# **Political Views on Palestine**

# Introduction

The issue of Palestine and its future is the focus of attention from religions, nation-states and super powers. Jerusalem and the . Holy Land. occupies a principal role in the greatest religious traditions in the world. Statesmen, great armies and prophets have shaped its history, as have traitors and conspirators. The battles and conflicts over Jerusalem and Palestine have been as fervent as mankind. s devotion to religion itself.

It is precisely this point which has led many to believe that a solution based on a religious tradition will never provide stability and progress to the troubled region, since religions by their nature are exclusive. It is argued that an inclusive solution, based on a commonality amongst all the people of the region needs to be implemented. Secularism, and a secular state is what people of this perspective aspire to.

The drive to establish a secular solution for Palestine is an attack on the Islamic creed and the Islamic system, since it is only Islam which provides a systemic solution for the troubles in Palestine, a solution which arises from the Islamic creed. The Judeo-Christian religious tradition can co-exist quite comfortably within a secular political order, and indeed has done so for most of its existence. It is Islam alone, which provides mankind with a detailed system of social and political organisation built upon a spiritual basis, combining spiritual and temporal authority in the seat of the Khaleefah.

Today this Islamic authority, the Khilafah, has been characterised as a theocratic system. It has been coloured with the intolerance and exclusivity of the ad-hoc Jewish and Christian political orders due to the fact that its implementation does not redeem it, since it doesn. t presently exist. If those who seek to establish a secular order, the inheritors of the legacy of the Crusaders, be they Arab, Israeli or Christian, were driven to solve the problems of the turbulent region, then it would suffice to demonstrate that only Islam can possibly solve the complexities arising from a multi-religious, multi-ethnic society, which is the aim of this article. However, the motivation of those who strive to establish the secular order is not merely such. It is a motivation to prevent Islam from re-emerging as a global ideological power which drives them and pushes them to raise obstacles in the path of the revival of Islam, obstacles of a political nature and of a creedal nature constituting an attack on the Islamic . aqeedah, its systems and the method to realise them in reality. The remaining chapters address some of the plans and schemes that the existing world powers implement and adhere to in order to perpetuate the defeat of Islam and its banishment from the sphere of politics permanently.

This chapter aims to demonstrate that the only solution for Palestine is the solution of Islam. It also seeks to demonstrate that any other solution, whether secular or religious, will inherently breed injustice and discrimination. In doing so, the article will also demonstrate that the Jews, whose fear of Islam has been demonstrated through many cowardly acts of terror and many killings, indeed flourished living as communities and as a civilisation under the system of Islam as citizens of the Islamic State.

# The Ideological Foundation of Islam

Human beings are driven by their natural disposition to satisfy their organic needs and biological instincts. These natural tendencies are numerous, such as the drive to protect one. s life, to own property, to procreate, and to satisfy the organic and biological needs generally through eating, sleeping and such actions. This is the general make up of human beings irrespective of their religious or political views. Most of these needs cannot be fulfilled by a single individual acting alone. Rather, the fulfilment of the natural needs and instincts necessitates that people interact with each other. This results in the development of relationships between individuals which requires a system to organise and regulate them in a

manner through which all the participants can secure their respective needs. This, in turn, leads to the development of society.

The essence of any society is the system which people have agreed upon to live by and by which they regulate their relationships as well as the ideas, whether religious, socialist, utilitarian or other which the system is derived from. There would certainly arise differences over which actions and which regulations the society should be organised by, as there would over the interpretation of the founding ideas, but by and large all the participants would agree to work within the existent framework to solve their problems. Those who sought not to, indeed sought to replace the ideas and system with another, would be termed radicals.

Amongst the participants in society, are those who perceive the benefit which living in a society bears, even though they themselves do not believe in the thoughts upon which the society and the state are established. They continue to adhere to the system because of the benefits it provides for them.

The Islamic system is that system which regulates the relationships between people who live as a society, in a manner which leads the society to true progress. Being the divine system, it is not subject to the inherent contradictions and inequities which the societies built on ideas from the human mind are afflicted with. It is not plagued with the disparity between sections of the society nor with the tyranny of a majority or aristocracy since the system does not originate in the human mind. The Islamic system is unique in its origin as well as its objectives for it is revealed from Allah (swt) and it seeks to emancipate human beings from the tyranny of systems which enslave them to other men, freeing them to worship Allah (swt) alone. This characteristic of organising society is not existent in religions like Christianity and Judaism which are merely a set of beliefs and morals for individuals. These religions do not regulate the complexities of daily interaction in a legislative manner. They deal only with the individual. s conduct in an individualistic capacity, hence explaining their relatively easy secularisation.

Having established that Islam is a comprehensive system for managing the affairs of society, it must also be clarified that Islam is not an exclusive system, in that living in a society which is regulated by Islam is not the privilege of Muslims alone. It is not a condition for people who live in the Islamic society to believe in the creed from which the Islamic system arises which is explained clearly from the texts which are the basis for regulating the society, the Qur. an and the Sunnah of Muhammad . Allah (swt) says,

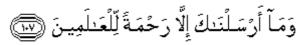
"Surely we have sent down to you the Book (the Qur. an) in truth that you may judge between men by which Allah (swt) has shown you" [TMQ 4:105]

The above verse is an evidence that Islam is to be applied upon all the citizens of the Islamic State, it also prohibits the implementation of any injustice upon the citizens of the Islamic State without excluding non-Muslim citizens. Allah (swt) says,

"O you who believe! Stand out firmly for Allah and be just witnesses and let not the enmity

The Islamic system has a proven history of over 1300 years as evidence that Islam is the only system which can constructively look after the affairs of people. The people under its domain varied in race, language and religion. The proof is self-evident when we look to the different peoples that live in the Islamic lands today. We find Hindus and Sikhs live in India and Jews and Christians live in the Middle East. Their ancestors were citizens of the Islamic State and enjoyed its protection and prospered in various aspects of life.

# Citizenship



"And I did not send you except as a mercy to the whole of mankind" [TMQ 21:107]

Muhammad said, "The son of Adam has no better right than food, clothing and shelter"

Muhammad said, "People are partners in three; water, resources and fire."

The above mentioned ayah and hadith demonstrate that the Shari. ah came to deal not just with Muslims, but came to regulate the affairs of all people.

The Messenger of Allah said, "All of You are shepherds and all of you will be responsible for the people placed under your authority." The non-Muslims who live in the Islamic State and enjoy all their rights which emanate from Islam are called . Ahl al-Dhimma. (the covenanted people). Since they bear the acceptance of Islamic authority, they are citizens of the Islamic State, and are guaranteed protection exactly like that of a Muslim. The rights given to them are of an irrevocable nature.

Accordingly, it is the responsibility of the State to provide them with the same access to the means to fulfil their needs, with health services, security and even provisions if necessary. Therefore, it is not lawful that any member of the society be deprived of his right to live, eat, clothe himself and his family, and receive medical treatment wherever necessary, since the Islamic evidences obligating the fulfilment of these rights on the part of the State are general and not exclusive of non-Muslims. The duty of protecting and relieving the problems of the non-Muslims and the manner in which to deal with them have been expressly established, with severe consequences on those who discriminate against or abuse the . Ahl al-Dhimma. or carry out any other action in violation of the contract of citizenship with them.

The Messenger of Allah said,

"Whosoever persecuted a dhimmi or usurps his right or took work from him beyond his capacity, or took something from him with evil intentions, I shall be a complainant against him on the Day of Resurrection." (Abu Daud)

"Whosoever hurts a dhimmi, I shall be his-complainant, and for whosoever I am a complainant I shall ask for his right on the Day of Resurrection."

"One who hurts a dhimmi, he hurts me; and one who hurts me, hurts Allah." (al-Tabari)

"Whoever oppresses a non-Muslim subject or taxes him beyond his capacity, then I

shall be the opposite party to him in the litigation."

"Whosoever killed a dhimmi, he will not even smell the fragrance of paradise although its fragrance will be smelt from the distance of forty years journey." (narrated by Ahmad and Al-Bukhari in the chapter on jizyah.)

The above mentioned legal evidences make it very clear that the Islamic system protects the . Ahl al-Dhimma. from oppression and secures for them inviolable rights.

# Securing Interests

In addition to securing the means to fulfil the organic needs for all citizens of the state, the Islamic State also secures four core interests that are common to all human beings and guarantees them to all its citizens: the protection of belief, mind, property and blood.

### Belief

"There is no compulsion in religion" [TMQ 2:256]

. Ahl al-Dhimma. are not forced to become Muslims and their right to their own belief is protected. Citizenship obliges adherence to the same law for all citizens in public life and in affairs relating to the State. However the . Ahl al-Dhimma. , in the sphere of their personal matters, are permitted to adhere to their religious beliefs. As such, the settling of all personal disputes amongst them will be decided in accordance with the personal law of their own belief.

# Mind

The use of intoxicants and substances which befog the mind are forbidden in Islam. Subsequently, all the social problems which are direct consequences of the availability of such substances in society are removed.

# Property

Islam protects the ownership of wealth by all its citizens through the implementation of the Islamic economic system. This system eliminates the existence of usury and institutions such as private banks, facilitating the greater flow of goods and capital throughout all segments of society. Further, the penal code, in addition to the provision for basic needs which the State makes, combines a strong deterrent with the elimination of the motivation to engage in theft.

# Blood

The implementation of hudud is not limited to crimes committed against Muslims. On the killing of a Dhimmi by a Muslim, the Messenger of Allah Fordered the execution of the Muslim and said, "I am responsible for obtaining redress for the weak persons."

A further aspect of the contract of citizenship is that . Ahl al-Dhimma. are exempted from military service. The obligation of their protection falls upon the Muslims. This, however, does not prohibit the permissibility of individual non-Muslims fighting alongside Muslims under the banner of Islam.

# Non-Muslims in political life

In any ideological state, no one can occupy a position of ruling unless that person carries the state's ideology. This is clearly demonstrated in the . swearing in. ceremonies to public office in the countries of the West. This ceremony includes a testimonial of belief in secularism. The Islamic State is an ideological state. The ruler of the State and all those who hold authority within its ruling structure must carry the Islamic belief. Non-Muslims cannot rule Muslims. Allah (swt) states,

"Allah will never allow the Kuffar authority over the believers. . . " [TMQ 4:141]

Nonetheless there are positions within the Islamic State which can be occupied by non-Muslims. For example, he sappointed a Dhimmi to serve as a delegate for the Islamic State. In the second year after the Hijrah, the pagan Arabs of Makkah sent a delegation to Abyssinia to demand the extradition of Makkan Muslims who had migrated to Abyssinia in 616 AD to seek shelter from the Christian King Negus after suffering untold persecution from the pagans simply because they had accepted Islam. Muhammad then sent a non-Muslim envoy in the person of Amr bin Umayyuh al-Damn, who belonged to one of the allied tribes of the neighbourhood of Madinah. It was Amr who pleaded on behalf of the Muslim immigrants.

These are the solutions from Islam which were put into practice by the Islamic method at the hands of the one who ruled by Islam. There are many beautiful examples from the implementation of Islam over the ages which exhibit how Islam ensured security for Muslims and non-Muslims alike and regulated a society that fostered harmony, prosperity and dignity for all its citizens. It is important for Muslims to be familiar with these examples so as to allay the myths created by others which portray the Islamic system as intolerant and oppressive to non-Muslims. When the Khilafah returns, we will convey these examples to the rest of humankind, as well as demonstrating more, as evidences of Islam's unique ability to look after the affairs of human beings. This will help pave the way for the entry into Islam of the masses of humanity.

### Jews Under Islamic Rule

Many non-Muslim commentators on Islamic history have written of how Jews as . Ahl al-Dhimma. were granted a significant degree of autonomy, security of life and property. It has been narrated that during the rule of Umar bin al-Khattab, the second Khaleefah, certain Muslims had usurped a piece of land belonging to a Jew and then constructed a mosque on it. This was a clear violation of the rights held by the Jews under citizenship. Umar ordered the demolition of the mosque and the restoration of the land to the Jew. Also under the State, Jews were accorded protection against external enemies, the right to worship according to their own traditions and were given administrative positions in the State.

### In Palestine

Ironically, the Israeli ideologues themselves provide testimony to the protection and security which the Islamic State provided. The Zionist Film Foundation, in its 1935 documentary The Land of Promise claimed that while the Jews of Palestine lived under the rule of Islam, they were the . centre of a great civilisation. . The film described how the Jews prospered through trade and commerce, through academics and enjoyed a golden period of their history. This was the case throughout the period of Islamic rule. A period that lasted from the seventh century until the early twentieth century, barring interruption at the hands of the marauding Christian Crusaders.

### In Spain

Al-Andalus, (Spain) was opened up to Islam by Tariq ibn Ziyad. He landed on the shores of Jabal Tariq (Gibraltar) in 711 AD (92 AH). The Jews who were residing in Al Andalus under severe oppression, regarded the Muslims as saviours. When the Muslims took possession of the land, many of the estates were divided and handed over to local tenants. Islam took root in Andalus not through compulsion, but because it provided a clearly superior way of life and progress for a people who, up until the arrival of the Muslims, had been trapped under an oppressed, decadent, racist system.

Al-Andalus was the most populous, cultured and industrious land of all under the Muslims, and remained so for centuries. Its trade with the outside world was unparalleled, and in that time of economic prosperity, the Jewish civilisation, which had been virtually eliminated from the peninsula in the seventh century by the Christians, grew once more and flourished. The following description is found in Hume's Spanish People. "Side by side with the new rulers lived the Christians and the Jews in peace. The Jews, rich with commerce and industry, were content to let the memory of their oppression by the Christians sleep. They were treated by the Muslims with marked respect, and multiplied all over Spain."

# Under the Uthmani Khilafah

Under ruthless legislation applied by Christian monarchs in Spain, over four thousand Jews were murdered in Seville alone in June 1391. In April 1482, Jews throughout the monarchy were ordered to be confined to their ghettos, and not to live outside them. On March 31st 1492, an edict of expulsion was issued giving the Jews of Spain until July 31st to accept baptism or leave the country. It has been estimated that 50,000 Jews accepted baptism as a result of this decree, and that between 165,000 and 400,000 Jews, deprived of their property and possessions, left Spain.

Many that left sought refuge in the Islamic State. They recognised that the Islamic State was governed by the law of Allah (swt), guaranteeing for them the protection, security and prosperity which they were denied . The Muslims welcomed the Jews and helped them to settle in their land, providing for them and looking after them. The treatment of the Jews at the hands of the State attracted Jews from all over Western Europe. As one historian noted, "In brief, just as the persecution under the Cross reached their climax, a dazzling new world was opened up under the silvery radiance of the Crescent." The large Jewish sections of Istanbul, the former Capital of the . Uthmani Khilafah, are testimony to the large scale immigration which occurred into the Khilafah. In fact the Khaleefah at the time described the actions of the Spaniards as "foolish" and as "enriching my dominions".

