

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF THE “TWO-STATE SOLUTION”

by Mark Bruzonsky and Hisham Ahmed



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PREFACE

The short phrases “Middle East Peace Process” and “Two-State Solution” have taken on long lives of their own in contemporary world affairs. Repeatedly for a very long time—going back in fact to even before the 1947 U.N. General Assembly vote to endorse the creation of independent Jewish and Arab states in Palestine—everyone has heard about this “process,” which seems to be never-ending, and about this “solution,” that somehow never comes to be.

In this book, the convoluted, complicated, much distorted, and ultimately tragic history of the “Two-State Solution” is chronicled by two unusual special friends—one an American Jew the other a Palestinian refugee—each of whom has had considerable personal involvement and experience in trying to bring it about.

But this is not a history book. It is in fact a book extremely relevant to the moment as the new/old American government, led by Joe Biden -- literally a Democratic Party fixture in Washington for many decades all along known for strong support for Israel -- came into office immediately proclaiming adherence once again to the “Two-State Solution”.

As the Associated Press reported a month after Biden became President: “For the second time in two days, Biden’s administration categorically embraced a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.” This followed a written statement issued by the Department of State about an international conference in Norway where: “The United States reaffirmed the U.S. commitment to advancing prosperity, security, and freedom for both Israelis and Palestinians and to preserve the prospects of a negotiated two-state solution in which Israel lives in peace and security alongside a viable Palestinian state.” And the next day, the State Department further re-

emphasized “The Biden Administration’s belief that the two-state solution is the best way to ensure Israel’s future as a Jewish and democratic state, living in peace alongside a viable and democratic Palestinian state.”

Thus, discussion about how to achieve a “Two-State Solution” to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict remains boldly in the headlines as this book is published.

Both authors of this book were born into a world where the struggle over this small “Holy Land” territory would come to dominate much of their lives. Both would grow up to become involved in significant and complementary ways with the “The Peace Process” and the seemingly never-ending attempts to make the “Two-State Solution” a reality. This important historical story is told in this book in a unique way through the unusual collaboration of Mark Bruzonsky with Hisham Ahmed as they together unravel the complex nuances behind these major questions:

- How did the idea of two States, in what was until the end of World War II an area known to the world as Palestine, come about?
- How has this idea, and discussions about it, changed at different times throughout the years since?
- Why has the United States repeatedly proclaimed itself the champion of the “Two-State Solution” over so many years and yet never succeeded in bringing it about?
- Why is it that so many Jews and Zionists are now in favor of the “Two-State Solution” while so many Palestinians and their supporters are actually now opposed?
- What are the prospects now, after all that has happened in the past, for a real and lasting “Two-State Solution” to still be achieved?

The “Two-State Solution” to the century-old confrontation between Jewish Zionism and Palestinian Arab nationalism was not always a deceptive

sloganism myth. It began, in fact, quite earnestly long ago, and then during the years the authors of this book were personally involved, it was both possible, and at times it seemed nearly achieved. But because of the actions and inactions of the key parties, most especially Israel and the United States, the “solution” gradually morphed into deceptive myth. That, too, is one of the important reasons for this book.

This book began as a unique special collaboration in 2011 long before any thought that someone like Donald Trump would be President of the United States proclaiming a blatantly extreme Zionist “Deal of the Century” which eviscerated the remaining fiction that the United States actually envisioned and truly supported a real “Two-State Solution.”

However, long before Trump, as well as both past and coming developments with Joe Biden—which others will no doubt write about in the future from their own first-hand experiences and their own relationships with key personalities—the “Two-State Solution” was already at best comatose on life-support.

And yet, the “Two-State Solution” has been desperately clung to by so many, at least rhetorically, no matter how much realities on the ground and in international affairs have greatly changed.

Chief among the proponents now are “liberal” establishment Israelis and their American Jewish apologists, sycophants, financiers, and facilitators, coupled with a hodge-podge of Arabs and Palestinians that have been manipulated into in effect being collaborators, whatever their intentions and motivations.

There is, in fact, quite a stew of hypocritical, deceitful, and incestuously self-deceptive organizations in Israel, the United States, and Europe still manipulating, fund-raising on, and hiding behind, the “Two-State Solution” mantra.

