The Palestinian Dilemma: A Human Question

By Jad El Khannoussi

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I. Introduction

The Palestinian question is a very complex dilemma, made up of various factors and components. Since its beginning, it has not only been the exclusive business of some people, State, or region, but it has become an international affair. Not surprisingly, the Palestinian issue arises from a global geopolitical struggle, which, since it started, has gone through a series of decisive stages, from the Balfour Treaty to the recognition of Israel by the UN. At first, the highest international body approached the matter from a human point of view, that is, considering it exclusively a refugee problem, and not that of people who were unjustly stripped of their lands and replaced by another who had no ties to the territory. However, the sacrifice of the Palestinian people, after the appearance on the political scene of national movements, especially the Palestinian Authority (a process favored by the national and regional climate), placed the issue at the forefront of international agendas. A fundamental fact, which allowed Palestine to become part of some international organizations over time. The increase in Israeli aggressions, expulsions, and injustices, came into sharp contraction with the ethical, moral values and most basic principles of international law. Most worryingly, it unleashed an unbridled impetus to impose a reality on the ground: the continued siege of the Palestinians, the Judaization of Jerusalem, or the attempt to erase other identities, both Arab and non-Arab. Let us forget that Palestine, since the dawn of time, has been and will continue to be a land prone to diversity, as evidenced by its archaeological footprints. But the emergence of Israel radically altered the social, political, and, above all, the mutual coexistence. The construction of a separation wall (a measure that reflects in a very graphic way the degree of discrimination suffered by these people), once again placed the problem on the international political scene, after long and miserable treaties signed between Israel and the Palestinian Authority. Treaties with which Tel Aviv tries to show the world that it maintains permanent diplomatic contact with the suffering Palestinians and that it is an internal conflict that does not require any intermediation from abroad. In reality, we are talking about an invasion of the consciences, hearts, and feelings of free human beings, who are being stripped of their most precious assets: their culture and their land. Beings who fight and aspire to a better world, where equality and diversity reign, that is why they do not stop denouncing the Israeli barbarism against the Palestinians. New associations that support this cause grow more, and more in different parts of the globe. Because it is not a simple religious, dogmatic or ideological dilemma, as those, who adopt this vision try to show, which limits the sacrifices of these people and locks the voices of the victims in a dark corner. It is much more complex. A question of law, that of people, who long to live in freedom, and who even gave up parts of their territory- the guideline “land in exchange for peace”- to try and end that kind of prison in which they have been confined for decades. Their cries, those of children, women, and the elderly, faced with one of the most developed armies on the planet, became the banner of a fight waged against all injustice and discrimination. From this point, the Palestinian dilemma reaches its full strength and legitimacy.

This article focuses on the Palestinian problem, understood as a fundamentally human issue, and we will try to highlight those associations, governments, and movements involved in this drama. Furthermore, we will try to shed light on the geopolitical origins of such a complex issue, the negative involvement of the Arab regimes and the anger of their people. People who, despite the tyranny to which they are cruelly subjected, are willing to pay the price that is necessary to help the Palestinians in their constant fight for freedom.

II. Palestine: the Center of the Earth

Palestine is located on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, between coordinates 32.15 and 35.40 N, and 32.15 and 29.30 E. To the South, it borders Egypt, and the Arabian Gulf, and to the North, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and part of Asia. Coordinates that make it not only the entrance to the Arab world but also the bridge between East and West. End of the territory that comes from the bottom of Asia to the Mediterranean and the gateway (along with Syria, Iraq, and Iran) to China, and India, its privileged geographical location-which a great majority of strategists describe as “the heart of the world”- made it an ancient object of greed for former
empires. If we look from the perspective of time and place, Palestine occupies a prominent position in the Arab-Islamic national security, to which one needs to add the important presence of the religious element. All these determining factors make this territory acquire a unique dimension in Arab consciousness in particular, and in human consciousness, in general, if we include its Christian and Jewish component.

Geographical, historical, and spiritual factors made Palestine the main objective of any reform movement or Arab political regime, that is, the main protagonist of its independence and its efforts to free itself from the foreign invader, as happened during the time of the Crusades. Palestine is the link that unites the Arab part of Asia with North Africa, the benchmark of any project for Arab unity, even if that unity is sentenced as a definitive ban by the international community. These conditioning factors have made Palestine the main axis of the confrontation between international imperialism—currently led by the United States—and the Arab people who aspire to regain their independence. In this regard, Professor Talon’s words are very illustrative:

“Due to its geographical location, Palestine is the hinge of the Arab world. When I was an Arab, you could go from Casablanca to Basra with absolutely no problem. And thanks to this, the unity of the Arab nation could have been much better established. Palestine lies precisely on that axis where the Arab world meets. To occupy, it means from the outset to divide the Arab region in two. In addition to having an authentic aircraft carrier located a step away from the oil wells of the Arabian Peninsula and Iran, and controlling the Suez Canal, as well as a region so sensitive to the interests of certain powers such as the Eastern Mediterranean. This geostrategic position has caused the Zionist authority to settle there”1.

Indeed, colonialism soon became aware of this link between the Arab nation and Palestine, especially after the experience of Mohamed Ali in Egypt during the first half of the 19th century2. The ruler aspired to revive the Arab caliphate based on Arab and Islamic nationalist ideas, especially after expanding into the Shem region (present-day Syria, Lebanon). Egypt’s new attempt to move beyond its borders not only questioned Western interests in the area, but it also reminded Europe that it was invaded twice by Muslims, reaching Ali’s armies as far as the present-day coasts of Greece. Besides, the English realized that their bases established in East Africa did not guarantee their hegemony over the area.

For this reason, they began to think about erecting a wall (Buffer State) that separated Egypt from Istanbul, as well as the Arab-Asian part of the African part. With this radical measure, the English would guarantee their control of the existing trade routes between Europe and their colonies, and in turn, prevent any kind of unity between both sides (Asia and Africa). It was precisely then that Palestine acquired first-rate strategic importance, and the project of establishing a Jewish state there became an English national question. Immediately, ties between the English and the Zionist movement that aspired to settle in Palestine began to be strengthened.