# The Case of Israel

The reality of . secular. Israel is that it practices racism on a state level, even upon the Jews. The close correlation between ethnicity and socio-economic class in Israel remains the main axis along which the Ashkenazi (European Jews)/Oriental (Middle Eastern Jews) cleavage is drawn. The consolidation of ethnicity into social class, what some analysts have referred to as the formation of Israeli . ethnoclasses., represents a serious cleavage that divides the Jewish society of Israel from within, as serious as the orthodox-secular division. This apartheid has been entrenched into a system of laws, regulations and practices which govern the operation of state institutions.

The 1952 Law of Entry into Israel was apparently legislated simply to regulate entry into the country. However, all its clauses, save the one making it obligatory to enter by way of an official border control point, have the affect of making a clear distinction between foreign citizens who are Jewish and those who are not. Yet the words . Jew. and . non-Jew. do not appear. For example, the law stipulates that whoever . does not hold an immigration visa or immigration certificate. can be immediately deported by the Minister of the Interior, or can be denied a visa at any time. As for the explanation and definition of who qualifies for an

immigration visa, one must seek the answer in another law, the Law of Return which states that it is Jews.

The Citizenship Laws of 1952 are a pinnacle in the annals of the art of confusion. Even though the word . Jew. is not mentioned at all in these laws, they are in their entirety, based on the distinction between . Jews. and . non-Jews. . This is one of the pillars of the Israeli apartheid regime, alongside a plethora of other laws, regulations and practices, for . Jews. and . non-Jews. .

Blatant discrimination against non-Jews can also be found in other laws dealing with the acquisition of property, government support for young couples, educational curricula, and government expenditure for schools, to cite just a few examples.

A dead body was once carried by a group of people and passed by the Messenger of Allah and his Sahabah. The Messenger of Allah immediately stood up in respect. The Sahabah of the Messenger of Allah said, "It is a bier of a Jew." The Messenger of Allah replied, "Is it not a soul?" In life and in death the non-Muslims enjoy a respect under Islam that has no parallel. This stems from the fact that in Islam, people regardless of belief, race or gender are regarded as citizens of the Islamic State. What gives them rights is their citizenship of the State. Therefore a non-Muslim who is a citizen of the State will have the same provisions from the State as a Muslim citizen.

# Conclusion

The racist reality which characterises Israel today is a reality built upon a secular foundation. Israel is a secular state, its constitution reserves the right of legislation for the Knesset. The judiciary and legislative branches of government do not judge or rule by the word of the Torah. This fact, more than any other, is a demonstrative example of how a secular solution to the problem of Palestine has failed to bring about stability and progress. In fact, the example of Israel demonstrates that aspiring to a secular solution is the cause, in large part, of the problems in Palestine. Secular democratic societies, by the way they are constructed, are divisive and lead to discord and the alienation of segments of the society from each other. Beginning with the premise that man is sovereign, they establish a legislative process wherein the society is divided into many factious elements, each oriented around a specific interest. Any basis of faction can be the basis of exclusion and identity such as colour, ethnic origin, religion, income level, gender and even age. These societies pit citizen against citizen in the struggle to procure interests.

Within Palestine, the nature of secularism has led to instability with devastating consequences. Within Israel there is a distinction between Arabs and Jews. There is also discrimination against types of Jews such as the cases of the Ashkanazi, Sephardim and Falasha Jews. In contrast to the status quo, the Islamic system guarantees the rights of both the Muslims and the non-Muslims according to the Shari. ah of Allah (swt). Many examples have illustrated clearly that only Islam safeguards the life, property, honour, wealth, belief and security of every citizen regardless of creed, colour, ethnic origin, or status. This cannot be said for any other ideology whether it be Capitalism or Communism, because the racism, ethnic segregation, conflict and the ensuing oppression and double standards are and have been evident in the examples of the states which have tried to implement these ideologies and are endemic in the creeds of the these ideologies.

As for the Zionist oppression and the ongoing killing of Muslims in Israel, this clearly demonstrates the inability of the Zionists to cater for the needs of a society and outlines the fact that they and their political order do not hold the capacity to solve the problems of Palestine. It is Islam alone which has a system which did and will ameliorate conflicts over race, religion or economic status within the society. The Islamic system, built on a spiritual basis, ties the protection of people of religious minorities to the obedience of Allah (swt) the Creator and Sustainer of all, and links the protection of citizens to the punishment and reward in the hereafter.

# The Peace Process and its Implications

In a speech on April, 26th 1991, then President George Bush stated, "It is high time that we put a stop to the Arab-Israeli conflict now that the Gulf War is over." Since then, the region has been witness to a series of events surrounding the Arab-Israeli Peace Process. This process has been constructed upon the foundations laid at the Madrid conference of November 1991. Compliance and non-compliance of the signed accords, bloodshed and resentment from the involved parties have been accompanied by immense diplomatic efforts to secure the 'peace' agreement in order to bring stability to the region. However, what has been witnessed so far of the successes and failures of the peace process hides the real driving force for the attainment of peace and the consequences that any peace agreement will have on the Muslim Ummah.

This article aims to retrace the main events that have so far taken place during the peace process with a view to expose implications of the peace process on the Muslim Ummah in the areas of doctrine, politics, economics and military implications.

# The Major Events of the Peace Process

October 30th 1991 - The Madrid Conference. The opening conference inaugurated two parallel but separate tracks of negotiation, the bilateral-lateral and multilateral-lateral negotiations. The former consisted of a series of talks on a bilateral basis between Israel and Jordan, the Palestinians, Syria, and Lebanon. The multilateral-lateral talks sought to construct a new regional order addressing a wide variety of issues such as water rights, economic co-operation and arms control frameworks. Numerous European and Asian countries participated in addition to the co-sponsors, the US and the then existent USSR.

September 13 1993 - The Oslo Accords The Declaration of Principles signed by Israeli and PLO leaders includes the following main provisions: A five-year period of Israeli troop withdrawals, initially from the Gaza strip and Jericho, culminating in the transfer of authority in most of the rest of the West Bank "in all matters except for foreign relations, defence and other mutually agreed matters" to the Palestinian authority; the creation of a Palestinian police force; the organisation of elections to be held for the Palestinian authority; the continued Israeli withdrawal from villages in the West Bank; a lasting and comprehensive peace settlement based on UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 - based on . land for peace.; Direct bilateral negotiations conducted on four separate negotiating tracks: Israel-Syria, Israel-Lebanon, Israel-Jordan, and Israel-Palestinian. In addition to all of this multilateral negotiations were also undertaken on region-wide issues, such as arms control and regional security, water, refugees, environment, and economic development. It was agreed that the final status of the Palestinian entity and Jerusalem would be negotiated later.

**January 16, 1994** - President Clinton met with President Asad of Syria in Geneva. Asad stated his country's commitment to work together to "put an end to the Arab-Israeli conflict". He called for, ". . . a new era of security and stability in which normal, peaceful relations among all shall dawn anew". Clinton included a stop in Damascus on his October 1994 trip to the Middle East. After meeting with Asad, Clinton stated that "Syria has made a strategic choice for peace with Israel" and was ready to "commit itself to the requirements of peace through the establishment of normal peaceful relations with Israel".

May 4, 1994 - The Gaza-Jericho Agreement was signed in Cairo and applies to the Gaza strip and to a defined area of approximately 65 square kilometres in the West Bank including Jericho. Four of the major issues which the agreement addresses include: security arrangements, civil affairs, legal matters, and economic relations. The document includes agreement on the following; a withdrawal of Israeli military forces from Gaza and Jericho; a transfer of authority from the Israeli Civil Administration to the Palestinian Authority; the structure and composition of the Palestinian Authority - its jurisdiction and legislative powers;

a Palestinian police force.

**July 25, 1994** - President Clinton hosted a meeting between King Hussein and Prime Minister Rabin at the White House. This meeting culminated in the signing of the Washington Declaration, which marked the end of the state of war between Israel and Jordan. On October 17, 1994, Prime Minister Rabin and Prime Minister Majali initialled the text of a peace treaty. Jordan and Israel signed the full peace treaty in an October 26 ceremony in the Arava.

**August 29, 1994** - The Agreement on Preparatory Transfer of Powers and Responsibilities was signed by Israel and the Palestinians. The Agreement puts into effect the next phase (early empowerment) of the Declaration of Principles. The Agreement provides for the transfer of powers to the Palestinian Authority within five specified spheres: Education & Culture, Social Welfare, Tourism, Health and Taxation.

**February 2, 1995** - President Mubarak hosted a meeting in Cairo bringing together for the first time those parties who had concluded peace agreements. The summit represented the determination of Egypt, Israel, Jordan, and the PLO to work together to advance the negotiations and counter the efforts of those who oppose peace in the Middle East.

**February 6, 1995** - The Peace Process began to falter as the expansion of Jewish settlements in the West Bank continued. Though Rabin's Labour-led coalition pledged to "freeze" settlements upon taking office in 1992, the government actually planned to complete 30,000 additional housing units, prompting widespread Arab demonstrations and threats by Palestinian officials to quit the peace talks. Two weeks earlier, the Israelis had promised Arafat what Environment Minister Yossi Sarid called "a very deep freeze, one with no nonsense". But after the Beit Lid massacre, the government approved the construction and sale of 4,000 units in occupied land around Jerusalem.

September 28, 1995 - The Israeli-Palestinian Interim Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip was signed in Washington. The agreement incorporated and superseded the Gaza-Jericho and Early Empowerment agreements. The main object of the Interim Agreement is to broaden Palestinian self-government in the West Bank by means of an elected self-governing authority; the Palestinian Council, for an interim period not to exceed five years from the signing of the Gaza-Jericho Agreement (i.e. no later than May 1999). This will allow the Palestinians to conduct their own internal affairs and open a new era of cooperation and coexistence based on common interest. At the same time it protects Israel's vital interests, and in particular its security interests, both with regard to external security as well as the personal security of its citizens in the West Bank.

**September 29, 1995** - Secretary Christopher, Foreign Minister Peres, and Chairman Arafat convened the first meeting of the US-Israel-Palestinian Trilateral Committee. The parties agreed: to promote co-operative efforts to foster economic development in the West Bank and Gaza; to explore the means to increase the availability and more efficient use of water resources; to consult on matters of mutual interest; and to promote co-operation on regional issues.

**October 31, 1995** - Under the US-Jordan-Israel Trilateral Economic Committee, Israel and Jordan have outlined a number of projects dealing with the environment, water, energy, transportation, and tourism. Among the projects is the establishment of a free-trade zone in Aqaba-Eilat, with a view to making it an economic hub for the northern peninsula of the Red Sea.

**September 30, 1996** - Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat agreed to come to Washington to mend the latest tear in the fragile fabric of peace, after fighting which began during a protest over a tunnel in Jerusalem.

January 15, 1997 - After months of negotiations a final agreement on the Israeli withdrawal

from Hebron emerged. It required immediate Israeli withdrawal from most of Hebron and incremental withdrawal from West Bank villages already under Palestinian authority and some rural areas by mid-1998.

**March 4, 1997** - Netanyahu approved the construction of a new Jewish settlement, Har Homa, in East Jerusalem. Yasser Arafat and President Clinton both criticised the proposed settlement as detrimental to the peace process.

**September 12, 1997** - US Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright, admits failure to mediate peace in the Middle East.

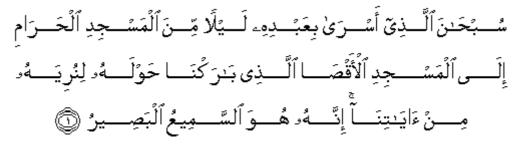
**February 24, 1998** - Yasser Arafat rejected Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's proposal for US-brokered summit talks at Camp David as a ploy to divert attention from real issues of peace. "The most important thing is redeployment of Israeli forces and implementation of the tenor and content of existing accords", said Arafat.

**March 18, 1998** - A high-level Lebanese-Syrian summit was held in the Syrian capital Damascus to discuss recent Israeli offers to withdraw from southern Lebanon in exchange for security guarantees, in addition to local and regional developments. Lebanon and Syria both rejected the offer, saying that Israel must withdraw from the border enclave in south Lebanon unconditionally, in accordance with UN resolution 425.

March 24, 1998 - While Arafat delivered his speech to a session of foreign ministers in Cairo explaining the latest developments in the peace process, Israel dug in its heels in a row with Washington over a West Bank pullout, denying that its rejection of a US Middle East peace bid would spark an Israeli-American confrontation. An unpublished American plan to revive Palestinian-Israeli peace talks, calls on Israel to hand over a further 13 percent of the West Bank in return for steps by the Palestinian Authority to stop violence. But a top aide to Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, David Bar-Illan, said the security needs of Israel must be determined by Israel alone, adding the plan failed to require adequate Palestinian compliance with Israeli security demands. As Israel's cabinet declared that reports about a 13 percent withdrawal were unacceptable, the Ha'aretz newspaper reported that Netanyahu was prepared only to hand over 9 percent.

# The implications of the peace process on the Ummah

# A. Doctrinal Implications



"Glory to (Allah) Who did take His servant for a night journey from the Sacred Mosque (Masjid al-Haram) to the Farthest Mosque (Masjid al-Aqsa), whose precincts We did bless."

[TMQ 17:1]

The impact of the peace process on the Islamic . aqeedah is grave. The first implication concerns Israel's control over al-Aqsa Masjid. Al-Quds was the first Qibla for the Muslims, where Muhammad led all the Prophets in prayer and from where he ascended into the heavens on the sacred journey (Me. raj). Its closeness to the hearts of the Ummah is very well known. Further, Imam Ali (ra) is reported to have said, "The most blessed of abodes is Jerusalem, and he who lives therein is like the one who strives in the way of Allah. The time

will surely come when it will be said, 'O that I were a piece of straw in one of the bricks of Quds!' " The second danger to the Islamic . aqeedah involves a sinister plot from the bringing together of Muslim and Jew on the basis of their creeds. It is part of the work to eradicate animosity present between them and to establish the spirit of friendliness between them. This cannot happen except by one of two things. Either that the Jew relinquishes his Judaism and becomes Muslim, or the Muslim accepts to depart from his . aqeedah. Anyone who has vision will realise that the Kuffar are working night and day to establish the second option. Allah (swt) says:

"And the Jews and Christians will not be pleased with you until you follow their way (and you leave yours)" [TMQ 2:120]

This attempt has taken the form of inviting Islam to participate on the platform of the . Abrahamic faiths. . The plan seeks to present these . faiths. as having arisen from the same point of origin, and as such, sharing many ideals, values and aspirations. The most dangerous of the ensuing lies is the claim that the Jews and Christians can not be called Kafiroon (disbelievers). In defence of this claim, the following verses from the Qur. an were manipulated:

"Verily those who believe and those who are Jews, Christians and Sabians, whoever believes in Allah and the last day and do righteous deeds shall have their reward with their Lord, on them shall be no fear, nor shall they grieve." [TMQ 5:69]

"Surely, those who believe, those who are Jews and the Sabians and the Christians, whosoever believes in Allah and the Last Day and worked righteousness on them shall be no fear, nor shall they grieve." [TMQ 2:62]

But, to clarify this flagrant misrepresentation, these verses refer to the Jews who existed from the time of Musa (as) until the coming of Isa (as), not the Jews at the time of Muhammad for indeed today. With regards to the Christians, they are in fact called . Nassara. in the verse which means . Helpers. . These . Helpers. were the Hawayireen (the Disciples) of Isa (as) who followed his message until the time of Muhammad sources verses do not at all refer to the Jews and Christians of today. To further clarify this beyond doubt, both verses were abrogated by the following verse,

# وَمَن يَبُتَ فِي غَيْرَ ٱلْإِسُلَامِ دِينًا فَلَن يُقُبَلَ مِن فَهُ وَهُوَ فِي ٱلْأَخِرَةِ مِنَ ٱلْخَدسِرِينَ ﴿

"And whosoever desires a religion other than Islam, it will never be accepted from him and in the Hereafter he will be one of the losers." [TMQ 3:85]

Allah (swt) also stated very clearly,

"Verily those who disbelieve in Allah and His Messengers and wish to make a distinction between Allah and His Messengers (by believing in Allah and disbelieving in His Messengers) saying, . We believe in some but reject others. and wish to adopt a way in between, they are in truth Disbelievers (Kafiroon). And we have prepared for the Disbelievers a humiliating torment."