In tandem are many rather despicable Arab regimes, as well as many on-the-take Palestinian officials associated with the decrepit “Palestinian Authority,”

as well as the carcass of what is still called the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Actually, the once vibrant and independent PLO is today, in reality, a defunct body which ironically began its slow, torturous death at the infamous White House ceremony “recognizing” it in 1993. With the “stealth assassination” of Yasser Arafat a decade later, his PLO of old was buried with him. These events are also an important part of the story told in this book.

In collaboration and dialogue with each other, Bruzonsky and Ahmed provide a uniquely insightful book that should be of considerable interest to everyone concerned about the “Two-State Solution” from inception to demise, whatever one’s view of the present, whatever one’s outlook about the present and expectations for the future.

This book was begun nearly a decade ago with the long special friendship of the two authors making it possible. It has finally been completed in 2021 by Mark Bruzonsky alone as Hisham Ahmed tragically died at a young age in July 2019. All the dialogue and chapters were completed before his death. Everything except this Preface, Dedication and Epilogue was written together.

THE AUTHORS

Mark Bruzonsky

After law school at NYU, Graduate School in International Affairs at Princeton, and four years as the Chief Representative of the International Student Movement at the United Nations, Mark Bruzonsky came to Washington in 1975 as a journalist, political consultant, and the first Washington Representative of the World Jewish Congress. The next year he was laudingly written about in *The Washington Post* by the editor of the editorial page. The next year he met privately alone with Egyptian President Sadat in Cairo and played a critical role in helping convince Sadat to make his historic visit to Israel -- something he now regrets that is detailed in this book.



With
Anwar
Sadat



Yasser
Arafat



Hillary
Clinton

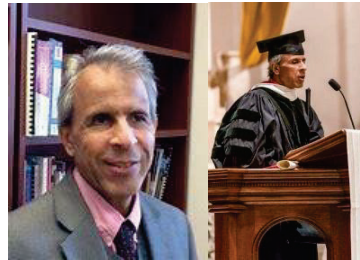
- Met privately alone with Egyptian President Sadat in Cairo and helped convince him to make his historic visit to Jerusalem
- U.N. Representative of the International Student Movement for the United Nations visiting 34 countries in 4 years
- Root-Tilden Scholar, New York University Law School, J.D. degree
- Princeton University School of Public and International Affairs, Master's degree in International Affairs
- First Washington Representative World Jewish Congress appointed by Nahum Goldmann and Philip Klutznick
- Author "The Paris Declaration" declared by leading Palestinian official "The Balfour Declaration for the Palestinian People" and published on front page of *Le Monde*
- Associate Editor *Worldview Magazine* (New York) and International Forum Editor *The Middle East Magazine* (London)
- Special Middle East consultant at Smithsonian Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars
- Weekly syndicated column in newspapers through the Middle East for ten years
- Producer and Host Mid-East Realities T.V. (MERTV) program subsequent ten years
- Washington Representative, Goals For Americans Foundation
- Website: MarkBruzonsky.com

Professor Hisham Ahmed

Born destitute and blind in a Palestinian refugee camp near Bethlehem in 1963, Hisham Ahmed overcame everything to become the best high school student in Palestine. He then received scholarships to American universities culminating in his Ph.D. from the University of California Santa Barbara. He was a distinguished Fulbright Scholar, and after teaching at a number of universities including Birzeit in Palestine he became Chairman of the Political Science Department at St. Mary's College in California. During the last Palestinian election in 2005 he was unanimously selected by all the candidates to be one of three leading Palestinians to question them on Palestinian television.



with Yasser Arafat



Chairman Political Science Dept
St. Mary's College

- Selected best student in Palestine leading to major scholarships at three American Universities
- Ph.D. from University of California Santa Barbara
- Thesis on American Foreign Policy and Palestinian Self-Determination 1917- 1948
- Fulbright Scholar leading to first major study about the rise of Hamas
- Chairman, Department of Political Science, St. Mary's College in California
- Previously Professor at Florida International University, University of North Dakota, and Birzeit University
- Selected as one of three leading Palestinian intellectuals acceptable to all President candidates to interview them on Palestinian Television in the last Presidential election in 2005
- Fellow of Institute of Current World Affairs
- Numerous publications, lectures, TV appearances
- Website: HishamAhmed.com

DEDICATION

To the Palestinian people who have suffered such a tremendous historical travesty brought about by “the West,” including by many Jewish Zionists, European colonialists, American imperialists, and Christian Evangelicals. This is the blatant reality of what has happened even though so many others in these same groups have valiantly fought trying to prevent what was happening, and then trying to make amends for what has happened.

