

# DOWNLOAD PDF ZIONISM AND PEACE : FROM THE ALLON PLAN TO THE WASHINGTON ACCORDS

## Chapter 1 : Kerry's Looming Deadline and the Peace Process Industry | Dissident Voice

*Peace Accords with Egypt ends "Conventional" war and fear of m Oslo Accords: agreement between Israel and Palestine Liberatio state of Israel declared.*

I intend here to try to identify the major coordinates of the situation in the Palestinian territories even if I do not aspire to give a complete picture. It amounts however to redefining current events in their context and their historicity, by advancing an analysis of the underlying trends and realities on the ground, then identifying the logic at work on the Palestinian side by focusing on the PA in Ramallah and on the left. Consequently, the PFLP recently announced it was suspending its participation in the meetings of the PLO leadership as a sign of protest against the resumption of direct talks by Abbas. This is not the first time that the PFLP has taken such a decision, but it is still significant. The reality is very different, as the Palestinians have reminded us on at least two occasions during the last ten years - in September , when the population of Gaza and West Bank revolted to express its anger against the continuation of Israeli occupation, colonization and repression, and in January , when Palestinians, in parliamentary elections, elected a parliament largely dominated by Hamas, a political organisation openly hostile to the negotiated process and advocating the continuation of resistance, including military resistance, against Israel. Had the Palestinians gone mad? The Palestinians, unlike diplomats, live in Palestine. They saw the number of settlers in the West Bank and Jerusalem double between and They saw hundreds of Israeli roadblocks and dozens of reserved roads for settlers, subordinating the slightest movement to the goodwill of the Israeli authorities. They saw Jerusalem cut off from the rest of the West Bank. They saw the Gaza Strip cut off from the rest of the world. They saw, from September onwards, unprecedented Israeli repression, thousands of houses destroyed, tens of thousands of arrests, thousands of dead and tens of thousands wounded. They saw a wall, which encloses them in ghettos. They have seen neither peace nor its process. The first is that the process should reduce the cost of the occupation through a Palestinian puppet regime with Arafat in the role of Chief Constable responsible for Israel security. The other is that the process should lead to the collapse of Arafat and the PLO. The humiliation of Arafat, his ever more flagrant capitulation will gradually lead to the loss of popular support. The PLO is going to collapse or succumb to internal strife. These lines, written in February by the Israeli academic Tanya Reinhart, appear, a posteriori, prophetic. But Reinhart was not psychic - she understood, before others, what the Oslo process really was. Israel, which then occupied the whole of Palestine, undertook to withdraw gradually from the largest Palestinian towns and to entrust the management of them to an administrative entity designed for the occasion, the Palestinian Authority PA. Continued occupation and settlement, with the PA responsible for maintaining order in Palestinian society. The colonial order therefore. From the name of a Labour Party General, the plan, submitted to Prime Minister Levi Eshkol in July , was intended to respond to the new situation created by the war of June , through which Israel had conquered, among other things, all Palestine. Yigal Allon had identified, before many others, the contradictions which Israel and the Zionist project would sooner or later face and proposed to resolve them as pragmatically as possible. Convinced that European anti-Semitism revealed the impossibility of Jews living with European nations, the Zionists advocated their departure to Palestine so that they could become a majority and establish their own state. The armed forces of the new state of Israel conquered militarily a number of regions notionally allocated to the Arab State: So as to preserve the Jewish character of the State, non-Jews were systematically expelled: They have never been able to return to their lands. The war of was less successful than that of Allon proposed to abandon the most densely populated Palestinian areas assigning them a semblance of autonomy while retaining control over the bulk of the conquered territories: Palestinian islands in the midst of an Israeli ocean. From the war of stones to electoral intifada It was the philosophy of the Allon Plan that guided Israeli governments in the s and s, even if they put off for as long as possible the time when they would provide some rights to the Palestinians. The first Intifada which occurred in late - a massive and prolonged uprising of the population of the West Bank and

## DOWNLOAD PDF ZIONISM AND PEACE : FROM THE ALLON PLAN TO THE WASHINGTON ACCORDS

Gaza " changed the situation. At the turn of the s the Palestinian issue was a factor of instability in the Middle East, a strategic area in which the United States wanted to ensure their grip after the fall of the Soviet Union. We wish that this entity is less than a state and that it administers independently the lives of the Palestinians who are under its authority. The Palestinian population quickly noted that Israel did not intend to give up control of virtually all of Palestine: Whereas the situation of the population was deteriorating, a privileged minority, members of or relatives of the leadership of the new Palestinian Authority, considerably enriched themselves and cooperated with Israel in a conspicuous manner in the security and economic fields: At the death of the old leader, Abu Mazen was elected President of the Palestinian Authority in January with a relatively low participation, and no Hamas candidate. Since Abu Mazen needed parliamentary legitimacy to accept an agreement with Israel, parliamentary elections were held in January The victory of Hamas was indubitable: The dithering and diplomatic posturing at work actually reflected a note of failure. All progressively became aware of the end of the Oslo parenthesis, and while some are blindly struggling to resurrect a corpse, others seek alternatives: Attention has been focused for a few days on a tender for the construction of new housing units. Have we forgotten the , settlers living in Jerusalem and its suburbs? Or the dozens of evictions and demolitions of Palestinian homes in recent months? The new housing units are not an accident, they fit into a logic consistent since If the influx of international aid allows the Palestinian Authority in Ramallah to pay officials, it is very daring to speak of a real economic recovery and substantial and sustainable improved living conditions for the population. In addition, this overall increase conceals gross disparities: In addition Israeli control over the West Bank has not been called into question: The apparatus of control includes a system of permits, physical barriers " prohibited entry into large parts of the West Bank ". These are the words of the World Bank, in a report of February Last but not least, on March 3 of this year Netanyahu stated that even in the case of agreement with the Palestinians, Israel would not waive its control over the Jordan Valley. Under blockade, Gazans are living through an unprecedented economic and social disaster. The list of products that have been or are still prohibited from importation includes books, tea, coffee, matches, candles, semolina, pencils, shoes, mattress, sheets, cups, and musical instruments. Prohibition on the importation of cement and chemicals prevents the reconstruction of infrastructure destroyed during the bombings of , whether of housing or sewage facilities, with health consequences that we can imagine. Fayyad therefore took office in mid-June and undertook to conduct a series of reforms in the Palestinian territories on the West Bank. Three years later, it is quite easy to understand the role assigned to Fayyad: The year seems to have marked a change in the management of the Palestinian question. Priority should therefore be put on Israeli measures allowing better economic development in the Palestinian territories and a strengthening of the support of donor countries to the Palestinian economy. But the logic at work since Oslo nevertheless continued. The Palestinian economic growth announced in is, according to available data, a sham. The current apparent prosperity does not correspond to a real economic empowerment in relation to Israel or donor countries. The reconstruction of the security apparatus During the Arafat era, the security forces law enforcement and cooperation with Israel on the one hand, participation, from September in armed operations against Israel on the other had an ambiguous role which was one of the basic contradictions of the Oslo process: The Palestinian Authority faces two conflicting requirements. It is expected to impose the force of law, and prevent any unofficial armed demonstration. With the Abbas-Fayyad tandem the ambiguities are lifted. The two programmatic documents prepared by the Palestinian Authority from June are very compelling in this respect. It obviously pleased the Western countries who promised Fayyad 7. Or an increase of In its final version, the PRDP contains pages. Fayyad has therefore made a major reversal: If we carry out the same word count in this document as in the PRDP, the result is practically the same: The general balance of both documents is in line with these quantitative elements: The reconstruction of the security apparatus takes place according to 4 guidelines: It is the articulation of these four points which gives consistency to the security policy of Abu Mazen and Salam Fayyad. Similarly, the new recruits trained in Jordan were chosen primarily from among the poorer, less educated and less politicized Palestinian population, not from the Fatah activist