III. The Origin of the Dilemma: A Geopolitical Dimension?

Since then, the western strategy is based on the need to divide the Arab region into small states, to keep it in constant self-dependence on the outside. For this, it is essential to implant in that area a foreign body—called Israel-characterized by a series of components (history, language, religion, etc.) that constitute a strategic, economic, and military bloc with a prominent role on the international political scene. Convergent needs accelerated marriages of convenience between nations. On this matter Yassim Sultan is conclusive:

“The English accepted the idea of the Zionists. And only through this great geopolitical environment can the challenge allowed in Palestine be understood. Although it indeed differs with peculiarities, since it adopted an ideological and religious tone, even though its founders were atheists, but it was essential for their appearance and consolidation to present them with these ideas, due to their ability to group and control. To this must be added the Zionist control of the centres of power and their permanent structure to shape the European mind. Everything is explained by the historical geopolitical path of Jewish exclusivity3”.

The settlers (English and French, above all) saw in the Jewish people and the Zionist movement a perfect slogan to carry out their project. In 1799 Napoleon had already referred the Jews to return to Palestine, but this exhortation was not carried out due to the English siege and the fear that the French would seize the ancient silk road. However, as time progressed and in the face of

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2 In 1840 Lord Palmerston wrote to the Ottoman Sultan Abdelmajid I, alerting him to the dangers of Mohamed Ali’s military expedition to the Shem region and his possible establishment there: support for the Jews to return to Palestine and their permanent settlement there would be the only guarantee of salvation from the cursed projects of Mohamed Ali and his allies (Vid. Al-Mussaari, A.: Al-ideología al-sahyonia [The Zionist ideology]. Kuwait: Delegation of Culture, 1963). The following year the Prussian empire did the same. And in 1853 the English colonel George Goler, who was ruler of Australia, proclaimed at a rally the geostrategic importance of Palestine and the need for its control by Britain.

the collapse of the Ottoman Empire⁴, European purposes intertwined to achieve their objectives, to the detriment of the Arab plan that was beginning to light the region (Tunisia, Egypt, etc.). Therefore, it is not surprising that Theodor Herzl offered his project to all the powers (including the Ottoman empire) affirming that it would benefit the English, because if this did not happen in Palestine - that is, in the Jewish settlements, they would be forced to find another route for the Silk Road instead of the Suez Canal. Indeed, Max Nordan (the right hand Herzl) sent two rabbis to Palestine with the mission of evaluating the possibilities of establishing the Jewish nation there. And both teachers answered him poetically: “The lady is very beautiful, but she is married to another man”⁵ referring to the Arabs. It is true that some Jews already existed, what happens - as the Hebrew historian Hillel Cohen maintains - is that they were not Zionists⁶. The Palestinian people have their history and mixed-raced identity, consolidated over time. However, this marriage with the Arabs did not prevent Herzl from thinking about conquering the beautiful lady, even if the price was to annihilate her man.

The Zionist leaders, aware of the Jewish enthusiasm - especially in Eastern Europe - for emigrating to the United States, and their impossibility of going to Palestine, added the religious component to their project, which acquired a geopolitical dimension concerning the Palestinian territory. They discovered that the religious factor is very present in the Jew and that it grew gradually in his isolated ghetto throughout the centuries when dogma was mixed with the political dimension. This situation was used to push Jews to immigrate to Palestine, and later it would be decisive in the alliance of interests with the extreme Christian right, first in Europe and later in the United States. Herzl tried to make it very clear that his project had nothing to do with any religion⁷, according to his words:

“I have communicated to the Chief Rabbi of London, like that of Paris, that I will not obey any kind of religious law⁸.”

The important thing for Herzl was to group them in the Palestinian State; he even considered anti-Semitism as an ally.⁹ Since it would force them to migrate to the promised land (Palestine). Herzl was based on a budget that, after all, will be the axis on which Zionist thought will revolve: “Palestine, a land without people, and people without a land.” This controversial slogan summarizes the entire political strategy put into practice in that coveted territory. We are facing a very peculiar process and different from what happened in the history of humanity. It differs a lot from the old European colonial experiences. That is, it is about expropriating a civilization and its history from a set of people, to put another in its place, whose only unifying element is its hatred of the Arabs, hidden under a religious cloak that is summarized in the vindictive sentence “promised land”. On this matter, Israeli professor Ilan Pappe maintains:

“The Zionist movement was fixed from the outset in Palestine as a place for the independence of the Jewish people, although they knew of the existence of the Palestinians there. Both its Zionist leaders and ordinary people embraced the idea that for Palestine to be a Jewish state, they must compel the Palestinians to leave.”

Imperialist ideals that will become effective in the Liberman Congress (1905-1907), where the idea of establishing the Hebrew people in Palestine. Europeans, apart from their geostrategic interests, consider - to a certain extent - Jews closer to them than Arabs, however they also intend to separate the three cultural elements that make up that region. After that, the Zionists began their process of placing the Jews in Palestine, to the detriment of the Arabs. The percentage of the Jewish population that inhabited Palestine at that time was 5%, to the extent that did not exceed 2% of its area. However, the first world warfare opened the way for new alliances that facilitated the definitive marriage between the English and the Zionists.

A pairing that will have its climax in the Treaty of Balfour (1917)¹¹, dictated by London, in favor of the

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⁴ In the mid-19th century, English Prime Minister Palmerston wrote to the Ottoman Sultan to try to convince him that it was time to open Palestine to Jewish immigration; at that time it only had the presence of 3,000 Sephardim who had lived together for centuries with the Arabs. From that moment on, contacts between him and Baron Rothschild resumed, who precisely provided money to England for the purchase of the Suez Canal from the Egyptian king Ismael al-Khaddawi. He also invested of 14 million francs destined to establish the Hebrew people in Palestine, without forgetting his constant credits to England, such as that of 1860, to facilitate it to Morocco after being defeated by Spain in the War of Tétouan (or Africa in Spanish terminology).

⁵ Excerpted from the television program “Al-Nakba” issued by Al-Jazeera. Available from internet: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2M TdxChyTIY.

⁶ Ibidem.

⁷ Herzl himself stresses that when asked by Archer Manrez about his bond with the Torah, he replied that he was a free thinker. Also, on January 11, 1902 he wrote to Rhodes and communicated the following: “Please send me a text saying that you have examined my plan and approve it. If you wonder why I am addressing you, Mr. Rhodes, I will tell you why my program is a colonial plan.” (Hertzl, T., 1902).

⁸ Ibidem, p. 270.