And to these individual Palestinians, many of whom have had a significant influence in Palestinian and international affairs, all of whom I have known personally, and most of whom have had an important influence in my life on the long eventful road leading to this book.

Mark Bruzonsky

Dr. Hisham Ahmed – Co-author of this book, long-time close personal friend, and amazing person who was born blind in a refugee camp but who overcame everything with great struggle and dignity to get his Ph.D. from the University of California in Santa Barbara, become a Professor at a number of universities including Birzeit, and then was Chairman of the Political Science Department at St. Mary’s College in California for many years before his death in 2019. Most of all, this book, now finally being completed and published in 2021, must be dedicated to Hisham and to the historic struggle he pursued with such knowledge, conviction, intensity, integrity, and dignity throughout his life.

Dr. Isam Sartawi – A former young heart surgeon who interned with the famous Dr. Michael DeBakey in Texas, he became the European Representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Palestinian god-father of the modern-day “Two-State Solution” when it was possible, and for me a close personal friend. As he contacted Arafat, then being bombed in his bunker in Beirut in 1982, about what he named “The Paris Declaration”, which I had written for the senior Jewish leaders, he declared it

would be “The Balfour Declaration of the Palestinian People”. He was assassinated the next year while representing the PLO at a major international conference of the Socialist International in Portugal.

Professor Edward Said – A historic Palestinian personality who taught English Literature at Columbia University, and who was a leading member of the PLO until the Oslo Accords which he strongly denounced predicting in fact how it would lead to the demise of Palestinian national aspirations, the territorial and social fragmentation of Palestine, and today’s abysmal situation. He was a friend whom I was privileged to meet with a number of times at his office and home for discussions and interviews.

Dr. Haider Abdel-Shafi – Distinguished Chairman of the international Palestinian negotiation team first in Madrid in 1991, and subsequently for the next two years, before he resigned in protest over the Oslo Accords for similar reasons to Edward Said. He was a friend whom I was able to meet with privately a number of times and conduct a major three-hour interview with in his last years where he detailed everything about “the Peace Process” from his unique vantage point.

Muna Hamzeh – Great grand-daughter of one of the most famous pre-1948 Palestinian leaders, Hassan Shukri, long-time mayor of Haifa where even today a street remains in his name. She was the Press Representative for the largest Arab American organization in the United States in Washington at the time when we met and had a major impact on my life.

Feisal Hussein – From one of the most distinguished Palestinian families, he was the long-time leader of the Palestinians in the capital city of Jerusalem. I met with him a number of times at his home and at his Orient House office in Jerusalem including one significant major interview. He died or was killed under mysterious circumstances at a crucial time in 1991 when on a visit to Kuwait.

Taroub “Ruby” Abdel-Hadi – Great grand-daughter of one of the most important Palestinian leaders in the 1930s, Awni Abdel-Hadi, leader of the Istaqlal (Independence) Party who was one of the leading Palestinians who met with David Ben-Gurion attempting to find a way for Jews and Arabs to coexist in Palestine. We met at a reception at the British Embassy, became close friends, and she literally educated and tutored me about the realities of Palestinian and Israeli history.

Mohammed Faraje – I met Mohammed when he was just seven when I stayed in his refugee camp during what is known erroneously (as detailed in this book) as the First

Intifada. After helping send him to private Christian boarding school for his young education we have been in touch with each other ever since.

Omar Quorah – Omar was going to university in the U.S. when we met at an event at the University of Maryland College Park where I spoke. We became close friends throughout his graduate school years at American University in Washington and have stayed in touch since his return to occupied Palestine.

Nevin Abu-Taima – A remarkable woman born and raised in one of the most destitute and impoverished areas of Palestine – Rafah in Gaza. We initially met at a major liberal Zionist Jewish peace conference in Washington, became friends, and I subsequently encouraged her to pursue her graduate studies in international affairs on a Science Po full scholarship in France where she lives.

