

## Dr. Ghada Karmi: Palestinians Require a 'One-State' Solution

*Dr. Karmi is the author of Married to Another Man: Israel's Dilemma in Palestine (London: Pluto Press, 2007). She is an Honorary Fellow at the University of Exeter's Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies (IAIS) of the School of Humanities and Social Studies (Exeter, U.K.). EIR Counterintelligence Co-Editor Michele Steinberg interviewed her on Oct. 9, 2009.*



**EIR:** Dr. Karmi, one of the first points you make in your book is that the West has no idea how terrible it has been for the Arabs, with the creation of a State of Israel on their land. I agree, totally, that the West does not appreciate it. And without repeating what's in the book, because I want people to read it, what would you say are the major issues, that people should know?

**Karmi:** Well, first of all, people need to understand, that, from the point of view of Arabs, the establishment of the State of Israel in their midst, was an unmitigated disaster. There is actually nothing—repeat, nothing—positive about the existence of Israel, as far as the Arabs are concerned. You know, sometimes, there are events, historical events, which happen against people's will.

But, in time, they can find some positive aspect to something they didn't want to happen in the first place. This is not the case with Israel. On the contrary, as time has gone on, the existence of Israel has only increased the problems for the Arab region; it has increased the danger in the Arab world, and is a threat not only to the security of the region, but the security—I think it's not an exaggeration to say—the security of the whole world. I'm thinking in particular of the recent Israeli campaign, to try and force the United States, maybe other Western powers, to engage in an attack, a military attack on Iran.

**EIR:** So this goes far beyond the issue of Palestinian life and human rights: You're concerned with a strategic issue, as well?

**Karmi:** Indeed, you see, for the Palestinians, I don't think there's any argument that the existence of the State of Israel was a total disaster. They lost their country, they lost their homes, they lost their jobs, they lost the continuity of their lives, they became refugees or exiles. I think it goes without saying, that what has happened to the Palestinians has been absolutely disastrous, as a result of the creation of Israel.

And today, if you look at the way the Palestinians, each Palestinian group has suffered, in its own particular way: You have the Palestinians under occupation, in Gaza and the West Bank, and East Jerusalem; and of course, there has been a tremendous amount of exposure to the dangerous actions of Israel and its oppression of these occupied people. Most recently, of course,



EIRNS/M. Woodward

*Jerusalem's Dome of the Rock. Dr. Karmi was born in the Holy City, sacred to the world's three great monotheistic religions. She and her family left when war broke out in 1948, expecting to return soon. But they and millions of other Palestinians have remained stateless ever since.*

I'm thinking of Gaza, the Israeli war on Gaza, at the end of 2008, beginning of 2009. For those people, the existence of Israel is a *daily* oppression, curtailment of rights, and a threat to their very survival, and/or the normalcy of their lives.

But then, you have the Palestinian grouping that is *in* Israel, that is, the grouping with Israeli citizenship. And again, there is much information about the second-class status of these citizens, the way they are discriminated against, and the numerous problems that they face, in social and political terms, under Israeli rule.

And then, there are Palestinians that are living in refugee camps. We're talking about 4.5 million people, who live *in* refugee camps, and have done that over the last 61 years. This, of course, is not a situation that any human being would want, for themselves or for their children.

And finally, there is the group of Palestinian exiles, people like myself, who have made good lives, often comfortable lives, elsewhere. But, again, not only without a homeland, not only suffering the effects of loss and lack of belonging, but, the Palestinians who were exiled within Arab countries are not safe from the actions of the states within which they live. We know, for example, what happened to the Palestinian community in Kuwait, in the aftermath of the 1991 Gulf War:

300,000 people were expelled from Kuwait, and had to try and pick themselves up again. We know that this is [related] to the attack on Iraq; subsequent to 2003, the Palestinian community in Iraq was evicted and lives in makeshift camps on the border between Iraq and Syria. . . .

