

# Israel After Netanyahu: Anchored in a One-State Reality

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# Two Epigrams and Two Themes

- Leonard Cohen:

*Sounded like the truth*

*Seemed the better way*

*Sounded like the truth*

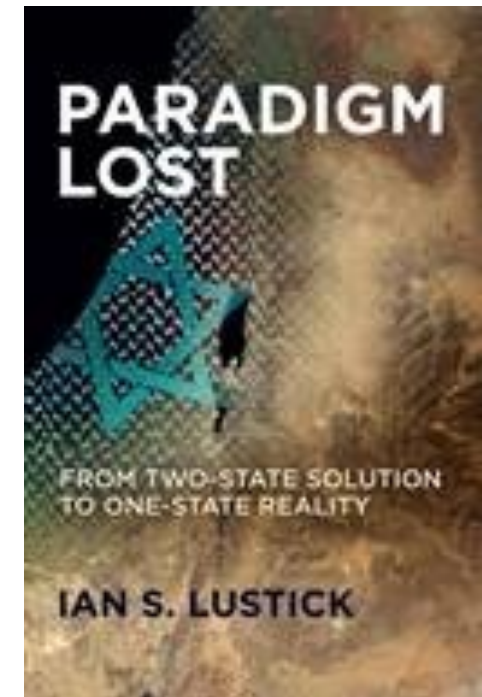
*But it's not the truth today.*

Yiddish Proverb

*Man plans, and God laughs.*



No **designed “solution”** will be implemented.  
But **politics**, both within Israel and internationally, can produce an inclusive outcome featuring better problems than we have today.

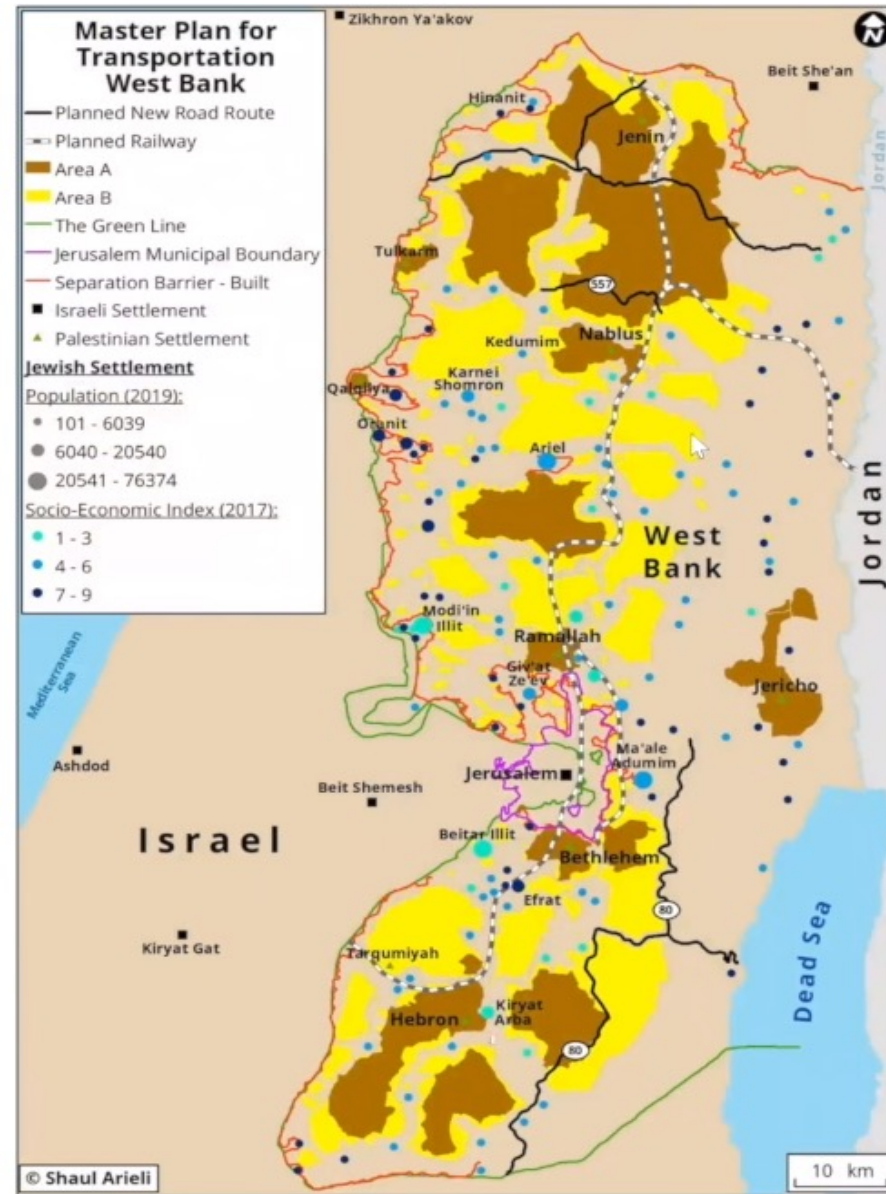


## The old “Point of No Return” argument:

Nearly 1 out of eleven Israeli Jews live across the Green Line

Oslo Zones familiar but the reality is an archipelago of ghettos for lower caste inhabitants open to what the French in Algeria called “Rat Hunts” at any time

This map shows plan for railway linking Afula in Morth and Kiryat Gat in South to settlements along the mountain ridge, Jordan Valley, East Jerusalem, Gush Etzion and Hebron.

