

sustained without inheriting even more serious trouble than it has generated to date. On this point, it may be worthwhile to recall debates in Britain's parliament about apartheid. In those days, parliamentarians were arguing about the boycott of South Africa in ways that today would be embarrassing to recall. Yet some were prescient. For example, Viscount Samuel said,

The white Nationalists ... think they should be admired because they are vigorous and have been successful in preserving their white empire. Money is flowing in, and white settlers are being attracted to South Africa from Kenya, from Rhodesia, from the United Kingdom, even from the Continent. Every man who goes strengthens the white hold on South Africa, and in my opinion, this is wrong.

Before such a situation we stand helpless. We are watching a Greek tragedy, the descent of a pigheaded people down to disaster. Let us not fool ourselves; it is too late today for peaceful change in South Africa. There is no white political party that can unseat the Nationalist Government. There is no alternative white government for South Africa. Even if the Nationalists were convinced

that they must liberalise their régime, the whole country would boil over at once. South Africa is a fine country, but it has gone beyond the point of no return. Its future will be massacre and destruction.¹⁴

The future of South Africa was not massacre and destruction. But neither was its happier future achieved by international support for policies that the apartheid régime believed essential to white society's welfare and survival. Hindsight confirms that it was the universal rejection of forced racial separation, and not attempts to defuse black resistance to separation, that achieved a stable peace in South Africa. If different principles apply in Palestine, then these must be swiftly identified and tested and not merely assumed from polemical assertions by one side or the other. The brief exploration of the similarities broached here between the Homelands and the emerging parameters of a Palestinian state indicate that this comparison, at least, can no longer be delayed or discredited by polemical denunciations of the comparison as inapplicable. The international stakes involved in a project to create an enclave state for Palestinians in parts of Mandate Palestine are clearly too high.

¹⁴ United Nations Security Council Resolution 1397 (2002) affirmed in its chapeau [preliminary statement] "a vision of a region where two States, Israel and Palestine, live side by side within secure and recognized borders." As it is not clear what legal weight a UN "vision" carries, UNSC Resolution 1515 (2003) reaffirmed this vision and added an operative paragraph: "2. Calls on the parties to fulfil their obligations under the Roadmap in cooperation with the Quartet and to achieve the vision of two States living side by side in peace and security".

¹⁵ In 2004, Dov Weissglass, formerly chief of staff to Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, famously commented to *Ha'arets* that the withdrawal from Gaza "supplies the amount of formaldehyde that is necessary so there will not be a political process with the Palestinians;" see *Ha'arets*, weekend magazine, October 8 2004.

¹⁶ Palestinian National Authority, *Palestinian Reform and Development Plan, 2000-2010*, available at: http://www.mop-gov.ps/web_files/issacs_8/cr/PDRP-en.pdf.

¹⁷ Final statement of the chair and co-chairs at the International Donors' Conference for the Palestinian State, December 17 2007.

¹⁸ World Bank, *Assisting in Palestinian Economic Reform and Development: Report for the Pludging Confer-*

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Table of Contents Economic Political Peace Believed To Be Vol 1

1. Understanding the eBook Economic Political Peace Believed To Be Vol 1
 - The Rise of Digital Reading Economic Political Peace Believed To Be Vol 1
 - Advantages of eBooks Over Traditional Books
2. Identifying Economic Political Peace Believed To Be Vol 1
 - Exploring Different Genres
 - Considering Fiction vs. Non-Fiction
 - Determining Your Reading Goals
3. Choosing the Right eBook Platform
 - Popular eBook Platforms
 - Features to Look for in an Economic Political Peace Believed To Be Vol 1
 - User-Friendly Interface
4. Exploring eBook Recommendations from Economic Political Peace Believed To Be Vol 1
 - Personalized Recommendations
 - Economic Political Peace Believed To Be Vol 1 User Reviews and Ratings
 - Economic Political Peace Believed To Be Vol 1 and Bestseller Lists
5. Accessing Economic Political Peace Believed To Be Vol 1 Free and Paid eBooks
 - Economic Political Peace Believed To Be Vol 1 Public Domain eBooks
 - Economic Political Peace Believed To Be Vol 1 eBook Subscription Services
 - Economic Political Peace Believed To Be Vol 1 Budget-Friendly Options
6. Navigating Economic Political Peace Believed To Be Vol 1 eBook Formats

- ePub, PDF, MOBI, and More
 - Economic Political Peace Believed To Be Vol 1 Compatibility with Devices
 - Economic Political Peace Believed To Be Vol 1 Enhanced eBook Features
7. Enhancing Your Reading Experience
 - Adjustable Fonts and Text Sizes of Economic Political Peace Believed To Be Vol 1
 - Highlighting and Note-Taking Economic Political Peace Believed To Be Vol 1
 - Interactive Elements Economic Political Peace Believed To Be Vol 1
 8. Staying Engaged with Economic Political Peace Believed To Be Vol 1
 - Joining Online Reading Communities
 - Participating in Virtual Book Clubs
 - Following Authors and Publishers Economic Political Peace Believed To Be Vol 1
 9. Balancing eBooks and Physical Books Economic Political Peace Believed To Be Vol 1
 - Benefits of a Digital Library
 - Creating a Diverse Reading Collection Economic Political Peace Believed To Be Vol 1
 10. Overcoming Reading Challenges
 - Dealing with Digital Eye Strain
 - Minimizing Distractions
 - Managing Screen Time
 11. Cultivating a Reading Routine Economic Political Peace Believed To Be Vol 1
 - Setting Reading Goals Economic Political Peace Believed To Be Vol 1
 - Carving Out Dedicated Reading Time
 12. Sourcing Reliable Information of Economic Political Peace Believed To Be Vol 1
 - Fact-Checking eBook Content of Economic Political Peace Believed To Be Vol 1
 - Distinguishing Credible Sources
 13. Promoting Lifelong Learning
 - Utilizing eBooks for Skill Development
 - Exploring Educational eBooks
 14. Embracing eBook Trends
 - Integration of Multimedia Elements
 - Interactive and Gamified eBooks

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