"O you who believe! Do not take the Jews and Christians for your allies; they are but allies to one another - and whoever allies himself with them becomes one of them; Allah does not guide such evildoers." [TMQ 5:51]

"And the Jews and Christians will not be pleased with you until you follow their way (and you leave yours)" [TMQ 2:120]

Inspite of the explicit warnings of these Ayaat, the whole world witnessed King Hussein of Jordan speaking publicly of his loss and sadness at the death of his . brother. Yitzhak Rabin, the Israeli Prime Minister, who was assassinated in 1995. Hussein even went to the extent of calling the Jews and Christians brothers of the Muslims and hence believers. In like fashion, on 19 March 1998 a group of Israeli rabbis said that they had reached an agreement in principle with the Iranian government to travel to Iran next month to promote understanding between the two peoples. Rabbi Menachem Fruman, one of the organisers of the trip, said the goal was to begin dialogue with the Iranians on a religious basis. "Perhaps by calling attention to our shared belief in a single God, to our shared emphasis on living life according to religious law, the rabbis may be able to change the Iranian peoples public perception of Israel." Another objective in the promotion of the . Abrahamic faiths. has been to prevent the Muslims from referring to their . aqeedah in political matters, opening the door for them to adopt secular solutions. This particular scheme is manifest in the issue of the internationalisation. of Jerusalem as part of the final status talks in the peace process. It has always been the goal of Arafat to establish an autonomous state in the West Bank and Gaza strip with Jerusalem as the symbolic capital of both Israel and Palestine. In a similar situation prior to the peace established between Egypt and Israel with the Camp David Treaty of 1979, President Sadat talked of his dream of constructing a mosque, a synagogue and a church on the Sinai. President Carter, Menachim Begin and Sadat even shared a symbolic joint prayer before talks at Camp David. All of this has been done through conferences of coexistence between the religions and the standing side by side of the priests and rabbis with the deviated government scholars. It comes in the form of emphasising the concept that Islam is the . deen of peace. , while hiding the fact that Islam seeks to establish a unique order, its own order, wherein the supremacy is for Islam and the sovereignty for Allah. s (swt) laws. It takes the form of spreading of the view of the permissibility of having peace with the Jews, accepting the occupation of Islamic lands and the subjugation of Muslims to the authority of the enemies of Islam. This betrayal has been institutionalised through the attempt to change the educational curriculum in the Muslims lands by removing every Qur. anic verse, every Hadith, every Shari. ah rule and every historical fact which attacks the Jews and their corruption, all in the attempt to portray Islam in a manner which calls for the atmosphere of peace with the Jews. This plan also seeks to prevent the speakers in the mosques from addressing this conspiracy. All of these mentioned matters are but a small amount from many of the styles and means which are being used to deviate the Ummah from understanding her . aqeedah, of what is necessary for this . aqeedah of the Oneness of Allah and the disassociation from His enemies. Allah (swt) says,

"Allah forbids your friendship with those who fight you because of your faith, and drive you from your homelands, or aid others to do so; and as for those who turn to them in friendship, they are truly wrongdoers." [TMQ 60:9]

# B. Political Implications

"The PLO recognises the right of the State of Israel to exist in peace and security. The PLO commits itself to the Middle East peace process, and to a peaceful resolution of the conflict through negotiations. The PLO considers that the signing of the Declaration of Principles constitutes a historic event, inaugurating a new epoch of peaceful coexistence, free from violence and all other acts which endanger peace and stability." Letter from Arafat to Yitzhak Rabin, the Prime Minister of Israel, 9th September 1993.

As for the political dangers of the peace process the above statement reveals a host of political consequences, the realisation of which we are now witnessing. Primarily, the peace process would establish the political integration of Israel into the heart of the Islamic lands, and the normalisation of relationships between the Muslims and the Jews, while Islam categorically rejects the support and approval of, and the participation in the Peace Process. Allah (swt) says,

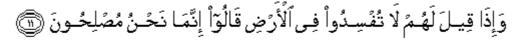
"And Allah will never grant an authority to the Kafireen over the Believers." [TMQ 4:141]

# إِنَّمَا يَنُهَنكُ مُ ٱللَّـهُ عَنِ ٱلَّـذِينَ قَنتَلُـو كُمُّ فِى ٱلـدِّينِ وَأَخۡرَجُـو كُم مِّن دِيَــرٍ كُمُّ وَظَنهَــرُواْ عَلَــنَ إِخۡرَاجِــكُمُۚ أَن تَوَلَّــوُهُمُّ وَمَــن يَتَـــوَلَّهُمُّ فَــأُوْلَـَيْكِ هُــمُ ٱلظَّـٰلِمُــونَ ۞

"Allah forbids your friendship with those who fight you because of your faith, and drive you from your homelands, or aid others to do so; and as for those who turn to them in friendship, they are truly wrongdoers." [TMQ 60:9]

And Muhammad said, "He who grants a hand span of Muslim land to the Kafir, Allah will grant him the equal hand span of Hellfire to him."

Such normalisation would mean acceptance and forgiving of the terrorism, massacres and mass expulsions that Israel has perpetrated against the Muslim Ummah. No one can forget the massacres of Deir Yassin, Sabra, Shatila, as well as South Lebanon, Bahr ul-Bagar, Al-Agsa mosque and Al-Haram Al-Ibrahimi. Normalisation would have the effect of implanting defeat, inferiority and humiliation in the Ummah. s soul, since the official recognition of Israel reinforces in the minds of the Muslims the physical impossibility of the Ummah to liberate her land. This would only underline the view that the liberation of Palestine can never occur, and that only a secular solution is viable, a solution which would accept and strengthen the permanent existence of Israel as a political entity. Securing the political entity and borders of Israel would mean that the actions from the sincere sons of the Ummah of attacking Israel will be punished by the tyrant rulers in our lands who will revert to the peace accord for justification. Therefore, hostility and enmity would be replaced by ensuring the security of Israel. This was illustrated in 1996 in Sharm al-Sheikh with the unprecedented international conference on peace and terrorism, where the heroic actions by sincere Muslims in Al-Quds, Asgalan and Tel Aviv were depicted as acts of terrorism by all the Arab leaders and the Palestinian Authority reverted to punitive measures to assist Israel in capturing the assailants and those that supported them. This conference, like the previous bilateral/multilateral summits, became the blue print for future conferences where Israel will be a key member, developing common policies and political and security objectives, fundamentally built around protecting Israel. Such political co-operation will result in Israel establishing an intelligence apparatus in the Muslim lands with the assistance of the Islamic regimes, permitting the Jews to build embassies not only to secure political integration, but more fundamentally to enable the Jews to directly interfere in the political decisions in the lands of the Muslims. The pretext of such an action on the part of the Jews would be the monitoring of adherence to the peace treaties with them, and to make sure that the ensuing political decisions will not violate any aspect of the peace treaties nor seek to undermine them. Allah (swt) reminds us:



"And when it is said to them, "Make not mischief on the earth", they say, "We are only peacemakers". Verily they are the ones to make mischief but they perceive it not." [TMQ 2:11]

# C. Economic Implications

"Israeli radio mentioned that Shimon Peres had several meetings with distinguished economic officials from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and other Gulf states. Among those who met with Peres were Abdullah Dawas, the President of Saudi Chamber of Commerce, other meetings were held with officials from Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia to discuss financial, economic co-operation between Israel and Arab countries." Al-Zaytoonah,

The economic consequences are as dangerous to the Ummah as the doctrinal and political implications. A major event outlining the economic implications of normalisation of relationships with Israel is what was agreed upon in the Amman economic summit, in October 1995. This includes the . Development Options for Co-operation in the Middle East and East Mediterranean. which were a set of Israeli proposals and recommendations on a broad range of joint ventures. The summit's aim was to establish regional institutions which would allow the Western nations and Israel to retain their economic dominance over the area. One of the key areas where Israel has retained a stranglehold over the Muslim Ummah is regarding water resources, invaluable to any nation.

Since the six day war of 1967, when Israel captured the West Bank and the valuable water basin beneath its hills, the Mountain Aquafier, Israel has played the . water card. to strengthen its influence. Almost immediately after the war Israel instigated a series of military orders putting the exploitation and distribution of water resources under the strict control of the Israeli administration, severely limiting Palestinian use of the water and inflicting upon Jordan a water shortage crisis. Currently, the Palestinian drilling of wells is forbidden without permission by the Israeli authorities. Since occupation, permits have been granted for just 23 wells, mainly to replace older wells which had dried up. Only three of these permits concerned wells for agricultural use. As a consequence, Palestinian agricultural water consumption has remained at 1968 levels in absolute terms. Only domestic use increased by 20%, which is even less than the growth of the population. On the West Bank, Palestinians are only allowed to drill shallow wells of 60-140 meters, while Mekorot, the contractor of Israel. s water authority supplying the Jewish settlers prefers to drill to depths of 300-400 meters in order to get higher flow rates and better quality water. In some cases, the deeper wells have drained water from the shallower ones, leading to the drying up of Palestinian wells. As a result of these and other policies, Israel, including the settlers, are presently utilising nearly 80% of the shared waters of the West Bank, while Palestinians are left with less than 20%. To compound the inequity, Palestinians on the West Bank are forced to pay higher rates for their water supply. Israel. s former negotiator on water, Avraham Katz-Oz arrogantly stated to the Muslims, "We say, you will not take water from us. But we are ready to work with you because water is money". Under the Peace Process this illegitimate control over the water resources belonging to the Muslim Ummah will remain.

More recently, while the Arab states line up in a queue waiting their turn to trade with Israel, Qatar has already begun to supply gas to Israel while Oman is about to award contracts to Israeli companies for the supply of electricity and water. The reality of the Amman economic summit is that the technological industries will be established among the Jews, and the light underdeveloped industries will be established among the Muslims, industries which depend on hard Labor. The joint projects between the Jews and the Muslims will be under Jewish management in reality but in joint management by name. As for the money which will finance these projects, it will be from the Muslims money, but will be paid to America and Europe from the Gulf, then re-directed to the Jews and Muslims as American and European international loans. The scope of privileges that the Jews will enjoy while taking these loans, and the scope of debts that the Muslims lands will be submerged under, and also the loans compound interests will place the Ummah in economic shackles and increase its poverty. The Muslims will not gain from any of this except menial jobs given to them by the Jews when the Muslims stand in front of their doors in thousands to work for them for the provision of their day as is happening today in Palestine.

# مَّا يَوَدُّ ٱلَّذِينَ كَفَرُواْ مِنُ أَهُلِ ٱلْكِتَىٰبِ وَلَا ٱلْمُشْرِكِينَ أَن يُنزَّلَ عَلَيْكُم مِّنُ خَيْرٍ مِّن رَّبِّكُمُّ وَٱللَّهُ يَخْتَصُّ بِرَحُمَتِهِۦ مَن يَشَآءُ ۚ وَٱللَّهُ ذُو ٱلْفَضْلِ ٱلْعَظِيمِ

"Neither those who followed earlier revelation who deny the truth, nor the Mushriks like to see good bestowed upon you from your Sustainer; but Allah bestows grace upon whom He chooses; for Allah is limitless in His great bounty." [TMQ 2:105]

# D. Military Implications

"The co-operation between Turkey and Israel should be strengthened in order to face the terrorist threats and secure the stability for the whole region." Benyamin Netanyahu, - 1996

With regards to the military implications a little reflection can establish the real role which is being carried out by the armies of the Muslims. These armies were once for Jihad against the Kuffar and were the protective shield of the Ummah, they have been transformed into guns in the hands of the Kuffar where they are used, against those whom they used to protect, maintaining the influence and dominance of the colonial powers in the region. This domination takes the shape of building bases and carrying out military exercises in the Islamic lands to train the Muslims soldiers to fight, kill and suppress Muslims. This can be no more clear than as demonstrated by Turkey and its military agreement signed with Israel. In February 1996 Turkey announced the signing of a military treaty with Israel which would lead to the opening of the air space of each country for training and manoeuvring purposes to the other. It would also lead to the exchange of military information between the two. In the following May they furthered this agreement by signing a naval pact leading to the performance of joint naval manoeuvres. Mordechai, the Israeli defence Minister added, "We think that the military co-operation between Turkey and Israel could act as a deterrent against any attack that countries such as Iraq, Iran and Syria could contemplate launching against Israel". This is a graphic example of how cheap and worthless the blood of the Muslims has become, and how the Muslim armies have become pawns in the hands of the Jews and other nations. Such pacts, of which this is only the first, only give the Kuffar the ability to use bases in the Muslim land to launch attacks on the Muslims and put them as the first line of defence for Israel, if she is attacked.

This must be seen in comparison to Muhammad who forbade the Muslims to fight alongside the Kuffar as an independent nation and force. It has been narrated in the Hadith of Dhihak that Muhammad was approached on the day of Uhud by a military division. The Messenger of Allah inquired: "Who are they?" He was told that they were Jews of such and such a tribe. Upon this he said: "We never seek the unbelievers help." Al-Hafiz Abu Abdullah Fesak reported according to Abu-Hamid Al-Sa'idi: The Messenger of Allah went out until he reached the Thannyatul-Wada'a where he came across a division. He asked who they were and was told that they were Abdullah ibnu Salam's Banu Kaynaka. He said to them: "Would you embrace Islam?" They said: "No." Upon this he said: "Go back! We never seek the help of the unbelievers." They then embraced Islam.

Rather than regarding the occupiers of Palestine as enemies who must be repelled through Jihad, the Muslim armies are accepting the Jews as allies and the military pacts are serving to preserve the existence of the State of Israel. The military implication is further viewed from the perspective that there does not exist one single factory in the Muslim world that makes heavy weapons, making the Muslims reliant on the Kuffar.

Therefore Israel will not let anything escape it whether it is to check the size and level of training of the armies, joint military exercises or checking every single weapons deal to

ensure the security of the state is intact.