**EIR:** How many people were there in Iraq, approximately? These are really the forgotten men and women.

**Karmi:** It was never a very large community, it was less than 100,000 people; but nevertheless, they have lost their homes.

You have the same problem in Libya, where, after the signing of the Oslo Agreement, between the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel, in 1993, those people were expelled by the Libyan regime, and are still, to this day, in camps on the border with Egypt, with nowhere to go.

So, the *agony* of the Palestinians is really without end, as a result of the creation of Israel.

### **A Threat to the Entire Region**

But, what I'm referring to, is the wider picture, which people don't seem to be aware of, which is the threat that Israel poses to the Arab region. And of course, we're thinking of the recurrent wars. In that region, since 1948, and the establishment of the State of Israel, we have had some five wars, in a small region like that, which is quite extraordinary if you think about that. Because of its existence, Israel has threatened its neighbors, it occupies Arab land, in the shape of currently, the Golan Heights, until recently in Lebanon. I think people ought to read [my book], obviously—I won't go into detail, into all the other, perhaps, not-so-visible ill-effects that Israel has had on the region. But it all amounts to a situation, which I think is insupportable.

I mean, if you think about it: Here is a state, created *quite* artificially, in a region which didn't want it, was never asked, was never in agreement with the creation of this state, and it is *imposed* on that region.

But not only that, it is armed to the teeth, by the very same powers that helped to install it. It continues to enjoy diplomatic, political, military, moral support from Western powers, despite the damage it has done to the Arabs of the region! It is really, I think, unprecedented in history!

### A Lifetime in Exile

**EIR:** You were born in Jerusalem. Could you tell us about your own history, and that of your family?

**Karmi:** I suppose I am a product, or rather, I'm an illustration of the damage that the creation of the State of Israel did, because I was born in Jerusalem. I came from an ordinary family, we were living an ordinary life. We had every reason to expect to grow up in an ordinary way, and to die in our homeland, an expectation shared by billions of people across the world. However, because Israel was established in 1948, and that establishment was done against the wishes of the people of Palestine, of course, there was conflict. And there was a conflict *before* the 1948 War.

So, as young child, I was subject to the danger, the fear, the disruption of life, that comes from a kind of local war, between Jewish militias and local Palestinians, which was happening before the formal establishment of the State of Israel. That was terrifying for my family, and for other families in our part of Jerusalem, so that my parents decided to evacuate us from our home, and go to nearby Damascus [Syria], where my grandparents lived.

And of course, the idea they had, again—and a *typical, normal, natural* idea, for a normal family—is that, “if we evacuate our children from a place of danger, we can go and stay somewhere else, until the situation calms down, and then, we go home again.” That’s exactly what my parents thought. And so, we left our home in Jerusalem in April 1948—before May 1948, which is when the State of Israel was established—and we left everything behind, because we thought we were coming back! That’s a story replicated hundreds and thousands of times for Palestinians of that time.

Now, of course, having left, we were never, ever, allowed to go back home. And for me, therefore, life before '48, when I was, admittedly, a young child, with few memories, nevertheless, it was a particular kind of life, and it *ended*, abruptly and cruelly, in '48. And, from that moment on, I joined the legion of displaced people. In our case, we were displaced to

London, and I grew up, and made my life there. However, for me, as for all the Palestinians who suffered the same fate, the cause of Palestine, the injustice done to us, the sheer brutal unfairness of it all, has never died!

We cannot pretend that all is well! I, who have a comfortable life, I've had a good education, I have a profession—even so, I cannot forget, I cannot ignore what happened to me, and what is still happening, and what Israel is still doing against the Palestinians.

### Call for a UN Debate

**EIR:** You have a draft resolution, which you've spoken about at several different conferences, and I'd like you to talk about that. What it would mean for the United Nations to take up a resolution that actually addresses this issue of justice, fairness, and what happened to the Palestinian people, the ordinary people.

