

Presentation of the course **Palestine/Israel: One Country, One State**

This course endeavours to engage the present situation in Palestine and Israel by opening full, imaginative and innovative debate on alternative solutions to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, in order to identify possible avenues of agreement, consensus, and reconciliation. Our point of departure is that the present situation is unsustainable for both communities, as much from political, socio-economic and juridical-constitutional perspectives as from ethical, religious and moral ones. And although it is necessary to emphasize that the Palestinian people has been the party most abused by prolonging this conflict, given the drastic decline of their welfare and possibilities for political liberation, we note also that Israeli society is following a dangerous path that threatens to corrupt its social and political fabric as well as the most basic forms of coexistence in their civil society and their State.

Rounds of discussions initiated at the Madrid Conference (1991) and the Oslo Accords (1993 and 1995), which opened new possibilities of resolving the conflict, have resulted in utter failure, having produced neither reasonable proposals nor realistic possibilities of implementing solutions in ways considered viable by both parties. In this context, we understand that the two-state solution that continues to dominate the international agenda has been discredited as unviable and for having only sheltered and sustained grave problems that threaten to erupt into serious crisis in the near future. Present proposals for one Palestinian state also risk the political destruction of the Palestinian people and their disintegration as a society. We believe that the time has come, if we wish to avoid catastrophe in Palestine, to challenge the dominant parameters of debate about the conflict, such that civil societies may become involved in imaginative diplomacy that can transcend the solutions promoted by States to this day. In this spirit, this course offers a bold opportunity to debate these boundaries publicly and frankly in order to seek new solutions and to challenge peoples, societies and politics involved in Palestine and Israel to consider new proposals for a common political future based on peace and justice.

Accordingly, this course seeks to examine specific conditions for the possibility of establishing a secular, democratic and multi-cultural state, as a considered proposal for resolving the conflict. We pursue this project on the understanding that other solutions explored since the Madrid Conference have hardly yielded viable proposals capable of creating justice and peace in Palestine. In any case, we feel compelled to act when the worsening of objective conditions in the region is so undeniable and neither the international community nor local actors offer workable proposals to resolve the present strategic deadlock. The course therefore locates these reflections in the urgency of a geostrategic situation becoming ever more volatile in a region denied any solution to the conflict. Finally, we count on the intellectual clarity, ethical courage, political intelligence and strategic astuteness of the Palestinian and Israeli peoples to open new avenues for a peaceful and just future.

This course was possible thanks to the inestimable work and dedication of Ali Abunimah, Omar Barghouti and Virginia Tilley.

Universidad Nómada
Fundación por la Europa de los Ciudadanos (IU).



«Palestine/Israel: one country, one state»

Summer Course of El Escorial, Madrid, 2-6 July 2007

Universidad Complutense de Madrid (UCM)

Director: Carlos Prieto del Campo (Universidad Nómada)

Secretary: Raúl Sánchez Cedillo (Universidad Nómada)

Organizers: Universidad Nómada & Fundación por la Europa de los Ciudadanos (IU)

Sponsor: Fundación por la Europa de los Ciudadanos (IU)

INSCRIPTION:

Students' Secretary. C/ Donoso Cortés, 63. 28015 Madrid

Telephone numbers: +34.915434666, +34.913946480 and +34.913946481. Fax: +34.915432012

Monday–Thursday: from 9.30 h. to 14.30 h. and from 16.30 a 19.00 h. Friday: from 9.30 h. to 14.30 h.

Internet: www.ucm.es/cursosverano

MONDAY, 2 July

THEME: RE-IMAGINING THE CONFLICT

9:00 h. Opening of the course by Carlos Berzosa, rector of the UCM, Pedro Chaves Giraldo, Fundación por la Europa de los Ciudadanos (IU) and Carlos Prieto del Campo, Universidad Nómada.