## DOWNLOAD PDF ZIONISM AND PEACE : FROM THE ALLON PLAN TO THE WASHINGTON ACCORDS

layers. The Palestinian Authority has exploited the situation of security chaos in some cities in the West Bank since the dismantling of the Palestinian security forces in by Israel. In Nablus and Jenin, armed gangs multiplied, kidnapping traders, stealing cars and offering their services to whoever needed mercenaries to perform any kind of dirty work. The massive deployment of hundreds of armed men effectively put an end to gang activities. But the disarmament of the last resistance groups, the second objective of these operations coordinated with Israel and US advisers, led to a series of incidents: There were dead and wounded, including bystanders who came under fire from recruits who had obviously been poorly trained by the Jordanians. These events marked the end of the period, opened in October , of armed resistance in the West Bank. They were the last sign of refusal by the fighters themselves of the disarmament policy initiated by the PA, which has led hundreds of members of the al-Aqsa Brigades including, in , in the Nablus district alone to publicly renounce the armed struggle in exchange for an amnesty from Israel and hundreds of members of Hamas to lay down their arms under the pressure of the security forces. It is difficult to obtain reliable estimates as figures vary according to the sources, but it can be established that almost 2, members or supporters of Hamas have gone through PA prisons in the past two years. US general Keith Dayton, the architect of the recasting of the Palestinian security services has said: It is by taking into account all these elements that it is possible to speculate on the future of the national movement. In the following section, I will advance hypotheses, while taking into account the instability and uncertainty that characterize the current period. What future for the national movement? These were the dynamics recorded during the last Fatah Congress August , which played a revelatory role rather than giving the signal for a new beginning. Fatah militants who are actors in the struggle for liberation are very much in the minority in the new leadership. In addition, the strong presence of representatives of the economic and security sectors embodies PA policy since its takeover by the Abbas-Fayyad duo. Other elements confirm this trend: Passing from national liberation movement to main actor in the construction of a state apparatus under occupation, Fatah is henceforth no longer a political organization that can claim to represent the Palestinian people in a coherent way. The Bethlehem Congress in August sanctioned this state of affairs, even if the organization still has a number of honest and sincere militants and cadre in its ranks: Fatah is a conglomerate of local baronies and clientelist networks of a quasi-mafia type, under the control of an unelected regime which has not hesitated to censor information, or to track down, imprison, or even kill its opponents when it has not delivered them to Israel in joint operations. Thus the PLO, which represented Palestinians living in the occupied territories and the Palestinian diaspora, became a reference point without a political and decision-making role, the latter having been confiscated by Arafat and the small group of adepts originating or not from the PLO who formed the Palestinian Authority. The PA political agenda was fixed by the Oslo accords: The weakness of the Palestinian left organizations is recognized in all polls and elections and this chimes in with the observations which can be made on the ground:

# DOWNLOAD PDF ZIONISM AND PEACE : FROM THE ALLON PLAN TO THE WASHINGTON ACCORDS

## Chapter 2 : A Return to Defensible Borders

*One of the early attempts, not long after the June Six-Day War, was the "Allon Plan", written by Yigal Allon, who specified what "secure borders" meant in the pages of Foreign Affairs in October. Allon was Israel's foreign minister under the first Rabin government, and was one of Israel's greatest military minds.*

Historical Documents and Chronologies "True peace is not merely the absence of tension, it is the presence of justice. Martin Luther King Jr. Much better to get local mercenaries usually brought from some other region And Israel is finally recognizing that the only thing that MAKes any sense is to revert to the classic colonial pattern -- the South African, Indian British-in-India type pattern -- in the areas that it is handing over to some degree of Palestinian Authority I doubt that Israel will keep all the territories it has now. That would be completely crazy in fact. Probably they will go back to something like the extreme demands that have been put forth in the past. The current agreement is, in fact, way out at the extreme. In fact, what it looks like now is the Sharon Plan of The UN Jarring Mission peace plan. As soon as he assumed power, Sadat offered Israel full peace in January, the PLO offered Israel full peace. The Prince Fahd Peace Plan. The Reagan Peace Plan The Arab Fez Peace Plan. In addition, Israel often would counter a peace offer with the announcement of a new settlement establishment, e. This was usually done by Likud governments demonstrating their defiance and in-your-face style settlement expansion, over the "clever" i. Finally a negotiation counterpart Illustrates Israel actual desire for continuing the occupation disguised under the "Oslo Peace Process". Aside from the fanfare, this process has brought more misery on the Palestinians than the actual occupation, where now the Palestinian Authority PA has become the oppressors, crushing any signs of little Intifadas, torturing people, jailing hamas followers with no charges, and other practices usually attributed to Israel. That, of course, is not important information to be shared with the public by the media. The West Bank and Gaza are split into three areas according to Oslo. Palestinian areas are disconnected islands scattered around the West Bank, dissected by for-Jews-only highways built on demolished Palestinian houses and confiscated Palestinian land. The Palestinian control is now limited to collecting garbage and tax collection. Hence, the current peace process is basically the old Allon Plan, but with more fanfare and fireworks, which was designed to enable Israel to maintain the advantages of the occupation, while avoiding dealing with the domestic problems. If Abbas truly cares about his people, rather than his newly acquired powers, he would step down, in protest over this fake peace. The Oslo accord is very mysterious and when a document is mysterious, it usually is in favor of the stronger party. A lot of fanfare added to an ordinary step in the "Peace Process. The outcome of this agreement is the same as previous ones: Israel signs along with the Palestinians, then adds new conditions, and claims the Palestinians are not honoring their part of the deal. The result, as usual, the party with more power --Israel-- does what it wants ignoring the accord. This is evident as Israel embarks on a new settlement frenzy encouraged by Sharon who called on the settlers to grap as many West Bank hills as they can. Our policy is to grow and expand This issue must be coordinated behind closed doors with the army and not in front of the media.

# DOWNLOAD PDF ZIONISM AND PEACE : FROM THE ALLON PLAN TO THE WASHINGTON ACCORDS

## Chapter 3 : Live From Occupied Palestine: The Oslo Accords: The Farce of Oslo twenty years on

*The Oslo I Accord or Oslo I, officially called the Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements or short Declaration of Principles (DOP), was an attempt in to set up a framework that would lead to the resolution of the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict.*