**Karmi:** Yes. Over the years, of course, feeling as I do, I had long ago accepted that there would never, ever be a resolution of this conflict, unless the country that I knew as my homeland, Palestine, were returned whole—*whole*, not divided, and not broken up, and not partitioned. That seemed to me to be utterly self-evident. Now, we know that, over time, the Palestinian leadership began to settle for what it thought it could get—which was a partitioned country, with a small part of the original homeland to be designated as a Palestinian state.

Well, I never subscribed to that, and there's no living Palestinian who subscribes to that. It's just that many believe that they're not going to get anything, if they don't go for a two-state agreement, because it gives them *something*, rather than nothing. So that's really the thinking behind it.

Now, we know that—if you like—the “international consensus” about a Palestinian state, about partitioning the land of Palestine, got nowhere. And of course, it's not going to get anywhere, because the problem which created Israel is still there: The idea, the ideology of a state, which wishes to impose itself, no matter who, no matter what, hasn't gone away! And it's not going to go away. It's got to be dealt with in a quite different sort of fashion.

So, I have earnestly sought to persuade the international community that there really is no way forward for this conflict, unless we return the people of Palestine who were expelled, to live together with the *current* community in Israel, and the two of them to share



badil.org

Currently, about 4.5 million Palestinians live in refugee camps like those shown here. Left: Jabalia in the Gaza Strip; right: Dheisheh on the West Bank (the old man is filling his jug with water, since there is no running water in the camp).

the land, which must not be partitioned.

That has become called the “one-state solution”—it’s not a term I particularly like, but nevertheless, that’s how people understand it. And I realize that, one way to advance this idea beyond the circles of debate, and political discussion, and intellectuals, and so on, beyond those circles, to put it on the world map, was really through a United Nations resolution, where it would be debated at the level of the world body. And, in that sense, it would become an idea that people had become used to, had come to accept. And once that happened (so I reason), then, the next stage, which is how to implement it, becomes much, much simpler.

So, in that endeavor, with a small group of friends, we drew up a draft UN General Assembly resolution, on the one-state solution. And we asked many people how this could be put on the agenda of the UN, and we were informed that what is needed, was one or more member-states to adopt the draft resolution, and put it before the General Assembly for discussion.



UNRWA

So, we have gone around trying to do that, ever since the resolution was drawn up in 2007. Up to this point, our search has not been successful; however, I am, in fact, quite hopeful. Because if one looks at the situation today—the growing intransigence of the Israeli government, the apparent inability of *any* power, including the United States, to impose any kind of pressure on Israel—it becomes clearer that the idea of partitioning Palestine, and of having a two-state solution, is not one that is going to happen.

And therefore, we owe it to—not only the suffering people of that region, but also actually to resolve the instability of that region, to resolve its potential for becoming a danger to world peace, we *owe* it to resolving all these things, to find alternative ideas and solutions for this terrible conflict. And in that sense, the resolution on the one-state solution becomes a very important way forward, and one, therefore, which I am hoping, and my colleagues are hoping, in the current changing climate, will be adopted, at least for discussion and debate at the world body.

### An Apartheid State

**EIR:** This integration of the Palestinians would involve some very fundamental changes in the rights of the Palestinians who live in Israel, for example. You mentioned that the Palestinians who live inside Israel, do not have an ideal life, at all. What’s one of the fundamental changes, in terms of equality. President Jimmy

United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs  
**West Bank: Access and Closure**  
 January 2006

**PHYSICAL CLOSURES**

- Checkpoint
- Partial Checkpoint
- Agricultural Gate
- Road Gate
- Observation Tower
- Earthmound
- Roadblock
- Tunnel
- Planned Tunnel
- Earth Wall
- Road Barrier
- Trench

*Thirty-eight barrier gates are open to Palestinians with appropriate permits.*

**West Bank Barrier**

- Constructed
- Under Construction
- Planned Route

*Planned Barrier - path based on Israel Government map, published 30 February 2005 and IDF land access orders (Ministry of Defense - Swam Zone Authority)*