10:00 h. First panel:

Constructing “new histories” of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict: Zionism, the Nakba, and origins of the Jewish State

Presenters: Haim Bresheeth, Ghazi Falah, Ilan Pappé

12:00 h. Second panel:

Past and potential trajectories in Palestinian nationalism: class, party politics, generations, gender, and identity in political-historical perspective

Presenters: Azmi Bishara, Islah Jad, Joseph Massad, Pedro Martínez Montávez, Gema Martín Muñoz

17.00 h. Round table:

Challenges to constructing a new collective narrative toward a new future for Palestine/Israel

Discussants: Naseer Aruri, Oren Ben-Dor, Jonathan Cook, Leila Farsakh

TUESDAY, 3 July

THEME: RETHINKING GEOGRAPHY AND NATION

10:00 h First panel:

Facts on the Ground -- limits and possibilities for two- and one-state solutions in Palestine/Israel

Presenters: Omar Barghouti, Ghazi Falah, Leila Farsakh

12.00 h. Second panel:

Political groupings in a shared state: religion, ethnicity, and diaspora

Presenters: Ali Abunimah, Steven Friedman, Islah Jad

17:00 h. Round table:

Possibilities and central challenges to developing a new political geography in Palestine/Israel

Discussants: Haim Bresheeth, Jonathan Cook, As'ad Ghanem, Ilan Pappé, Virginia Tilley

WEDNESDAY, 4 July

THEME: CHALLENGES FOR LAW AND JUSTICE

10:00 h. First panel:

Domestic law and justice: Basic Law, group rights, and democracy in Israel

Presenters: Oren Ben-Dor, Jonathan Cook As'ad Ghanem, Antonio Vercher Noguera

12.00 h. Second panel:

International law and justice: diplomacy, international security, and regional dynamics

Presenters: Naseer Aruri, Michael Tarazi, Virginia Tilley, Rafael Escudero Alday

17:00 h. Round table:

The dialectic between local and international tensions: possibilities and risks

Discussants: Azmi Bishara, Ghazi Falah, Steven Friedman, Isaías Barreñada Bajo, George Bisharat

THURSDAY, 5 July

THEME: WAYS FORWARD

10:00 h. First panel

The politics of unification: unitary, binationalism, consociationalism, others

Presenters: Azmi Bishara, As'ad Ghanem, Ilan Pappé

12.00 h. Second panel:

Transcending trauma and finding reconciliation in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict

Presenters: Ali Abunimah, Haim Bresheeth, Steven Friedman

17.00 h. Round table:

Integrating a new nation-state: the art of the possible

Discussants: Omar Barghouti, Oren Ben-Dor, Islah Jad, Joseph Massad, Michael Tarazi

FRIDAY, 6 July

THEME: PUTTING IDEAS INTO ACTION

10:00 h. First panel

Building toward a one state solution: social movements, economy/labour, political parties, & diplomacy

Presenters: Naseer Aruri, Omar Barghouti, Leila Farsakh, Joseph Massad, Michael Tarazi

12:00 h. Round table

Creating a new future for Palestine and Israel: a democratic and non-confessional state for all its citizens

Panel: Ali Abunimah, Azmi Bishara, Leila Farsakh, Haim Bresheeth, Ilan Pappé, Omar Barghouti, Pedro Martínez Montávez, Carlos Prieto del Campo



LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

1. Ali Abunimah — leading Palestinian political activist, co-founder of the leading on-line analytical forum on Israel-Palestine, "Electronic Intifada", and author of many related studies and essays, and the book *One Country: A Bold Proposal to End the Israeli-Palestinian Impasse* (2006)
2. Dr. Naseer Aruri — Chancellor Professor (Emeritus) of Political Science, University of Massachusetts at Dartmouth, USA, author of *Occupation: Israel over Palestine* (1983), *Palestine and the Palestinians: A Social and Political History* (1997), (with Naseer Hasan Aruri) *Revising Culture Reinventing Peace: The Influence of Edward W. Said* (2000), *Dishonest Broker: The Role of the United States in Palestine and Israel* (2003) and other titles
3. Omar Barghouti — independent Palestinian researcher and human rights activist, choreographer with El-Funoun Palestinian Dance Troupe, founding member of the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI)
4. Dr. Oren Ben-Dor — Lecturer of Legal and Political Philosophy, School of Law, Southampton University, UK, author of *Constitutional Limits and Public Sphere* (2000) and the forthcoming *Thinking about Law: In Silence with Heidegger*, and other works on law, ethnicity and politics, including numerous essays on the Palestine problem
5. Dr. Azmi Bishara — Knesset Member, co-founder and present head of the National Democratic Alliance (Balad) party in Israel, holds a PhD from Humboldt University (Berlin), formerly senior lecturer and head of the Philosophy Department at Bir-Zeit University and senior researcher at the Van-Leer Institute in Jerusalem.
6. Dr. Haim Bresheeth — Chair of Media and Cultural Studies, University of East London, film maker and film studies scholar, author of *Palestine - A Profile of an Occupation, Introducing the Holocaust* (2002), a special double-issue of *Third Text*, focussing on the representation of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, and many articles on film criticism, including "The Nakbah in Palestinian Recent Cinema," "Telling the Stories of Heim and Heimat, Home and Exile: Recent Palestinian Films and the Iconic Parable of Invisible Palestine"
7. Dr. Ghazi Falah — Professor of Geography and Planning, Department of Geography and Planning, University of Akron (Ohio, US), author (with Caroline Nagel) of *Geographies of Muslim Women: Gender, Religion, and Space* (2005), *Galilee and the Judaization Plans*, guest editor of special issue, "Some Geographical Aspects of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict" (*GeoJournal*), author of *The Forgotten Palestinians: Arab An Naqab 1906- 1986* and *Patterns of Spontaneous Bedouin Settlement in Galilee* 1983), and numerous articles, including "Geopolitics of 'Enclavisation' and the Demise of a Two-State Solution to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict" (*Third World Quarterly*, 2005).
8. Dr. Leila Farsakh — Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Massachusetts-Boston, author of *Palestinian Labor Migration to Israel: Labor, Land and Occupation* (2005) and numerous scholarly articles, including "Independence, Cantons or Bantustans: Whither the Palestinian State?" (*Middle East Journal*, 2005), "The Political Economy of Agrarian Change in the West Bank and Gaza Strip" (*European University Institute*, 2004), "Palestinian Labor Flows to Israel: A Finished Story?" *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 2002) and "The Viability of a Palestinian State in the West Bank and Gaza Strip" *The Electronic Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 2001).

9. Dr. Steven Friedman — Senior Research Associate, IDASA—Institute for Democracy in South Africa, Pretoria, South Africa; former Wilson Fellow (DC), author of *The Long Journey: South Africa's Quest for a Negotiated Settlement* (1993) and numerous scholarly articles and essays on South Africa's transition to democracy, democratic theory and governance; also a scholar of Judaism
10. Dr. Islah Jad — Professor of Gender and Cultural Studies, founding member and Chair of the Women Studies Program at Birzeit University, member of the administrative committee of the Women's Affairs Technical Committee, author of *Fatal Equality: Islamists and Istishhadiyyat*, and "From Salons to the Popular Committees: Palestinian Women, 1919-1989" (2007)
11. Dr. Joseph Massad — Associate Professor of Modern Arab Politics and Intellectual History, Columbia University, author of *Colonial Effects: The Making of National Identity in Jordan* (2001) and *The Persistence of the Palestinian Question: Essays on Zionism and the Palestinians* (2006) and numerous articles on Palestinian identity and Zionism
12. Dr. Ilan Pappé — Professor of History, University of Haifa, Israel, author of *Making of the Arab-Israeli Conflict 1947-51* (1994), *The Israel/Palestine Question* (1999), *The History of Modern Palestine* (2003), *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* (2006) and many other titles on Israeli/ Palestinian history and politics
13. Dr. Virginia Tilley, Chief Research Specialist, Democracy and Governance Programme, Human Sciences Research Council in Pretoria, South Africa; formerly a professor of Political Science and International Relations; author of *The One-State Solution: A Breakthrough for Peace in the Israeli-Palestinian Deadlock* (2005) and numerous related analytical essays
14. Jonathan Cook — journalist, prominent analyst and essayist on Israeli law and policies, author of *Blood and Religion. The Unmasking of the Jewish and Democratic State* (2006).
15. As'ad Ghanem – principal researcher of the Haifa's Sciences Scholl of the University of Sciences. Author of *The Palestinian Regime. A Partial Democracy* (2001) and innumerable articles on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.
16. George Bisharat — Professor of Law at the University of California-Hastings, where he conducts the Criminal Practice Clinic and teaches Criminal Procedure, Law and Social Anthropology in Middle East Societies. He is author of *Palestinian Lawyers and Israeli Rule: Law and Disorder in the West Bank* (1989), and numerous related articles, including "Facts, Rights, and Remedies: Implementing International Law in the Israel/Palestine" (2005), "Facing Tyranny with Justice: Alternatives to War in the Confrontation with Iraq" (2003).
17. Michael Tarazi — Former legal assessor of the OLP negotiation department.
18. Antonio Vercher Noguera — Director of Public Prosecutions for the Environment and Urban Planning. Author of *Antiterrorismo en Ulster y en País Vasco. Legislación y medidas* [Antiterrorism in Ulster and the Basque Country: Legal Measures] (1991); *La delincuencia urbanística* [Criminality in Urban Planning] (2002); *El derecho europeo medioambiental* [European Environmental Law] (2005).
19. Pedro Martínez Montávez — Arabic Scholar. Professor *emeritus* at the Universidad Autonoma de Madrid. Author of *Poesía árabe contemporánea* [Contemporary