Yasser Arafat – The founder and long-time leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization. I met with him three times—in Beirut, Cairo, and Tunis—and played a role in the early formulations and pursuit of the “Two State Solution” back in the years when it was possible and desirable. As detailed in this book he was “stealth assassinated” by Israel and the U.S. in 2004 after he had been used up, manipulated, tricked, deceived, and repeatedly threatened as he realized what he had wrongly allowed to happen and thus refused to do what more was demanded of him.

Moussa Abu Marzook – The deputy leader of the Hamas organization whom I met with alone just twice—the first time when he was imprisoned in New York pending deportation after the Israeli/Jewish lobby got Congress to declare Hamas a “terrorist organization”, which led to a series of television programs, and the second time a clandestine meeting in Damascus.

Fawaz Turki – I had read Fawaz’s *The Disinherited – Journal of a Palestinian Exile* before I met him, or any Palestinian. He was living in Washington when I moved to DC and we became good friends in the years before Hisham and I were writing this book. Even though I tried to help him in the years after Oslo when his involvement with and support from the PLO ended, Fawaz and I had a falling out which I wish had not happened. Thus, regretfully I never introduced him to Hisham and have lost contact with him. His additional books, including *Soul in Exile*, and *Exile’s Return*, also remain of considerable historical importance.

Sheik – I do not remember his full name. I met him only one day, first at Al-Quds University in Jerusalem where he was wearing a suit. He then invited me to his home

outside Jerusalem overlooking the Dead Sea with Jordan in the distance, where he was wearing religious clothing, as he was a Sheik at Al-Aqsa. At the end of a very profound discussion about the history of Palestine and the conflict with “the Jews” he told me I was the first Jewish person ever invited to his home, that I was welcome to come back the next time I was in Palestine, and that he thought maybe I could be his first real Jewish friend. He died young of a heart attack before I could see him again.

Nablus, 25-year-old commander – I never knew his real name. He was one of the underground commanders in Nablus of the “First Intifada.” He was being hunted by the Israeli army and thus the meeting was very difficult and dangerous to arrange. A random home was selected for the meeting at the last minute, with lookouts posted throughout the streets for many blocks to report on any Israeli troops coming into the area. I was extremely impressed with his thoughtfulness, demeanor, seriousness, knowledge, courage, and dedication. Unfortunately, but understandably, he would not allow a recording or photo. By the time I was next in Palestine and sought another meeting with him I was told he had been captured and killed.

Children of Shatila Refugee Camp near Beirut – This photo was taken in 1980 when I was on an Arafat-arranged escorted trip of this refugee camp guarded by armed PLO fighters. A few years later, in September 1982, the historic Sabra and Shatila Refugee camp massacres took place after the Israelis invaded Lebanon and forced the PLO into exile in Tunis with U.S. promise that Palestinian camps and civilians would be protected. This large framed 30-inch by 40-inch photo has remained in my apartment ever since.



INTRODUCTION

One of us is an American Jew raised in a religious and Zionist family who became the first Washington Representative of the World Jewish Congress (at a time when it was independent and the antithesis of what it has become since) and played a major role in convincing Egyptian President Anwar Sadat to make his history-changing visit to Israel, something now deeply regretted.

The other is a dispossessed Palestinian Arab Muslim born blind in despair in a refugee camp who quite amazingly was to become a Fulbright Scholar and a distinguished Professor of Middle East and International Affairs.

We have joined together to tell the story of what we believe has really happened, and why, about one of our world's most important and intractable conflicts, one which we have both been personally involved in throughout our lives, at exceptionally critical times, and directly with some of the key countries, organizations, and personalities.

The short phrases "Middle East Peace Process" and "Two-State Solution" have taken on long lives of their own in the past as well as in contemporary world affairs. Repeatedly for many years now everyone has heard about this "process," which seems to be never-ending, and about this "solution," that somehow never comes to be. Our own lives, in very different ways, have paralleled in historical time this destiny-changing *sui generis* Israeli-Palestinian conflict that brought us together more than thirty years ago.

Mark Bruzonsky was born in Duluth, Minnesota, into a very loving and justice-seeking Jewish and Zionist family in the immediate post-Holocaust years and at the very time the United Nations debate about partitioning Palestine was taking place. He attended Hebrew School, was bar-mitzvahed, spent summers at Herzl camp, worked in his first job as assistant to the Rabbi of the orthodox

Adas Israel Synagogue, and dutifully sang the Israeli national anthem at the close of Passover seders.