Oslo Accords In essence, the accords called for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from parts of the Gaza Strip and West Bank , and affirmed a Palestinian right of self-government within those areas through the creation of a Palestinian Interim Self-Government Authority. Palestinian rule was to last for a five-year interim period during which "permanent status negotiations" would commence in order to reach a final agreement. Israel was to grant interim self-government to the Palestinians in phases. Along with the principles, the two groups signed Letters of Mutual Recognition –the Israeli government recognized the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, while the PLO recognized the right of the state of Israel to exist and renounced terrorism as well as other violence, and its desire for the destruction of the Israeli state. In order that the Palestinians govern themselves according to democratic principles, free and general political elections would be held for the Council. Jurisdiction of the Palestinian Council would cover the West Bank and Gaza Strip, except for issues that would be finalized in the permanent status negotiations. The two sides viewed the West Bank and Gaza as a single territorial unit. The permanent status negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians would start "not later than the beginning of the third year of the interim period"; the interim period would "begin upon the withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and Jericho area". There would be a transfer of authority from the Israel Defense Forces to the authorized Palestinians, concerning education and culture, health , social welfare , direct taxation , and tourism. The Council would establish a strong police force, while Israel would continue to carry the responsibility for defending against external threats. An Israeli–Palestinian Economic Cooperation Committee would be established in order to develop and implement in a cooperative manner the programs identified in the protocols. The Declaration of Principles would enter into force one month after its signing. All protocols annexed to the Declaration of Principles and the Agreed Minutes pertaining to it were to be regarded as a part of it. Annexes The Oslo I Accord contains four annexes: Withdrawal of Israeli forces An agreement on the withdrawal of Israeli military forces from the Gaza Strip and Jericho area. This agreement will include comprehensive arrangements to apply in the Gaza Strip and the Jericho area subsequent to the Israeli withdrawal. Internal security and public order by the Palestinian police force consisting of police officers recruited locally and from abroad holding Jordanian passports and Palestinian documents issued by Egypt. Those who will participate in the Palestinian police force coming from abroad should be trained as police and police officers. A temporary international or foreign presence, as agreed upon. Establishment of a joint Palestinian–Israeli Coordination and Cooperation Committee for mutual security purposes. Arrangements for a safe passage for persons and transportation between the Gaza Strip and Jericho area. Arrangements for coordination between both parties regarding passages: Economic cooperation The two sides agree to establish an Israeli–Palestinian continuing Committee for economic cooperation, focusing, among other things, on the following: Cooperation in the field of water Cooperation in the field of electricity Cooperation in the field of energy Cooperation in the field of finance Cooperation in the field of transport and communications Cooperation in the field of trade and commerce Cooperation in the field of industry Cooperation in, and regulation of, labor relations Cooperation in social welfare issues An environmental protection plan Cooperation in the field of communication and media Annex 4: Regional development The two sides will cooperate in the context of the multilateral peace efforts in promoting a Development Program for the region, including the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, to be initiated by the G7 countries. Agreed Minutes The Oslo I Accord contains some explanations of a number of articles in the Accord, with understandings the parties had agreed on: Jurisdiction of the Council would cover West Bank and Gaza Strip territory, except for issues that would be negotiated in the permanent status

## DOWNLOAD PDF ZIONISM AND PEACE : FROM THE ALLON PLAN TO THE WASHINGTON ACCORDS

negotiations. Article V Permanent status negotiations issues It was understood that several issues were postponed to permanent status negotiations, including: Jerusalem, refugees, settlements, security arrangements, borders, relations and co-operation with other neighbours, and other issues of common interest. The outcome of these permanent status negotiations should not be prejudiced or pre-empted by the parties. Article VI 2 Transferring authority It was agreed that the transfer of authority would be as follows: The Palestinians would inform the Israelis of the names of the authorized Palestinians who would assume the powers, authorities and responsibilities that would be transferred to the Palestinians according to the Declaration of Principles in the following fields: It was also agreed that the transfer of powers and responsibilities to the Palestinian police would be accomplished in a phased manner. The accord stipulated that Israeli and Palestinian police would do joint patrols. Article X Designating officials It was agreed that the Israeli and Palestinian delegations would exchange the names of the individuals designated by them as members of the Joint Israeli-Palestinian Liaison Committee which would reach decisions by agreement. Israeli military forces and civilians would be allowed to continue using roads freely within the Gaza Strip and the Jericho area. Reaction This section needs additional citations for verification. Please help improve this article by adding citations to reliable sources. Unsourced material may be challenged and removed. September Learn how and when to remove this template message In Israel, a strong debate over the accords took place; the left wing supported them, while the right wing opposed them. Palestinian reactions were also divided. Fatah , the group that represented the Palestinians in the negotiations, accepted the accords. Israelis suspected that the Palestinians were entering into a tactical peace agreement, and that they were not sincere about wanting to reach peace and coexistence with Israel. He favored to bring more Jews to East Jerusalem and expand Jerusalem to the east. They feared they might even accelerate their settlement program in the long run, by building more settlements and expanding existing ones. Remarks from Benjamin Netanyahu In a video, Netanyahu, reportedly unaware he was being recorded, said: How did we do it? Nobody said what defined military zones were. Because from that moment on I stopped the Oslo Accords", Netanyahu affirmed. The security border of the State of Israel will be located in the Jordan Valley, in the broadest meaning of that term. After , a number of additional agreements were concluded to implement the Oslo Accords. In a small, fortified area of its old city quarters—a small group of Israeli settlers reside, surrounded by more than , Palestinians".

# DOWNLOAD PDF ZIONISM AND PEACE : FROM THE ALLON PLAN TO THE WASHINGTON ACCORDS

## Chapter 4 : Israeliâ€“Palestinian peace process - Wikipedia

*So well before the Oslo accords, and as a way to find peace between Israel and the Palestinians, Allon presented the first plan of separation from the West Bank Arabs. Allon was a famous general and political leader in the Labor party.*

Israel Studies An Anthology: These agreements clearly stipulated that they were to be non-binding with regard to borders or future arrangements. They did, however, adjust cease-fire lines and provide for land swaps [1] , which suggested an element of permanence. Jordan annexed the West Bank part of the area that had been designated by the Partition Plan for an Arab State , along with East Jerusalem, while Israel declared West Jerusalem its capital and incorporated all of the land conquered beyond the Partition Plan lines. The first official post-war attempt at resolving the conflict, the UN sponsored Lausanne Conference [2] that convened in included a call for a return to the Partition Plan lines. The Lausanne meeting also called for the return of Arab refugees, based on the UN Resolution that those "â€“wishing to return to their homes and live in peace with their neighbors be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date. When this was rejected by Egypt, Israel made the suggestion, which it subsequently withdrew, to take in 65, to , refugees with an additional , to be absorbed by the Arab states. Morris, This too was rejected by the Arab states. At a reconvening of the conference the Israeli position became, and has since remained, that the refugee issue could be resolved only within the context of a peace agreement. The Lausanne Conference was actually a series of bilateral meetings between the conveners and each party in the conflict. It is not surprising therefore that no settlement, much less a peace agreement, resulted from these meetings. Other public and secret efforts were made in the s, including indirect probes with the new revolutionary regime in Egypt. On the whole, however, none of the protagonists, including Israel, was anxious to reach agreement. The war was a water shed event in shaping future peace efforts. The war led to a burgeoning of nationalist and, more specifically, religious nationalist sentiment within Israel. The occupation not only of the Sinai and the Golan Heights but also of the West Bank and Gaza with their one and half million Palestinians shifted the focus of the Palestinian issue to one of land rather than the refugees. The situation did, however, create the possibility for a compromise that had generally been missing prior to these acquisitions, namely the possibility of exchanging land for recognition and peace for Israel within its de facto borders. Moore, Yet one month later both Egypt and Jordan accepted UNSC Resolution Syrian and Palestinian acceptance were to come only many years later , as did Israel, albeit each party had its own interpretation of the resolution. Land for Peace The principle of territory for peace was officially adopted by the Israeli Labor government on June 19, when it voted to return the Sinai and the Golan in exchange for peace. This decision included the occupation of the Gaza Strip to be followed by annexation once the some , refugees there could be resettled. A June 26, decision annexed a greatly expanded East Jerusalem, creating a major stumbling bloc in subsequent secret discussions with Jordan over the return of the West Bank. A short-lived Israeli proposal for the creation of a Palestinian enclave in the West Bank was offered but rejected by Palestinian notables contacted in East Jerusalem. Labor also initiated Jewish settlement in the occupied territories, presumably to stake a claim in the areas Israel intended to keep â€“ a policy that would be greatly expanded after the ascension of the right-wing Likud Party, with serious ramifications for future prospects for peace. Gorenberg, ; Eldar, While there were secret contacts and informal approaches over the years, particularly but not only between Israel and Jordan, the international community was the agent that once again sought resolution of the conflict in the period. Viewing the conflict as primarily one between states, and the Palestinian issue only as one of refugees, these efforts revolved around the lands. Moscow supported the Arab interest in a comprehensive settlement between Israel and its neighbor states, to be negotiated in an international forum. Washington believed this would serve its major interest of reducing Soviet involvement. Resolution had also called for a UN special representative, Gunnar Jarring, who in time found stiff resistance in the positions of both Egypt and Israel as he sought to mediate. A few days earlier, Sadat had publicly suggested an interim proposal, similar to an earlier suggestion by Moshe Dayan that had