¹¹ The Arabs became aware of the Treaty in the middle of the war against the Ottoman Empire, on the outskirts of the Al-Akaba region. England, fearing that Shem’s grandsons would paralyze their rebellion against the Ottomans, sent Commander David George Hogarth (Vid. Sayce, AH: David George Hogarth, 1862-1927. London, 1928) to the Hijaz region to reassure the moods. The commander arrived in the holy city of Yathrib in January 1918 and informed Al-Charif Hussein, on behalf of the English Government, that the Balfour Treaty was not in conflict with the Arab political and economic interests. The British
creation of a Hebrew State in Palestine and turning its back on the most basic human laws, since on the one hand, it was a controlled territory by the Ottomans, and on the other, the only ones who had the legitimacy to decide their future were the Palestinian people, as the Israeli historian Ave Shlem points out:

“Britain had no legitimate moral or political right that would allow it to grant land that belongs to the Arabs or others (the Ottomans). Therefore, the Balfour Treaty is somewhat immoral”.

The Zionists took advantage of the serious situation that England was going through (immersed in the First World War and on the verge of surrendering to Germany) to exert pressure, provide economic aid, destabilize Germany internally, and above all allow the United States to enter the conflict. So many reasons were decisive in the final course of the operations. And after the capitalist warfare ended, as agreed in Agreements (such as Sykes-Picot)-which would ultimately be the basis of the Treaty of Versailles-, England occupied Palestine, under the command of General Allenby, to establish its social and economic bases. How the British carried out the invasion of such a small country is very striking: with 50,000 men, apart from a couple of Zionist battalions, while in the vast India, then still a colony, the English only had 40,000 soldiers. The first English governor, Herbert Samuel, quickly passed more than a hundred laws that facilitated the occupation of the Palestinian territories and allowed them to create their army while forbidding the Arabs when they constituted 88% of the population. The answer to all this logistical support, in addition to the fundamental role of the Zionists in England’s final triumph in World War I, is found in words Henry Ford:

“The British colonial administration in Palestine was primarily of the Jews. No one of them can deny it since all the measures that were applied were Jewish (...). If one day the world knew the methods that have been applied to seize the Arabs from their territories, anger and disappointment would grow. There is no doubt that all this was done with the approval of Samuel, the high delegate general of the English Government in Palestine”.

The fledgling army began to perpetrate a series of crimes that came to shake the two special envoys of US President Wilson, Henry King, and Charles Green. Intended to explore the situation in that region in general and Palestine in particular, they replied as follows:

“If we wanted to put into practice the principles of American justice, then the Palestinians are the ones who have the right to decide their future. Nine out of ten are Palestinians who strongly oppose Zionism (...), every English leader we met there told us that it was impossible to carry out the Zionist project, except with the weapons that more than 50,000 men need”.

Thi’s precisely the moment when the revolution of Azzeddine al-Qassam, a Syrian fighter who, like many of the many young Arabs, got involved in the fight for the Palestinian question, burst onto the political scene in Palestine. It started a revolution against the English, that’s the strike of 1936, the highest point of a conflict that would last more than six months. Without the mediation of King Abdelaziz of Arabia, the fight would have lasted much more in time. However, the English response consisted of expelling all the protesters from the country and dividing it into three camps, through its White Paper, the were issuing a report where the concept of transfer appears for the first time. Its author, Yussef Warretz (who would later become Ben Gurion’s right-hand man), thereby shows the intention of the Zionist movement to expel Palestinians from their land. An English division that even Mahatma Gandhi himself harshly criticized:

“Palestine for the Arabs is like England for the English or France for the French, so it would be a mistake and barbarism to impose the Jews (emigrants) on them. It will be a crime against humanity if we decrease the number of the Jewish people”.


15 After the outbreak of the Palestinian Revolution in 1936 and its subsequent activation in 1939, Britain, rejecting its proposal to divide the country, turned the Palestinian issue into an Arab matter and referred it to the London International Congress (7/2 / 1939) where Arab members from Iraq, Jordan, Egypt, Yemen, as well as France as a colonial force in Lebanon and Syria participated. “For weeks” the English met with the Arabs in the morning and then with the Jews in the afternoon, to avoid a meeting between the two of them. The English proposal was based on granting a Palestinian state in ten years, limiting Jewish emigration to Palestine to only 75 thousand people for five years, and establishing Jerusalem as an international city. The measures prompted several Zionist groups to carry out a series of attacks against the Palestinians, from which the English military did not escape, and in the, end they were forced to suspend Congress (Vid. Hurewitz, JC: The struggle for Palestine. Schoken Books, 1976).

The measure did not prevent Zionist protests. In the middle of World War II, the movement focused its sights on the United States, especially after the Baltimore Treaty (1942). Most striking was the fact that they won the support of the Republicans and Democrats to suspend the English White Paper, at the same time the Palestinians strongly opposed it to the point of returning to the strike policy again. However, this time most of the Palestinian resistance fighters were in exile, which opened the way for Israeli terrorist groups, with the approval of the British, to apply genocide and conquer more and more territories. The Israelites took advantage of a favorable international trend due to the media diffusion of the Holocaust, used as a throwing weapon in front of anyone who ventured criticism, immediately accusing it of being anti-Semitic. In fact, if we look at the total Jewish population, for the most part, they are Khazars, that is, they have no relationship with Palestine; as many Hebrew scientists highlight, Koestler’s case:

“80% of the Jews of this time do not have any link with Israel, nor with Palestine, most of them are Khazars, whose roots go back to ancient Turkish-Tatar region, who populated the North Caucasus region (South of Russia) and converted to Judaism in the 8th century, under the command of their King Bulan in 740. Therefore, if they have a right to return, they must return to South Russia.”

To show that their fight against the Palestinians in particular and the Arabs, in general, is a continuation of their fight against Nazism, Zionism began to demonize them. At this point, the work of their lobbies in the West was essential, especially after the wars waged against the Arabs (an indispensable ideological weapon, according to Finkelstein), and of implanting terror among the Palestinians through assassinations (car bombings) -pumps, of which not even the UN envoy Folke Bernadotte was spared.

