

Peace with Justice or Collusion with Cruelty?

The Jerusalem (Al Quds) Peace Prize Lecture, Victorian Parliament
November 29, 2018

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The Palestinian national poet Mahmoud Darwish wanted poetry to influence his people's national consciousness and thereby help them to cope with a military occupation. He reflected, 'We travel like other people, but we return to nowhere. As if travelling is the way of the clouds... We have a country of words. Speak, speak so we may know the end of this travel' (1).

My response to Mahmoud Darwish's request is to speak of the choices confronting Palestinians and the general public: either engage in a struggle for peace with justice, or collude with cruelty.

The description 'Palestinians', refers to millions barely surviving in refugee camps in Gaza, Lebanon, Jordan and what's left of Syria, to the two million imprisoned in besieged Gaza for the past eleven years, the residents of the West Bank militarily occupied since 1967 and the 20% of Palestinian inhabitants of Israel who have no rights to be free. My commitment is also to Palestinian friends in the diaspora who need the support and solidarity of anyone who shares the ideals of a common humanity.

Perspectives on Justice

Before getting to these issues, I'll identify my perspectives on justice. I'll do so with reference to a few names, beginning with our father who was badly injured in the Second World War. Five years of surgery and hospitalisation preceded his recovery and return to civilian life. He never complained but I always felt that he was not treated fairly, though at that time I was not sufficiently socially aware to see his life as a struggle for justice.

Another hero was Nye Bevan, MP for Tredegar in south Wales who became the Minister for Health in the post war British Labour government. In his autobiography, *In Place of Fear* (2), Nye recalls his father collapsing and dying in his arms from pneumoconiosis the coal miner's lung disease. The fear to which Bevan referred concerned not death but people being

frightened to seek medical care because they could not afford the costs. Nye Bevan saw universal health insurance as a foundation for a civilised society.

Paul Robeson, the inimitable American singer and campaigner for human rights was one of Nye Bevan's close friends. In 1960, Robeson accepted a trade union invitation to sing for construction workers building the Sydney Opera House. In relation to the world-wide Boycott Divestment Sanctions movement for Palestinian self-determination, Robeson would surely have boycotted the Eurovision song contest scheduled for Tel Aviv in May 2019.

From my family background, growing up in post war Britain and subsequent study and work in Britain, Canada, the USA and Australia, I regarded one principle as imperative. Those who are in a position to do so have an obligation to hear the voices and represent the interests of those who seldom receive a hearing in high places. The drowning and ignoring of their voices is part of their oppression and is a denial of human rights.

I first went to Israel and the West Bank thirty years ago. At a Jerusalem conference addressed by Israeli Labour leader Shimon Peres, I heard nothing about the plight of Palestinians but I did hear that Israelis were exceptional people. Later, a senior member of the Hebrew University took me for an evening stroll to the west bank where he pointed out shiny homes on a hillside and said that these were occupied by new arrivals from the Bronx in New York, 'they were a menace there, they'll be an even greater menace here.' That was my introduction to the illegalities of the settler movement.

My commitment to justice for Palestinians was cemented when Hanan Ashrawi was chosen as the recipient of the 2003 Sydney Peace Prize. Within days I became a target for abusive telephone calls and hate mail which insisted that Hanan encouraged terrorism and should not be allowed to come to Australia (3). I quickly learned of the power of the Zionist lobby, which over that issue operated from Tel Aviv to New York to Melbourne and back to Sydney. Every effort was made to persuade me to give up on Hanan, but in refusing to do so I took that stand in alliance with colleagues and with two principled high-profile public figures: the inimitable political journalist for the *Sydney Morning Herald*, Alan Ramsey and the Premier of New South Wales at that time, Bob Carr. Their support for me and for the principles of free speech to ensure that a significant Palestinian could be heard, became a turning point in Australians' understanding of the plight of Palestinians and of ways to confront the power of a particular lobby.

Peace with Justice for Palestinian People

In my reference to a peace goal for all Palestinians, it is important to distinguish between peace and peace with justice. Peace could refer to a ceasefire, an end to violent conflict but that says little about the quality of people's lives once the guns have ceased firing and the bombs no longer fall. Peace with justice tells us what we are fighting for not what we are fighting against. It refers to respect for universal human rights, to the philosophy and practice of non-violence and to the ideals of a common humanity. I'll return to those themes later.

