”. In this game, the process is more important than peace. The current “Road Map” is a continuation of this process. The process avoids peace and/or justice at all cost.

Why has the US chosen a never ending “peace process” as opposed to working toward or even enforcing a solution? The “peace process” maintains the US occupation of the region. It keeps in place the Israeli army as a US proxy army and makes money for the arms industry. A just solution would challenge the US imperialist role in the area.

The Arab Peninsula is one of the most strategically important areas in the world. Its importance is related to oil and the enormous power that flows to the global power that controls the oil. The US makes huge profits off its control of oil. In order for this to continue, it is essential that this control and the profits from it stay in the hands of the US and not in the hands of the indigenous people. It has been the stated US foreign policy since 1958 to support Israel as the only “pro-Western power left in the Middle East” against the growing rise in Arab nationalism. Any type of Arab nationalism or socialist thought must be stopped.

Matt Bowles of SUSTAIN (Stop US Tax Funded Aid to Israel Now) wrote a concise explanation of the special role between the US and Israel.²⁰ Bowles points out that Israel receives on average 1/3 of the entire US foreign aid budget despite the fact that it comprises less than .001 of the world’s population. Some \$100 billion has been provided to Israel since 1949. However, it is important to understand that 99% of this was given after 1967. At that point in history Israel and Iran (under the Shah) became “strategic assets” to play the part of a “regional superpowers”. The US groomed Israel to be a “military stronghold, a client state and a proxy army” not only to help the US police the Middle East, but to protect US interests elsewhere in the world. Aid increased significantly from 24 million in 1967, to 634 million in 1971 to 2.6 billion in 1974.

60% of aid to Israel is earmarked as military aid. The majority of that aid must be used to purchase arms from US firms. Stephen Zunes, an associate professor at the University of San Francisco, argues that that Aerospace Industry Association is even more influential in determining US foreign policy toward Israel than AIPAC (American Israeli Public Affairs Committee).²¹ **Fn 21**

For all practical purposes Israel is virtually a US military base. It provides training for US forces confronted with “asymmetrical warfare” (also known as unarmed or underarmed civilian resistance). Israel is closely integrated with the militarized US high-tech economy.

In short, the US will not allow any solution that solves the conflict. No conflict means removing the cover for a large proxy army in the region. It means a reduction in arms sales to not only Israel but the surrounding Arab countries.

Continued conflict maintains control. Continued conflict is profitable.

Conclusion:

As the United States readies to reveal the contents of the newest “*Road Map*” it is imperative to critically analyze whether anything offered by the United States is truly designed to implement a just and equitable resolution to the almost century long conflict in historic Palestine. Unless the solution addresses the essential underlying bases for the conflict, to wit, Zionism and imperialism it is doomed to failure. Unless the solution provides for a state based modern definitions of secular democracy and sovereignty, there will be continuation of Occupation, albeit under another name. One, democratic, secular Palestine encompassing all the historic territory of Palestine is consistent with a just and lasting solution. It retrieves the true history of Palestine—a history of peaceful coexistence between people of diverse ethnicities and religions.

FOOTNOTES, OTHER ARTICLES AND RELATED WEB SITES

References below to *Maps Part 1 and Part 2* can be found at *Palestine-Israel Conflict In Maps (Part I and Part 2)* Prepared by Sami Deeb April 2002, available at <http://www.onepalestine.org/>

Selected articles of the One State versus Two State Solution:

The One State Solution The only thing that Israelis have to give up is their racism

An Open Letter to Zionists: by Henry H. Lindner, MD
http://globalist.org/world_regions/asia/palestine-israel/020419_one_state_solution.html

Goodbye and Good Riddance: The End of the Two-State Solution by Will Youmans
<http://www.counterpunch.org/youmans1104.html>

“One State, One Solution” by Naseer Aruri
<http://www.palestinecenter.org/cpap/pubs/20010510ib.html>

Thinking Outside the Box by Dr. Mazin Qumsiyeh
<http://www.amin.org/eng/uncat/2002/sept/sept25.html>

The One-State Solution by Edward Said
<http://www.one-state.org/articles/said1.htm>