*Constructed Barrier - path extracted from satellite imagery and verified with field surveys as of January 2006.*

**ACCESS**

**Closed and Restricted Areas**

- Israeli military base  
Access is prohibited
- Israeli closed military area  
Access is prohibited
- Existing and projected 'closed areas' behind the Barrier  
Access is limited to permit holders

**Israeli Settlements**

- Settlement
- Evacuated Settlement
- Outpost
- Settlement Municipal Area

**Palestinian Areas**

- Buildup

**Roads**

- Prohibited or Restricted Palestinian vehicle use
- Regional or Main
- Other Road

**Oslo Agreement**

- Area A<sup>1</sup>
- Area B<sup>2</sup>
- Special Case (HQ)<sup>3</sup>
- Intended Nature Reserve
- Area C<sup>4</sup>

*1 - Full Palestinian civil and military control (effective in practice only)*  
*2 - Full Palestinian civil control and partial Israeli/Palestinian military control*  
*3 - Hebron Agreement*  
*4 - Full Israeli civil and military control*



**Closure Summary by Date/Category**

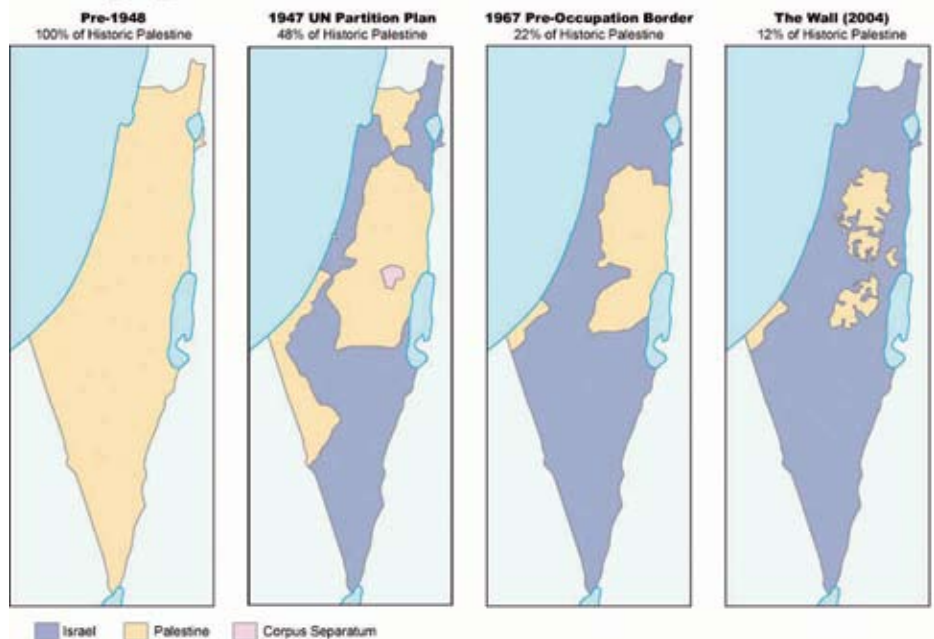
Category	Jan 05	Feb 05	Mar 05	Apr 05	May 05	Jun 05	Jul 05	Aug 05	Sep 05	Oct 05	Nov 05	Dec 05	Total
Checkpoints	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12
Partial Checkpoints	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Agricultural Gates	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Road Gates	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Observation Towers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Earthmounds	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Roadblocks	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tunnels	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Planned Tunnels	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Earth Walls	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Road Barriers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trenches	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Barriers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Planned Routes	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>12</b>

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“Over time,” says Dr. Karmi, “the Palestinian leadership began to settle for what it thought it could get—which was a partitioned country, with a small part of the original homeland to be designated as a Palestinian state.” The dark areas are illegal Israeli settlements in the occupied West Bank. UN Resolutions have repeatedly called for Israeli withdrawal, but have been vetoed or ignored.