Crucial steps to foster justice for Palestinians, based around their rights to self-determination, include the end of the brutal occupation of Palestinians' lands and an end to the eleven-year long siege of Gaza. Those goals must run parallel to the outlawing of the racist discrimination against non-Jewish citizens in Israel, the release of almost 300 children from Israeli jails, the release of most of the 6,000 adults held in Israeli prisons and a crafting of policies to end the imprisonment of millions in refugee camps. These goals challenge anyone who should be influenced by the dictum, if you are not outraged by injustice, you lose touch with your own humanity (4).

Obstacles to Peace with Justice

This search for justice confronts two major obstacles: the influence of false narratives and the current world-wide context of authoritarianism and violence.

i The False Narratives

Stories enable us to make sense of people, politics and countries, and until challenged, such stories keep powerful hold on our consciousness and perceptions. You hold a narrative about Australia or China and a perception follows. Public opinion wars over Israel's policies and Palestinians' responses have so affected the course of history since 1948, that an expose of familiar narratives can be the x-ray to show realities at variance with the dominant story, so energetically promoted by successive Israeli governments and their US allies.

Chapter One of the narrative says that Palestinians did not exist, or if they did, no one should be unduly bothered by their fate. To justify the Nakba tragedy of 1948 when 700,000 Palestinians, driven from their homes to become refugees, when over 500 villages and most of urban Palestine was razed from the face of the earth, Zionists claimed that Palestine was a land without a people for a people without a land (5). 1948 for Palestinians was

a repeat of the 1788 *terra nullius* doctrine when the British claimed there were no previous inhabitants of the Australian continent.

A second chapter in the false narratives is that Palestinians are always the aggressors and Israelis the victims. Suicide bombings by Palestinians and the firing of rockets by Hamas can be condemned but it is difficult to see how a nuclear power with the fifth largest army in the world could be regarded as a victim when facing Palestinians with no army, navy or air force. Recently, when justifying the killings at the Gaza border the Israeli Foreign Minister Avigdor Lieberman said there are no innocent people in Gaza. The deceit behind that claim can be identified by a brief look at casualties in two operations against Hamas and the people of Gaza, *Operation Cast Lead* in 2009 and *Operation Protective Edge* in 2014.

The outcome of such military operations shows the huge disparity in the power of the opposing forces. In the conflict of 2008/09 1,400 Palestinians were killed including 345 children and more than 5,000 injured. Thirteen Israelis were killed at least four by friendly fire. Over 3,500 Gazan housing units and 18 schools were destroyed, water and electricity resources, sewage networks and pumping stations were badly damaged. Israel used white phosphorous in densely populated urban areas, but they are still the victims.

In the 2014 *Operation Protective Edge*, at least 2,100 Palestinians were killed, 495 of them children and 11,000 were wounded. Sixty-six Israeli soldiers and seven civilians lost their lives. Eighteen thousand housing units were totally destroyed 108,000 people made homeless and almost half a million displaced. At least 24 medical facilities were damaged.

Despite the massive destruction to Gaza and the horrendous loss of life, the Israeli Defence Forces promote the Orwellian notion that Israel has the most humane army in the world. That claim also implies that there were two relatively equal sides and that these Gaza invasions were wars between equal combatants. In conversations with Australian diplomats in Jerusalem in 2015, I insisted that these were not wars but organised slaughters. The diplomats responded that, for fear of offending powerful parties, I should avoid using such language. In my judgment, the diplomatic language to tread carefully had allowed injustices to proceed unhindered, and that introduces the next piece in the narrative jigsaw, the question of so-called balanced reporting.

The media theme that there are ‘two sides in the Palestine-Israel conflict’ supposes a degree of equality in economic, military, political and diplomatic resources, an assumption maintained by mainstream media arguing for balance in reporting. If I write an article for the *Sydney Morning Herald* their editors, fearing the publication of an even slightly positive perspective on

Palestinians are quick to ask for right of reply from representatives of Israeli opinion. In commentary on this conflict, the word balance is an obscenity. There is injustice. There is no balance.