Hisham Ahmed was born in a Palestinian refugee camp, Dheisheh near Bethlehem, in what was then Jordan, a few years before the history-changing 1967 war, in the wake of the *Nakba* (the “Disaster”) that befell the Palestinian people. He grew up learning about how his family was forced to flee their homes in 1948, went to what was supposed to be a temporary U.N.- created refugee camp, and ever since struggled insistently with the determination to regain their country of Palestine. This unending quest then morphed into the “Two-State Solution” throughout the years detailed in this book, and is now morphing again in new much more confusing and much less hopeful ways.

Each of our identities and destinies was forged by the turbulent world around us and in critical ways by the growing hostilities, fears, and hatreds between Jews and Arabs. Both of us would grow up to become involved in significant and complimentary ways, as we were to learn from each other even more in the writing of this book, in the seemingly omnipresent and never-ending attempts to bring about the never consummated “Two-State Solution.”

It was in fact in this context that we first met at a major Middle East Conference in Washington, DC, in 1990. Despite all that has happened in those years in our own lives and with regard to “the conflict”, we have been especially close friends and colleagues throughout.

The novel approach we have taken to “writing” this book “together” is one that in a sense came naturally to us...but only after a long time leading to that realization.

By no means is our book meant to be fully comprehensive. There are so many historical, political, and well-researched academic and opinionated books available about what is arguably the most central and long-lasting conflict of our time—and we provide a list of the most important and the most credible in our Resource Appendix.

By every means, however, our book is meant to be both broadly historical in scope and uniquely personal in drawing upon our own many and varied experiences, direct personal relationships with key historical persons, and shared resultant conclusions.

Indeed, we believe our backgrounds and past involvements give us both very special insights and make it possible for us together to offer serious historical depth and critical perspective based on first-hand experiences as well as our scholarly and journalistic pursuits.

Each of us we believe is well known for our independence of thought, personal integrity, and great care over the years not to be co-opted by or to sell-out to well-funded but highly partisan organizations—which also explains why we have been special friends for so long and why we are able to so enthusiastically join together to co-author this book at this critical time.

Indeed, after so many years of knowing each other we came to realize that we had been involved with and talking about the “Two-State Solution” quite literally from the first day we met. As a result, we realized that a joint book could provide us a way to share much of our own lives, our own experiences, our own convictions, and now our own conclusions, with many others who in their own lives and their own ways have also been affected and impacted by the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Though we’ve never before worked so extensively together on such a major undertaking as this book, we remembered as we got started that we had in the past written a few articles together going back to the time of the Madrid Conference in 1991.* And each of us has written and spoken extensively about the conflict from our own different perspectives and involvements in the years before and after we met.

* Joint Articles available at PalestineState.net/BruzonskyAhmed. See note on last page of Introduction for information about PalestineState.net.

A year after the famous White House ceremony we sat down together in a make-shift TV studio for a long multi-hour on-camera discussion that was featured as two half-hour cable TV programs at the time.* Back then there was a very widespread conclusion that the “Peace Process” had finally succeeded and was now irreversible. Our own assessments however, even then, were quite otherwise, going against the strong current of opinions and commentaries of that time.

Throughout all the years since we have always been in close touch and always highly valued each other’s perspective and insights.

Then in 2004, when Yasser Arafat died, the result of a “stealth assassination” we both independently concluded, we teamed up to discuss, to analyze, and to try to help people understand, via Mark’s small organization, MiddleEast.org, what had really happened and what to now expect. (*Much about this in Chapter 6*)

And so, it is with this background that it finally came naturally to us one day, about the time what is now called “The Arab Spring” was beginning, that we realized we really should be writing a book together. But what kind of book? How could and should we write it together? What would distinguish it? What would make it worthwhile? What could make it important? Do we really have something new, different, credible, and important to say? Will anyone publish it?