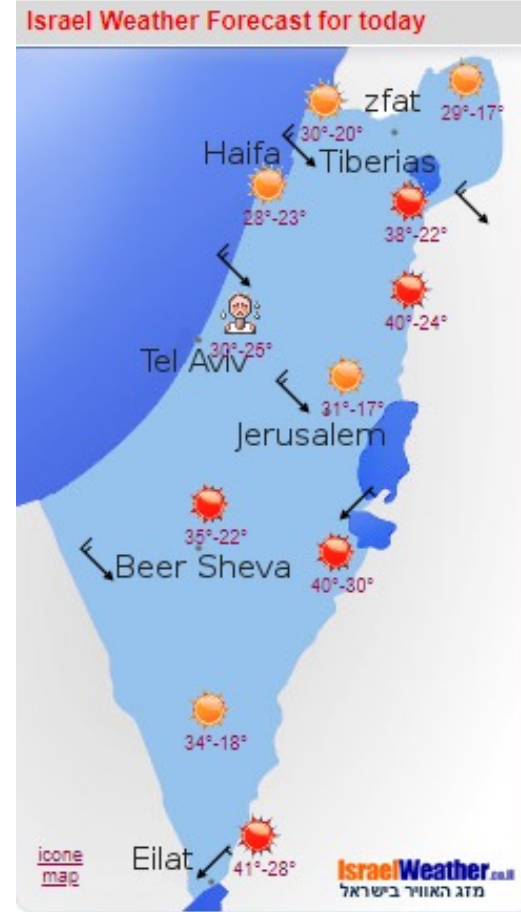


# What is the Truth Today?

## The Ordinary Language of Maps



A map from the book 'Hiking in Israel.'



# Israel Has Changed: De Facto Annexation; Holocaustia; the Israel Lobby



Flaw in the Iron Wall



Photo: Tamar Fleishman, Palestine Chronicle



The Cost of Holocaustia



The Lobby and the Cocoon



# Even the Metaphor of the Death of the Two-State Solution is Dead

## *Paradigm Collapse*

Since the Second Intifada, a question and a metaphor have come to dominate public discussion of the TSS. The question that hangs above its advocates like a sword of Damocles is whether de facto annexation has rendered the project impossible or so implausible that the entire paradigm of separating the West Bank from Israel as the route to peace must be abandoned. The prevailing metaphor is death. Has the TSS “died?”<sup>47</sup> Is it “on life-support,” is it “dying but not dead,” or is it “dead but not buried?”<sup>48</sup> Or is it “dead as a dodo”? Did the United States give the TSS “the kiss of death” when it recognized Jerusalem as Israel’s capital? Or was that act its “death knell?”<sup>49</sup> “There is no doubt . . . the TSS is definitely in trouble, if not on its deathbed.”<sup>50</sup> Or is it in a “death spiral.”<sup>51</sup> Should it be “allowed to die a natural death?” Is it “dead,” or is it “long dead and decomposing”? Or perhaps it should be considered “almost completely dead, and . . . closer to death every day.”<sup>52</sup> Is it “in trouble but not dead?”<sup>53</sup> Did the TSS die, or was it “put to death?” Can we see signs of possible life or only the “reflexive twitching” a dead body can sometimes exhibit.<sup>54</sup> Should we say it “isn’t dead” but “it is dying”—that is “stuck, but not dead?”<sup>55</sup> If it is dying, “perhaps the TSS can be rescued and resuscitated.”<sup>56</sup> A major 2013 symposium in the Jewish periodical *Moment* magazine was titled “Is the Two State Solution Dead?” Instructively, four years later the *New York Times* published a long article with the same title and effectively the same analysis.<sup>57</sup>

# The Dynamics of the One-State Reality

- The water has boiled. The political environment has changed. Many frogs have died. Others are dying. But other species can survive and thrive in the new environment, although it takes time for realignments and new strategies to emerge.
- Implies a drastic change in assumptions about relevant time frames and role of “blueprints” and concept of “solution.”
- Still we can see a variety of signs of drastic change and struggles by different actors to acclimate.

# Straws in the wind

- Israeli governing coalition uniting ferocious left and right wing opponents, and an Arab Party (offshoot of the Muslim Brothers)
- Fading of and dispute over the “Demographic Argument” on the Israeli center-left
- Latest Gaza War: What happens in Jerusalem doesn’t stay in Jerusalem.
- Biden administration retreat from diplomacy and endorsement of equality.
  - "I believe the Palestinians and Israelis equally deserve to live safely and securely, and enjoy equal measures of freedom, prosperity and democracy," Biden said. "My administration will continue our quiet and relentless diplomacy toward that end."
- J-Street retreat from two-state solution as anchor of its appeals. TSS no longer an automatic safe harbor for EU or internationalist American politicians.
- Effective political collapse of the PA (Arab Department of Israel for Judea and Samaria)
- Shift of balance of power among Palestinians toward NGO’s, BDS, popular struggle, long-term rights-based forms of mobilization, and even under-the-table cooperative and collaborative “sumud” activities via settlers, area C, and Joint List negotiations
- Even significant increase in Muslims (Bedouin) enlisting in IDF