The complicated situation forced the United Nations (11/29/1947) to divide Palestine in two, granting the Hebrews - who at that time constituted a minority - more than 55% of the territory. Israel its part, from the first moment, turned its back on UN resolutions thanks to the Western veto, especially the North American one. A United Nations created by the victors of the Second World War, subject to them, and when the majority of the Arab States remained occupied. Besides, the UN decision was carried out in its General Assembly and not in its Security Council. Therefore, it is a will and not an executive law. It should be noted that both sides rejected the agreed decision, especially that of Israel, whose strategy was based on expelling all Palestinians to realize the idea of Hertzl (a landless people for a land without a people). For this reason, a series of massacres began to take place, such as that of Dir Yassin, which even the Israeli general Meir Mayel recognized years later as a shameful episode both in Jewish history and in all of humanity.

A massacre that even Jews like Albert Einstein himself strongly denounced, resulting in a decisive psychological factor in the exodus of the Palestinians and repeating itself in every city. Many other exterminations should be added to this long list, suffice it to mention those of Sabra and Chatila in Beirut (1982) or those of the Gaza Strip. The list is long. Israel always argued the pretext that the Palestinians sold their land to pay their taxes and debts. Is it true that the Palestinians gave up their land? This was a simple but massively spread lie - one of the most successful methods of fabricating currents of opinion - because we must not ignore the media power that Zionist lobbies hold worldwide (they control 94% of the media). It is known that history is always written by the victors and not the losers; they must live with their defeat and their pain and even forced to believe in the narrative of the winner. Human history appears full of this kind of experiences, great civilizations that were a source of wisdom and human progress, then came to be erased from the face of the earth (without going back very far in time, we have lived it with media propaganda launched against Iraq or Libya). The ultimate goal of these strategies, deep down colonialism, is to try to place societies on the fringes of truth. As the adage recalls, if you want to finish off an enemy, don’t throw a bullet at him but a lie, spread through the media. Zionist strategy, with its peculiarities, does not stray too far from this line.

In this sense, historian Rose Mary Sayegh maintains:

“One of the most violent charges against the Palestinians is that they sold their territories to the Israelis. This is nonsense that a famous journalist constantly repeats and in a newspaper of great diffusion since 1967.”

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19 Throughout its history, Hollywood has produced more than a thousand films that harm the image of the Arabs (See: Chaheen, J.: Reel bad arabs: how Hollywood vilifies a people. Amazon, 2014.


The saddest part of the matter is that few Arab studies are centered around this issue, although lately, new contributions appear more and more. But the Zionist message uses Western support that always tries to hide this strategic link between both parties. The fact that his thought is inspired by religious, cultural, and social roots configures a very attractive message, whose ultimate goal is to distort reality and ignore the victim.

And in addition to trying to erase unquestionable historical ties, they also do it with Arab leaders (by the way, with most of them they have very powerful relations), convicted for not accepting UN resolution 181 while Tel Aviv rejects it in turn. Israel presents itself as the realization of the Jewish dream, that is, its long-awaited return to Palestine, and therefore its salvation from segregation. That is why, from the first moment, it demanded the creation of an exclusive state for the Jews, although this measure is contrary to international laws; As the President of Tel Aviv University 1954, Gouda Magnes, maintains:

“They (the Jews) ask to seize these lands, which they believe that the Lord had given them, although they do not believe in Him. I could not understand that, until I contemplated their crimes (...) after a time, I began to understand that Zionism began to change myths into an unreal story to justify the racist policy of its colonial expansion.”

We are therefore witnessing the development of a colonial settlement movement. In this context, resistance turns into terrorism, and its killings appear as a legitimate defense. It is not strange to hear Tel Aviv name its militias: a simple guard army, although it is the fourth strongest in the world and raising its slogan of strength in exchange for peace. In this sense, it could be classified as an authentic rally, given before the international community, trying to generate favorable currents of sympathy, because the real objective is to give legitimacy to the occupation of towns and cities in exchange for ending any outbreak of local resistance, including erasing their historical memory, despite the serious injustice suffered by the Palestinian people. The Israeli question is not only limited to the expulsion of Palestinians still, it goes much further, to the point of even falsifying the reality of the territory through excavations of archaeological remains. This was a bold endeavour in which the Zionist movement focused from the first day, creating specialized groups for the subtraction or purchase of objects found in the deposits (especially in Iraq) that justified the Israeli roots of the land that - according to them- are related to the Talmud. Confirmation that later it would be one of the key elements in the North American invasion of Iraq in 2003. Because the final objective is to present the Torah as the only historical source in that region, although there are authors - the case of Garaudy - who disagree with this assumption: there is no historical verification, neither for archaeological remains nor for other sources that are not Biblical accounts. From the beginning, the Israeli strategy is based on the idea of rejecting its inclusion in a cultural unit and civilization related to the Arab world. And for this Talmudic vision to be successful, the Hebrew country considers it a mix of different ethnicities and strives to keep everything that way.

Israeli attempts to alter history, that is, to destroy all components of a civilization (historical, religious), to replace them with others argued through highly debatable Talmudic texts, have created a vision, an identity and a civilization (in this case Zionist) falsified, in addition to placing it above the Arab. They are powerful political motivations that do not find any kind of legitimacy, in reality, they are denied by the same territory, and to such an extent that the Israeli excavations have not found a single discovery in Palestine that testifies to this Zionist vision. According to Keith Whitelm, what is known as the Kingdom of Solomon, which the Hebrews insist that reached as far as the Euphrates, was nothing more than simple Kabylean leadership. Along the same lines, Father Venux maintains that no sign outside the Torah shows the Hebrew presence in the region, except in Egypt, and there are not even symptoms of an invasion of the land of Canaan. A reasonable doubt that breaks the silence with new texts. Despite this, Israel does not cease its efforts and continues to declare wars. Not only to destroy Arab-Islamic temples. Israel aspires to be recognized as a Jewish state, and therefore to change its current status to one based on alleged historical legitimacy. This would imply that Israel would hold the historical truth, and the Arabs would have to ask them for forgiveness, despite the countless injustices they suffered. Netanyahu himself wondered (10/11/2010) in the Knesset (Parliament) if the Palestinian leadership would be able to recognize Israel as a Jewish state, just

27 For example, the English scientist Sir Austen Henry, discovered in 1839 the historic city of Nineveh in Sumeria, where he found the library of Ashurbanipal (633-668 BC) with 30 thousand tablets made of clay. One of them appeared the history of the universal flood written in 2100 a. C, that is, before the Torah. This discovery was a veritable jug of cold water for Hebrew scholars. On the history of the Assyrians. Vid. Leick, G.: Mesopotamia, the invention of the city. Barcelona: Paidós, 2002.
as Israel would with the Palestinian national state, however Netanyahu was aware that the Palestinians did not want a state of their own following the conditions dictated by the Israelis. His request was simply based on the right of return of the refugees and the creation of the Palestinian state according to the 1967 borders, including Jerusalem.