We quickly realized the heart of the book should definitely be what we personally know best—“The Peace Process” and the long quest to achieve a solution to the Arab-Israeli Conflict. But we also realized that even we, quite immersed in the subject throughout our lifetimes, were going to have to do further research on historical issues and political developments and give

* Available on YouTube, Mark Bruzonsky Channel --<https://www.youtube.com/MarkBruzonsky> -- MERTV Programs #5 and #6. And MarkBruzonsky.com/mertv5 and MarkBruzonsky.com/mertv6

further thought to all that has happened in order to prepare ourselves to interact with each other and make a serious book out of all of our knowledge and experiences. We did that in fact each time before we sat down at different times to record each chapter.

We next realized that rather than an academic book or a journalistic endeavor—both of which we had done extensively throughout our careers—we should instead now focus in on doing comprehensively and systematically what we had been doing spontaneously but piecemeal ever since we met.

So, from the start, even with some colleagues we trusted doubting this would work for a book (doubts we then overcame when they read our initial chapters), we decided we would dialogue with each other, chapter by chapter, and then take each transcript and from it mold everything together into the book you are now about to read.

As we did so, we began to realize and more fully appreciate the real virtue of this process. We found ourselves still learning from each other, we found ourselves drawing each other out in ways that would not have happened if we had not done this together and in this way.

All this said, we are however writing this book not just for other academics, journalists, experts, and those who have had considerable involvement with “The Peace Process” or its “Solution”, as we have had. Rather, we labored at this over many years talking, writing, and rewriting, so this book would be valuable for and appeal to a broad, diverse, and international audience. Lacking a publisher and without support for our efforts, being preoccupied with our work at the time with Mark in Washington and Hisham in California, and still grappling with the developments taking place, the years went by.

We so much hope the approach we have taken and the format we have chosen will make this book of compelling interest to persons coming from many different backgrounds and perspectives of their own. Though there are so many books about “the conflict,” we truly do believe ours to be unique not just in style but in content. We so much hope persons who disagree with our

conclusions, as well as those who agree, will all find this book of exceptional value.

Our overall goal has been to make this book, as difficult and dense as the subject can sometimes appear, of great interest both to those who have lived through many of the events we discuss as well as those much younger and for whom so much of this is fading “history.” Realizing that, we have striven to also make this book valuable for those now in high school and university, as well as those early in their lives and careers, who are themselves grappling with today’s unfolding events and not fully aware of many critical events from the past that still shape and impact developments today.

Early on we decided that we should take a chronological approach but begin not with our own involvements during the years the conflict was already raging but with the origins of the conflict more than a hundred years ago in the late 19th century. Indeed, we are totally convinced that to really understand and appreciate what is going on politically and diplomatically today, it is crucial to be constantly aware of what has come before.

We have kept in mind throughout the preparation of this book that we should try to focus in on those things we think most important from the past, especially those things that the parties themselves try to overlook or marginalize because it suits their interests today that people either forget or not ever know.

We purposefully have not made this a heavily footnoted book. We wanted the reader to be able to share in the flow of the discussion between the two of us, and we’ve tried hard to make this an easy and engaging read. We believe the conversational style coupled to the chronological approach contributes to making this book easily digestible, chapter by chapter, as well as overall compellingly credible and convincing. In a sense, readers can imagine that they were in the room as part of an audience listening to us dialogue and exchange with each other.

We do however make occasional timely references and footnotes to specific things each of us was personally involved in at critical times. For instance, Mark's private history-changing meeting with Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, and then a few years later, shortly after Sadat's assassination, his authorship of *The Paris Declaration*, published on the front page of *Le Monde* in July 1982, and termed by the European Representative of the PLO "the Balfour Declaration for the Palestinian People." And for instance, Hisham's authorship as a Fulbright Scholar of one of the first major studies about Hamas and years later his selection to be one of three distinguished persons to interview on TV all of the Palestinian Presidential candidates in the 2005 election.

Also, at critical times in the past, both of us have appeared on TV, written special articles, and participated directly in the "peace process" and attempts to bring about the "Two-State Solution" to "the conflict". As we believe it enhances both the value and credibility of this book, these are also things we occasionally make reference to, footnote, and then provide the relevant materials and documents in the book's Appendix.