## DOWNLOAD PDF ZIONISM AND PEACE : FROM THE ALLON PLAN TO THE WASHINGTON ACCORDS

been rejected by the Israeli government. In a note to Jarring, Jerusalem reiterated its refusal to withdraw to the June 4, lines. The most salient point, however, was that Egypt offered an interim accord explicitly stated as a step toward a peace agreement with Israel. This opposition, maintained even after some Soviet advisors returned to Egypt in early , combined with Soviet pressure for an early cease-fire and demands for aid-payments during the war, paved the way for the fruition of American efforts to advance its ties with Egypt and the pursuit of an American-mediated Egyptian-Israeli agreement. Kissinger helped to maintain this new confidence by restraining Israel from destroying the Egyptian force left on the east bank of the Suez Canal after the cease-fire. It was, however, only ostensibly a meeting for a comprehensive agreement. Syria refused to attend, having only implicitly accepted Resolution when it agreed to the cease-fire Resolution. Moreover, following the opening, the conference immediately broke up into bilateral talks for the disengagement of forces i. United States Diplomacy The disengagement with Egypt was the result of direct talks; a similar agreement with Syria was mediated in shuttle diplomacy by Kissinger, although both were officially signed with Soviet participation to maintain the appearance of an international umbrella. Following this precedent of the return of some land taken by Israel in , the agreement with Syria included the return of Kuneitra to Syria, in addition to mutual troop pullbacks, demilitarization, and UN peacekeepers. Although Jordan had not joined this war, Kissinger sought a similar disengagement that would return Jericho to Jordan. The Kissinger mediated Egyptian-Israeli talks, therefore, led to the agreement for a further pull-back in Sinai but also Israeli use of the Canal. Described as an interim accord on the way to a final peace agreement, it was, however, achieved only after the U. In , a new administration in Washington abandoned the step by step approach and opted for a reconvening of the Geneva Conference to pursue a comprehensive deal. Preparations met with innumerable obstacles, some procedural as once again Israel opposed multilateral negotiations, and some substantive, such as the matter of Palestinian rights. By this time, Moscow had come out in favor of a Palestinian state, and U. In November , apparently out of frustration with these obstacles, disdain for the Soviets, and possibly concern over American concessions to Israel during the preparations, [10] Sadat abandoned the conference idea. But these assurances, and even more so, the act of coming to Jerusalem, enabled a major psychological breakthrough towards peace. In subsequent talks, however, the parties remained far apart on substantive matters, prompting the Americans to become actively involved. In November , Carter mediated the break-through talks in Camp David where the major stumbling blocks were the Israeli settlements in the Sinai and linkage between the agreement with Egypt and the fate of the West Bank. Begin acquiesced on the settlements after consulting with Ariel Sharon. He also agreed to linkage based on a complicated five-year autonomy plan for the West Bank and Gaza [11] and the inclusion of Palestinians as well as Jordanians in talks on the final status of these territories. Given the historical, religious and ideological importance of the West Bank as distinct from the Sinai, for Begin and his government, it was hard to believe that Israel would in fact implement the autonomy, and indeed that plan never got beyond sporadic, futile discussions with Egypt over the next few years. Nor did the Palestinians respond favorably to the autonomy plan. The ensuing Israeli-Egyptian peace agreement was signed March 26, It called for a two-stage Israeli withdrawal over three years from all Egyptian land the final few meters of which were decided by arbitration a few years later , during which time normal relations would be established between the two countries. Ultimately, a non-UN multinational force, with U. There was, and remains, far less support in Egypt for the treaty, but nonetheless, the Israeli-Egyptian peace has held even through the assassination of Sadat, and subsequent Israeli wars in Lebanon and the occupied territories. The Success of Peace Agreements While there were secret contacts and informal meetings over the following years of the Likud dominated governments, the only partially successful attempt to reach a peace agreement came in when the Labor Party was in a power-sharing government. The agreement was similar to earlier, Israeli rejected proposals by both the Americans and Egypt for an international conference, with a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, to reach a comprehensive agreement, including the legitimate rights of the Palestinians. Eight months later the first intifada uprising broke out in the occupied territories, and King Hussein, fearful of possible adverse

## DOWNLOAD PDF ZIONISM AND PEACE : FROM THE ALLON PLAN TO THE WASHINGTON ACCORDS

effects on Jordan, with its predominately Palestinian population, renounced all claims to the West Bank at the end of July. Henceforth Israel would have to deal with the Palestinians. The weakening of Soviet support under Gorbachev was also a factor. The result was the PLO decision to accept Resolutions and both of which included recognition of Israel, renounce terrorism and open negotiations. Ignored by Israel, presumably because it was not believed, this decision did open the way for talks between the U.S. Still another development, however, led to the beginning of the peace process. In the wake of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, the U.S. Bush promised the Arab states and also Gorbachev that, in exchange for their support of the U.S. The Palestinian delegates were drawn only from the occupied territories per an Israeli demand, but they were clearly acting under orders from the PLO. The Madrid Conference Madrid opened with a plenary show and then broke into bilateral and multi-lateral talks. The latter included countries besides the protagonists and dealt with such issues as arms control, water, refugees and economic development. The Intifada was having its effect on the Israeli public. The deteriorating security situation led many Israelis who were beginning to enjoy the fruits of their new link with globalization to begin to view the occupation, pragmatically, as a drawback rather than an asset. Combined, perhaps, with some war weariness, the public increasingly favored a compromise. Prime Minister for the second time, Rabin believed that the moment was ripe for a final agreement. Both Syria and the Palestinians had been deprived of their super-power patron with the collapse of the Soviet Union; the PLO had been weakened by its loss of Saudi financial aid due to its support for Saddam Hussein in the Gulf War; the new world order of U.S. Moreover, as early as 1979, Israel had become aware of Iranian efforts to develop a nuclear capability, and Rabin believed there was only a relatively short window of opportunity before the region would be nuclearized. All of these developments apparently persuaded Rabin that it was possible, but also imperative to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict. Rabin authorized continuation of the Madrid initiated bilateral and multilateral talks, but he added two other channels, an ostensibly unofficial channel, actually under Foreign Minister Peres and his deputy Yossi Beilin, with the PLO in Oslo, and a U.S. With regard to Syria, it was clear from the outset that Israel would have to return the Golan Heights, but the question was just how much territory would be returned and in exchange for what measures? For Rabin the depth of the withdrawal was to depend upon the depth of the peace, namely the nature of the future relationship between the two countries. Within these positions lurked the two most difficult issues: The June 4, 1967, lines demanded by Syria and the security arrangements demanded by Israel. The first issue revolved around land in the demilitarized unallocated areas after which were subsequently occupied in part by Israel and in part by Syria. By June 4, 1967, Syria was sitting on the northeast corner of the Kinneret, as distinct from the international boundary recognized by Israel. Reluctant to give Syria this access to the Kinneret, Rabin nonetheless sent a tentative proposal to Assad via the Americans in August offering this concession, i.e. While talks continued, particularly on security aspects of a peace accord, even a subsequent meeting between President Bill Clinton and Assad in January of 1993 in Geneva failed to produce anything that Rabin believed he could present to the Israeli public. The DOP, signed on the White House lawn September 13, 1993, was actually the basis for a number of agreements subsumed under the title of the Oslo Accords. Rabin recognized the PLO as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people – constituting the first time Israel acknowledged the Palestinians as a people and thereby implying accepting their right to self-determination. The changes were in fact approved by the PNC April 24, 1993, and acknowledged by the Israeli government. Since no new Covenant was ever published, some right-wing Israelis continued to claim that the Covenant was not changed. The Covenant dispute typified the mistrust that characterized the Oslo Accords. The six agreements signed often merely repeated provisions called for in the previous agreement, but the two decisive documents were the Protocol for Economic Relations and the Interim Agreement known as Oslo II that formalized the measures connected with Israeli redeployments and transfer of power to Palestinian self-governing bodies in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Broadly resembling the autonomy plan outlined at the Camp David talks with Egypt, the Oslo Accords called for the gradual transfer of power over a five year period, during which, but no later than beginning within three years, talks would be held on the permanent status of these territories, including the issues of

