

**The debate continues:  
Why the Socialist Solution in Palestine!**

The Socialist Approach to Solution in Palestine:

An Urgent Task to Fight the New Palestinian "One State" Surrender

By Tikva Honig-Parnass

<http://www.kanaanonline.org/articles/01649.pdf>

A few days ago the *Haaretz* daily reported on a forum that has begun activities in the Occupied Territories and the Palestinian Diaspora aiming at dismantling the PA and the return of responsibility for the territories to Israel.

It also reported on a petition that was published this week in the London-based, Arabic-language *al-Hayat* daily newspaper. The petition was signed by a group of Palestinian figures, including those who have been for long known for their betrayal of the national Palestinian cause (like Sari Nusseibeh) or for their collaboration with the Zionist State Secrete Security Police- the Shabak ( like Jibril Rjoub and a number of PA ministers). Due to their realization that the two-state solution is not "practical" any more, they now call for the annexation of the '67 Occupied territories and replace the search for a Palestinian state by the fight for equal citizen rights from within, which, in fact, is the expansion of the Zionist state over the entire Palestinian homeland. ( Akiva Eldar, *Haaretz*, 2 September 2008).

Two weeks earlier, in an interview to Akiva Eldar (*Haaretz*, August 16, 2008) Sari Nusseibeh emphasized at length that the failure of the two-state option should be replaced by the demand for a "one-state solution": "we can fight for equal rights, rights of existence, return and equality, and we could take it slowly over the years and there could be peaceful movement - like in South Africa. I think one should maybe begin on the Palestinian side, to begin a debate, to re-engage in the idea of one state".

Reading both pieces raised my concerns that this new version of Palestinian surrender may be interpreted by many proponents of the "Movement for One State and Right of Return" as an expression of the movement's vision. I expected that its original

leaders will find it most difficult to convince their followers that there is an essential difference between their genuine anti-Zionist approach and this hypocrite surrender suggestion or even to successfully reject the argument that it is a "pragmatic" stage on the way to the "ideal" solution.

The fast confirmation of my suspicion presented below, was the motive to add this contribution to the debate on the discussion on the one-state solution:

The new Palestinian forum and the "one state" perspective they claim to adopt, constitutes an additional proof to the foremost importance of Adel Samara's recent initiative to re-introduce socialism and anti imperialism as the starting point of any discussion on Palestine. <sup>1</sup> Both, his opening article and his answer to the participants in the debate, emphasize the perception that the destruction of the Palestinian people by the Zionist state and US, is part of the Capitalist- Imperialist project in exploiting and oppressing the Arab East .Hence the Palestinian resistance should be seen as one front in the comprehensive struggle against imperialism and for Socialism throughout the Arab world. The conclusion from this analysis is that the task of internationalist Marxists is to act in solidarity with the resistance forces to the ongoing fragmentation of the Arab East This resistance, be it Islamists or secular, is targeted by the United States and Israel, the enforcer of imperialism in the region, and the oppressive Arab reactionary regimes because it (i.e. the resistance) challenges imperialist hegemony in the region including Palestine. (Hisham Bustani).

Many among the radical Left abroad and here have forsaken the Marxist socialist viewpoint from which strategies against the Zionist state should be drawn. Those among them who have joined the Movement for One State and Right of Return will inevitably support the cynical recent stage in the treachery process of the Palestinian bourgeoisie headed by Nusseibeh.

A recent article by an Israeli central figure in the Fourth International who actively participated in the Haifa Conference on the One State Movement (June 2008) has

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<sup>1</sup>A) Adel Samara: ***"Why the Socialist Solution in Palestine! And why the Secular Democratic State will serve the Zionist and Arab Comprador Solution!"***. Published in Kana'an Online, Volume VIII – Issue 1592, 11 July 2008 and can be found on:

<http://www.kanaanonline.org/articles/01592.pdf>

B) ***"Debate on the Socialist Solution in Palestine (Comments and views on Adel Samara's article and Adel Samara's Reply"***. Published in Kana'an Online, Volume VIII – Issue 1642, 30 August 2008 and can be found on:

<http://www.kanaanonline.org/articles/01642.pdf>

already confirmed our prognosis (See Michael Warschawski: One-State/Two-States: Sari and his Disappointed Zionist Friends ).

Ignoring completely the capitalist- imperialist context he dedicates his article to defend Nusseibeh's "fairly realistic analysis" and "interesting remarks" expressed in his August interview and depicts Nusseibeh's suggested "solution" as essentially similar to Warscawski's own support for the perspective of "one democratic ("and bi-national"!!) state".

Not a single word on Imperialism and Socialism was mentioned. The author presents the past "pragmatic" approach of "the Palestinian leader" Nusseibeh, as one who endorsed the political perspective of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza and the concession of the Palestinian Right of Return (ROR). However, his presentation lacks the sharp revulsion at Nusseibeh's past positions who is described as following the PLO positions in the 1980'-1990' [ in fact, the "Oslo years" ] which are not criticized as well. Moreover, Warschawski defends Nusseibeh, whose "primary motivation (for a two-state solution) was to minimize human suffering."

Indeed, as emphasized by Adel Samara and others (like Moshe Machover), the Marxist anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist approach is the only safeguard against falling again and again into the trap set by self- claimed anti-Zionist "pragmatists". Time and again they manage to destroy political movements which lack the defense of a consistent socialist approach thus emptying the resistance in the Arab region, Palestine and all over the world of any revolutionary meaning.

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