## Destroying the Two-State Solution



Another view of the shrinkage of Palestinian holdings in what was once their homeland.

Carter's called it an "apartheid state."

**Karmi:** Of course! And it is quietly an apartheid state. You see, what is amusing about the opponents of the one-state solution, is they don't seem to understand that we do *already* have one state. We don't have a partitioned state, we actually have one state—at the moment, as I speak! But it is an *apartheid* state! Israel rules all of the land, between the river and the sea. *But*, it does so, in a situation of inequality and discrimination against the Palestinians. Now, the step we need to take, is to convert that reality, the one-state reality, into one which is not apartheid. Where apartheid is fought and eradicated, as it was in South Africa.

Now, you see, the importance of this, is that we convert the struggle of Palestinians against Israelis, not for creating a partitioned land, but for *ending* discrimination against Palestinians, and *ending* apartheid, within the whole country, the one country of Palestine. I.e., it becomes an anti-apartheid struggle, rather than a struggle over settlements and bits of land, which is what's happened.

**EIR:** To stay on this subject of UN resolutions, there is an increasing amount, I'm sorry to say, of despair or cynicism, or skepticism about the United Nations. It was recently said at a press conference I was at, with

Justice Richard Goldstone of the UN Human Rights Commission, by a journalist in Washington, that there hasn't been a single UN resolution concerning Palestinian rights that Israel has upheld. Now, that may be a slight exaggeration (or, it might not be), but I ask you: How many UN resolutions, and what central themes are they, that Israel has not lived up to?

**Karmi:** I think this is very quickly answered: There are none. There is no resolution that's been passed on the Palestinian situation, asking Israel to comply with this or that requirement, that Israel has accepted. But what I think is *so* serious about this, is the use of the veto by the United States, in order to

spare Israel from any kind of censure. We know that the Security Council resolutions that have been passed, about Israeli maltreatment of Palestinians, have never succeeded, because of the U.S. veto, and this is a matter of grave concern, really.

Now, as to whether the UN remains of any use at all, I think the trouble is, we don't have an alternative, so it's not as if we were saying, "Well, the United Nations can't do much, but therefore, let us turn to some other outfit." There isn't any. So that's what we've got. We've got to deal with that.

But the second point, which is important, is that the United Nations, nevertheless, remains, a very important international forum for debate, and for airing grievances, and for bringing issues to international attention. And, it is in that sense, that we are hoping that this draft UN resolution could be advanced further by being discussed. And actually, if you think about it, imagine what would happen, if such a resolution were to come before the General Assembly, and were to be discussed, quite apart from whether it's voted on or not: One can, I think, foresee the tremendous effect that would have, certainly on Israel and its allies, which would ensure that the resolution remained a very lively subject of debate, and certainly for all the groupings in the world that feel aggrieved, that Israel cannot be allowed to continue like

this. Because the basis of the resolution is Israel's non-adherence to any international norm! That's the basis of our resolution. And because of that, the UN, in our resolution, must take action, to *stop* this destruction of international law, by Israel. That's the basis of it.

And then, the resolution goes on to explain that Israel, having been given a very good chance, if you think about it, from its inception in 1948, has been given the most wonderful opportunity to behave itself, and it clearly has not done so! It's flouted every single law, it's behaved outrageously, it's made a travesty of international law, and of humanitarian law. On what basis should this state continue to be a member of the UN? Those are questions that really have to be asked. I'm not suggesting this is the first time this has been put into question, but it's very important! People have to ask: Why is it, that a state that behaves so much outside the law, and so consistently—and to such detriment of other people—why is it allowed to do so? This is a really important question for the international community.

**EIR:** How important do you think were the findings of the UN fact-finding mission on the Gaza War, that was headed up by a number of jurists, including South African Justice Richard Goldstone? The vote on this has been put off, and the findings were, that war crimes were committed, by Israel, and also by Palestinian groups who attacked civilians. But, of course, the war crimes charge against Israel is something which has not been heard.