"Fight them and Allah will punish them by your hands, humiliate them, help you over them and heal the hearts of the believers." [TMQ 2:191]

### Conclusion

The immediate political climate regarding the peace process, with all the sides involved at an impasse suggests, as many political commentators have alluded to, that the peace process is not merely at a difficult point, rather it is breathing its last breath before its demise and death. Though this may be a possible outcome, one should not consider that the death of the peace process would mean that the doctrinal, political, economic and military implications would consequently cease to threaten the . ageedah. It must be clear that the peace process is only one of a number of means employed to achieve the integration of Israel into the region. In fact since the creation of Israel, the central objective of the Jews, the British, and the Americans has always been the political integration and normalisation of the state of Israel into the Middle East. Each had specific conditions and aims which drove them to conflict, but underlying the conflicting policies has been agreement on the normalisation of the Jews into the region generally. As a result, these nations have employed many different styles to achieve this objective. Other styles which have been utilised for example have been the fake wars between Israel and the Arab states, the economic incentives, UN resolutions 242 & 338, the Camp David peace treaty, as well as numerous conferences and summits. The latest style has been this peace process. If it fails to deliver the objective because of non-compliance, the peace process would be soon replaced with another style. The objective to secure Israel's existence and realisation of the implications that have been mentioned, however, would remain.

In highlighting the conspiracies behind the peace process, we must recognise that the doctrinal, political, economic and military implications are not restricted to the occupation of Palestine and the actions of the Jews, but are to be found wherever the Kuffar have interfered in the affairs of the Muslim Ummah. In Bosnia, Chechenya, Kashmir, Algeria, and Iraq, the problems created by the Kuffar have been used as a pretext for their involvement and interference through the establishment of military bases and the stationing of . peace keeping, forces, through the conducting of economic treaties to commandeer the wealth of the Ummah, and through enforcing secular political solutions. All of this is made possible through the compliance of the tyrannical rulers of the Muslim lands, who truly are the first line of defence for our enemies. It is truly worth remembering how Sultan Abdul Hamid the Second responded to the Jews who initially tried to take Palestine: "Please do tell Dr. Hertzel not to take any serious steps towards this issue. I cannot concede one single hand span of the Palestinian land for it is not mine to concede. Palestine belongs to the Muslim Nation (Ummah) My people have fought hard for this land and irrigated it with their blood. The Jews might as well keep their millions If the Khilafah State one day fell then you can take Palestine without any price. But as long as I am alive, I would rather be cut to pieces than to see Palestine cut off from the Khilafah State and this shall not happen. I cannot agree to the mutilation of our bodies as long as we are alive." The magnitude of the imminent danger of these implications must be well understood for the consequences are immense regarding the future of the Ummah and the work to revive it.

# A Disclosure of Policy Making in Israel and the US

"I am not exaggerating when I say that the peace process is almost dead because of the obstinate and irresponsible policies of the Israeli government Now the title of this process is stagnation...Nothing is going on and there is no progress." Yasser Arafat, in March 1998 at the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC) summit. It has become a political fact that the . peace. process has stalled. This book has explained that the reason for its failure is a diplomatic stalemate between the US and Israel. The US insists that Israel should cede certain territories in exchange for secure and recognised borders; a policy known as . land

for peace. . This would allow the US to establish influence under the guise of international forces to act as caretaker over the some of the . land. involved. The . land. involved is territory that came under Israeli control after the 1967 war which she still occupies including 72% of the West Bank, East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights. However, Israel under Netanyahu does not accept this condition. As an alternative policy, Israel wishes to pursue . land for peace. .

The aim of the following article is to explode certain myths about the corridors of power in both Israel and the US. The first part of the article will examine the claim that Israel has a unified body politic. The second will put to rest the fable that Israel pulls America's strings. The stalling of the . peace. process provides many evidences for both these expositions. Israel. s divided body politic.

"Albright hasn't achieved the success we wished to happen, and that is the resumption of peace negotiations from where they stopped, in line with Israel. s acceptance of pledges by Rabin's government." The Syrian Vice President Abdel Halim Khaddam after Albright. s visit last September, 1997.

In this statement Khaddam mentioned far more than stating the obvious fact that the 'peace' process has stalled. He alluded to the reason for the stalling. Khaddam's reference to former Israeli Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, was poignant. Rabin was from the Labor party which is one of the parties which supports the idea of . land for peace. .

The very existence of parties that support 'land for peace' destroys the myth that is that there is a unified body of opinion within Israel for such a voice is in direct opposition to the opinions held by the present government . Those who call for . land for peace. believe that giving up Israeli expansion in the quest for a . Greater Israel. , in exchange for . peace. is an acceptable means through which to achieve a permanent settlement to Israel's dispute with the Arab states.

# Labor's bases its 'land for peace' position on three principles:

- 1. Population separation between the 2 million plus residents of the West Bank and Gaza strip and the State of Israel.
- 2. Adjustments in the pre-1967 borders to accommodate Israel's security requirements.
- 3. There will be no foreign army west of the Jordan river.

These points are, in essence, acceptable to the Americans, but the difference between the two parties is over the shape of the adjustment in the land which is necessary to accommodate Israel. s security needs. Also, the US plan initially called for the isolation of Israel through military deployments between it and Jordan, however, the aftermath of Jordan's own peace agreement with Israel means the US would have to re-evaluate that aim. As for the separation between Israelis and Palestinians, this is clearly in the US interests since through this arrangement the possibility of a Palestinian independent state is quite feasible. Due to these concurring aspects, the US worked with Rabin to reach a settlement.

In light of this, Rabin. s regime was representative of that element of Israeli society and the political medium who felt that . land for peace. was a viable and probable course of action for Israel to embark upon. Further, since that is also the basis of the US plan, steps were made in accordance to US aspirations by the Rabin regime.

Netanyahu. s regime, however, is representative of a body with a completely different opinion. His Likud Party opposes . land for peace. , and his regime has reneged on Rabin. s promises. Likud came to power in an election which followed a spate of bombings by the militant group Hamas, in retaliation for the Israel. s assassination of Yahyah Ayyash. The

view held by Likud is that . land for peace. undermines the security and integrity of the state of Israel. This voice is based on the belief that the security which Israel seeks can only be achieved by controlling land. Abandoning territories would signal the loss of Israeli expansionism, through which it seeks security, and is hence a dangerous step in the wrong direction. Peace for peace., the view held by Likud, calls for a cessation of hostilities to be reciprocated by both sides. Israel would continue to hold those lands she felt were vital to her security until she is convinced that the threat against her is no longer evident, thereupon removing the need for land. It is this the fact that has produced the start/stop nature of the peace. process.

"I can't accept a dictate We have our principles. We're not deceiving anyone, not ourselves, not the voters, not the Palestinians and not the Americans It's not my intention to prevent them (the United States) from raising ideas, only that they raise the right ideas."

So declared Israeli Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu on Israel Radio, prior to the visit of US' special envoy Dennis Ross on 27th March of this year. He was restating his position that 'peace' is fine, but . land for peace. is not a . right idea. .

Other parties have taken every opportunity to remind Netanyahu of an idea that he is convinced of anyway. Which makes their . reminders. rather theatrical, but at the same time a clear marker of Israeli policy . peace for peace. :

National Religious Party [NRP] Knesset Member Tzvi Handel stated "Netanyahu can do whatever he wanted to solve crises within the Likud, but no convention will help him as far as the Eretz Yisra'el [Greater Israel] issue is concerned." He also said an additional withdrawal in Judaea and Samaria would signify the end of Netanyahu's rule, although the NRP would not be happy about such a prospect.

Deputy Education Minister Moshe Peled of Tzomet stated "Eretz Yisra'el was more important than any government, and if an additional withdrawal is implemented in the territories, my colleagues and I will cast a vote of no-confidence in the Prime Minister."

"Land of Israel Front" party leader, Michael Kleiner, stated "If the prime minister and the cabinet decide on any further withdrawal, we will act to bring the government down."

"It is unacceptable that nations made up of people who have only just come down from the trees should take themselves for world leaders. How can such primitive beings have an opinion on their own? The blow we have just received from the UNO should convince us, once more, that we are not like unto other nations." Yitzhak Shamir, in 'Yediot Aharonot' 14 November 1975, after African nations pushed through a resolution equating Zionism with racism, a blow to designs of Israeli expansion and the then governments desire to avoid . land for peace. .

In summary thus far it is apparent that the rift within Israeli policy formation has put it in a precarious situation. Israel is divided as to what is the best course for action. Is a peace agreement with the surrounding Arab states worth the sacrifice of occupied land? Or will compromising the possession of occupied land compromise Israel's security in the immediate situation?

This division is manifest on the international arena as contradictory policies. This has seriously compromised Israel's ability to forge a consistent course within the international arena. Rabin steered Israel on one course, only for it to be changed when Netanyahu came to the helm, leading to the stop/start nature of the 'peace' process, and all its consequent complications.

# Jews within America: Exploding the myth that Israel pulls America's strings

The policy conflict between Likud's Israel and America is reflected in their respective policy

houses. Consequently, Kofi Annan. s proposal of . land for peace. , during his visit to Israel in the last week of March 1998, was met with hostility by the Israeli Knesset. Such a situation has a parallel in America. It is impossible that any lobby, Jewish or otherwise, would be able to dissuade America from a policy as critical to US interests as . land for peace. . The stalling of the peace process serves as a reminder that American policy is not subject to the dictates of the Israeli policy.

The Jews in America number about 5 million. As an immigrant element of society, they have thrived by accumulating wealth, education and culture. This has afforded them prestige and led them to occupy prominent positions within the American society. On that account, some Jews have established an intimacy with some of the American policy makers. As an example, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee has an annual budget of \$15 million, with about fifty thousand dues-paying members. Within Congress alone, Jews have 10 members in the Senate and 33 members in the House of Representatives. In spite of these observations, the reality of American society means that it is impossible for Israel to dictate policy to America, or even to influence it other than as a factor that the policy must contend with. There is a fundamental political reality which substantiates this statement: American foreign policy is formed exclusively on the basis of US interests. Any apparent concessions to Israel or any other power occur only when there is a shared common interest.

# American foreign policy is formed exclusively on the basis of US interests.

The above mentioned point was demonstrated very clearly by former secretary of state John Foster Dulles who, in February 1957, stated "Firstly, sanctions (against Israel) would be necessary to compel Israel's withdrawal and a withdrawal was needed to maintain the American position amongst the Arabs that does not mean I am anti-Jewish, but I believe in what George Washington said in his Farewell Address, that an emotional attachment to another country should not interfere." This statement was in explanation of President Eisenhower's demand on 11 February 1957 for an Israeli withdrawal from Suez.

In 1956, the Eisenhower administration forced a British and French withdrawal from the Suez war and left Israel isolated against Egypt. Despite fierce Israeli dissent, the greater interest lay in removing Britain from the region and securing indirect control over Suez through Nasser. Eisenhower went so far as to threaten a run on the British Pound Sterling in the case of Britain's non-compliance. Israel's Ben-Gurion initially dug in his heels. Eisenhower did more than just talk. On 20 February, 1957 he went on television to issue a final ultimatum to Israel for the withdrawal of Israeli forces. He also laid out a plan with Dulles wherein the US would cut off all Economic aid to Israel. Also under Public Law 480 agricultural shipments and technical assistance were cut off. On the 5th of March 1957, Ben-Gurion gave in.

Dulles. reference to George Washington was significant. In his farewell address, George Washington admonished his fellow citizens to steer clear of a "passionate attachment" to another nation, warning that it may create "the illusion of a common interest".

Interests drive all major powers in the international arena. America will not compromise her interests to any other nation or people, regardless of the fact they may have had shared interests in the past. It was on this basis that during the Suez crisis, US worked against her former World War II allies, Britain and France, in favour of her own interests. The only time the US would act according to what appeared to be another nation's interest would be if it coincided with her own. This can be seen in the case of America's present economic support of Israel. America. s policy is dependent upon Israel. s regarding of American involvement as necessary, and also to build credibility to oversee . peace. . Israel, in turn, is in need of the military hardware and economic and political support which the US offers her. Due to this shared interest, America has lavished Israel with funding. It should be clear, however, that this support is conditional on Israel continuing to function as a tool of American policy.

In the light of this fundamental fact, it is unrealistic to suggest that American decision making is subject to the whims of a pro-Israeli, Jewish lobby. If the US were to ever implement a pro-Israeli policy countering her own interests, it would mean America has relinquished her

political will and interests. This is inconceivable as far as the leading power in the world is concerned. So, no matter how large this lobby was, it could not yield any tangible influence in the American Middle-Eastern policy. This becomes even more clear when one sees that the fruits of American policy include numerous anti-Israeli policies as demonstrated by the US. s opposition to Israel. s expanded building of settlements.

US concern for the rights of Palestinians was not born out of altruism or charity. The US realises that Israeli confiscation of land alters . facts on the ground. . The building of the Israeli settlements upon proposed Palestinian territory has made the segregation between the Palestinians and the Israelis impossible. This is because these constructions have created a veritable mosaic upon the land. Since territorial segregation is untenable, the justification for US led international forces falls down. Israel has also altered the facts on the ground in Al-Quds. She has introduced some extensive changes by building large Jewish settlements in East Jerusalem, a Palestinian populated area, again making its internationalising a difficult task. This anger at the issue of settlements has featured in the actions of many leading US politicians, as quoted below.

"It is essential, I think, that the United States assumes a stronger leadership role to get the peace process back on track. Where are the United States. voices today in opposition to increased settlements activity? Let me say in the strongest terms I can that the United States policy on settlements should not be changed if we want peace. It should be maintained as it is, and it should be frequently articulated, and it should be assertively pursued." James Baker during a speech at a Washington peace conference in December 1996

"We've seen the Israeli statement and frankly it's troubling. As I've said before many times, settlement activity is unhelpful, and settlement activity clearly complicates the peace process." US State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns.

"The letter is about settlements. It is precipitated by Netanyahu's policies, which seem to us inimical to the peace process and even dangerous." Zbigniew Brezezinski commenting on a letter opposing settlements authored by himself and other former and current US officials of the time including James Baker, Cyrus Vance, Lawrence Eagleburger, Frank Carlucci, and Brent Scowcroft.

US Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright in her shuttle diplomacy of September 1997 said, "These have not been easy years. The Palestinians have suffered a great deal, including the human costs of closures, of restrictions on movement and of housing demolitions and land confiscations." In another obvious attack, she condemned Israel's withholding of the bulk of tax revenues it owes the Palestinian Authority as a result of the July 30 triple-bombing as making it "more difficult to have the kind of political environment that is necessary for this partnership to go forward."

In two US state department statements, of 28 July 1953 and 3 November 1954, the US denied Israel's right to proclaim Jerusalem as its capital. At one stage US officials were prohibited from dealing with Israeli officials in Jerusalem.

President Richard Nixon said to US Ambassador to the UN, Charles W. Host, "The part of Jerusalem that came under the control of Israel in the June war, like other areas occupied by Israel, is occupied territory and hence subject to the provisions of international law governing the rights and obligations of an occupying power." This was reaffirmed by President Bush on 3 March 1990.

In another attempt to slip out of US conditions, Israel has tried to initiate bilateral accords without the US. This is in an attempt to secure her . peace. without having to compromise . land. . The most significant of these accords was one that was established in February, 1996 with Turkey. As a manifestation of US anger at this Israeli initiative, pressure was brought to bear repeatedly upon Turkey. There was a hostile reaction to the accord by US agents within the region, most notably Egypt and Syria. In March, 1998 at the OIC summit, the Syrian

Foreign Minister, Al-Sharaa said, asked his Turkish counterpart, Ismail Cem, who met with him in Doha, to reconsider the Israeli-Turkish defence agreement. US agents also scored a success for the US against Israel with the following OIC decision, "The conference also called on the Islamic states which had taken steps toward establishing relations with Israel to reconsider such relations by closing missions and bureau's until Israel completes its withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories and fulfils the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people".