Next chapter in the false narratives concerns peace negotiations and the persistent Israeli claim that the Palestinians did not want to make peace. 'We offered them an olive branch, they never took it', has been Netanyahu's special brand of hypocrisy. Evidence from Wikileaks cables shows that the peace process was a charade. The Palestinians were poorly represented. The Israelis increased settlement building and did not take such negotiations seriously. The Americans were the alleged neutral peace brokers but always partisan. Reports on peace negotiations between President Clinton, Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak and Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat at Camp David in July 2000 display myths as to what happened (6).

That Israel is the only democracy in the Middle East is another false claim. Palestinian citizens of Israel, 20% of the population, are subject to a military regime which steals land, controls movement, suppresses political activity, demolishes homes and makes it almost impossible for Palestinians to obtain building permits. For 20% of the citizens, substantially discriminated against, this was never a democracy.

The Israeli government has disproved its own claim to be a democracy. The Israeli State Law of the Jewish people, passed by the Knesset in August 2018 asserts the dominance of Jewish only rights in Israel and acknowledges that apartheid is the *modus operandi* in Israeli governance. Richard Falk, says that the passage of this law amounts to a confession by Israel as to the racist character of the state (6) Gideon Levy writes 'From now on two types of blood exist in Israel: Jewish blood and non-Jewish blood. Jewish blood is priceless, it must be protected in every possible way. Non-Jewish blood is terrifyingly cheap, it can be shed like water' (7).

A final chapter in the narratives infects all the other claims, namely that any criticism of Israel is racist and anti-Semitic. Once that accusation is made, there's a chance that further discussion is stifled. As with any racial prejudice, Islamophobia, homophobia, discrimination against Romanies, Christians or apostates, ant-Semitism is a scourge to be opposed and outlawed, but routine references to anti-Semitism are intellectually lazy (8).

In the echo chamber of fundamentalist Israel and Republican religious right United States, the anti-Semitism charge has been revealed as a weapon to protect Israel from criticism of its treatment of Palestinians. An Anti-Semitism Awareness Act is before Congress. The US Civil Liberties Union has urged the Congress to reject a dangerous and unnecessary bill. The Jewish journal *Forward* argues that the backers of this legislation are less

concerned with combatting anti-Semitism than with suppressing criticism on college campuses of Israel's treatment of Palestinians and US complicity in it (9).

ii The Context of Violence and Authoritarianism

The second huge obstacle to achieving peace with justice for Palestinians concerns violence and authoritarianism around the world as well as in the Palestine/Israel conflict. Might is right as the driving idea for policies is evident in the brutal civil wars in Syria and Yemen, the nurturing of authoritarianism elsewhere in the Middle East and the increasing disdain for international law in the United States and across Europe. That authoritarianism refers to a top down manner of exercising power, characterised by inflexible hierarchies staffed usually men with a fascination for violence. Governance in Gaza and on the West Bank is no exception. Hamas and the Palestinian Authority are obsessed with top down measures of control and appear to enjoy the savage consequences of their rule. This way of thinking and acting is cemented by the West's refusal to engage in dialogue with Hamas and by the PA's view that security and punishment can be achieved by cooperating with Israeli forces.

In an effort to pretend that the refugee problem can be forgotten and is not part of any peace process, President Trump has declared war on Palestinians. Massive cuts in aid have followed his controversial decision to recognise Jerusalem as Israel's capital and move the US embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem (10).

With a view to removing the refugee issue from any peace agenda, Trump and Israel unified to punish the UN agency (UNRWA) which provides basic humanitarian assistance without which there are no schools, clinics and food in the camps. The US administration cut its \$360 million aid to UNRWA, the UN organisation which runs a modern secular education for 500,000 boys and girls, vaccinations and health services to over 3 million refugees. Trump claims that the children of refugees are not refugees but international law does convey refugee status to the children of other refugee populations.

At the same time that \$360 million was being cut to UNRWA, the US provides \$38 billion in arms over ten years to Israel - an Obama decision - already one of the most developed countries on the planet with one of the best equipped armies in the world. In 2018 America will spend \$46 billion in Afghanistan and \$13 billion in Iraq.

To further punish Palestinians, the PLO offices in Washington have been closed and on September 8 Trump axed \$25 million in aid to a network of six Palestinian East Jerusalem hospitals.