## DOWNLOAD PDF ZIONISM AND PEACE : FROM THE ALLON PLAN TO THE WASHINGTON ACCORDS

Jerusalem, settlements, refugees, security, and borders, leading to a final settlement based on UNSC Resolution 242. Three critical principles were stated from the outset, and often repeated: Specific matters were dealt with such as prisoner releases, safe passage between the West Bank and Gaza, size and strength of a Palestinian police force, and the jurisdiction and powers of the elected Palestinian bodies. Area A would be under sole Palestinian control in effect, the seven major West Bank towns, area B under Palestinian civil control and Israeli security control, and area C under exclusive Israeli control. Israel maintained the right to determine the size and location of its redeployments but timetables and even percentages of land were eventually stipulated, as implementation faltered. The lack of implementation led to the two concluding accords, under the government of Benjamin Netanyahu, designating not only further withdrawals but also the transfer of most of the city of Hebron to the Palestinians. The lack of implementation is often cited as the reason for the failure of the Oslo Accords, but the implementation issue was itself tied to some of the critical flaws in the Accords. One such flaw may have been the very interim nature of the Accords, which was designed to allow for a gradual period of testing intentions and building trust.

# DOWNLOAD PDF ZIONISM AND PEACE : FROM THE ALLON PLAN TO THE WASHINGTON ACCORDS

## Chapter 5 : The Allon Plan

*The Allon Plan was also Yitzhak Rabin's path even after he signed the Oslo Accords, as he made clear in his final speech to the Knesset (although accepting the PLO as a partner was contrary to Allon's principles and, until the agreement, Rabin's).*

Part of this section is transcluded from Two-state solution. Oslo

Main article: Oslo Accords The slowpaced Madrid talks were upstaged by a series of secret meetings between Israeli and Palestinian negotiators hosted by Norway. These meetings produced the Oslo Peace Accords between Palestinians and Israel , a plan discussing the necessary elements and conditions for a future Palestinian state "on the basis of Security Council Resolutions and ". On behalf of the Israeli people, Rabin said: After the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin in , the peace process eventually ground to a halt. Later suicide bombing attacks from Palestinian militant groups and the subsequent retaliatory actions from the Israeli military made conditions for peace negotiations untenable. Netanyahu declared a tit-for-tat policy which he termed "reciprocity," whereby Israel would not engage in the peace process if Arafat continued with what Netanyahu defined as the Palestinian revolving door policy , i. The Hebron and Wye Agreements were signed during this period, after Israel considered that its conditions were partially met. Hebron agreement Main article: This agreement dealt with the redeployment of Israeli military forces in Hebron in accordance with the Oslo Accords. The agreement dealt with redeployments in Hebron, security issues and other concerns. Wye River Memorandum Main article: The agreement dealt with further redeployments in the West Bank, security issues and other concerns. Camp David Summit Main article: East Jerusalem would have fallen for the most part [39] under Israeli sovereignty, with the exception of most suburbs with heavy non-Jewish populations surrounded by areas annexed to Israel. Borders, airspace, and water resources of the Palestinian state would have been left in Israeli hands. No tenable solution was crafted which would satisfy both Israeli and Palestinian demands, even under intense U. Clinton blamed Arafat for the failure of the Camp David Summit. Mitchell to lead a fact-finding committee that later published the Mitchell Report. The Israeli negotiation team presented a new map. The proposition removed the "temporarily Israeli controlled" areas from the West Bank, and the Palestinian side accepted this as a basis for further negotiation. However, Prime Minister Ehud Barak did not conduct further negotiations at that time; the talks ended without an agreement and the following month the right-wing Likud party candidate Ariel Sharon was elected as Israeli prime minister in February Beirut summit Main articles: The summit concluded by presenting a plan to end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres welcomed it and said, " Israel was not prepared to enter negotiations as called for by the Arab League plan on the grounds that it did not wish for "full withdrawal to borders and the right of return for the Palestinian refugees ". Road map for peace President George W. In July , the "quartet" of the United States, the European Union , the United Nations , and Russia outlined the principles of a "road map" for peace, including an independent Palestinian state. The plan called for independent actions by Israel and the Palestinian Authority, with disputed issues put off until a rapport can be established. In the first step, the Palestinian Authority must "undertake visible efforts on the ground to arrest, disrupt, and restrain individuals and groups conducting and planning violent attacks on Israelis anywhere" and a "rebuilt and refocused Palestinian Authority security apparatus" must "begin sustained, targeted, and effective operations aimed at confronting all those engaged in terror and dismantlement of terrorist capabilities and infrastructure. In his bid to negotiate a peace accord and establish a Palestinian state, Olmert proposed a plan to the Palestinians. Olmert proposed annexing at least 6. Israel insisted on retaining an armed presence in the future Palestinian state. Olmert, for his part, was presenting a plan in which the most sparsely populated settlements would be evacuated. Olmert and Abbas both acknowledged that reciprocal relations would be necessary, not hermetic separation. They also acknowledged the need to share a single business ecosystem, while cooperating intensively on water, security, bandwidth, banking, tourism and much more. Regarding Jerusalem the leaders