The US was also directly involved in bearing pressure when she refused to hand over to Turkey weapons which she had earlier purchased from America. These included three frigates, purchased to strengthen the Turkish fleet in the Aegean Sea, and three Super Cobra helicopters, which Turkey plans to use against the Turkish Kurd rebels.

In concluding, the idea which many Muslims carry regarding Jewish control of American policy formation is fictitious. It has been stumbled upon by Muslims who do not possess clear political vision, and consequently generalize the reality of the international arena. Realizing a correlation between US and Israeli interests does not allude to the causation and nature of the apparently converging interests. For the Ummah, it is vital that she comprehend the reality of the international situation in order to come to terms with the plans laid against her by the nations of kufr. Also, by being aware of the international situation the Ummah can understand the reality which the Islamic State will be brought into. When the Khilafah arises, if the Ummah holds an accurate understanding of the international situation, she will be able to out maneuver the enemy states, and be able to break apart seemingly overwhelming alliances, with the help of Allah (swt), if she can recognize the vital interest which each state is pursuing. For if each pursues that interest, and seeks to overcome its weaknesses by working through an alliance, then if that state was provided its interest singularly, undermining the alliance, surely it would pursue it in that manner. Through this manner, the emerging Khilafah will be able to break the unified stance against it which is almost certain to form as the Islamic State begins to affect the international arena. In light of this, we should be aware that American foreign policy is built on the basis of American interests. Where those interests coincide with other nations, America will act in concert with them. Where the interests diverge, America will oppose other nations in pursuit of her interests. This is also manifest within the machinery of her government. Consequently, a pro-Israeli Jewish lobby will always find the doors of the White House closed, politely yet firmly, in its face.

# **US Policy Towards Israel**

The current deadlock in the Middle East peace process is an impasse that has been reached due to the ardent pursuit of specific interests by the major players involved. Each of them, particularly the US and Israel, seeks to shape the peace process and consequently the region in accordance with its own design. These designs are unique to each of the powers, and contradict the ambitions and plans of the others. In light of this, the following article seeks to highlight the fundamental tenets of the US plan for peace and the Israeli plan, with a view to highlighting how when these plans clash, the outcome is political and sometimes military confrontation.

# America's rise to power

The international weakness of France coupled with the self imposed isolationism of the United States prior to WWII had meant that the Middle East was effectively under the colonial control of Britain. Despite this, prior to WWII, Britain had used the oil of the Middle East to tempt America into having some interest in the area so that she may be compelled to defend it if it ever came under threat. After WWII, with Britain having tempted America in the Middle East, the US tasted the benefits of Gulf oil and decided that it could no longer remain isolated and began manoeuvring in the area. In 1944 the State Department had described the Arabian Peninsula as constituting: "A stupendous source of strategic power and the greatest material prize in the worlds history." The United States was aware that control of the

region's oil supply was a lever to control the world. As George Kennan, the influential planner of the containment of the Soviet Union, put it in 1949: "If the US controlled the oil, it would have veto power over the potential actions in the future of rivals like Germany and Japan." Realising the potential of the Middle East, the US set forward multiple plans and strategies to control the region.

### The Issue of Israel

In order to keep the region divided with the objective of preserving long term interests, Britain had embarked upon establishing a permanent political entity for the Jews in Palestine. In his book . Trial and Error. , Weizmann mentioned that the Zionist movement started in Europe and found great difficulty in winning American Jews over to the idea of Zionism in order to establish a homeland for the Jews in Palestine. Thus to establish this political entity for the Jews, many discussions took place in Britain among both Zionists and British Officials. The main points of discussion were to initially define the borders and nature of the entity as well as whether it should be separate from or have complete interdependence with the existing peoples of the area. All of these discussions took place prior to the Balfour Declaration in 1917.

Regarding the definition of the Israeli border, Ben Gurion stated: "The Israeli border cannot be defined. The Israeli border should be like the deer skin. When the deer grows, its skin grows automatically". Some defined the borders reaching as far east as the Euphrates river.

Regarding the nature of this entity, some suggested a totally independent entity while others like C.G. Montefiore, President of the Anglo-Jewish Association, suggested a democratic secular state. In this regard Montefiore said: "It is much better for the Jewish people to enjoy the freedom granted in many parts of the world than to create a national homeland for the Jews. At any time the number of Jews that will end up in Palestine will only be a small percentage of the population. My friends we don't wish to impede the establishment of the settlements or decrease the immigration to Palestine. On the contrary, we would like to see more of it, and we support the establishment of self-rule whenever the conditions are right, irrespective of to whom belongs the sovereignty in Palestine. We support the transfer of power to the Jews whenever the number of the Jews reaches the necessary majority."

This and other documents were published in the book: 'Palestinian Papers or the Seeds of the Conflict', by the British author Doreen Ingrams. In these discussions the British historian Twenby, who was serving in the ministry of the overseas colonies, said that: "Our basic principle is to create a Palestinian State where Jews and non-Jews enjoy the rights of Palestinian citizenship. This complies with the memorandum of Mr. Balfour that the Hebrew language may be used as the official language, but the Jews should not be allowed to establish a state within a state".

# Countering British Plan Towards Israel

The US policy in the Middle East was to obtain total domination over the region. It was not prepared to share the region with anyone else and for this reason it embarked upon a struggle with Britain to uproot her from the area. In the aftermath of WWII, the American and British policies were quite similar. The two countries used to meet to study their policies and to arrange their plans. When the issue of Jews in Palestine arose, America wanted to establish a Jewish state in Palestine to colonise the area. After a long debate between the State Department and the White House, the US realised that the new Jewish entity would prove to be a great asset for US policy in the area. Britain was undecided after realising that it would be too costly for her and wanted to arrange the matter to suit her colonisation of the region. Therefore she referred the matter to the UN to decide. The UN, under the influence of America adopted resolution 181, which declared the partition of Palestine into two states. Britain kept silent adopting a . wait and see. approach as to whether the region would digest the presence of a Jewish state amongst the Muslims. The US however started to initiate steps to consolidate the establishment of Israel. Britain opposed the US on this issue and

therein began the severe conflict between America and Britain over the existence of Israel.

At about this time many US diplomats were considering how best American interests could be served in the Middle East. These diplomats thought it was folly for the Americans to remain side by side with the British. They found themselves faced with huge problems, in addition to the existence of Israel which the Muslims in the area held deep hatred towards. Therefore they felt it was necessary to deal with these problems first before trying to arrest control of the region. To this end they convened a meeting in November 1950 in Istanbul which was chaired by George Magee a deputy in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This conference was one of the best tools of directing American diplomacy in the region. Two of the main recommendations made were the disassociation of US policy from the British policy and the desisting from the diplomatic and economic support of Israel and encouraging the UN to implement the resolution to divide Palestine into Arab and Jewish states and also to implement a resolution relating to the resettlement of Arab refugees.

America attempted to make peace by trying to bribe King Abdullah of Jordan with loans and promises of land if he made peace with the Jews, however the British assassinated Abdullah before the plan was finalised. Britain's policy towards Israel was that it was not convinced that the area could tolerate a Jewish state and that the idea of establishing a state like Lebanon would be possible. So Britain decided to adopt the idea of a secular Palestinian state. The idea of establishing one Palestinian state and abolishing Israel was resisted relentlessly by the Americans. In fact, the US has diligently worked from that time on to establish what would be known as the Palestinian State alongside Israel. The Middle East Peace Process has been a consequence of this endeavour.

### Israeli Obstinance to the US Plan

Two problems were faced by the US upon the establishment of Israel. Firstly, the Israeli politicians found themselves closer to British policy than American policy. This was now to make Israel join the Arab League with the aim of disguising it from being an alien to the region. This is why Israel worked with both Britain and France in 1956 against the pro-US Egyptian regime which came to power after the free officers coup in 1952. Again in 1967, Israel tried to hit the Egyptian regime and Israel occupied Sinai, the West Bank and the Golan Heights. This plan was arranged with aid from Britain. s loyal servant King Hussein of Jordan. The US allowed Israel to occupy the Sinai, but at the same time sent the USS Liberty to the Red Sea to monitor the Israeli army. Israel sunk the ship knowing that its purpose was such.

The second obstacle faced by the Americans has been the Jewish dream of an Eretz Israel (a greater Israel). This came into direct conflict with the Americans which looked to contain Israel within defined and secure boundaries. After the war of 1973 between Israel and Egypt, Kissinger began his shuttling to the area to work for a peace settlement. When the Carter administration assumed office, Carter had to encourage both Sadat and Begin to sign the Camp David Treaty in the US. Many times, Carter had to twist the arm of Begin to compel him to sign the treaty. At one time Begin said: "We know what the US wants from us, they want the Israeli policy to be determined by any officer in the State Department, but this will never happen, because Israel is not a banana republic".

This position of Israel is very clear since Israel refused to define its borders from the very beginning, although UN resolution 181 mandates that Israel define its borders. This exposed the fact that Israel was not a colony of the US and there were conflicting interests between the two.

# The US Policy to Contain Israel

Ever since the establishment of the Zionist movement, the Jews have been aiming to achieve economic and political dominion over the region. America rejects the idea of substituting the European influence with the Jewish influence, and she also rejects the idea

of sharing power with any other country. America is committed to protecting Israel, guaranteeing her security and securing a prosperous standard of living for the Jews living there. However, she refuses to allow Israel to share the influence with her. In order to prevent Israeli expansion and the spread of Israeli influence in the region, American policy has been based on isolating Israel from the rest of the region in an attempt to curtail her and minimise her role, in America. s quest to solve the Palestinian issue and the Middle Eastern issue. She considered that this could be achieved through the following means: by establishing a Palestinian state to act as an instrument of containment; by establishing a host of international guarantees and by bringing multinational forces to be deployed along the borders between Israel and the neighbouring Arab countries - Jordan, Syria, Egypt and the future Palestinian State. The American policy has also been based on working towards the internationalisation of Jerusalem, for America sees this internationalisation as a solution to the sensitive crisis of Jerusalem, that would please the Christians and guarantee a strong American presence through the presence of the United Nations. America realised that in order to execute her plan, she had to control the situation in a way that prevented any major change in the status quo from taking place, and also prevented any infiltration from the other parties, and not just to oversee negotiations single-handedly.

After the 1973 War, the US helped Sadat in the peace talks with Israel until Israel agreed on a date of withdrawal from the Sinai, including the settlements which was a precedent opposed by some Israeli politicians. In 1982, the US agreed and allowed Israel to have limited operations in Southern Lebanon. Israel went beyond what was agreed upon and later on Israel suffered from guerrilla attacks against her forces. Many of these attacks were planned by Iranian-Syrian supported troops. Both the Iranian and Syrian regimes were and still are working closely with the US. All of this was within the US containment policy.

## The Current Peace Process & US-Israeli Conflict

The current peace process was born in the aftermath of the Gulf War in 1991, in order to achieve the US policy in the region after the US had emerged with an unchallenged grip over the region's politics. George Bush, basking in universal popularity, announced to the Congress on 6th March 1991 four challenges facing the US in the Middle East:

- 1. Common security arrangements for the region.
- 2. The banning of weapons of mass destruction.
- 3. The solving of the Arab-Israeli Conflict.
- 4. The upgrading of economic co-operation in order to achieve peace and progress in the Middle East.

Subsequently, America announced the call for the Madrid Conference. This conference was held to achieve a permanent settlement for the conflict in the Middle East. Bush said this should be based in accordance with UN resolutions 242 and 338 which call for an Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories, i.e. an exchange of "land for peace". The US summoned all parties to the conflict to negotiate. The American policy was very clear: to define the Israeli borders and help in establishing a Palestinian entity, or in other words to contain Israel. This would be done by ending the stage of war between the Arab states and Israel, concluding peace with them, then normalising the relationships between the two sides. In addition, the US sought to associate Israel in the security arrangements and economic co-operation through which America would structure the region according to its planned arrangements. In regards to the Arab states and the PLO, they presented no obstacle to the US policy. The major obstacle was Israel, and its deep rooted conviction that security would only come through land. For the Israelis reason they opposed the principle of exchanging land for peace.

In 1982, General Sharon stated that: "The establishment of settlements in the West Bank

and the Gaza strip is the only way of preventing the intentions of the US to force Israel to accept a peace treaty which will be a threat to the state of Israel". The reaction of Shamir, then Prime Minister, to the American plan was to reject the principle of land for peace. He also rejected the effective participation of the UN so that it would not be consulted in clarifying resolution 242. As far as Shamir was concerned this resolution had already been honoured by the Jews in exchanging land for peace under the Camp David agreement which resulted in Sinai reverting back to Egyptian control. Shamir believed in the principle of "peace for peace" consisting of the following points;

- 1. The Arab states accept Israel as it stands.
- 2. The Arab states normalise their economic, political and security relations with Israel.
- 3. The Arab states open their markets to Israeli products and share their waters with it.
- 4. Israel would 'bestow' a peace on them and would undertake not to wage war against them with the intent of thereafter imposing peace on its terms.

This is why Shamir asked Secretary of State James Baker to include the Gulf states in the negotiations despite the fact that these states have never taken part in any war with Israel. Israel wanted Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states to open up their markets to Israeli products. Israeli politicians have realised that it is only by trying to achieve economic self sufficiency that Israel will loosen its dependency on America. Madrid was not enough to bring Israel in line with American objectives. Israel continued to seek peace on its own terms. While the negotiations were taking place in Washington, US-Israeli relations were facing tension. After the tenth round of the Washington negotiations, and just before Christopher arrived there, Israel attacked Southern Lebanon and killed Syrian soldiers. Syria did not react to this, something that was appreciated by Clinton. Christopher said at that time that, "we saved the peace ship from sinking".

Then all of a sudden came news reports about Israeli-PLO meetings in Oslo, Norway. These negotiations were carried out in secret without any consultations with the US. The secrecy of the negotiations have been detailed in the book Secret Channels by Mohammed Heikal, an Egyptian Minister under Nasser. Also the Washington Post stated, in its editorial of September 4, 1993 that neither side told Christopher of the meetings until August 6, 1993. The . Gaza First. initiative of the Oslo agreements had totally undermined the US track.

Although the Palestinian-Israeli track is important to the Americans, what is central is the Israeli-Syrian track and notably the Golan Heights. Successive US administrations have declared that they do not recognise the Israeli annexation of the Golan in 1967. However the US has not stated that the Golan Heights are part of Syria. Indeed America has financed Jewish settlements within the area.

The Golan Heights issue is central to the dispute since it is considered to be the most strategically valuable point within the area since it overlooks Palestine, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Iraq. The Americans want a peace accord between Israel and Syria so that the US has an excuse to come into the area under the pretext of supervising the withdrawal of Israeli settlements so as to prevent the possibility of clashes during the peace process.