A Secular Democratic State in Historic Palestine: An Idea Whose Time Has Come? by Ghadi Karmi http://www.between-lines.org/archives/2002/oct/Ghada_Karmi.htm

No justice, no peace for a Canaanite republic by Sami A. Aldeed
<http://www.lpi.org/Nonviolence/Sami/articles/eng-articles/canaanite.htm>

A Middle Eastern Confederation: A Regional “Two-Stage” Approach to the Israeli Palestinian Conflict, by Jeff Halper
http://www.amin.org/eng/jeff_halper/2002/dec15.html

Web Sites:

<http://www.onepalestine.org/>

<http://www.one-state.org/>

<http://www.ap-agenda.org/>

¹ *Maps, Part 1, pg. 3*

http://www.palestinecenter.org/cpap/maps/hist_partition.html

² <http://palestineremembered.com/Acre/Maps/Story574.html>

³ *Maps, Part 1, pg. 2*

http://www.palestinecenter.org/cpap/maps/hist_owners.html

⁴ *Maps, Part 1, pg. 6*

http://www.palestinecenter.org/cpap/maps/hist_arab.html

⁵ *Maps, Part 1, pg.7*

⁶ See Resolution #36; See W. Khalidi's Summary of "The Resolutions of the Thirty-Fourth World Zionist Congress, 17-21 June 2002. Journal of Palestine Studies, Autumn 2002

⁷ See October 2002 Between the Lines www.between-lines.org

⁸ See Famous Zionist Quotes: <http://palestineremembered.com/Acre/Famous-Zionist-Quotes/Story637.html>

⁹ Center for Economic and Social Rights <http://cesr.org/PROGRAMS/waterpalestine.htm>

Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs
http://www.passia.org/palestine_facts/pdf/pdf2002/water.pdf

Palestinian Hydrology Group <http://phg.org/>

¹⁰ <http://www.pengon.org/wall/wall.html>

¹¹ <http://www.fmep.org/reports/2002/sr0203.html#settlement2002>

¹² http://www.fmep.org/reports/2002/v12n6_map.jpg

http://www.fmep.org/reports/2002/v12n1_p5_lg_map.html

The Separation/Apartheid Wall will take an estimated additional 10% of the land. B'Tselem, Report and <http://electronicIntifada.net/v2/article1366.shtml>

Palestine Report <http://www.palestinereport.org/sect/wall.html>

The settlements, the Wall, the 150 check points, and the bypass roads carve up Palestine into disconnected Palestinian islands. *Maps. Part 2, pg. 5*

Bypass Road Map <http://www.fmep.org/images/maps/map99031.jpg>

Checkpoint Map http://www.palestinemonitor.org/maps/westbank_checkpoints.htm

Pengon Report on Wall <http://www.pengon.org/wall/map1.html>

May 2003 Gush Shalom Wall Map <http://www.gush-shalom.org/thewall/index.html>

¹³ <http://www.electronicintifada.net/coveragetrends/generous.html>

¹⁴ See Weizman's Report at:

<http://www.opendemocracy.net/debates/article.jsp?id=2&debateId=45&articleId=810>

¹⁵ For an Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs description of its military power see:

<http://www.us-israel.org/jsource/Economy/eco1.html>

Report on Mordechai Vanunu <http://www.vanunu.freemove.co.uk/weapons.htm>

Mark Gaffney on The Case of Mordechai Vanunu <http://www.counterpunch.org/gaffney01312003.html>

¹⁶ Text of 194: <http://www.iap.org/194.htm>

¹⁷ Dr. Sitta's report: <http://palestineremembered.com/Acre/Right-Of-Return/>

¹⁸ <http://www.arabhra.org/article26/factsheet2.htm>

Israeli Discrimination Against Non-Jews Is Carefully Codified in State of Israel's Laws

By Dr. Israel Shahak <http://www.washington-report.org/backissues/0198/9801088.html>

¹⁹ *Map, Part 2, pg. 6*

<http://www.electronicintifada.net/coveragetrends/generous.html>

²⁰ <http://www.wrmea.com/html/usaidtoisrael0001.htm>

²¹ **Why the US Supports Israel, by Stephen Zunes and other articles:**

http://www.wrmea.com/html/us_aid_to_israel.htm