**Karmi:** Indeed, and that is why this fact-finding mission is extremely important; it's a real precedent in dealings with Israel, on its behavior. Israel has not [previously] been formally accused of war crimes, by a body this senior, this important, and it has definitely set a precedent. It would be difficult now to go back on that.

We know, even though Israel and its friends have done the *utmost* to destroy the significance of the Gold-



White House/Pete Souza

*Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and U.S. President Barack Obama in Washington on May 18, 2009. Unless Obama understands that there will be no peace without meaningful American pressure on Israel, says Dr. Karmi, "I can predict, with confidence, that nothing whatever will happen to resolve this conflict. On the contrary, it will get worse."*

stone Report, even though they are still working night and day, to prevent it from getting any further than just being a report—despite all of this, it is a *really* important landmark, in the history of efforts to control Israel's lawless behavior.

And it's really very exciting that this should have happened, that the judge who presided over the fact-finding mission is, himself, not only Jewish, but a Zionist and a supporter of Israel—it's highly significant. So, although we do not yet know the final outcome, or the fate of this report, the fact that it's happened at all, is extremely significant.

And I'll tell you something: The Israelis know it! And *that* is why they are fighting so hard, to destroy the importance of the report! They know it's very important; even if we didn't realize how important it is, we'd know from the way they reacted, how important it is.

### **The U.S. Role: Current and Potential**

**EIR:** You've said that the two-state solution is not going to happen, and that's becoming increasingly obvious. How do you see President Obama in this?

**Karmi:** It's difficult not to feel disappointed in President Obama on this issue. Of course, we should still say that we haven't seen everything that he's ca-



UN/Ryan Brown

*Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas now presides, says Dr. Karmi, over a party “which has much been discredited, because of the way that it has succumbed to the Israeli lure under occupation.”*

pable of doing. We haven't really seen, perhaps, the end of this story with Israel. What we do see, is open to this interpretation, at least: that although President Obama's intentions would seem to have been the right ones, that he actually was quite serious about finding a resolution to this terrible conflict, it's almost as if he took something on, without understanding its consequences, or its implications.

It's not a nice thing to say about Obama, who struck a sympathetic chord in hearts throughout the Arab world, particularly when he made his famous Cairo speech; so, it's not something that Arabs *want* to think. But, they are worried: It seems that he took on the Israel lobby, and so far, if this is a contest, he's lost! He's lost very significantly. The Israeli Prime Minister has behaved with great arrogance, and a great sense of satisfaction that he's actually beaten off what he sees as the attack from the United States, over, actually, a very simple issue: the issue of just not expanding settlements!

You see, it's almost as if Obama took the Israelis on, with their supporters, maybe underestimating that this is a game they're very experienced at. They've played it with many previous Presidents, and they've been able to continue illegally building [settlements], and stealing Palestinian lands, without any interruption by any U.S. administration. It seems this one is no different.

Unless Obama understands that there will be *no* movement in the Middle East peace process without

meaningful American pressure on Israel, unless he is willing to grasp that nettle, I can predict, with confidence, that nothing whatever will happen to resolve this conflict. On the contrary, it will get worse.

### **The Mood in Israel**

**EIR:** Over the years, you've known and worked with many Israelis, and we have mutual friends, like [the late] Maxim Ghilan. . . . Inside Israel, how do you see the mood, among the Israeli Jewish population? are they tired of the wars? Are they going to exert influence on finding a solution, a final status?

**Karmi:** My sense of the Israeli public, is that they are *very* tired of wars, they *really* want an end. They want this conflict resolved—I don't think there's any doubt about that. Numerous public opinion polls have shown that to be the case. The problem, however, is that they don't understand that there is no resolution of this conflict, without Israel giving up something. That's the problem. It's almost as if they have an abstract longing for something called “peace,” or something called “an end to the conflict,” without any awareness that you don't get that for nothing! It doesn't just go away. My sense is, that most Israelis want it to “*go away*” but can't understand that it won't “go away,” unless Israel takes steps, which most of them don't understand, and would not be willing to concede.