Consequently the Syrian and American position is that no Middle East peace is possible without an agreement with Syria; i.e. the Arab world will make peace once Syria has made peace, and that no agreement will be made with Syria until there is a commitment to withdraw unconditionally from the Golan Heights. This is why the Syrians were angry with Jordan when King Hussein, without consulting the Syrians, rushed to make his own peace with Israel. Jordan also opened her borders with Israel and she also arranged meetings with states under British influence in the Gulf. Being firmly in the British camp, Jordan does not want Israel to make peace with Syria since this would mean the presence of American

troops on the Golan Heights enabling the US to control and monitor many areas.

These speedy attempts at normalisation follow Britain. s old plan of Israel becoming a state within a wider community, encompassing the states of the Middle East i.e. a Middle East Community. The formation of a Middle Eastern Community would achieve two objectives:

- 1. Marketing Israel in both the Arab and Islamic worlds.
- 2. Building relationships between the states of the region on a regional basis, excluding dependence on external powers.

Hence influence would belong to the strongest state in the region.

The call for a Middle Eastern Community came out into the open when peace agreements between Israel on the one hand and Palestinians and Jordanians on the other hand were reached in the years 1993 and 1994. Shimon Peres, under the Prime Ministership of Yitzhak Rabin appointed himself as the propagator and the marketer of this idea when he started calling for a new Middle East. Peres expressed the true nature of what he had been harbouring in his mind in terms of objectives when he declared in a defiant manner during the Casablanca Economic Summit in 1994: "The Arabs have tried the leadership for four decades, and it brought them nothing but destruction and calamities, it is high time they tried the leadership of Israel". Britain did not voice her opinion directly. But the British Foreign Secretary revealed Britain's policy and designs on 4th November 1996, when he called, during his tour of the region, for the establishment of a Middle Eastern Co-operation Community, akin to the European Security and Co-operation Council.

Yitzhak Rabin had a different view. Rabin had been Chief of Staff in the 1967 war and was therefore a national military hero. He, unlike his foreign minister Shimon Peres, had credibility in security issues with the Israeli electorate (they called him the security man). Rabin followed through with the peace process and continued along with US interests . A meeting between Rabin and Clinton took place on the 11th December 1994 which was an extension of the meeting in al-Quds when Clinton visited the region. At this meeting Rabin had secretly agreed to a complete withdrawal from the Golan Heights and Clinton was eager to meet him again in the hope of extracting from Rabin an open declaration to this effect in response to the concessions which Clinton said that President Asad had made during their discussions in Damascus. Clinton was desperate for such a declaration in the hope that it would help the democrats in their congressional electoral campaign. However, Rabin declined to grant Clinton his wish, arguing that the political and the popular mood in the Jewish state were not favourable and not ready to easily swallow the complete withdrawal from the Golan Heights, or even to accept such a declaration. Instead, Rabin requested that Asad should offer more concessions, which he called token gestures, which would help Rabin generate public opinion on a political and popular level to make such a declaration acceptable. The concessions would come in the shape of direct open negotiations and bilateral meetings at the highest level, something which Asad refused. Despite all this, Rabin had promised to convey the answer of his government in the next visit to Washington. However, Rabin kept on hiding behind excuses. He even highlighted the Syrian intentions saying, "The peace which Syria wants is other than the peace which the Jewish State wants". Rabin was unable to table such an agreement to the Knesset. Rabin wanted the peace with Syria to be just like the one he had signed with Jordan, which would give him a free hand in dealing with the Palestinian issue. On this basis Rabin offered to give up the Golan Heights, however he had to prepare domestic public opinion to achieve this. Asad refused the offer.

To America's dismay Rabin was assassinated by right wing Jews who blamed him for making too many compromises in the peace process. Rabin. s assassination was a big blow for America who had invested much in his continued survival. America then supported Peres until the Israeli elections in 1996 since the peace process and the Israeli-Syrian peace would not be permanent until these elections were finished. America supported Peres openly. She organised the Sharm-al Sheikh conference in March 1996 to show solidarity with Israel after

the series of bus bombings in Israel. The bombings caused a devastating effect on Israeli public opinion and Peres. support in the opinion polls slumped. The aim of this conference was to put the peace process back on track and to try to reassure Israeli public opinion of the peace process. Indeed Warren Christopher stated: "The aim of holding such a summit is to try and find ways of halting the present course of events in the Middle East". It was well known that the Israeli elections could have changed the course of events in the peace process. America also gave the green light for the . Grapes of Wrath. onslaught in Lebanon which was designed to improve Peres. reputation prior to the election. Peres has the reputation of being a dove in Israeli politics and is therefore suspect when it comes to security issues. In addition Peres had never won an election for Labour. On the contrary he had lost three previous ones. For the Americans the election of Peres was vital since Netanyahu does not believe in the principle of "land for Peace". Like his previous boss Yitzhak Shamir, Netanyahu believes in the principle of "peace for peace". Therefore Clinton threw all his weight behind the Labour Party which was an unprecedented move since international tradition expresses that foreign governments do not interfere in domestic elections. The victory of Netanyahu and the demise of Peres was regarded as a severe blow to all those who were trying to establish the peace process.

# The US- Israeli Conflict Becomes Open

After Netanyahu achieved power, the difference between America and Israel became apparent. Netanyahu started to discuss with Clinton in a very pompous and arrogant manner during his second visit to Washington after he received the leadership of Israel. In fact the media noted that it was as though Netanyahu was the President of America not Clinton, and this was what prompted Clinton to exert certain pressures on Netanyahu to return him to his small status. Further, Israel took steps to establish military and security relationships with Turkey. These relationships go against the American policies towards Turkey. America pushes a military campaign against Turkey behind the veil of the Kurdish Communist Party. Also in 1991 America established the Kurdish area in Iraq in order that it promotes independence. The actions of Israel regarding the security of Turkey hurt America through the following two styles:

- 1. The steps neutralise any threat from Syria, obstructing that particular means through which the US sought to exert pressure on Israel militarily.
- 2. The steps aid in curtailing the work of the Kurdish Communist Party.

Clinton worked on continuing the dialogue between Israel and Syria as a result of what was agreed upon in Oslo, so that its fruits could be seen in the election of 1996. The stubbornness of Netanyahu, however, prevented this.

# Failure of the Current US Policy

The US has failed in her venture, for the Israeli settlements have led to a major change in the status quo. Also the Wadi Araba and Oslo agreements were achieved without any American interference or influence. These failures dealt a blow to the American plan which was being eroded bit by bit. The project of the Palestinian state was eroded by the settlements and the construction of an integrated road network. This is so because the manner in which the Israelis have constructed roads has been to construct major routes to the settlements and to integrate these routes into the pre-existing system of roads so that the settlements in effect become suburbs, easily reached through the road network. This strengthens the Israeli hold over the settlements and consequently the area, and increases the number of Jews who reside and work in the settlements, warranting increased military protection from the Israeli forces which leads to a greater military presence. The policy of isolation was eroded by the construction of settlements in areas already populated by Palestinians, such as in East Jerusalem, which are supposed to be the territories of the Palestinian state. This makes the segregation between them through multinational forces an impossible task. The isolation has also been eroded by the absence of any multinational forces between Jordanian and Israeli borders. All this occurred due to Israel. s stubbornness which rendered the American pressure ineffective. A political and popular general consensus has been established in Israel, rejecting the founding of a future independent Palestinian state, enjoying full autonomy. The essence of what is acceptable to the Israeli right and the Israeli left is the same: one party calls it extensive Self Rule while the other calls it a state with reduced sovereignty. A general consensus has also been established that Al-Quds should remain unified and remain the Capital of Israel, without conceding any sovereignty over it. The consensus has also been established that there should be no return to the pre-1967 borders, no withdrawal from the River Jordan and the administration in charge of the large Jewish settlements should remain in Israeli hands

# Failure of US Policy Does Not Mean Failure of the US Plan.

Israeli stubbornness would not have succeeded had it not been for the special relationship between Israel and America. It would be wrong to say that Israel and the Jewish lobby in America are the designers of the America's Middle East policy, for such a statement presumes that America is a state with no interests in the Middle East, or that her interests are consistent with those of the state of Israel, or that a small state is leading a major power. These presumptions contradict the simplest principles of political perception. This is so because the vital interests and the non-vital interests of America encompass all the areas of the Middle East, and while the interests of any two countries may converge on specific points, they can never be fully consistent with each other.

America is concerned with sole dominance over the region. She is not concerned with good deeds and offering charity since charitable acts are not part of a major power's agenda. Hence America has deemed the curtailment and isolation of Israel lest Israel competed with her in areas of influence. She decided that the curtailment should come in the form of a Palestinian state, which would act as a factor of a containment zone, and the deployment of American and Multinational forces. Hence, achieving exclusive hegemony is the interest, while the violations and the partial solutions which took place have affected the style through which the interests are sought. This does not mean that America has relinquished her interests or the method to achieve them, which is isolation and curtailment. If one were to observe the American policy in the region, one would sense an increased interest in Jordan. In the past, America worked towards seizing Jordan through a military coup, thus she looked for the necessary powers to achieve this on her behalf, but Jordan proved to be a tough nut to crack. The major blow to the American project came in the form of the Wadi Araba agreement which turned Jordan into a bridgehead for Israel, rather than being an obstacle. By seizing Jordan, America would be able to retrieve the situation and regain lost ground. America took pains in her endeavour to gain Jordan and to diversify her styles to achieve this, for she has become industrious in her attempt to infiltrate Jordan under the guise of a strategic friendship, just like she did with the Shah of Iran. She is also working towards steering people to express resentment, if not to revolt, by bearing down heavily upon them with regard to their daily bread through the demands of the IMF, so that these measures help her find the forces of change.

In conclusion we should realise that ever since America proceeded in the path of solving the Middle Eastern issue, she has been linking any progress made to progress in the Syrian line of negotiations, this is what she referred to as "the simultaneous signing". Due to the absolute stalemate on the Syrian line and due to the obstacles along the Palestinian line, America will continue to work towards maintaining the wheel of negotiations turning, even if she fails to advance one single inch, until the opportune moment comes, thus allowing her to achieve her plan of settling the issue. Meanwhile Israel will continue to appear as a die-hard state in the eyes of the American people. The morale of the Jews will continue to be strained through the acts of vengeance in southern Lebanon and in Palestine in order to remove any ideas of expansion from their minds.

In the turbulent history of the Ummah this century, perhaps no struggle has captivated the Ummah. s desire for liberation from colonialism as has the struggle against the occupation of Palestine. Outcast and betrayed by the neighbouring Arab states, the Palestinians turned to the PLO to lead their struggle. No leadership has been as beguiling and misleading as has that of the PLO. From its esoteric inception to its manifest betrayal, and all throughout its struggle, the PLO has been a severe obstacle to the revival of the Muslim Ummah and the re-emergence of Islam as an ideological power. This article seeks to synopsize the circumstances surrounding its formation and its capitulation in the run -up to the Madrid conference of 1991 with a view to exposing the conspiratorial deception that has been the essence of the PLO.

As Gamal Abdul Nasser come to the leadership of the Young officers regime in Egypt in 1952, he proceeded to seize the moral leadership of the Arab world and capture its sentiments. The Israeli occupation of Palestine, sanctioned by the United Nations, had led to the dispersion of the Muslims of Palestine throughout the surrounding region, in particular to Jordan Lebanon and Gaza in Egyptian held territory. Nasser's support amongst the Palestinians in particular was bolstered by the fact that he provided funding and a certain amount of training to the Palestinians in Gaza, which led the Palestinians to regard Nasser as an ally. The military raids launched against Israel, primarily from the refugee camps in Gaza targeting the Jewish settlers were never regarded by the Israelis as serious threats to the security of Israel, despite the fact that they were funded and armed by Egypt. The acquisition of Russian armaments by Nasser, however, did lead to alarm amongst the Israeli. s. Still in a state of War with Egypt, Israel realised it would have to pre-empt a conflict with Nasser, s Egypt lest Egypt, s military strength eclipse that which Israel could muster. Initially, Israel engaged in what came to be known as the Lavon affair in which a number of Egyptian Jews were recruited by the Israelis in order to begin a bombing campaign internally against Egypt. The plan was a failure, however, and the Egyptians arrested and punished the would be saboteurs. Despite this, the affect of the exposure of the affair was seized by the Israelis and tension between Egypt and Israel increased. In response to the plot, Nasser provided more assistance to the Palestinian commandos. All this led to an increase in the Palestinian raids on the Israelis, culminating in a massive Israeli counter-raid on the Egyptian headquarters in Gaza. A further opportunity for Israel to escalate tensions arose when Nasser nationalised the Suez canal, creating the pretext for Israel to engage in a strike against Egypt. Acting with Britain and France, Israel attempted to deal a significant blow to Egypt's military, but the intervention of the US and the USSR, and the subsequent threats against Europe and Israel by the respective superpower forced Israel to back down. The difficulties experienced by Egypt during the Suez crisis contributed to a waning of support for the Palestinian cause. By this time, Nasser had opened a channel of communication with the Israelis through the respective delegates of Egypt and Israel to the United Nations to explore the possibility of a permanent peace settlement.

It was under this air of frustration with a lack of progress in the Palestinian struggle, at a time when the Arab regimes had all but abandoned the Palestinian cause, that the movement for the . National Liberation of Palestine. was formed in 1958. It used the acronym . HATF. , which was rearranged to . FATH. , meaning victory. Amongst the founders of FATH was Yasser Arafat, a graduate of the Cairo University working in Kuwait as an engineer. FATH carried out numerous raids against Israel directly, but soon realised that these raids were ineffective in achieving anything without the support of the armies from at least one of the major Arab countries. This led FATH to pursue a path of political dialogue with the other Arab countries.

During the Cairo conference of 1964, the Arab League instructed its Palestinian representative Ahmed Shukeiri to form a Palestinian political body. Shukeiri then organised a meeting of the first Palestinian National Council, attended by 350 delegates who met in East Jerusalem. At this meeting, the delegates formed the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (agency), which was comprised of various groups including FATH. Ahmed Shukeiri became the chairman of the PLO but stepped down in favour of Yasser Arafat in 1969.

# Why the PLO?

In order to understand the reasons for the establishment of the PLO, one must understand the situation surrounding its formation from an international perspective as well understanding the regional forces at play. The international powers wield influence in the region and try to shape its politics towards the favour of each. The primary player in this region is the US, which uses the UN and its agents in the region to achieve its goals. Britain and France also have interests and exert some influence in the region, but the scale of their influence has been on the decline since the Second World War. The US policy for the region has always been to create a two-state solution, one being the Jewish State of Israel and along side it the other, a Palestinian State. Jerusalem was to acquire a special status, controlled by an international body since its possession was so hotly contested. The United Nations served the role of the international body, and under American support the UN passed resolution 181 in 1947. This resolution calls for the partitioning of Palestine and the placing of Jerusalem under UN control. It also contains provisions for the right of Palestinians to be compensated for loss of property. However, after the establishment of the State of Israel, Israel started to assert itself and oppose US regional policy in the pursuit of its own interests. Yitzhak Shamir alluded to this point when he said, "Much as we want to coordinate our activities with the United States, the interests (of the United States and Israel) are not identical. We have to, from time to time, worry about our own interests". This political fact, coupled with the reality that Syria and Jordan were both under British influence at that time, led the US to pursue the formation of additional means through which it could realise its two state solution. It is on this basis that a body authorised to represent the Palestinian. s, namely the PLO, was established during the 1964 Cairo conference.