Australia's contribution to these policies of violence is the indirect influence which leaves so many Australians bewildered and ashamed. I'm referring to the cowardly way in which Australia complies with Israeli/US demands in voting on Israeli/Palestinian issues at the UN. Cowardice becomes collusion with cruelty.

In the UN since 2013 Australia has one of the highest abstention rates critical of Israel of any western democracy. In terms of abstentions there was a notable exception which temporarily promised more courageous times. In November 2012 The Gillard government's initial intention was to vote against the motion that Palestinian territories should be granted observer status at the UN. As a result of intervention of the Foreign Minister of the time, Bob Carr, the Australian government abstained. Carr said that if Australia had voted 'no' it would have been interpreted that we did not support Palestinian statehood.

But in regard to the UN Security Council Resolution 2334 in December 2016 which said that settlement activity 'has no legal validity under international law and a major obstacle to achieving peace', the voting was 14-0, yet Foreign Minister Julie Bishop said that if Australia had been entitled to vote on the issue, the government would have voted against. She had previously said she was unaware of the international law which made settlement building on other people's lands illegal.

In December 2017, a UN vote calling for the US to drop its recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital, Australia abstained. 120 voted for the resolution, 9 against.

In May 2018, only two countries, the USA and Australia, voted against a UN Human Rights Council resolution to investigate the killings of Palestinians in Gaza. Israel had insisted that the killings represented Israel's right of self-defence. Australian Foreign Minister Julie Bishop said that the resolution 'failed the test of balance and impartiality' (11).

Regarding these obstacles to peace with justice, the deceit conveyed in the false narratives needs to be denounced and the facts within the Israel-Palestine narrative repeated. The alternative narratives need elaboration and emphasis. The voice of Palestinians needs amplification.

Palestinians' Resources & Resourcefulness

Palestinians' resources and resourcefulness are displayed by their resilience and by the legitimacy of their cause. A significant way to express resilience is through poetry. In Ramzy Baroud's words, Gaza is an abode of poetry, one of the greatest affirmations of life, 'because great poets never die (12).

(a) Resilience

In response to the UN's prediction that Gaza would be unliveable by 2020, my great friend, Palestinian advocate and poet Samah Sabawi has written the inspiring *Song of the Besieged*. I'll quote only a few lines:

Life beyond liveability in Gaza is inevitable
...unstoppable like the earth's rotation
formidable like a fist in the face of the occupation
undeniable like destiny... like the freedom from tyranny,
like justice for refugees.

On the West Bank three years ago, a young woman, Dareen Tatour, publicised her poem *Resist My People, Resist*. She wrote:

Resist my people resist them,
in Jerusalem I dressed my wounds and breathed my sorrows
in the palm of my hand I carried the soul
for an Arab Palestine.
I will not succumb to the peaceful solution,
resist my people resist.

For three years after the poem appeared, Tatour was kept under house arrest. Earlier this year she was sentenced to five months in prison for writing that poem.

In the West Bank village of Bil'in, sixteen-year-old Ahed Tamimi's show of defiance towards Israeli soldiers who had surrounded her home has become a beacon for others resisting oppression. Ahed's family have for years been courageous examples of people resisting the Israeli military's invasion of their village and homes. Their daughter has known the responsibilities of resistance all her life. Ahed was eventually sentenced to eight months in prison for confronting the occupying military (13).

The resilience of all Palestinians is witnessed in the refugee camps, in the West Bank and in Gaza. Thousands of brave Gazans, organised not by Hamas but by grass roots non-violent groups, have been protesting for six

months at the Gaza border risking their lives to demand the right to return and an end to the siege. Resilience can represent a selflessness without which it would be difficult to conceive what humanity means. On June 1st, an heroic nurse Razan Al-Najja was fatally shot when tending wounded at the Gaza Great March of Return. In the vicinity of Khan Younis, dressed in easily identifiable white medical clothing she was killed in cold blood by an IDF sniper. There have been over 200 fatalities at the border and up to 18,000 people maimed. It is long overdue that privileged countries also find the courage to support such resistance.