In reality, Israel tries to impose the Judaism of the State that is to say to give it a nationalist tone wherever the Israelis are, both inside and outside. In Tel Aviv there is a pre-emptive fear of the demographic factor, Jewish immigration has declined, and the birth rate is rising higher among Arabs. With these premises, Israel knows very well that its process of Judaizing will only culminate if it expels more Palestinians and punishes them, similar to what happened in 1948. That is why it demands such recognition and the right to tax on Palestinians, although world organizations do not; As Israeli researcher Ghamos Galiwan points out:

“The dedication to the Judaization of the State in international policies and resolutions is very rare. Since UN resolution 242, issued in 1967, which forms the basis of any negotiation to end this conflict, all the resolutions speak of Israel's right to exist but not to Judaize the State.”

Israel has had carte blanche from Washington since 2004, known as the Balfour II Treaty. More dangerous than the first, it not only denies the existence of the Palestinians but legitimizes Israel and its famous denials: not on the return to the 1967 borders, not on the division of Jerusalem that they consider to be the exclusive capital of Israel, and not on the return of the Palestinians or eliminate their settlements. Both this agreement with President Bush and that of Oslo with the Palestinians had the objective of Judaizing the Palestinian geography and consequently changing its demography, especially that of the Arabs, who would be forced to emigrate to other countries.

For this reason, Israel continues to this day with its usual strategy of negotiations and does not appear that it will recognize the Palestinian identity. Shlomo Sand, a distinguished Israeli historian, considers the birth of Israel as a violation and maintains the following:

“Israel does not want peace, but it plays a theatrical role of false dialogue, aided by the United States in the face of Europe's passivity.”

The most important aspect of this process is that all Israeli attempts follow the passivity of the PLO, an organization that after death Arafat's has become a simple Israeli guardian of the Palestinian people, and the same thing stops an intifada that suffocates any glimpse of internal rebellion. The small territory that was granted to Palestine was only a measure to create a fictitious State and to be able to raise its headquarters there, instead of continuing the resistance. Israel itself continues to accuse it of corruption to obtain more surrender through marathon negotiations (some of its men even carried out personal initiatives with Israeli leaders). For this reason, many voices already show their growing disappointment. A rarefied climate that favored the rise of Islamist movements (specifically, Jihad, and Hamas) and their subsequent clashes, which weakened the Palestinian internal system. Furthermore, the Arab regime, marked by a weakness little seen throughout its history, created a favourable environment, and paved the way for these agreements to be implemented.

The ultimate goal was to break free from the Palestinian question, limit it to a matter for the Palestinians themselves, and show indifference to the siege of the Gaza Strip. Such abandonment reached such a point that at the Summit of Arab Foreign Ministers, held in Cairo (2007), the death of the Arab-Israeli conflict was discussed. Let us not forget that in many countries the Palestinian question and the fight against Israel were a useful pretext to prevent any political opening. Therefore, it is to some extent logical and normal that the UN resolutions in favor of the Palestinian question and that the Palestinians have been waiting decades for their implementation: that the international community comply with them once and for all. Resolutions that Israel never respected (140 violations of the UN and International Law), favored by western support because the Hebrew country constitutes the first point of support in its fight against barbarism. After the events of September 11, the Combat leans more towards terrorism, and anyone who considers questioning this global directive is immediately accused of being in favor of fundamentalism. The words of the French thinker Pascal Boniface are very revealing:

“Because Israel constitutes the first bastion of that fight against barbarism, and fanaticism, whoever dares to criticize their policies is an anti-Semite, and is directly or indirectly in favour of this absolute moral evil that is terrorists (...) and there is no dialogue or understanding with who legitimizes it (Israel). Therefore, observers cease their criticism of the occupier and the injustice suffered by the Palestinians. At the same time, and in secret, affairs intermingle. Every Muslim equals a fanatic, a
terrorist, and if all Muslims are terrorists then all terrorists are Muslims. 33

Israel’s strategy was key, in addition to many other internal factors, in the context of the dark political and cultural debacle in which the region is installed.

Since its establishment, no Arab Renaissance movement nor any country has been able to escape constant external interventions, either through preventive wars (bombing Iraq in 1980), warfare waged against Arab states (the last offensives against Gaza in 200834, 2012 and 2014) or military coups (Egypt in 2013) with US support.

So many measures did not free the Arab regimes, which only succeeded in recovering their countries for themselves and their families. All these issues make the Palestinian dilemma an enormously complex problem, unprecedented in human history.

IV. THE DISAPPOINTMENT OF THE REGIMES

When did Palestine become a primary issue for Arab leaders? This is possibly one of the issues with the greatest presence in the modern Arab mentality and also the one that has generated the most debate. The truth is that the relationship of these regimes - their vast majority - with the Palestinian cause is a long history of treason and marketing. Most of them were the product of military coups, and then made the freedom of Palestine the backbone of its legitimacy, but its true purpose was to win the conscience of those peoples, so eager for a claim that is already a century old.

However, what was actually put into practice, despite alluring slogans, was to put the freedom of Palestine on the negotiating table. In reality, the main objective was to obtain certain advantages, because if we talk about the international political scene, the more pressure cards one has, the more advantages, and gains are obtained. In turn, the Palestinian cause also served as an excuse to postpone any internal democratic process, and the best example in this regard would be the Mubarak’s or the Asad regime.