Thus from the onset this organisation was created to facilitate the achievement of America's regional policy objective, which entailed the acknowledgement of the existence of Israel. The US needed to legitimise the group before it could start to use it to achieve its own objective, thus it pushed its own agents in the region, such as Nasser, to accept the PLO as the sole representative organisation for the Palestinians. Subsequently, the UN with the consent of the US invited the PLO chairman Yasser Arafat to debate the issue of Palestine in the General Assembly. The attempt to legitimise the PLO culminated in the 1974 Arab summit in Rabat where it was officially announced that the PLO was to be the sole legal representative of the Palestinians. After the six-day war in 1967, the UN passed resolution 242, which requires Israel to withdraw its forces to the pre-1967 borders. For the PLO to accept this resolution would mean recognition of the state of Israel, and its acknowledgement that Israel could continue to occupy the lands it usurped between 1948 and 1967. The acknowledgement of UN 242 became the basis for the US regional policy, for its acceptance by all parties would mean that all participants would recognise the existence of Israel and Palestine, enabling the two-state solution to be realised. Until the PLO accepted the resolution, the US would not publicly negotiate any solution with the PLO. In November 1988, the PLO accepted this resolution and by December, the US was engaged in direct diplomatic negotiations with the PLO. This was followed by the Madrid conference of November 1991 and culminated in the infamous White House signing ceremony, by which time all the parties were negotiating directly to establish the two-state solution, in light of what had been reached through the earlier Oslo Accords. Further, Yasser Arafat wrote a letter in 1993 to the Israeli Prime Minister, in which he not only accepted Israel's right of existence but also stated that he wanted peaceful relations with it.

The US also encouraged the establishment of this group from another perspective, which was to isolate the Palestinians from the Islamic world. The process of isolating this issue from the mindset of the Muslims as an Ummah, preventing it from being seen as an attack on the Islamic . aqeedah, was carried out in gradual steps. Firstly the problem was projected as an Arab problem rather then an Islamic problem which isolated the non Arab Muslim population. Hence the US promoted Arab nationalism through the actions of Nasser and the various shades of the Ba. ath Parties, each vowing to liberate the Arab homeland from occupation of the Zionists, rather than rallying the people around the Islamic . aqeedah, and the call of Islam which is Jihad. Following this, the issue was further scaled down to being a Palestinian problem rather than an Arab problem. The US did this by using the PLO to

project the Jewish occupation as a Palestinian problem rather than an Arab or an Islamic problem. Also, the legitimisation of the PLO being the sole legal representative of the Palestinians detached the Arab states from being directly involved, placing further emphasis on the Palestinian nature of the issue. In addition to this the establishment of the PLO contributed to the divisions within the Muslim Ummah along nationalistic identities and further legitimised the artificial borders within the minds of the Muslims by setting them as goals and targets of the PLO.

# Is the PLO Radical ?

The PLO has been portrayed over the years as a radical terrorist group, which is bent on removing the Jewish State and establishing a secular Palestinian state, where Arab Muslims, Arab Christians and Jews would live under the authority of the PLO. In fact, the PLO charter clearly mentions the removal of the Zionist State and accepts only the borders predating the British Mandate (Balfour Declaration).

The . terrorist. acts against Israel can not be solely attributed to the PLO. Many of these acts were committed by frustrated individuals living under Israeli persecution, some by members of the FATH group, some by other individuals from other groups, and some from individuals from within the PLO. It must be noted that there should be a distinction between the actions of the individuals from the PLO and those directly coming from the PLO leadership itself. The individuals who rally around the PLO have been , in large part, sincere individuals who sought an opportunity to strike back against the Zionist entity. The PLO provided them with the means. The leadership, however, functions to fulfil the American objective of achieving a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza. In fact after a series of hijackings during the 1970s, the individuals responsible were renounced by the PLO and were put into prison. As for the PLO being a radical group, one needs to examine the nature of radicalism. It is not simply an image, it has much to do with a conviction in the ideas being carried. Hence radicalism is associated with religious groups, who hold certain beliefs with conviction where there is no room for compromise. This is in sharp contrast to the PLO, which has never had deep convictions inherent to the movement. In fact, when the PLO was formed, it contained a mixture of people who only had one common objective which was the liberation of Palestine. As for having deep conviction in a common thought and having a unified personality resulting from that common conviction, this was never the case from the onset. For any group to succeed, it must have a clearly defined objective, it must have a clearly understood method. It must carefully choose means and styles according to which it would engage in the select actions which would contribute to the achievement of its objective. If any of these factors are lacking in the group, it will undoubtedly become reactionary to the unfolding political reality, forced into pragmatism because it would be unable to shape the reality around it by a specified and clear method. The PLO aside, most groups in the Muslim Ummah today lack such focus and consequently are either used by external powers, or fail to make an impact in the Ummah because they do not offer her a direction and a solution. In the case of the PLO, its members had various inclinations. Some were influenced by the Muslim Brotherhood, some carried the Ba. athist ideology of Hizbul Ba. ath. Others carried the ideas of Arab nationalism inspired by Abdul Nasser.

The pragmatic nature of the PLO showed clearly after it was removed from Lebanon in 1982 by the Israeli's and the Lebanese Christian army. The PLO went on to accept the right of Israel to exist unconditionally, then it went on to recognise UN resolutions 242, and 381.

Further, the very objective of the PLO demonstrated that the organisation had neither a radical solution nor was its method one of radicalism. On the contrary, it has become an example of gradualism. The ideas of secularism which it calls for are a product of the human mind and surrounding circumstances, which clearly implies that these ideas can be altered when one sees it fit to do so. The principle of secularism lacks any absolute principles or fundamental truths and by definition is to be attained through negotiation and compromise. Hence within secularism the notion of compromise is intrinsic. The PLO displayed this clearly in the aftermath of the Madrid conference. In that period, the Arab states were engaged in bilateral negotiations to establish peace treaties between Israel and each of the Arab states

which entailed that each regime would absolve itself from having any direct link with the struggle of the PLO. Abandoned in the political sense, the organisation then started to show its innate nature and proceeded to completely abandon its founding objectives with the aim of securing something substantial, as opposed to calling for the idealistic.

Hence the PLO is neither a terrorist group nor a radical Palestinian group. Rather it is a pragmatic group which was established by the US via its agents like Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia in order to realise its own objective of providing a two state solution in the region. The image of the PLO as a radical group can be attributed to the western media. The West, namely the US sought to portray the PLO as a radical group which only represented the interests of the Palestinians. This contributed to the legitimisation of the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinians. This enabled the US to use the organisation to promote the . peace process. as we see frequently in the media.

### Success or Failure of the PLO?

The impact of the PLO needs to be assessed not just in terms of its own objective, but also in terms of the impact that it has had and continues to have upon the Muslim Ummah. It is clear that the PLO has failed in terms of its own objective, which was to liberate Palestine. As the feasibility of this objective receded, and the circumstances became more trying, the PLO quickly responded to the situation by compromising and accepting the state of Israel. This in turns demonstrates that from the onset, the PLO never had the ideas it called for deeply ingrained within itself. In this manner the Palestinian cause was compromised again and again, which amounts to betrayal. The betrayal can not be solely attributed to the PLO, as the surrounding Muslim governments of Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq and Saudi Arabia are equally guilty. Most of these regimes preferred to establish peace and trade with the Jews and turned a blind eye to the occupation of Palestine. Whatever token support these regimes provided in the past had more to do with maintaining their credibility with the Arab population than with any sincere conviction in the cause of the liberation of Palestine. Since the recognition of the state of Israel, the target of the group changed from the liberation of Palestine in its entirety to the acceptance of the occupation of the land stolen prior to 1948, in exchange for being able to exercise limited autonomy over the West Bank and Gaza. This means all its resources are to be channelled for the new limited objective, which is to establish a Palestinian pseudo-state alongside the Zionist state, just what the Americans called for in UN 181 and UN 194. In fact, the acceptance of Israel by the PLO amounts to a far greater victory for the Zionist State than the three "wars" of 1948, 1967 and 1973 combined. The loss at a political level, compromising the very objective of the movement and acknowledging the futility of the liberation of Palestine is not only a single physical battle lost at certain point in time. It is a defeat for an entire nation for the present and future. The impact of the PLO. s betrayal is that the movement to liberate Palestine fully and unconditionally no longer exists within the Ummah. Future generations will be brought up in a political environment where the idea of Israel will be the norm. Those who reject that reality will be marginalised, and with time will no longer have an impact on the sentiments of the people. The objective and direction of the entire nation will have been altered. Hence, the recognition of Israel's existence by the PLO is the greatest victory for the Zionists to date and it brings closer the achievement of the US plan for a two-state solution.

Despite the fruition of the betrayal of the PLO, there are those from within the Ummah which still argue that the acceptance of the state of Israel which has led to the establishment of the Palestinian entity in the West bank and Gaza, is the first milestone in achieving the objective of the liberation of the entire Palestine. Further, the acceptance of the state of Israel is only due to momentary physical weakness, and once the PLO gains its strength it will ascend again to engage in the task of liberating all of Palestine. Such a claim is evidence of political blindness and naiveté. It is not a rational explanation based upon reality. The establishment of the Palestinian state is not the establishment of a sovereign state, rather of an autonomous province within the state of Israel with a yet to be determined degree of autonomy. The entity will have no military and will not be able to secure its own economic interests, nor will it be able to make any significant internal decisions without the consent of the state of Israel. The PLO will merely act as an administrator and an agent for the Israelis

in keeping the streets clean and ensuring that no individual or groups attack any Israeli interest.

As for the unfounded claim that the pseudo-state will be a milestone on the road to achieving the liberation of the entire Palestine, the PLO's unconditional acceptance of the state of Israel by definition means that being forced not to undermine its safety and security is the starting premise. The external political recognition of such a state will undoubtedly be conditional upon its continued acceptance of Israel's existence. Without a military, an economy, and being dependent upon conditional external recognition for existence conditional upon maintaining Israel's security- the elements which would make such a 'liberation' of the whole of Palestine possible just do not exist within the Palestinian state. Further, the successive generations will be brought up within the framework of the two state scenario. The climate shaped will be on this basis of acceptance of the state of Israel. The struggle to liberate all of Palestine will be reduced to remote idealism, existent in the minds of a segment of the population. With time and through trade, the economic dependence of the Palestinian entity on Israel will increase further, resulting in further political dependence and economic and social integration. If one were to examine the peace treaty between Israel and the PLO, the idea of the Palestinian state being a temporary one can not be found anywhere in the agreement between the two parties. Rather this state is proof of the success of the Zionists in subduing the Muslims of Palestine and forcing them to relinquish Palestine through the diseased mentality of gradualism and pragmatism. As Muslims, we must be aware of any groups within the Ummah which call for ideas such as gradualism or which demonstrate gradualism and pragmatism in their actions. Movements which join regimes currently to effect a change in the regime in the future are demonstrative of these very ideas.

### The Solution for Palestine

Based upon a profound observation of reality, the fundamental problem of Palestine is the occupation of land by a hostile population and the subsequent subjugation of the resident population to the oppressive and brutal authority of the hostile invaders. The problem of Palestine is not the achievement of peace to integrate two hostile populations. This is what the invading force wants to do to legitimise its occupation. It is a fact that Palestine was a province of the Uthmani Khilafah where the Palestinians were resident. In 1948, migrant Zionist Jews removed the Palestinians from their territory and established the state of Israel upon usurped land. Those who suggest that the Zionists have a right to polity and a right to a state have no basis for establishing that polity on the land of Palestine, land which was populated by indigenous peoples. There is no rational reasoning for the Zionist state to exist in Palestine. If any group or movement were to compromise on this idea, then that group or movement would be an instrument of legitimisation in the hands of the Zionists for any actions based upon a recognition of Israel's 'right' to occupy Palestine would facilitate the normalisation of the occupation. This is precisely what the PLO has achieved.

As Muslims, there is clear textual instruction from the Qur. an and Sunnah of Muhammad forbidding us to give up lands to the Kuffar. It is prohibited for us to accept the authority of the Kuffar over the Islamic lands as Allah (SWT) mentions in Surat Nisa,

"Allah will never allow the Kuffar authority over the believers" [TMQ 4:141]

This Ayah makes it clear that Allah (swt) has made it haraam for the Muslims to accept the authority of the Kuffar over Muslim land. The land of Palestine is . Kharaji. land which means it was liberated by the army of the Islamic State and subsequently, the land was taxed by the state. It belongs under the state's authority and Insha. allah will be integrated into the lands ruled with Islam by the coming Khilafah. Since the Islamic . aqeedah is the basis of this understanding, and since this understanding is evident within the Qur. an and the Sunnah, then clearly, there is no possibility of compromising on the achievement of this objective.

Further, the method for us to achieve the Islamic objective must also be found within the text, since in origin, any action must be based upon a textual evidence. With this in mind, it becomes clear that Islam. s position on the occupation of Palestine is that Palestine must be liberated. The means through which to achieve this is Jihad (armed conflict) and the vehicle through which this jihad is waged is the Islamic Khilafah.

# The Myth of Israel's invincibility

Since its formation in 1948, the reality of Israel's military strength has been shrouded by a mythical aura of invincibility. This illusory aura has been cast through certain myths that have been propagated amongst the Muslims in order to subdue them into accepting Israel. s existence. These myths have not only been actively expressed by Israel, but have been given life by the actions of the treacherous Muslim rulers. The following article seeks to expose the key myths surrounding Israel's strength. In revealing the fallacy behind the myth of Israeli invincibility, we must keep in mind one question: What purpose does the construction of this myth serve?

# Israel's defeat of the Arabs in 4 wars

Israel. s performance in the wars of 1948, 1956, 1967 and 1973 against the Arabs has long been seen as demonstrative of Israel. s military superiority. In light of Israel. s apparent victories and its seizure of Muslim lands, it is argued that direct military conflict with Israel is not a viable course of action for the Arab states, creating the necessity of entering into negotiations. The direct consequence of such a move has been the acceptance of Israel. s sovereignty through plans such as the peace process.

A closer examination of these wars shows that the Muslim countries have never singularly nor collectively fought Israel with the intention of destroying it. Each of the wars was conducted in order to meet specific objectives, none of which were to liberate the land of Palestine and eliminate Israel.

The war of 1948 led to the establishment of the State of Israel. On the surface, one may find it difficult enough to understand how 40 million Arabs could not match the fighting strength of just 600,000 Jews. A closer study of the defenders of the Palestinian cause shows how their actions in fact led directly to the establishment of Israel.

