## Peace Enemies

The Past and Present Conflict between Israel and Palestine

PASSIA
Palostinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs

PASSIA, the Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs, is an Arab, non-profit Palestinian institution with a financially and legally independent status. It is not affiliated with any government, political party or organization. PASSIA seeks to present the Question of Palestine in its national, Arab and international contexts through academic research, dialogue and publication.

PASSIA endeavors that research undertaken under its auspices be specialized, scientific and objective and that its symposia and workshops, whether international or intra-Palestinian, be open, self-critical and conducted in a spirit of harmony and cooperation.

Ludwig Watzal, born in 1950, holds a Ph.D. in Political Science and International Relations and is an editor and freelance journalist currently living in Bonn. He has published monographs on issues of development policy, on Albert Schweitzer and on Romano Guardini as well as numerous studies and articles on the development and foreign policy and on questions of human rights in the Middle East. His most recent publication was *Frieden ohne Gerechtigkeit? Israel und die Menschenrechte der Palästinenser*, (Peace Without Justice? Israel and the Human Rights of the Palestinians).

This book is a detailed examination of the Israeli-Palestinian relations in the past and at present. It analyzes the agreements concluded or signed since 1993, discusses the development of democracy, the status of human rights in the autonomous areas and in Israel, as well as the foreign relations of Israel and its most important domestic controversies. The book represents the free expression of its author and does not necessarily represent the judgement or opinions of PASSIA. PASSIA signed an agreement with the author and publisher to translate the book into English and publish it in Palestine.

Originally published in Berlin by the Aufbau Taschenbuch Verlag in 1998

Original Title: Friedensfeinde – Der Konflikt zwischen Israel und Palästina in Geschichte und Gegenwart [Peace Enemies - The Conflict between Israel and Palestine in the Past and at Present]

Cover Photo: Courtesy of Mahfouz Abu Turk, Photographer, Jerusalem

Translated from the German Language by Mrs. Deniz Altayli, PASSIA Program Director English Editing by Mrs. Zainab Al-Kurd, PASSIA

> Copyright © PASSIA Publication June 1999

Tel: 972-2-626 4426 • Fax: 972-2-628 2819 E-mail: passia@palnet.com

## CONTENTS

ľο	reword	1		
O	n the History of Palestine and Israel	3		
1.	From Zionist Settlement to the Establishment of the State of Israel	3		
2.	The Middle East Wars	22		
3.	The Domestic Turning Point in Israel	28		
4.	The Palestinian Struggle for an Independent State	. 32		
5.	From Madrid to Oslo	40		
<b>6</b> .	The Election of Netanyahu and the Escalation of the Conflict	50		
The Peace Process in Israel and Palestine 53				
1.	The 'Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Authority' of 13 September 1993	53		
2.	The 'Gaza-Jericho Agreement' of 4 May 1994 and the Protocol on Economic Relations of 29 April 1994	68		
3.	The Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement on the West Bank and Gaza Strip of 28 September 1995 (Taba or Oslo II Agreement)	. 85		
4.	The Hebron Redeployment Protocol of 15 January 1997 and Netanyahu's 'Peace Vision'	102		
5.	The Wye River Memorandum of 23 October 1998	123		
6.	The Territorial Reality of the Peace Process	128		
TI Is	ne Human Rights of the Palestinians Under raeli Occupation and Palestinian Autonomy	140		
1.	International Law and Occupation	141		
2.	Israeli Human Rights Violations Vis-à-vis the Palestinians	143		
3.	Palestinian Human Rights Violations Vis-à-vis Palestinians	166		