(b) Identity and Hospitality

Even with few material resources to give, Palestinians' hospitality persists as a key feature of their values and identity. There is a world-wide refugee catastrophe, as many as 65 million people on the move, deprived of their homes, many without official identity, confined to camps, stigmatised and treated as unwelcome. In response to this tragedy, powerful countries erect fences, close their borders, demonise asylum seekers and craft policies to protect sovereign borders and insist that this is a military operation in which specially trained troops would keep powerless people away. Such military resistance is so different from unarmed Palestinians defending their homes.

The refugee tragedy is an international problem, but it is important to recall that Palestinians are the people with the longest record of being refugees. The UN identified over five million Palestinian refugees surviving a bare existence in camps in Gaza, Lebanon, Jordan and Syria. I have witnessed great generosity from refugees. A family of five living in two damp rooms in Bourj el-Barajneh refugee camp in southern Beirut shared their sparse accommodation with newly arrived refugees from Mamouk in Syria. They had shared what little they had. 'What else should we do?' they asked. 'These are our brothers and sisters.'

Other examples of unforgettable hospitality, this time in Gaza concern the families of Ayman Qwaider and Shamikh Badra. Ayman and Shamikh are here tonight. One evening in 2015 I had dinner with Ayman's parents but after thirty minutes the power failed, the lights went out. In the darkness his father asked, 'This has been life for almost ten years, what have we done to deserve this?' On a Gazan beach two days later, I sat with Shamikh's mother, father, brother and sister sharing a generous picnic lunch. I was reminded that hospitality also involves receiving gifts graciously not just giving them. I probably failed in that regard because Shamikh's mother expressed her disappointment that I did not eat enough.

Moral and Legitimacy Arguments for Palestine

(a) The Legitimacy of the BDS Movement

In grass roots protests for justice, if campaigns have legal, moral and cultural legitimacy, they gather widespread support and are likely to prevail. In regard to Palestinians' rights to self-determination, two issues convey the legitimacy of their struggle: the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement and the international status of Jerusalem.

Created thirteen years ago by over 170 Palestinian NGO's, the BDS movement addresses the rights of refugees, of Palestinians under military occupation in the West Bank and Gaza and Palestinians in Israel. The movement is grounded in international law, as depicted in Article One of the UN Charter which says that all peoples have a right to self-determination. 'By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.'

As a world-wide non-violent campaign for justice (14), BDS outlaws anti-Semitism and racism in any form. However, it suits the opponents of the movement to foment fear by claiming that BDS is anti-Semitic and aims to abolish the state of Israel. BDS simply represents a clear demand that international laws be enforced.

Hopes for Palestine depend on the international solidarity for the BDS movement. Despite legislation in several US States, and in some European countries, to make support for BDS a criminal offence, international awareness of the illegalities, killings and constant cruelties of Israeli policies has increased support for a movement which the former UN Special Rapporteur for the Occupied Territories, Professor Richard Falk judged 'A hopeful way of writing the future history of Palestine in the legal and moral language of rights not in the bloody deeds of warfare'(15).

Across Europe, international support for BDS comes from trade unions, churches and the administrators of pension funds. Across Europe and beyond, over 140 artists have published, in *The Guardian*, their resolve, 'Until Palestinians can enjoy freedom justice and equal rights, there should be no business as usual with the state that is denying them their rights' (16). The appendix to this paper lists the numerous BDS support groups across Australia and in the United States (17).

There is an immediate opportunity for anyone who supports the principles of human rights and would show support for the BDS movement. SBS Television can be asked not to broadcast Eurovision 2019 if it is held in Israel as planned. The petition to boycott this event says that 'Eurovision should not be used to 'artwash' the Israeli government's apartheid policies

and the violence inflicted on the Palestinian people.'

(b) The International Status of Jerusalem

A significant legal resource to be used in Palestinian advocacy concerns the international status of Jerusalem, the City of Peace. The political status of this Holy City has been contested for centuries though more recently its character and demography has been altered by Israeli domination and dispossession. Since 600 BC Jerusalem has been occupied by Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs and Turks. It is unique among the cities of the world because of its association with the three monotheistic religions which have their holy places within its precincts.

Long before the UN determined that Jerusalem should have a unique status, it had been a symbol of internationalism, an inspiration for composers, artists and poets. The English poet William Blake used the word Jerusalem as a metaphor for high ideals and as a means, in his terms, of repudiating nationalism and institutionalised religion.