When speaking of the wars against Israel, it must be pointed out that they never referred to the Palestinian question; in fact, they obeyed other causes, reflected in three conflicts. The first, following the decision (1956) of Jamal Abdel al-Nasser to nationalize the Suez Canal. The second, the Six-Day War, when the country of the Nile fell into the trap devised by the Israeli Government, aware of the weakness Egypt suffered, sunk in an unnecessary conflict with Yemen that lasted for a whole five years (1962-1967), while Israel suffered a serious economic crisis that even endangered the permanence of many Jewish immigrants. And the third conflict (1973), declared only to regain occupied Egyptian territories, was actually a strategy devised by Kissinger to generate disputes in the Arab region, to overturn the world financial system, that is, to link the dollar to oil (petrodollar), a measure that was established at the Jamaica Summit (January 1976) replacing the gold of the Breton-Woods Agreements (July 1944). In this sense, according to the Russian historian Valentine Katasonov, the objective of the war - following a decision made at the Bilderberg Summit (May 1973) - was to raise oil prices, in other words, to generate an energy crisis. Therefore, this war would cause the price of crude oil to rise, and at the same time the OPEC countries, especially Saudi Arabia, would commit to selling their oil in dollars, and that all the money from the sales would be sold. Will enter North American banks. In this regard, the words of the Palestinian poet Ahmed Matar are highly illustrative:

“Palestine has never been a primary issue for Arab regimes, it’s was only used for personal interest and to implant horror. In the name of Palestine, all military coups were carried out, democracy was fought, and so many prisons were opened that outnumbered hospitals. Today, these regimes reject requests for reformism in the name of liberating Palestine, a liberation that will never happen as long as these corrupt individuals remain in power.”

Political regimes attempted to expel the Palestinian question from the minds and hearts of their citizens. Citizens who never equate the executioner with the victim, unlike their leaders, who aim to make the Palestinian dilemma a matter for the Palestinians alone. The strategy that, as Azmi Bichara38 maintains, supposes a falsification of history. For this reason, despotic regimes have maintained secret Agreements

34 Wars that find their motives in the huge gas reserves: 1.4 trillion cubic feet harbor the coasts of Gaza and were discovered at the end of the last century when the territory belonged to the Palestinian Authority (PLO). In 2000 an agreement was signed with British Gas for the excavation of its coasts for 25 years: it was stipulated that the English company would take 60% while the Palestinians would keep 40%. However, the Sharon government ignored the agreement, paralyzed all others, and in return, gave the project over to the Israeli company Merchew and an Egyptian oil company. In 2006, when Hamas became president of Palestine, Tel Aviv’s plans entered a new phase: international law prevented a company like British Gas from signing agreements with an organization considered terrorists. And from the on the siege of Gaza took place, from which it has not escaped until today.
35 At the Sharam al-Shiej Summit, held in March 2004, when Mubarak was questioned about domestic political reforms, he declared:

“Democratic reforms in the Arab countries do not in any way benefit the Palestinian question and its peace process.”
37 Extraído: http://www.m.aljazeera.net/programs/opposite-direction/2008/6/4/.
38 Lecture given by Azmi Bishara at the North American University of Beirut on 5/15/2009, for the 60th anniversary of the Nakba. Available the internet: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OzrOOHJaMLQ.
with Israel, which later became bilateral, under the slogan “land in exchange for peace”, but in reality, the Agreements were implemented against the aspirations of the people. Therefore, lacking popular legitimacy, the regimes sought refuge and western support, especially from the United States, after the breakup of the USSR. The most surprising thing about the case is that after the Agreements, some of these regimes became true defenders of Israel before international organizations. The clearest example would be the Egyptian action after the Gaza War (2009), its negotiation for the basic rights of the Palestinians, without even consulting them. Or the intense siege on the Rafah border crossing, the only entry route for elementary products (food, sanitary) for the Gaza Strip. Therefore, it is not strange to hear the Israeli leaders proclaim that the Arab leaders are a strategic treasure for them. Indeed, any process to liberate the Palestinian people requires another class of leaders. For the question yet remains captive to Arab-Islamic unity; in other words: it is not possible to carry out any liberation process without mutual support. Because the Zionist project is a world affair, supported by the great powers (western and eastern). The Arab cooperation project does not exist; it remains absent, at least for the moment. There is enormous disinterest in the Palestinian cause. What is most debatable is not only the agreement of these regimes for the establishment of Israel there but also the distribution of land to make a reception center for Palestinian exiles that prevents the return to their country. At the same time, they would guarantee Israel's stability. This is the real strategy that the Arab regimes are putting into practice, at least since the Camp David Accords. Besides, it is necessary to remember the policy of sabotage, to compel Jews to emigrate to Israel to contribute to its repopulation, to such an extent that during the decade of the sixties and seventies, the number of Jews residing in the State Hebrew from these Arab countries exceeded 63% of their population. The struggle of the Arab regimes in favor of the Palestinian cause constitutes a very long chapter of deceit, whose leaders do not distinguish themselves from one another in their treacherous models of action. It is not strange to note the scandalous silence that they maintain before each new crime or genocide perpetrated by Israeli, while rulers from other parts of the world do dare to denounce them. The worst of the matter is that they always opt to demonize Palestinian resistance movements, such as Hamas, which, even when they won the elections were pressured to recognize Israel and the PLO agreements. Therefore, it is understandable to some extent, listening to the Scottish researcher Gordon Thomas proclaiming that there is no dividing line between the Mossad and the Arab intelligence services, it’s adding that any Arab leader, when travelling, does not start until who receives the go-ahead from Israeli intelligence. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, Shlomo Hazet wrote that Israel's responsibility has not changed at all its importance remains enormous. Because his geostrategic position in the heart of the Middle East condemns him to act as a fierce guardian to guarantee the joint stability of the countries that surround him, and his central role is based on protecting the current Arab regimes.

V. THE ANGER OF THE PEOPLE

The suffering and lazy journey of the official Arab policy around the Palestinian dilemma, responsible for the current situation, questions the attitude of its people. Something very common, if we attend to any conflict undertaken against an Arab-Muslim country since this attitude is based on unity and firmness as a result of their religious and cultural bond. Therefore, it is customary to contemplate so many acts of solidarity (two-thirds of these peoples come to their aid), and the population is even allowed to participate directly. Recent Arab history is full of examples that promote such a supportive vision. This was the case in Iraq, where thousands of Arab citizens joined the resistance, which not only managed to defeat the United States but also accelerated the return of China, Russia, and other regional powers (Iran, Turkey, Brazil, South Africa, etc.) to the international political scene, threatening the North American unilateralism that marked the world panorama and trying to create other worlds in the post-Soviet era.

Since its inception, the Palestinian question has occupied the mind and heart of the population, due to the nature of a territory that differs from others because it is the spiritual centre of the Abrahamic religions. Palestine is part of a sacred triangle: Mecca, Medina, and the Jerusalem mosque. An Islamic spiritual geography that is strongly attracted to the holy city of Mecca. In the Muslim imagination, there is a very solid bond with that land. This is what the orientalist Massignon does:

“There is no Muslim who can do without Jalil or especially Jerusalem, which represents the third sacred place. The latter is the bond of Islam, which was born in the Arabian Peninsula and from there spread to the rest of humanity.”