Is:	Israel's Role in the International System and in the Middle East				
1.	US-	Israeli Relations	180		
2.	The	Middle East Policy of the European Union	186		
3.	The	Israeli-Turkish Alliance	191		
4.	Israe	eli-Syrian Relations	196		
5.	Geri	man-Israeli-Jewish Relations	200		
Is: an	rael d R	between Western Democracy eligious Fundamentalism	208		
1.	The Rel	e Alliance Between the National Right and igious Fundamentalism	209		
2.	Asł	nkenazim versus Sephardim/Mizrahim	232		
3.	Fro	m Zionism to 'Post-Zionism' or Ethnocentric Zionism	236		
Οι	ıtlo:	ok	246		
		LIST OF MAPS			
Ma	ıp 1:	Palestinian Autonomous Area – The Gaza Strip 1994	70		
Ma	ıp 2:	The Palestinian Territories After Oslo II, 1995	89		
Ma	ıp 3:	Map of the West Bank and Gaza, January 1967	129		
Ma	ıp 4:	Palestinian and Israeli Land Tenure in the West Bank and Gaza, 1967-1995	130		
Ma	ıp 5/6	Status of the Palestinian Territories	132		
Ma	ıp 7:	Projection of Areas Under Palestinian and Israeli Authority, 2010	133		
Ma	p 8:	Metropolitan and Greater Jerusalem	136		
Ma	p 9:	The Palestinian District of Jerusalem	137		

## **FOREWORD**

One hundred and one years after the Zionists first announced their claim to Palestine, and 50 years after the establishment of the State of Israel, the Palestinians are further away than ever before from having their own state within the borders of 1967. What was inscribed deep in the memory of this people as a catastrophe represented for the Jews the fulfillment of their desires. Moreover, the peace process that was initiated with the signing of the Declaration of Principles (DoP) in September 1993 has time and time again proven itself, as far as the Palestinians are concerned, to be a continuation of the occupation disguised in a legalistic cloak. At the beginning of 1994, such a notion would have been considered unfounded; since then, the realities on the ground have confirmed its validity.

Israel, as it celebrates the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of its establishment, is a country divided and torn apart by contradictions and self-doubts. It has failed to define in a clear manner its external borders, and it still has no constitution. In addition, it faces the worst legitimacy and identity crisis of its entire history. The 'spiritualization' of politics is destroying the secular state *raison*, and the current Israeli government has virtually declared war on Zionism in its original form, while many Israelis fear for their very existence and suffer from doubts concerning Zionism, disappointment and resignation. Moreover, the country has lost its external enemy, responsible in the past for guaranteeing internal unity, and the partial 'de-demonization' of the Palestinians by the peace process has brought the social tensions that have always existed to the surface with gaps between the Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jews, the religious and secular, and the 'Right' and 'Left', as well as between Zionists and post-Zionists, now clearly visible.

Most Germans experience problems in looking at Israeli policies objectively for historical reasons connected to the Holocaust, but the fact remains: the Israeli Government bears responsibility for the violations under International Law that Palestinians continue to face. Both Israeli Jews and Palestinians would benefit were German to establish normal diplomatic relations with both. A precondition for this, however, is a thorough analysis of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, in which the peace process, democracy and the status of human rights in both societies, in addition to their respective foreign policy goals, are all demystified.

Fifty years after its foundation, Israel faces two alternatives: Western democracy or a *Halachic* God-state. History shows Israel not only as a 'victim' of 'Arab aggression', but also as a state intent on following its own hegemonic goals. Palestine, meanwhile, must decide between continuous Israeli occupation, its own dictatorship, and Western-oriented civil society. Now at the lowest point in their history, the Palestinians have obtained neither domestic nor foreign policy sovereignty, and the world remains silent while Palestinians in both Israel and the autonomous areas are tortured for the sake of 'peace'. In short, both the Israelis and Palestinians are still far away from recognizing the legitimate and political rights of the other party and from achieving the goal - "to live in peaceful coexistence and mutual dignity and security" - mentioned in the Oslo Accords.

The author thanks all those who granted him interviews. Special thanks go to the Aufbau Verlag [the Aufbau Verlag publishing house], which has supported the project in many respects.