So, in that sense, I'm quite gloomy about the Israeli population. I don't think it seems to understand. But having said that, there appears to be a growing number—it is modest still, but a growing number—of what I would call “disaffected Israelis,” Israelis who do get the point, in different ways and to different extents, and these are composed of soldiers who were shocked by the war on Gaza, and felt they had to speak out; of soldiers that have resisted serving in the army which occupies the Palestinians—there is a revulsion against the occupation, amongst groups of Israelis. And I think this is a promising trend, because these groups will, sooner or later, link up with each other, and may form a significant movement. And, against the background of a public mood which is tired of war, and is tired of conflict, it's possible that we might get somewhere. When? I do not know.

### **Divisions Among the Palestinians**

**EIR:** Now, on the Palestinian side: The Palestinian political movement is very divided right now. How



does the current split between Hamas and Fatah, or Hamas and the PLO, fit into the long history of Palestinian freedom and resistance organizations and movements?

**Karmi:** You know, the division between the major Palestinian groups is not only tragic, but, I think it forms the pinnacle of achievement for Israel. Because, of course, all colonizing powers throughout history, have always tried to divide the opposition. That's their policy.

**EIR:** "Divide and conquer," I think.

**Karmi:** That's right, "divide and rule, divide and conquer," these are the way in which it has been seen. Israel is no different. And they have worked and worked to destroy Palestinian unity, and it looks as if, for the time being, they have succeeded. As a result, and entirely due to the Israeli occupying forces, on which I place the *total* blame, and *total* responsibility, they and their Western backers have been able to bribe, seduce, and control a sector of the Palestinians, represented by the current Palestinian leadership and the people around it, who, in return for favors provided by the occupying power, Israel, have abandoned, or look as if they have abandoned the national cause, leaving the other party, Hamas, to be, as it were, the only voice of resistance, properly, amongst the Palestinians.

But Hamas also can be criticized on many counts. So, this is a terribly sad situation on the Palestinian side.

How this will pan out? We don't as yet know. Because, of course, at the same time as there is this division, there is a *deep* awareness amongst Palestinians of *every* hue, inside and outside the land of Palestine, a deep awareness of how dangerous this situation of fragmentation is, and how it must end. And many efforts are being made to try and unify these two groups.

What will the outcome be? I can't as yet say. But we now have a really extraordinary situation, in which you have the operation of two opposing forces, one wanting to divide, and the other wanting to unite. The forces wanting to divide the Palestinians are powerful, are strong, and are using money, and threats, and intimidations in order to attain their ends. It remains to be seen whether the Palestinians will be able to resist this, and to put an end to it. That must be our hope. And I think actually I would say, it cannot only be a hope: I think it

may well be a reality. Because we're all too aware, all of us, of how dangerous this is.

**EIR:** Is there now a voice for the Palestinians, like yourself, in exile, or the Palestinian refugees? Is there an organization which represents all Palestinians at this point, the way perhaps—and I could be wrong, correct me if I am—the way the Palestine Liberation Organization once wore that mantle?

**Karmi:** That's right. That's a very good question, and of course, it is very, very tragic that the Palestinians in exile, and the ones in the camps, who form, may I say, the majority of the Palestinian people, 60%, these people have *no* representation. And they don't, because of the success of the Israeli policy in destroying the Palestinian Liberation Organization.

The PLO was the single unifying body for the Palestinians, and all of us in exile. And all the refugees knew they were represented by the PLO, from 1967 onward, until 1993. Because, Yasser Arafat, the chairman of the PLO at the time, agreed to go back into Palestine, and bring with him the majority of the leadership of PLO. From that moment on, the PLO began to fragment, and became irrelevant.