## DOWNLOAD PDF ZIONISM AND PEACE : FROM THE ALLON PLAN TO THE WASHINGTON ACCORDS

agreed that Jewish neighborhoods should remain under Israeli sovereignty, while Arab neighborhoods would revert to Palestinian sovereignty. Hostilities between Gaza and Israel increased. He also claimed that Israeli settlements retain a right to growth and expansion in the West Bank. Palestinians rejected the proposals immediately. President Barack Obama was the orchestrator of the movement, U. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton went through months of cajoling just to get the parties to the table, and helped convince the reluctant Palestinians by getting support for direct talks from Egypt and Jordan. The talks aimed to put the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to an official end by forming a two-state solution for the Jewish and Palestinian peoples, promoting the idea of everlasting peace and putting an official halt to any further land claims, as well as accepting the rejection of any forceful retribution if violence should reoccur. Hamas and Hezbollah, however threatened violence, especially if either side seemed likely to compromise in order to reach an agreement. The US was therefore compelled to re-focus on eliminating the threat posed by the stance of Hamas and Hezbollah as part of the direct talk progress. Israel for its part, was skeptical that a final agreement was reached that the situation would change, as Hamas and Hezbollah would still get support to fuel new violence. In addition, the Israeli government rejected any possible agreement with Palestine as long as it refuses to recognize Israel as a Jewish state. This is in accordance with the principle of the two-state solution, first proposed in the s. The mainstream within the PLO have taken the concept of territorial and diplomatic compromise seriously and have showed serious interest in this. The issue of the ratio of land Israel would give to the Palestinians in exchange for keeping settlement blocs is an issue of dispute, with the Palestinians demanding that the ratio be 1:1. The Israeli negotiating team was led by veteran negotiator Justice Minister Tzipi Livni, while the Palestinian delegation was led by Saeb Erekat, also a former negotiator. On the expiry of the deadline, negotiations collapsed, with the US Special Envoy Indyk reportedly assigning blame mainly to Israel, while the US State Department insisting no one side was to blame but that "both sides did things that were incredibly unhelpful. The following six months would focus on issues including refugees, Jerusalem, settlements, security and water. In early 2009, some media sources reported the new administration was preparing a new peace initiative for an Israeli-Palestinian deal. Details of the new plan were not disclosed officially yet. He described the initiative as a contribution to stability in the region, while helping weaken Iranian influence. Please help improve it by rewriting it in a balanced fashion that contextualizes different points of view. December This section appears to be slanted towards recent events. Please try to keep recent events in historical perspective and add more content related to non-recent events. On 1 December 2009, the two parties signed an unofficial suggested plan for peace in Geneva dubbed the Geneva Accord. In sharp contrast to the road map, it is not a plan for a temporary ceasefire but a comprehensive and detailed solution aiming at all the issues at stake, in particular, Jerusalem, the settlements and the refugee problem. It was met with bitter denunciation by the Israeli government and many Palestinians, with the Palestinian Authority staying non-committal, but it was warmly welcomed by many European governments and some significant elements of the Bush Administration, including Secretary of State Colin Powell. Yet another approach was proposed by a number of parties inside and outside Israel: It was not actually a new idea, dating back as far as the 1990s, but it was given extra prominence by the growing demographic issues raised by a rapidly expanding Arab population in Israel and the territories. Considering the huge political and demographic issues that it would raise, however, it seems an improbable solution to the problem. The plan advocates the formal annexation of West Bank and Gaza by Israel and that Palestinians will be become either Jordanian citizens or permanent residents in Israel so long as they remained peaceful and law-abiding residents. All these actions should be done in agreement with Jordan and the Palestinian population. The result is that both Israelis and Palestinians have grown weary of the process. Israelis point out the fact that the Gaza Strip is fully controlled by the Hamas who do not want peace with a Jewish state. Furthermore, in the Israeli view, a violent overtake of the West Bank by the Hamas as a result of the creation of an unstable new state is likely. In theory this would allow negotiations until a "shelf agreement" defining peace would be obtained. Such an agreement would not entail implementation. It would just describe what peace is. It would stay on the

## DOWNLOAD PDF ZIONISM AND PEACE : FROM THE ALLON PLAN TO THE WASHINGTON ACCORDS

shelf but eventually will guide the implementation. The difficulty with this notion is that it creates a dis-incentive for Israel to reach such an agreement. The lack of clarity about what happens after agreement is reached will result in insurmountable pressures on Abbas to demand immediate implementation. However, from the Israeli point of view, the Palestinians are not ready to create a stable state, such an implementation process will almost guarantee instability in the Palestinian areas with a possible Hamas takeover as happened in Gaza. To avoid it some definition of what happens after a shelf agreement is needed. One possible idea by this essay is to agree ahead of time that following attainment of a final status agreement there will be a negotiated detailed and staged implementation agreement which would define a process which would allow the creation of a stable functional Palestinian state in stages and over time. Joint economic effort and development

Main article: Projects working for peace among Israelis and Palestinians

Despite the long history of conflict between Israelis and Palestinians, there are many people working on peaceful solutions that respect the rights of peoples on both sides. In March , Japan proposed a plan for peace based on common economic development and effort, rather than on continuous wrangling over land. Both sides stated their support. It is mainly designed to foster efforts in the private sector, once governments provide the initial investment and facilities.

## DOWNLOAD PDF ZIONISM AND PEACE : FROM THE ALLON PLAN TO THE WASHINGTON ACCORDS

### Chapter 6 : Palestine and the so-called "Peace Process" - Radio Islam

*Gilbert Achcar, Zionism and the Peace: From the Allon Plan to the Washington Agreement In the light of the Zionist strategy outlined in the Allon Plan in , a plan involving the colonization and partial annexation of the occupied territories of Palestine, the repressive mission given to the PLO.*

Reprinted from Workers Vanguard No. A despairing family at a checkpoint pleads with Zionist troops to be allowed to take a pregnant woman to a hospital, only to be turned back. Palestinian construction workers under Israeli military guard, sickened by the job they are forced to accept in order to feed their families, construct the wall segregating the Palestinian quarters of East Jerusalem from the rest of the city. Such are the images today of the West Bank under lockdown. The Palestinian population is being imprisoned behind a barrier of huge concrete walls, electrified fences, trenches and razor wire. It is a wall that divides families, separates farmers from their land and cuts off the population from jobs, hospitals, schools and even water. The path of the wall, which is projected to be over miles long, snakes deep into the West Bank to envelop Zionist settlements and steal Palestinian land. In the west, the wall already juts up to 13 kilometers beyond the "Green Line," the border between Israel and the West Bank, securing Israeli control of much of the best Palestinian farmland. It also includes on the Israeli side the water wells of the Western Aquifer, the second-largest water resource in the region after the Jordan River. According to a 24 January article by Seumas Milne in the London Guardian, when complete, the wall will enclose about 57 percent of the West Bank. Movement between the two Palestinian ghettos being created by the wall will be nearly impossible. As a result of the closures, the Palestinian economy is frozen as laborers cannot get to jobs, farmers can only sell crops locally and unhindered trade is impossible. Palestinian unemployment is a staggering two-thirds in some areas, and more than half the children suffer from malnutrition. Qalqilya, the first town to be hermetically sealed off by the wall, reveals what other communities will face as the wall tightens around the West Bank. Penned in on all four sides, Qalqilya is today accessible only through a checkpoint nearly a mile to its east. The wall is but the latest grotesque step in the long, bloody history of Zionist colonization and provocation, which are aimed at forcibly driving out the Palestinian population. The Zionists encouraged emigration to Palestine on the racist premise that it was a "land without people for a people without land. And they forcibly drove out thousands more after their victory in the Arab-Israeli war. Correspondingly, as the bourgeois-nationalist Palestine Liberation Organization PLO is proven to be politically bankrupt, increasing numbers of Palestinian youth and even women are turning to the reactionary Islamic fundamentalism of Hamas and Islamic Jihad. Marxists oppose nationalist irredentism, which only offers the prospect of reversing the terms of oppression. The only solution to two peoples laying claim to the same sliver of land requires breaking out of the capitalist, nationalist framework. The only salvation for the Palestiniansâ€”and the Hebrew-speaking Jewish populationâ€”lies in proletarian revolution and a socialist federation of the Near East. We have no illusions that winning the Hebrew-speaking working class to this perspective will be easy or quick. Yet social and class fissures do exist in Israel and it is the duty of revolutionaries to exploit every contradiction in order to win the Israeli proletariat away from the Zionist rulers. There is a restive working class in Israel today which has recently engaged in large strike actions. In the lead-up to the U. Instead, the wall and the intolerable economic hardships and repression are choking the life out of Palestinian areas. Oslo "Peace" Accord Paved Way to Ghetto The wallâ€”Sharon calls it "unilateral disengagement"â€”is the ultimate expression of the "unilateral separation" that the Zionist "peace camp," represented by the likes of Meretz spokesman Yossi Sarid, has long championed. It is also the fruit of the Oslo "peace" accords that created the Palestinian Authority. It is not well known that the division of the Palestinian territories was first carried out in the Gaza Strip in October , just one month after the Declaration of Principles â€”the first Oslo documentâ€”was signed on the White House lawn. While Palestinians maintained control over many of the cantons and were promised authority over more if not most, Israel maintained jurisdiction over the land areas in between the cantons, which in effect gave Israel