The primary representatives of the Palestinian cause were King Abdullah of Transjordan, King Farook of Egypt and The Mufti of Palestine. Their unity was weak and they were subject to constant manipulation by the British. In particular, Abdullah's portrayal of himself as a defender of the Palestinian cause was a facade. It is no secret that his father Sheriff Hussein collaborated with the British against the Uthmani Khilafah. His brother Faisal had sought relations with leading Zionists such as Chaim Weizman as far back as 1919. Abdullah and Ben Gurion (Israel. s first Prime Minister) were students together in Istanbul. In 1947 and early 1948, in clandestine meetings with Golda Meir, Abdullah had offered to accept the establishment of Israel in return for Jordanian control of the Arab populated parts of Palestine. Subsequent leakage of this meeting thwarted the plan. Abdullah's long association with the British was well known to all the people. A blind Imam brought to rouse the Jordanian army prior to the battle embarrassed Abdullah when he said: "O army I wish you were ours." (referring to the Arab Legion being British)

Abdullah had the Arab Legion at his disposal, a highly trained unit of 4,500 men, with General John Glubb an Englishman as its commanding officer. Glubb in his memoirs recounted that he was under strict orders from the British, not to enter areas under Jewish control. Egypt further weakened the attack against Israel when Nakrashi Pasha, the Prime Minister initially did not use existing military units but sent an army of volunteers that had only been organised in January of that year. Jordan had also delayed the passage of Iraqi

troops across its territory thus thwarting any attack against Israel.

Although the combined Muslim forces were 40,000 only 10,000 were trained soldiers. The Zionists had 30,000 armed personnel, 10,000 men for local defence and another 25,000 for home guard. Furthermore there were nearly 3,000 specially trained Irgun and Stern gang terrorists. They were armed with the latest weaponry smuggled from Czechoslovakia and funded heavily through Zionist agencies in America and Britain. Despite the preparedness of the Jews, it was evidently the treachery of the Muslim rulers which secured a foothold for the Jews in Palestine.

The 1956 Suez conflict was a struggle between America and Britain for control of the strategically important Suez canal.

The 1956 war was never a war for the liberation of Palestine. Nasser never wanted to eliminate Israel. His focus lay primarily in removing British hegemony over the Suez canal. The US saw Egypt as a critical ally if America was to gain influence in the Middle East. Through the CIA, she moved to depose the Pro British King Farook in a coup de. tat in 1952, bringing into power the Free Officers who were soon afterwards led by Nasser. America subsequently made deliberate public statements in support of Nasser. s claims on the Suez Canal. US Secretary of State Dulles visited Nasser in 1953 with a letter from Eisenhower: "This government and the American people understand and appreciate the natural aspirations of Egypt for full sovereignty over its own territory. Similar aspirations have deep roots in the tradition of America."

Nasser nationalised the Suez Canal in 1956 removing control of the vital waterway from the influence of the British. Three months later, Britain and France prompted Israel to initiate an attack on Egypt in the Sinai. They hoped this would provide Britain and France with a pretext for entering the region to reclaim the canal . The US and USSR exercised diplomatic pressure to force Britain to withdraw. Russia directly threatened Paris and London with nuclear attacks. The immense international pressure forced the British and French to withdraw and consequently lose their footing in Egypt. The American administration, under Eisenhower, went as far as threatening the Israelis with economic sanctions if they did not withdraw from occupied territory seized from Egypt, a measure that would have had disastrous consequences on Israel at the time. In the aftermath of the crisis, America emerged as the dominant force in the middle east.

The 1967 war was instigated by Britain in an attempt to weaken Nasser.

The war of 1967 was an episode in the Anglo-American conflict for control of the region. Britain had been surpassed as the region's dominant force 11 years earlier, but still retained some influence through its agents in Jordan, Syria and Israel. In an attempt to weaken Nasser, Britain sought to lure Israel to drag Egypt into a war whereby Israel would seize territory and use it as a bargaining tool in a land for peace settlement, a means through which to achieve the security which the Israelis so desperately sought. On 5 June 1967 Israel launched a pre-emptive strike destroying 3/5ths of Egypt's grounded airforce and 2/3rds of Syrian and Jordanian combat aircraft.

From Jordan the Israelis seized the West Bank and east Jerusalem. King Hussein, prior to the battle, had positioned his troops in different areas from where the main battle was taking place. After being re-assured by Ben Gurion. s ministers that Israel did not seek confrontation with Jordan, the Jordanians began shelling Israel from the West bank of the Jordan River, creating a pretext for the Jews to march on Jerusalem and continue their advance until the Jordan River. In a matter of 48 hours the Israelis seized the major West Bank towns and most of those who were shot dead of the Jordanian forces were in retreat. In a similar manner the Israelis seized the Golan Heights on the 6th day of the war. The Syrian troops occupying the Golan Heights heard news of Israelis capture of the strategically important heights through their own State radio announcing the Israeli capture of the heights while the Syrian troops were still clearly occupying them. Israel also dealt America's Nasser

a blow by capturing Sharm al Sheikh and securing the waterway of the Straits of Tiran.

The objective of weakening the regime of Nasser was achieved, thus indirectly aiding British interests within the region. Israel was able to seize more land and use it as a bargaining asset in any land for peace negotiations. Again the objective of seriously threatening Israel was never an aim, despite the unquestionable strength of the combined Arab armies.

The 1973 October war was designed to solidify the positions of Sadat and Assad in the prelude to peace.

Examination of the October 1973 war launched by Egypt and Syria against Israel shows that the aims were limited and never included the liberation of Palestine. The aims never even included the liberation of the Golan heights which were designed to be restored as part of a peace treaty between Syria and Israel. The aims were to solidify the positions of Anwar Sadat and Hafez al Assad who were relatively new leaders in countries prone to military coups. Sadat in particular was vulnerable given the fact that he had succeeded the charismatic Nasser.

The extent of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat. s underlying motives can be ascertained from Mohammed Heikal's book "The Road to Ramadhan" where he cites Sadat's mood in the run up to the war. Heikal quotes one of Sadat's generals, Mohammed Fouwzi who gave the analogy of a samurai drawing two swords - a long one and short one in preparation for battle. Fouwzi said that this battle would be a case of the short sword, signifying a limited battle for certain motives.

Anwar Sadat had no intention of having a protracted war with Israel. This is proven by the fact that he sought peace with Israel whilst commanding a winning position in the war. In the first 24 hours of the war from October 6, Egypt smashed through the Israeli's much heralded Bar-Lev fortifications east of the Suez canal with only 68 casualties. Meanwhile 2 Syrian divisions and 500 tanks swept into the Golan Heights and retook some of the land captured in 1967. In two days of fighting Israel had lost 49 aircraft and 500 tanks. In the midst of this Sadat sent a message to US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in which he said that the objective of the war was "the achievement of peace in the Middle East and not...partial settlements." The message went on to state that if Israel withdrew from all occupied territories Egypt would be prepared to participate in a Peace conference under UN or neutral auspices. Kissinger in close contact with the Israelis as well no doubt communicated Sadat. s intentions. Thus despite having an immense strategic advantage from which Egyptian forces could seize the Mitla and Giddi passes - the strategic keys to the Sinai and hence launch an attack on Israel itself, Sadat was in the mood for negotiation in this early stage. Sadat's refusal to press home his initial advantage and his delay in launching the second Sinai offensive allowed Israel to mobilise with aid from the US and she began to seize back lost territory. Hostilities formally came to an end on 25 October after Israel had violated previous cease-fire agreements. But the evidence from this war best illustrates how the Muslim rulers have never seriously fought Israel with the intention of liberating Palestine, which in this war was never even a matter of discussion. These examples illustrate the reality behind the myths which the Ummah has been led to believe. The real treachery has been committed by our insincere rulers who have collaborated and helped create the myth of Israeli superiority, kindling it, nurturing it and maintaining it. They have worked to remove the ideologically founded concept of jihad from our minds and hearts, replacing it with pragmatism borne of necessity.

# Israel's Nuclear Option and superiority in conventional weapons

Since it. s first nuclear test detonation in the Indian Ocean in 1979, Israel has become the region. s only nuclear power. This achievement has been pushed implicitly by Israel, the media and many Arab rulers to further enhance the image of invincibility that surrounds Israel. For example, prior to the war in Lebanon in 1982 Yassir Arafat, in a speech given at the Ain Hilwa refugee camp, claimed that Israel had 20 atomic bombs which it would not

hesitate to use.

Assuming Israel does have nuclear weapons it is highly unlikely that she would use them in any regional conflict between her and the surrounding states. While it is clear that a nuclear strike would cause severe harm to the Muslims, it is also evident that such a strike would affect Israel in the same manner. Beirut, Damascus, Amman and Cairo all fall within a radius of 250 miles of Tel Aviv. Israel shares borders with Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and Egypt. Furthermore she lies in close proximity to Saudi Arabia, Cyprus and Turkey. It is clear that Israel's use of nuclear weapons in any conflict with the surrounding states, would have as adverse an effect on her as on her enemies. Further, the ensuing destruction would wipe out all the economic interests she is building through the current peace process in trade agreements and would destroy any hope she has of achieving a lasting settlement for the region.

Furthermore the US could not possibly allow the destruction of its own interests within the region. The area which she has described as . the greatest material prize in world history. would become worthless and the economic benefits that she and other Western nations enjoy within the region would be destroyed. In fact it is very likely that she would bring all the economic, political and military influence she could to bear upon Israel deterring her from such disastrous action. In 1991, the US tried very hard to prevent Israel from retaliating against Iraq, to prevent a conflagration from developing, which would run counter to the emerging US plan for the region.

Further, the Jews by their nature have never been known as men of war. Whilst the Muslim armies would relish the opportunity to fight to the death for the sake of Allah (swt), the same cannot be said of the Jews. Allah describes their nature in the Qur. an very clearly;

"And verily you will find them (the Jews) the greediest of mankind for life and those who ascribe partners to Allah. Everyone of them wishes that he could be given a life of a thousand years. But the grant of such life will not save them even a little from (due) punishment. And Allah is

All-Seer of what they do." [TMQ 2:96]

The idea of nuclear deployment by Israel has only been used to further foster this myth of invincibility. With regards to her superiority in conventional weaponry, no one can deny Israel's strength. However, while this was also the case in the 1973 war, the initial tactical surprise of the Egyptian and Syrian offensives gained them a huge advantage. The reality is that despite all its military aid and assistance from America, Israel has at times appeared very vulnerable. Uri Davis in his book Israel: the Apartheid State cites that Israel has not won a significant military battle since 1967. The Egyptian army exposed Israel's weakness at Bar-Lev in 1973. Further, Israel. s military campaign in Lebanon in the early 1980's culminated in an embarrassing withdrawal in 1985, when 5,000 mujahideen repelled the Israeli army of 120,000 troops, 1,600 tanks, 1,600 armed personnel carriers and 600 large guns.

# Israel has the backing of the US and International community

The basis of American foreign policy lies in the . doctrine of self interest. . This doctrine stipulates that a nation will engage in political activity only if it derives a benefit. This may be economic, political or military. From this viewpoint the basis of the foreign policy is always the same though the nation's allies or friends may change. This was expressed most clearly

by Lord Palmerston. s famous dictum "Britain has no perpetual friends only perpetual interests."

In light of this one can see that America. s policy of supporting Israel is not based on friendship, morality or out of sympathy for the plight of the Jews in the Holocaust. It is purely upon the basis of self benefit. Should there ever be a conflict between the permanent interests of the USA in the Middle East and the existence of Israel, America would undoubtedly forgo the latter. Eisenhower. s threat of sanctions against Israel in 1956 is a clear example of this.

Control over the Middle East and its vital natural resources is essential in maintaining American dominance world-wide. In 1944 the State Department described the Middle east as "a stupendous source of strategic power and the greatest material prize in world history." It is well known that American oil companies such as Amoco, Texaco, Exxon and Chevron have substantial investments within the region. The discovery of gas, minerals and reliance of arms manufacturers in obtaining contracts further illustrates the depth of America. s involvement. These groups would undoubtedly present a powerful bloc to lobby the US administration should their interests ever be threatened.

The State Department has in the past voiced concern at the harm to its interests with Arab regimes which friendly relations with Israel may cause. This concern would no doubt escalate to a re-examination of US support of Israel, when faced with a serious Khilafah with an independent foreign policy rather than the compliant puppies ruling the Muslim countries.

History demonstrates how benefit has guided US policy towards Israel, and how on occasions this has caused the relationship between the US and Israel to be strained. President Truman supported the creation of Israel in 1948 despite disapproval by the State Department and key officials such as George Marshall.

In 1956 the Eisenhower administration forced British and French withdrawal from the Suez war and left Israel isolated against Egypt. Despite fierce Israeli dissent the greater interest lay in removing Britain from the region and securing indirect control over the Suez through Nasser.

Although the USA has heavily supported Israel through financial aid with perennial aid packages continuously over \$3 Billion per annum, it has linked these with Israeli compliance over numerous issues. Further, America allows both extremist groups such as Kach, and peace. organisations such as Peace Now. to function and raise funds in the USA. Opportune media coverage of the activities of these organisations places pressure on the Israeli government, further illustrating that the US, underlying motive in its policy vis a vis Israel is benefit. Should this benefit ever be threatened, the US would undoubtedly abandon the Israeli cause in pursuit of its interest. The deadlock in the current US inspired peace process shows how American and Israeli interest diverge, and the extent to which each party will go to procure their respective interests is also quite evident.

As for the fear of condemnation in the international community it seems the Muslims are the only ones who view international law with respect and aspire to adhere to its edicts. Israel, Serbia, India, Russia, Burma and China have all spat in the face of the UN in continuing their crimes against the Muslim Ummah. Even the so called champion of human rights - America has a great history of flagrantly violating International law and committing human rights abuses in Panama, Grenada, Vietnam and Iraq to name but a few instances.

The US has been able to do so because it has political objectives and is able to manipulate the world arena effectively to meet them. For the Muslims this political acumen can only be effectively represented through the Khilafah State which would mobilise the whole state apparatus to achieve this.

Reference to the life of the Prophet will show how he paid no regard to The International

law of his era, rather he made the Kuffar in the Arabian peninsula submit to the law of Islam. This was most clearly shown when one of the companions, Abdullah ibn Jaahsh, broke the Arab tradition of not fighting in the holy months by killing a kafir and raiding his caravan. Subsequently the Quraysh engaged in great propaganda against the Islamic State.

Allah (swt) revealed the ayah

"They ask you about fighting in the sacred months Say fighting therein is a great transgression but far greater is it to prevent access to the path of Allah, to deny him, to prevent access to the Sacred mosque and drive out its members." (TMQ 2:217)

From this incident, we see that Muhammad did not adhere to the International law of his time. Rather, he redefined the International norms to reflect the world view held by the Islamic State. The coming Khilafah will endeavour to do the same, by conducting itself in the International arena through bilateral agreements, undermining the whole notion of a multilateral governing body, or any other forum organised to emulate the aspirations of the United Nations.

# Conclusion

As shown, the myths, when scrutinised are complete fallacies and lack any reality. This naturally leads to the question of what purpose they help serve. Clearly, this is to gradually impress on the Ummah the existence of Israel de facto and de jure.

Israel was created through a great conspiracy made possible only in the aftermath of the destruction of the Khilafah and through the complicity of treacherous Muslim rulers who have helped create these myths and have brought shame upon the Muslims. They have sought to create and continually perpetuate these myths of Israeli invincibility. They are in David Ben Gurion. s words "the first line of defence" for Israel. They are also the major obstacles standing in the way of the re-emergence of the Khilafah.