The issue whether Palestinians' hopes to achieve their rights to self-determination is a lost cause can should be challenged. Legal and moral arguments support the Palestinian cause and a key aspect of legitimacy refers to the Holy City of Jerusalem.

The non-binding UN Resolution 181, passed in the General Assembly in 1947 never envisaged that Jerusalem would form part of any proposed Jewish state. It was meant to be a '*corpus separatum*', a separate entity subject to international judgement and control.

On February 7, 1949, Australian Prime Minister Ben Chifley said he would recognise the new state of Israel but 'I confidently look to Israel to assist in carrying out the UN decision declaring the special international status of Jerusalem as the Holy City'.

The Oslo Accords of 1991 declared that the final status of Jerusalem would be negotiated. But Israel, has asserted sovereignty over Jerusalem, their attitudes hastened by Trump's recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital.

Summary: On Humanity and Justice

After decades of killings, destruction, human rights abuses and endless violence, Palestinians remain and resist. When you spend time in the West Bank and Gaza, you meet citizens who are strong and dignified, creative, loving, living and resisting. These traits show humanity at its best.

Striving for justice is usually fuelled by belief in people's interdependence, by belief in a common humanity. One way of defining a common humanity

might be to refer to 16th century English poet John Donne's 'No Man Is An Island.' He reminds us, 'No man is an island entire of itself/ every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the whole...every man's death diminishes me/because I am involved in mankind' (18).

... Another way is to learn from Palestinians. I can conceive of a common humanity by adding and mixing Palestinians' resilience, creativity, courage and hospitality: an invaluable set of ingredients.

To achieve peace with justice for Palestinians may seem like an insurmountable mountain, hence the temptation to dismiss it as a lost cause. But confrontation with life's apparent lost causes tests courage, stamina and perseverance, affects self-respect and identity. The fatalists will always say this cannot be done. Those who resist such fatalism can trespass beyond certainty, keep in sight the seemingly unreachable summits, and encourage others to do the same. Facing death and serious injury from Israeli snipers, the young people of Gaza have maintained their protests for six months. The AFOPA group in Adelaide have protested in support of BDS and for a free Palestine for 400 consecutive weeks.

In bargaining about peace justice for all Palestinians, it is imperative to remember history, to recall how the past is impacting on the present. Palestine/Israel presents a double reciprocal obligation. Justice for the Palestinian people can't be addressed without recalling the 1948 Nakba tragedy, the destruction of a people and a culture, the creation of a decades-long refugee wretchedness. By the same token, and this is the legacy of the universal humanist philosophy of Edward Said, there is an obligation to acknowledge the centuries old persecution of the Jewish people. In an atmosphere of historical accuracy and understanding envisioned by Said, advocacy of peace with justice needs the spirit of reciprocity (19).

Indifference to Palestinians' suffering might be explained by saying this is not the right time to protest, or that Israel is an important ally, or by trotting out the platitude 'we believe in a two-state solution'. Unless accompanied by emphasis on the illegality of the settlements, condemnation of Israel's brutality in the siege of Gaza, opposition to US bullying and by calling out the EU's ambivalent response to Israel's human rights abuses, those assertions of disinterest amount to a collusion with cruelty. Not protesting these massive injustices is to devalue Palestinians' lives.

I finish with the observation that the struggle for justice never ends, whether in conversations to influence others, in writing letters, in taking direct action as in support for the BDS movement. The most inspiring appeal about struggles for justice never ending comes from the German poet and playwright Bertolt Brecht. He opposed fascism, totalitarianism, the

managerialism that clogged bureaucracies. His poem, *The Bread of the People* stresses that struggles are like an indispensable staple diet. You can't do without it.

Justice is the bread of the people.

...

As daily bread is necessary

So is daily justice.

It is even necessary several times a day (20).