Tragically, this started a chain of events, which has led us to the most recent Fatah conference in Bethlehem, which Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas presided over, which, of course, was a transparent attempt to try and give Abbas and his leadership some legitimacy in Palestinian eyes. With his attempts to revive the PLO, what we have, is an organization dominated by the party which has much been discredited, because of the way that it has succumbed to the Israeli lure under occupation, and therefore, we still do not have the PLO as we knew it.

I know that there have been many attempts, from 1995 onwards, some of which I was involved with, to try and revive the PLO as a body that represented the Palestinian people, very much as it used to be. To date, these attempts have not succeeded, but they are ongoing.

## **Economics and Political Settlement**

**EIR:** My publication, *Executive Intelligence Review*, and my work in the Middle East, trying to bring along a faction inside the U.S. Congress, Democratic Party, Republican Party, whoever, was informed by something written by our founder back in the middle-1970s; our founder, Mr. LaRouche, wrote something called "The



Hans Jørn Storgaard Andersen

*PLO chairman Yasser Arafat, at a meeting in Copenhagen, in 1999. Since his death in 2004, the Palestinian leadership has become increasingly fragmented, and “we do not have the PLO as we knew it,” says Dr. Karmi.*

Oasis Plan.” He was critical of the Oslo Accords, not from the same standpoint as I’ve heard from many Palestinians, that step-by-step won’t work, etc., but looking at the economics of the situation: that unless you’ve got the peoples of the region working together economically, everything would be very abstract. I remember a discussion in 1993, after the White House signing and so forth, where he said, “Somebody’s got to start moving the dirt, and building things, providing water in agriculture, otherwise, this is going to go down the tubes.” I know we could have hours of discussion about the economic situation, but what have you observed?

And my last question will be, after that, do you have a message for the U.S. Congress?

**Karmi:** Well, look at the idea of an economic union, which is for the Arab region, obviously, not just for Israel-Palestine; this is something which cannot precede a political settlement. It’s really pie-in-the-sky to imagine that, if you produced, for example, a Marshall Plan, which reinvigorates all the economies of all these various countries, and so on—it’s going to work without a political settlement. And it’s also evocative, of the recent attempts by the Israeli Prime Minister to reduce the conflict with the Palestinians to one of economics. He’s tried to say that all we want with the Palestinians is “economic peace.” Now, in fact, those of us who ad-

vocate a one-state outcome, like myself, see it as part of a regional rearrangement.

It could not be—in any event, you cannot visualize, really, one state, which contains Israelis and Palestinians, which then somehow exists as a separate entity. There has always been a need for a regional arrangement, rather like the European Union, or what used to be the European Economic Community. That would work very well, indeed, and that would be the way forward, I think.

Otherwise, not only on the one hand, do you have the Netanyahu plan, talking about so-called “economic peace,” but you’ve got the Shimon Peres plan, in which he talked, after the Oslo Agreement, of an economic arrangement in the region—but of course, one in which Israel was dominant, in which it dominated the economies of the region. That is not at all what one has in mind! And that would not be conducive to peace. Read, for instance, the point I was making, that you have to have a political settlement, first.

**EIR:** If you could speak to our Congress in the United States, what is a major problem for any President who wishes to go forward? What would you say to enlighten them?

**Karmi:** I would actually ask the Congress to ask *itself*, what advantage supporting Israel in that way confers on the United States. It must ask itself: What is the actual advantage, for the United States, of having an Israel, supported to the hilt in this way? They must spell that out. They have, in all honesty, to face that themselves. They have to ask themselves genuinely and honestly, quite apart from the money that they get from the Israel Lobby, quite apart from the self-interest of being reelected—if they could just put that aside for a minute, and ask about the well-being of their own country. Just answer the question: What advantage does Israel confer—really—on the United States, on the one hand? And the corollary to that question is: What would really happen, and I mean for the well-being of the United States, if—if—Israel was not supported in that way? So, those are two questions.

So, what I’m saying is: They have to ask themselves a question, about what advantage Israel confers. And its corollary—what *ceasing* to support Israel, in this way, what damage would come to the United States itself as a result of that step?