## DOWNLOAD PDF ZIONISM AND PEACE : FROM THE ALLON PLAN TO THE WASHINGTON ACCORDS

control over all the land and its disposition. The logical and intended consequence of territorial cantonization was separation and isolation, greatly facilitated by closure policy. In fact, although closure was imposed prior to the implementation of the Oslo agreements, these agreements institutionalized and formalized closure as a policy measure. The consensus among the Zionist political parties was that the Palestinians should be given some minimal voice in their own affairs while final control of the land, resources and economy remained in the hands of Israel. The first of a series of plans to realize this objective was put together by General Yigal Allon, the deputy prime minister for the Labor Party. Allon proposed to establish a string of settlements in the Jordan Valley, in the Judean desert and around East Jerusalem as a preliminary step leading to formal annexation by Israel. Altogether, the plan envisaged establishing some sort of Palestinian entity in about 50 percent of the West Bank while Israel annexed East Jerusalem, the Jordan Valley, the Hebron Hills in the south of the West Bank and the southern part of the Gaza Strip. When Likud came to power in 1977, the Allon Plan was supplemented by the Sharon Plan, which called for a new belt of settlements to be built along the western side of the West Bank. The massive settlement expansion envisaged by Sharon was carried out starting in 1977 by a new Labor government under Yitzhak Rabin, which offered settlers large economic incentives. From the signing of the Oslo "peace" accords in September 1993 to the end of 1995, the number of settlers in the West Bank increased by 90 percent. Rabin, expanding on an idea originally proposed by Allon and Sharon, introduced the network of "bypass roads" that reinforced the isolation of West Bank cities. The Oslo II agreement outlawed Palestinian construction within 55 yards of either side of these roads, rendering hundreds of Palestinian houses vulnerable to demolition. The map of the wall being constructed in the West Bank corresponds, almost to the square mile, to earlier maps drawn up by Allon and Sharon. Today, the entire West Bank is dotted with military outposts and fortified settlements, crisscrossed by "bypass roads" that are off-limits to Palestinians. The Zionists have implemented "collective guilt," imposing restrictions, razing buildings and launching military assaults against entire communities in retaliation for attacks against Israeli civilians or soldiers. Zionist settlers, who number over 1 million, including East Jerusalem, freely rampage throughout the Occupied Territories, stealing land and murdering Palestinians by the dozens. When some prominent Israeli and Palestinian politicians negotiated an unofficial "peace plan" in Geneva in December 1993, an implicit condemnation of Israeli government policy, the gesture was hailed by the U.S. There is also growing unease in the armed forces and security apparatus, including among elite Zionist troops and top officers. In late September 1995, 27 Air Force reserve pilots signed a letter saying they refused to carry out air strikes against civilian areas. The following month, the Israeli army chief of staff criticized the restrictions on Palestinians. Altogether, in the past three years, more than one thousand Israelis have refused to serve in the armed forces in the Occupied Territories. Last month, five of them were court-martialed, the first time this has happened in 20 years. On February 2, 1996, Sharon announced a plan to remove nearly all Jewish settlements from the Gaza Strip because they are a "security burden" and a cause of "continuous friction. And since by there will be more Palestinian Arabs than Jews living in Israel, the West Bank and Gaza combined, this transformation of the Palestinian cause will be very problematic for Israel. The Zionist state is a racist, exclusivist state, predicated on the expulsion, "transfer" or "displacement" of the Palestinian people. As we have warned in the past, the Zionist rulers are entirely capable of carrying out massacres of the Palestinians on a truly genocidal scale. It is vitally necessary for the working class, in the U.S. Defend the Palestinian people! Tax-Funded Aid to Israel Now. SUSTAIN also sponsors a campaign to get universities to divest their holdings in the Caterpillar Corporation in order to force it to stop selling Israel the bulldozers which are used to demolish Palestinian homes. A Spartacist speaker at the workshop noted that just as the bourgeoisies of Europe and America closed their borders to the Jews in the 1930s, today they close their eyes to the plight of the Palestinians. This was particularly evident when shamefully even many leftists in the Iraq antiwar movement often dropped any mention of the Palestinians to tailor their protests to appeal to the Democrats. In contrast, Spartacist contingents in those marches consciously made prominent our demands: Israel out of the Occupied Territories! She recalled the Caterpillar strike, a critical class battle that was sold out by the UAW union bureaucracy in favor of a "consumer boycott" not very

## DOWNLOAD PDF ZIONISM AND PEACE : FROM THE ALLON PLAN TO THE WASHINGTON ACCORDS

different from the "corporate campaign" today proposed by SUSTAIN. Divestment schemes and calls for capitalist boycotts foster illusions that union-busting corporations like Caterpillar, or even the blood-drenched U. In contrast, we fight to mobilize the labor movement in defense of the Palestinian people and against its class enemy at home, the rapacious U. In individual discussions after the workshop, SUSTAIN members insisted that it was necessary to drop defense of the Palestinians in the antiwar movement because "nothing should detract from the main struggle to defeat George Bush. It was President John Kennedy who initiated the close alliance with Israel, breaking the longstanding U. Ironically, the organizations pushing for the U. The suicide bombings against Israeli civilians, which are entirely criminal from the viewpoint of the international proletariat, serve to further drive the Hebrew-speaking population into the arms of the Zionist rulers. The true alternative facing the Middle East in coming years will be between an ethnically cleansed Greater Israel and a single, integrated, binational state of Jews and Arabs, Israelis and Palestinians. The Palestinians and the Hebrew-speaking people of Israel represent a case of interpenetrated peoples, two populations with competing claims to the same territory. Under capitalism, such conflicts can only be resolved through the suppression of one people by another through forced assimilation, forced population transfers "ethnic cleansing" or outright genocide. The only road to national and social liberation in the Near East is the mobilization of the proletariat on the basis of revolutionary internationalism to sweep away all the oppressive capitalist regimes in the region in the fight for a socialist federation of the Near East. To break the Hebrew proletariat from Zionist chauvinism will likely require an enormous shake-up in the region, such as the victory of socialist revolution in one of the other Near Eastern states. However, if the Zionist madmen are not to ultimately unleash their nuclear arsenal and engulf the whole of the region in a holocaust, the Hebrew proletariat must join with Arab workers in sweeping away the entire rotting edifice of capitalist class rule in the Near East. Only then can the right of national self-determination for both the Hebrew and Palestinian people be assured. What is required above all is the construction of internationalist workers parties, sections of a reformed Fourth International, in opposition to Zionism, Arab nationalism and all variants of religious fundamentalism. For a socialist federation of the Near East!

## DOWNLOAD PDF ZIONISM AND PEACE : FROM THE ALLON PLAN TO THE WASHINGTON ACCORDS

### Chapter 7 : Template:Israeliâ€“Palestinian peace process - Wikipedia

*Five years later the Oslo Accords were signed, which to a certain extent realized the Allon Plan. Although the Oslo Accords had a clear goal - two states - this wasn't said out loud until Ehud Barak said so at the Camp David summit.*

He represented a wing of the Israeli left, and of the military establishment, that became sidelined within the Labor party in favor of the faction led by Moshe Dayan and Shimon Peres. The starting point of the Allon Plan. To this can be added our right to self-defense and the fact that the West Bank and Gaza were liberated in a just war forced upon us. There is therefore no justification for the demand that we withdraw. Although the plan was never officially adopted, the settlement program of Israeli governments between the Six-Day War and the [] rise of Likud to power was based on it. This was the path of the Labor party until the Barak era in

Scroll down to read the full text. Even when he proposed a territorial compromise he did it on the basis of defensible borders. A new book sheds light on the contribution of the Palmach commander as a statesman and politician. Udi Manor, Yigal Allon: Biographiya Politit , Dvir , p. In , the long-awaited biography of Yigal Allon, one of the great leaders of the State of Israel was finally published. But for some reason the author decided to kill the hero in