We further believe that because of our unique backgrounds and involvements the Appendix itself contains valuable information not easily otherwise available that is quite helpful today in reflecting upon how the "Two-State Solution" has been viewed and discussed in years past. We also frankly believe the things we've chosen to put in the Appendix considerably add to our own qualifications as experts who have indeed now written a uniquely insightful and valuable book about what we have ourselves personally experienced as well as learned.*

* The Appendix and Forum we had planned were never completed. However, many of the things referred to in this book that would have been mentioned in the Appendix can be found at our individual websites, MarkBruzonsky.com and HishamAhmed.com as well as at PalestineState.net.

In this way we believe the items in the Appendix can significantly enhance our reader's understanding of the evolution of the "Two-State Solution" and how this concept has itself changed over the years eventually bringing about, we conclude, its own demise.

It is also our intention to make the Appendix documents and information available, to keep everything updated, and to provide a forum for readers at PalestineState.net. At this readers-only website we will personally answer reader's questions, participate in an on-line forum, and occasionally provide supplementary information.

Finally, it should be remembered throughout, "The Peace Process" and the "Two-State Solution" are subjects that the various protagonists, and their many allies and partisans, have invested much time and money in constant attempts to mold and manipulate public opinion, as well as to control political developments. There are numerous think-tanks and publications associated with the key governments (especially Israel and the U.S), and groups that work with them, whose very *raison d'être* is to get their well-paid partisan analysts and pundits into print and onto radio and TV programs – rather than independent experts like ourselves who have other views and have reached other conclusions.

Years ago now, in 2014, we thought then that we were finally completing the book, we thought then we had accomplished the goals we set for ourselves, and we thought then there would be interest in having the book published in a number of languages in addition to English, especially Arabic and Hebrew, French, German, and maybe we hoped Russian and Chinese. That was never to come to be for reasons readers will be able to appreciate after reading the book and becoming aware of our personal journeys and struggles in trying to complete it.

We ourselves take considerable pride that we have always remained independent from and skeptical of those organizations and persons who have in effect allowed themselves to become hired mouthpieces, hired-gun partisans, and lucratively-paid "lobbyists" and pundits of various kinds.

We could not have written this book together, and been close friends for so long, if we did not know how each of us has refused to go down those roads to notoriety, career advancement, money and privileges; but instead, we have both chosen the paths and made the choices you are now going to read about and about which at the end we think you will be in a better position to make your own judgments about.

Introductory Discussion in January 2011

How we met and an introduction to how the “Two-State Solution” as well as the idea for this book came to be

Mark: Well, Hisham, we met more than twenty years ago and I’m sure that from the first day we met we were probably talking about the “Two State Solution”; which has taken on a life of its own. Now that we are going to write this book, from your perspective as a Palestinian and as a professor and political scientist, how did the “Two State Solution” come to be in the first place? If you can even call it a solution now.

Hisham: You’re absolutely right, I believe from day one we were talking about the “Two State Solution.” Back then it was proposed as a solution, not just an idea. Well, it turned out to be no solution at all. I think that idea first emanated, in its modern form, during the early 1970’s because of the interests of the PLO at that time as well as the international community.

The PLO was first launched in 1964 and the prevalent idea in Palestinian discourse then was that the solution was in the establishment of a one state solution, i.e., a “democratic secular state” where all Christians, Jews, and Muslims could live together regardless of any religious affiliation. Fatah first managed to achieve one of its first goals, attracting Palestinians to it, particularly after the Karameh battle on March 21st 1968. Fatah in fact ended up attracting far more Palestinians than it had expected.

EPILOGUE

“For the greatest enemy of the truth is very often not the lie—deliberate, contrived, and dishonest—but the myth—persistent, persuasive, and unrealistic.”

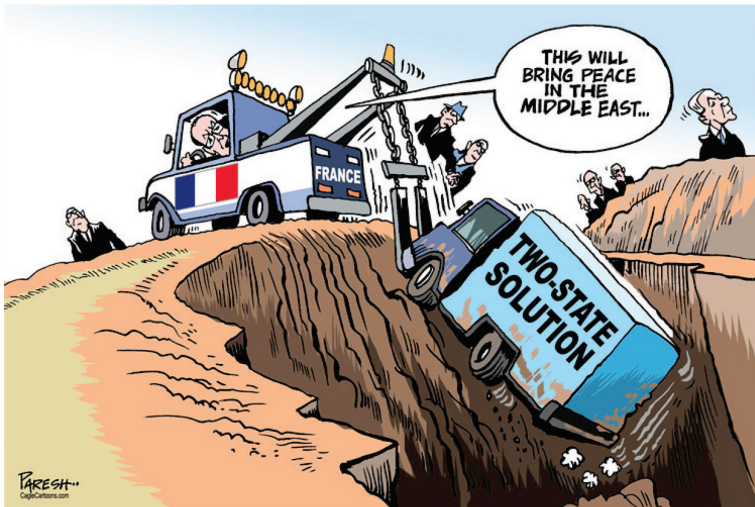
**President John F. Kennedy,
Yale University, 11 June 1962**