That is why, from the first moment, this question (the Palestinian) has been very present in mosques, churches, schools, universities, cities, villages ... in other words, in every corner of the Arab territory. Press, intellectuals, and thinkers centered around this dilemma, which was beginning to call into question not only the loss of Palestine's Arab-Islamic identity but also its unity.

59 Gordon, T: Gideon’s Spies The Secret History of the Mossad. [La historia secreta del Mosad]. Traducción al español por Gerardo

The rapid Israeli expansion, thanks to the support of English colonialism, stimulated the population to fight. In this regard, a large part of the Palestinian revolutionary leaders, especially between the twenties and thirties of the last century, came from Syria, Jordan, Iraq or Egypt, and most of them were under the command of the historical leader Azzedine al-Qassam, in the famous revolution of the thirties. At the outbreak of the 1948 War, thousands of young Arabs launched the fight against the Israelis, knowing that half of the Arab territory still remained under colonialism in France and England. The experience was productive, they even managed to defeat the adversary on more than one occasion with the help of other armies (French, English, Soviet). However, the ceasefire decreed by the Arab leaders surprised even the Zionists and paved the way for Israel's final victory.

After the Six-Day War, many young Arabs, to take revenge for defeat, became involved in the struggle as part of Palestinian groups (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Democratic Front). His participation in the First War (1948) was a milestone, however, secret contacts between the Arab and Israeli leaders prevented this aid from continuing. This is revealed by the Israeli journalist Uri Dan, Sharon's personal friend, and the first person to know about him the poisoning of Yassir Arafat that cost him his life. Arafat was highly disturbing to the Arab leaders, but still they considered his stay in the Palestinian Government as a basic issue for the security of Israel, intending to dominate the people who reject him41.

The divorce between the Arab leaders and their people was already a fact since they aspired to make them a kind of herd under the iron control of the intelligence services and, consequently, to limit their activities and energies; as argued by the famous Algerian journalist, Yahya Abu Zakaria:

“The Arab regimes were not only limited to maintaining close secret links and providing information to foreign intelligence services, which worked together with Mossad. Furthermore, they were doing everything possible to besiege their peoples to prevent them from exploiting their creative potential, to support the Palestinian resistance.42”

This did not prevent them from adopting new strategies of struggle. The already classic manifestations or burning of flags were transformed into celebrations of meetings or congresses, both in Arab and Western states. First, to raise awareness among future generations - including immigrants living in other regions of the world - of the Palestinian dilemma and its paramount importance in the history and future of this region. And second, to organize talks and contacts with international civil organizations, seeking to sensitize public opinion to the massacres suffered by the Palestinian people.

In the task of grouping humanitarian aid from different parts of the globe, the most striking moment without a doubt was the expedition (10/31/2010) that adopted the significant name of "Freedom", under the command of a Turkish fleet, and although Israel managed to capture her, revealed her oppressive attitude towards the world. Also mention the boycott of Israeli companies through viruses, espionage, or attacks on their official pages. A paradigmatic case was that perpetrated by the "Opisrael" group, when the Hebrew newspaper Hareetz (6/4/2013) alerted to the largest computer war in history, waged against Israel in response to its crimes in Gaza. The offensive deployed the following night (4/7/2013) managed to destroy more than forty thousand web pages (Mossad; ministries of Defense, Agriculture, Justice; infrastructure; Stock Exchanges; Banks). According to Israeli sources, said computer sabotage had the participation of nine thousand pirates, operating from various countries such as Algeria, Tunisia, Indonesia, Lebanon, South Africa.

People hardly make decisions, both political and military, related to power. However, they can contribute to a cause. Here we should ask ourselves a question: how would the current situation change if an alliance was established between the peoples and their leaders? But the winds of democracy and freedom are blowing in the opposite direction today. Many hide behind the pretext that the Arab states are not yet ready, economically or politically, to defend the Palestinian cause. Because from a geopolitical point of view, their situation resembles some dismembered Taifa kingdoms, living in a permanent state of weakness little seen in the history of the region. And from the economic point of view, although the area has the largest energy reserves, they have never managed to jointly develop all their economies.

The only certainty is that the gap that separates the government elite from the people is getting bigger, and the taking of sides fluctuates between a position of firm rejection and one of approximation towards Israel and the United States, both guarantee of permanence in power... This reflects that these peoples did not elect their dictators, who do not reflect the aspirations of society. All these events feed a contained rage in the people, which grows more and more every day, not only against dictators but also against those who invoke human rights while supporting corrupt governments. The popular discontent that is being generated resembles a huge volcano, about to explode, and that at any moment can throw its fiery lava of anger on everyone.

41 Hareetz, 14/6/2006.
VI. Palestine: A Human Cause

Palestine is the first cause of our time, as the leader of the fight against injustice and tyranny Nelson Mandela used to affirm. Or also, as the British historian, Arnold Toynbee maintained: “The tragedy in Palestine is not just a local one, it is a tragedy for the world because it is an injustice that is a menace to the world’s peace”. It is not just a question of a discriminated people, who were expelled from their land and stripped of their identity, culture, and civilization (at least, it is what the last bulwark of western colonialism, more persistent, has been trying to do for more than a century than the old one). Unlike the classic domination model, focused on taking advantage of raw materials, labor and markets, the current one is based on the assumption of the superiority of a race (in this case, that of the people chosen by God) that aspires to eliminate the Palestinian people to repopulate the place, applying parameters in flagrant contradiction with human, moral values and international laws. It is not a mere diplomatic, religious or national matter this is a matter that should awaken the conscience of any compassionate being when he contemplates the endless terror that a people endure, to which he simply condemned geography, and history.

The tragic Palestinian question reveals the double face of a society - specifically the western one - that has made human rights, respect for humanity and wisdom its hallmark. Meanwhile, this supposedly civilized world not only admits that nearly seven, and a half million refugees are expelled from their homes and that women, children and the elderly continue to be killed or tortured but also supports and finances these operations, with the help of many Arab leaders and the PLO who represent a complicit attitude on the Palestinian front.