In her opinion, Allon peaked in and from then on was a disappointment, unimportant and uninteresting, and thus not meriting a second volume. She almost took pride in the mercy killing she carried out, thanks to which he remained young, handsome, and promising. Fortunately, I was wrong: Yigal has a redeemer. In the beginning, when we debated the name of the new movement, we considered calling it the Allon Movement. Eventually, we adopted the name proposed by [the poet and Palmach veteran] Haim Guri. The four left the movement when it became a party. This was the path of Allon, and as Manor puts it: The article was the basis for the collection of essays Connected Vessels [Hebrew] which came out after his death. Connected Vessels expresses a broad, overarching outlook of a complete and all-encompassing Zionist-socialist worldview, which discusses foreign affairs and defense, society and economics, education and culture, religion and state, aliyah to Israel, and ties to diaspora Jewry, and all as a single package: This is a correct approach to life, certainly for a leader. Since he accepts it, the book lacks the criticism and skepticism appropriate for a scholarly biography. Allon published the book a second time with an up-to-date epilogue, after the Six-Day War. This is an interesting choice in light of the upheaval which took place in his views, from a prominent believer in the territorial integrity of the historical land of Israel to a leading exponent of territorial compromise. In the War of Independence the Arabs abandoned the areas liberated by the IDF, and when Allon demanded the liberation of Judea, Samaria, and Gaza, it was on the assumption the Arabs would flee once again. He therefore lamented the decision to avoid doing so over the years and opposed the armistice agreements. He also estimated that the result would be the same in a future war: This was almost inconceivable: For me, the Allon Plan was his greatest contribution to Israeli political history, and the chapter dealing with the subject is the most important in the book. Although the plan was never officially adopted, the settlement plan of Israeli governments between the Six-Day War and the rise of Likud to power was based on it. I believe that even today, despite the changes that have taken place, the Allon Plan, with appropriate adjustments, is the correct path Israel must follow. Allon believed his plan, which included an unending political effort for peace with moderate parties in the Arab world and among the Palestinians, would bring peace. Manor also believes so. I reject this assessment. The Arabs have yet to make peace with our existence. Unfortunately, this reality is not set to change in the near future. Wagner and his disciples, firmly on the left, supported the Allon Plan and wished for Allon himself, rather than Rabin or Peres, to take the reins of the Labor party. They are also known for their somewhat esoteric approach to interpreting history and contemporary politics]. Manor is very far from Wagneristic dogmatism. This division, which Manor uses to interpret reality, is influenced by the Wagner theory. Reading this book did not convince me of its correctness. I also believe that presenting the disputes between Allon and his opponents as solely an expression of ideological conflict goes too far. Tabenkin saw Allon as his top student, but Allon demonstrated

## DOWNLOAD PDF ZIONISM AND PEACE : FROM THE ALLON PLAN TO THE WASHINGTON ACCORDS

independence all along the way and continued to break new political ground. He was first among his comrades to adopt a pro-western orientation in the cold war. This drama was not given its due in the book. This is not true. Yigal was the man who was. The man was the greatest of the commanders of the War of Independence: Indeed, Allon himself was in no way a missed opportunity, but the fact that he was not appointed chief of staff after the War of Independence, defense minister before the Six-Day War and never became prime minister, was definitely a missed opportunity. Not for him, but for the state of Israel. The book contains historical errors which should be corrected, but they do not affect its quality. After noting that I read some of the drafts and made comments on them, I can definitely sum up and say that Yigal Allon: Biografiyah Politit is a fascinating biography of one of the most important leaders in the history of Zionism and the State of Israel—a leader, strategist, statesman, military commander, and political and social thinker of the first order.

# DOWNLOAD PDF ZIONISM AND PEACE : FROM THE ALLON PLAN TO THE WASHINGTON ACCORDS

## Chapter 8 : The history of Zionism and the elusive quest for peace - Haaretz - Israel News | calendrierdelas

*"Under the Allon Plan," Goodman writes, "Israel would no longer extend from the Mediterranean Sea to the Jordan River, but its security border would remain the Jordan River." Goodman stresses that this is achievable because it would not require the Palestinians to end all claims.*

At the same time, the heavily populated areas of the West Bank hill country, together with a corridor that included Jericho, would be offered to Jordan. In June, according to journalist Reuven Pedatzur, writing in an article in Haaretz, Allon expressed caution over the Jordanian option and declared that "The last thing we must do is to return one inch of the West Bank. We are talking about a matter that is not forever, and we are placing it on a phenomenon that is flesh and blood, and perhaps will remain for a maximum of 60 years, if he does not get shot before that. Allon said that he was "taking the maximum possibility. Not a canton, not an autonomous region, but an independent Arab state agreed on between us and them in an enclave surrounded by Israeli territory" independent even in its foreign policy. But in order to avoid turning Israel into a bi-national state, the Arab citizens of the West Bank should be granted a special status. A quasi-independent autonomous region was the first option. The autonomous region consisted of two large enclaves, separated by the Greater Jerusalem area, from Israel in the west to the Jordan Valley in the east. A vast majority of the ministers rejected the plan when it was brought before the plenary session of the government on 30 July. At the beginning of, Allon abandoned the Palestinian option and instead adopted the Jordanian option. All the remainder would be handed over to King Hussein. Most of the members of the Government then backed the Allon Plan as the basis of the policy. Although the Allon Plan was never officially endorsed by the successive Israeli Cabinets, [1] [2] [5] the peace plan Israel offered to King Hussein in September was based on it. Hussein, however, rejected the plan. He stuck to UN Resolution, including the statement that territories cannot be acquired by force. Eventually King Hussein broke off the talks. The return of East Jerusalem was not open for discussion. Settlements built in the Jordan Valley were designed as permanent advance-position lookouts in the 15 kilometers-wide strip along the Jordan Valley and Judean Desert to be annexed by Israel. The Palestinians see the Jordan Valley, the most fertile part of the West Bank with important water resources, as the breadbasket for the future Palestinian State. During and after the failed Israeli-Palestinian peace negotiations, renewed discussions appeared in the press about ideas from Israeli politicians to annex Area C. Hebron While Hebron was predestined in the Allon Plan to be part of the Palestinian autonomous region, in Israel made it clear to Jordan that apart from the annexation of the Jordan Valley, it also wanted a strip of territory running to the Hebron area. Kiryat Arba both marked the western border of the Israeli-claimed territory in the Allon Plan and blocked the Palestinian build-up area of Hebron in the east. In the following years Jewish settlements were established at the southern outskirts of the Old City. With the creation of a Palestinian-free route between Kiryat Arba and the Shuhada region, the planned strip from the Jordan Valley to Hebron was finished. Dayan felt it was important for Israelis to settle outside the lines of the Allon Plan, though not within Arab municipalities. The Greater Jerusalem area should be expanded to include Ramallah and Bethlehem, with Israeli citizenship granted its Arab inhabitants. Dayan envisaged a metropolitan Nablus-Jenin complex under the sovereignty of "the Arab nation east of the Jordan", an enclave smaller than the one outlined in the Allon Plan, and, unlike the provisions of the Allon Plan, internal security responsibilities would fall on the Israeli military in cooperation with Arab police. In a subsequent revision of the plan, however, Allon conceived of Gaza as part of a Jordanian-Palestinian state.

## Chapter 9 : Israeli Wall Seals Palestinian Ghettos

*The Allon Plan (Hebrew: תוכנית אלון) was a plan to partition the West Bank between Israel and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, create a Druze state in the Israeli-occupied Golan Heights, and return most of the Sinai*

# DOWNLOAD PDF ZIONISM AND PEACE : FROM THE ALLON PLAN TO THE WASHINGTON ACCORDS

*Peninsula to Arab control.*