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- (1) Darwish, Mahmoud (1999) 'We travel like other people', in Forbes, Peter (Ed. 1999) *Scanning The Century*. Bury St. Edmunds. UK: Viking p, 359
- (2) Bevan, Nye (1952) *In Place of Fear*. New York: Simon & Schuster
- (3) See Loewenstein, Antony (2006) *My Israel Question*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press
- (4) Hessel, Stephane (2011) *Time for Outrage*. New York: Hachette Book Group
- (5) Pappe, Ilan, (2003) *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*. Oxford: One World
- (6) Pressman, Jeremy (2003), 'Visions in Collision: What Happened at Camp David and Taba?', *International Security*. Vol. 28. No.2. pp 5-43 .US and Israel media claimed that Israel offered most of the Palestinians' legitimate aspirations and that the Palestinians made no concessions of their own. The Israeli human rights group Gush Shalom said that Israel's offer was a pretence of generosity for the media and Shlomo Ben Ami Israel's Minister for Foreign Relations who participated in the Camp David talks concluded 'Camp David was not the missed opportunity for the Palestinians and if I were a Palestinian I would have rejected Camp David as well'.
- (7) Levy, Gideon (2018) 'Now Israel Has a Race Law', *Haaretz*. September 21
- (8) See Cook, Jonathan, (2018) 'Labor's Crisis is over Israel, not anti-Semitism' August 9 Blog. There have been serious attempts to define any criticism of Israel as anti-Semitic. The UK Labour Party under Jeremy Corbyn was bullied into adopting a definition of anti-Semitism which even the author of the draft report from the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance said was being used to weaponize anti-Semitism
- (9) Trachtenberg, Barry (2018), 'Congress' Anti-Semitism Awareness Act Doesn't Protect Jews-It Protects Israel' Forward. July 3 & America Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) (2018), 'Senate Introduction of the 'Anti-Semitism Awareness Act' May 23 Commentary
- (10) Ashrawi, Hanan, 'The Ultimate Deal? For Israel maybe. We Palestinians will never accept it.' *The Guardian*. July 19. In August 2018, as part of a review of his economic aid programmes, the President decided to redirect \$200 million for funds for programmes in the West Bank and Gaza. Trump said 'we are not paying you until you make a deal.' Hanan Ashrawi responded that 'such an act of political blackmail goes against the norms of human decency and morality'
- (11) Wroe, David (2018) 'Australia defends voting against 'unbalanced' UN investigations into Gaza killings.' *Sydney Morning Herald*. May 16. And at the UN General Assembly in June 2018 a motion condemning Israel for the deaths of over 100 at the Gaza border, which Israel claimed was a means of self-defence, Australia voted against the motion, along with the Marshall Islands, Micronesia and Nauru.
- (12) Baroud, Ramzy (2016) 'Gaza: Resistance Through Poetry', in *Middle East Monitor*. June 14
- (13) Levy, Gideon (2017) 'And If Ahed Tamimi Were Your Daughter', *Haaretz*. December 31

- (14) Sourani, Raji (2013), 'Why Palestinians Called for BDS', in Wiles, Rich (Ed 2013), *Generation Palestine, Voices From The Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions Movement*. London: Pluto Press pp 61-71.
- (15) in Rees, Stuart (2016) 'The BDS Movement as a Beacon', *New Matilda*. September 4
- (16) Letters to The Guardian (2018): 'Boycott Eurovision Song Contest hosted by Israel' *The Guardian*. September 8
- (17) In the United States, *Jewish Voice for Peace*, the movement *If Not Now* are key BDS advocates; across university campuses, more than 30 student governments in the US and student governments at 9 different Canadian universities have voted to campaign for their universities to divest from companies that aid and abet Israel's violations of international law. In Australia, support comes from the Adelaide based Australian Friends of Palestine Association (AFOPA) from the Australian Jewish Democratic Society, Australian Palestine Professionals Association (APPA), and the significant Australian Palestine Advocacy Network (APAN) in alliance with Australians for Palestine. At the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at Sydney University, numerous colleagues and students have supported me over the years. Other significant supporters include the Sydney based Council for Justice and Peace in Palestine, (CJPP), the BDS movement in Brisbane and the University of Sydney BDS group.
- (18) Donne, John, 'No man is an Island', in Benson G. et al (Eds 2001) *Poems on the Underground*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson p. 288
- (19) Falk, Richard (2017), 'Palestine as a 'Lost Cause', in *Palestine's Horizon Toward a Just Peace*. London, Pluto Press pp 142-157
- (20) Brecht, Bertolt (2000), 'The Bread of the People' in Willett John and Manheim, Ralph (Eds. 2000) *Bertolt Brecht, Poems 1913-1956*. London: Methuen, p. 435