Arabic Poetry) (1958); *Poemas amorosos árabes* [Arabic Love Poetry] (1965); *Poetas palestinos de resistencia* [Poets of the Palestinian Resistance] (1974); *Ensayos marginales de arabismo* [Marginal Essays in Arab Studies] (1977); *El poema es Filistín. Palestina en la poesía árabe actual* [The Poem is Filistin: Palestine in Contemporary Arabic Poetry] (1980); *El Islam* [Islam] (1981); *Literatura árabe de hoy* [Arabic Literature Today] (1990); *La independencia árabe* [Arab Independance] (coauthor, 1993); *Pensando en la historia de los árabes* [Thinking about the History of the Arabs] (1995) y *La pretendida superioridad de Occidente y otros artículos* [The Supposed Superiority of the West and Other Essays] (2006).

20. Gema Martín Muñoz — Arabic Scholar. Director of the *Casa Árabe*: International Institute of Arabic Studies and the Islamic World. Author of *El Estado Árabe. Crisis de legitimidad y contestación islamista* [The Arab State: Crisis of Legitimacy and the Islamist Response] (2000); *Aprender a conocerse. Percepciones sociales y culturales entre España y Marruecos* [Learn to Know Each Other: Social and Culture Perceptions Between Spain and Morocco] (2001); *Irak. Un fracaso de Occidente, 1920-2003* [Iraq: A Failure of the West, 1920-2003] (2003) y *Sistemas y procesos electorales en la política egipcia del siglo XX* [Electoral Systems and Processes in Egyptian Politics in the 20th Century] (2004).
21. Isaías Barreñada Bajo — Director of Educational Programs and Publications for the *Casa Árabe* and the International Institute of Arabic Studies and the Islamic World. Author of the doctoral thesis *Identidad y ciudadanía en el conflicto israelo-palestino. Los palestinos con ciudadanía israelí, parte del conflicto y excluidos del proceso de paz* [Identity and Citizenship in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Palestinians with Israeli Citizenship, Part of the Conflict and Excluded from the Peace Process] (2005).
22. Rafael Escudero Alday — Professor of Political Philosophy at the Universidad Carlos III de Madrid. Author of *Los calificativos del positivismo jurídico. El debate sobre la incorporación de la moral* [The Language of Legal Positivism: The Debate over the Incorporation of Moral Criteria] (2004) y *Los derechos a la sombra del muro. Un castigo más para el pueblo palestino* [Rights in the Shadow of the Wall: One Punishment More for the Palestinian People] (2006).