Since its establishment, the State of Israel has enjoyed the recognition of the international community, especially Europe and the United States, they were horrified by the crimes perpetrated by the Nazis. The Israelis thus enjoyed the solidarity of the world elites and an unquestionable legitimacy, both officially and socially, in their warlike confrontations with the Arabs, especially the War of 1948. However, the evolution of history and its bloody events have diminished that legitimacy, especially after the outbreak of the Palestinian intifada: the image of a Palestinian boy, armed only with a stone in front of one of the most powerful armies in the world, became a symbol of the fight for freedom. Its peak was, without a doubt, when Israel attacked a humanitarian expedition in Gaza (5/31/2010), causing seventeen deaths and more than seventy wounded, causing this border city with Egypt to appear before the opinion world public as a country under siege. Events of this magnitude have caused that the Israeli legitimacy has practically disappeared; In other words, Tel Aviv has lost the moral battle against the Palestinians. A new attitude that is reflected in the thousands of people who take to the streets every day to support the Palestinian cause, especially in England and the United States, two of the great bastions of the Israeli regime.

Human societies always react to world conflicts from a human perspective. In this sense, it is a logical position, contemplating the attacks on human rights that are committed in Palestine, where children, women, the elderly ... are attacked by a people victim of an atrocious injustice (Holocaust) in recent history and who, by simple empathy, should be the most capable to avoiding this kind of behavior. Referring to it, Arnold Toynbee warns:

“If the blindness of sin is to be measured by the degree of intensity with which the sinner has sinned against the light God has given him, the Jews have less excuse”.

As a result of the new reality, numerous countries and non-governmental associations made efforts so that the Palestinian cause would take on an increasingly global dimension, surpassing the political sphere to enter other (sports, artistic, social). The words of the Iranian Dyarn Hamid are descriptive:

“The Palestinian question is no longer just a matter for Arabs or Muslims, but has become a matter for all the freedom in the world”.

Movements like Boycott or Divestment and Sanctions on Israel (BDS) until the Hebrew country respects international law, are gaining more and more ground. One of its most notorious demonstrations was made with the movement of English artists, creating a delegation against Israel while it continues to violate human rights in Palestine. Other movements such as the Apartheid Red Card condemned the killings of Palestinians they were even planning to demonstrate in Zurich at the headquarters of the International Soccer Federation during its 85th World Congress. This call had the support of more than twenty thousand personalities from all walks of life (intellectuals, athletes, etc.), but at

43 Extraed: Aljazerra: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H7FML0xzwJ6A
44 The Ze’ut Study Center, specializing in the general policies of Israel, criticizes multimedia support for the Palestinian cause, for understanding it as a strategy that seeks to deprive the Hebrew country of all legitimacy, in order to weaken it despite his military superiority. At the same time, consider this attack similar to the one that ended the USSR or the apartheid regime in South Africa. It is what they call “the challenge to Israeli legitimacy.”

45 According to the 2015 Campus Trends report, the increasing cooperation of various groups in the anti-Zionist activity in the United States is striking: for example, during the 2014-2015 academic year, a percentage of 135% was given compared to other groups.
46 Ibidem.
47 Al-Safir, 30/3/2009.
the last minute, the FIFA corruption scandal that eventually came to light prevented it. Pure chance? It is also worth noting the demands of some European parliaments (French, Swedish) for the Palestinians to be recognized as their independent State. And to mention also movements of Hebrew personalities - for example, Kobe Chetner, founder of a movement that supports the boycott of Israel - and that have taken up the fight for the Palestinian cause.

All this climate of support from the outside contradicts the internal situation, marked by the divorce between the main contending forces. A disagreement that had its highest point during the events of 2007, when the clashes between both sides were about to trigger a civil war (as Israel and the Arabs aspired than in the North American orbit), due to the serious differences that exist between the two, despite the reconciliation proposals that were attempted on numerous occasions but without success. Hamas firmly believes in armed resistance to achieve independence, and Fatah leans more towards the path of negotiations. But the latter has done nothing but ignore the Palestinian people, to the point of leading them to lose all the legitimacy they enjoyed in the days of Abu Jihad, Arafat and others.

VII. Conclusions

The Palestinian dilemma is not simply an internal matter, an Arab, or an Islamic issue. Neither is a political, historical, religious, or ideological problem, although it is true that some try to attribute this last nuance to it, it is a philosophical, moral, and metaphysical question that gives it a human dimension.

A dilemma that affects all the free beings on this planet who, in one way or another, respond to the cries uttered by an abandoned people, those of a victim against their aggressor, protected by the great international powers, and by the majority of the Arab regimes, that before were hidden under false meetings to which today they are no longer useful. Their actions, following the so-called "Agreement of the Century" - the first step of which we witnessed in the transfer of the American embassy to Jerusalem and the recognition of the latter as the sole and exclusive capital of the Jewish State - would be a true reflection. It obeys a project that tries to end the hopes of the Palestinian people. Palestinians are often blamed for everything that has been going on there for the past seven decades, such as their deportation to Sinai and the West Bank, thus ending the dream of return for seven million Palestinians living abroad. But at the same time, it facilitates that theirs be a solid cause, that it acquires legitimacy, and consequently, increasingly involves the human consciences of various parts of the world, without highlighting any nationality, culture, or religion. Even in Israel, there are groups (Shministim, Fighters for Peace) that defend the right of Palestinians to live.

The associations and organizations worldwide that defend the aspirations of these people grow more and more, each day offering a lesson in sacrifice and fighting spirit for their land. It is no longer strange to see Palestinian images or symbols at any rally or demonstration, in favor of peace and their rights. A people who, either on the part of those living in Palestine and exile, will not abandon or accept surrender. Palestine, the source of civilizations, has always been and will be a multicultural land, as its material traces attest. Therefore, every human being has the right to remain there. According to Edward Said, its origins are very diverse, and not only limited to a specific religion, as shown by reality and archaeology, the evidence of which collides head-on against the persistent attempts of Israel. Zionism has lost the moral battle because although they try to protect themselves by controlling the institutional powers and the media, their crimes are judged by the consciences of all humanity. It is a fundamental question of our time. Its legitimacy is very powerful because it not only questions the problem of being a Palestinian or that of its state but being human as long as it is human and the world as it is the world, although its solution as a problem extends over time. Therefore, we are faced with a conflict between two visions of existence: one based on Darwinism, on the survival of the strongest, and another that gives priority to all free beings who aspire to a better world. Meanwhile, the only reasonable solution to this dilemma would be to create a multi-cultural and multi-confessional democratic state capable of integrating everyone with the same rights.

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