The “Two-State Solution” was undermined, sabotaged, fragmented, and then ultimately destroyed. To use other metaphors it was gradually discredited,

slowly poisoned, and then assassinated; just like the historic figure who embodied it, Yasser Arafat. Its story and memory are meant to be chronicled, and in that ironic tragic sense kept alive, in this book. Even so there are many who keep enunciating the term, albeit if for naïve, deceptive, disingenuous, or duplicitous reasons. With regard to them this book is meant to be a corrective, a refutation, a scolding, and a condemnation.

Indeed, whether by innocence, design, subterfuge, or co-optation, so many continue to cling to and advocate the “Two-State Solution” for their own hypocritical and self-serving reasons. “Liberal” Zionist and Jewish organizations and personalities are at the top of that list, for they have no other way to keep trying to justify their own moral and political failures, hypocrisies, and moral contradictions over so many crucial years. There are also Palestinians, many associated with the entity the Israelis and Americans established and keep alive, the so-called “Palestinian Authority,” who also cling on having been trapped into doing so by those who have succeeded in distorting and metamorphosizing the originally desirable “Two-State Solution” into its antithesis.



For so many of these years past both Mark Bruzonsky and Hisham Ahmed were intimately involved with many of the now largely forgotten, brave, and

courageous leaders who were desperately attempting to bring about a real and lasting “Two-State Solution” throughout the years chronicled in this book.

Most of them, even as they worked toward the “Solution,” understood it would not really be historically just as it would still considerably subjugate and not properly compensate the Palestinian people. But at the same time many thought it could at least meet minimal Palestinian aspirations and over time such a limited Palestinian State could evolve, and a new peaceful context just maybe could take root. If so, it was thought, Jews and Palestinians might have another historical chance to find ways to cooperate together in two interlinked, maybe even inter-dependent, political entities, in the one long-contested homeland.

Among those persons are many distinguished but largely forgotten personalities. This short very incomplete list includes just those whom Mark Bruzonsky knew personally and worked with, in many cases very closely, attempting to achieve the now destroyed “Two-State Solution.”

Israelis: Lova Eliav, Matti Peled, Simha Flapan, Natan Zach, A.B. Yehoshua, Amos Kenan, Dan Almagor, Yigal Arens, Uri Avneri.

Palestinians: Isam Sartawi, Haidar Abdel-Shafi, Edward Said, Yasser Arafat, Sabri Jiryis, Muna Hamzeh, Mahdi Abdel-Hadi, Taroub Abdel-Hadi, Nevin Abu-Taima.

Jews: Nahum Goldmann, Philip Klutznick, Bruno Kreisky, Henry Schwartzchild, Noam Chomsky, Arthur Seidelman, Ian Lustick, Alfred Lilienthal, Richard Falk.

Internationals: Landrum Bolling, Charles Black, Anwar Sadat, Kurt Waldheim, Mohammed Ibrahim Kamel, Maxime Ghilan, Mohamed Sid-Ahmed, Merle Thorpe, Boutros Ghali, Ismael Fahmy, Yasushi Akashi, Mushahid Hussein, Mowahid Shah, Lord Caradon.

“The Two-State Solution” as originally conceived and pursued by these and

many other persons is in reality now dead, but not yet properly mourned and buried. Maybe in this sense this book is also a kind of historical eulogy and tribute.

And yet the “Two-State Solution” mantra chant is kept alive -- now mostly as an easy, convenient, and safe slogan by those with minimal understanding of or appreciation for the past, but also by leading political figures including Joe Biden and his Secretary of State, Antony Blinken. These groups, persons, and government leaders are unwilling to honestly remember what this “solution” was meant to be, and unable to honestly face why it is no longer possible because of their own complicitous roles in bringing about its demise.

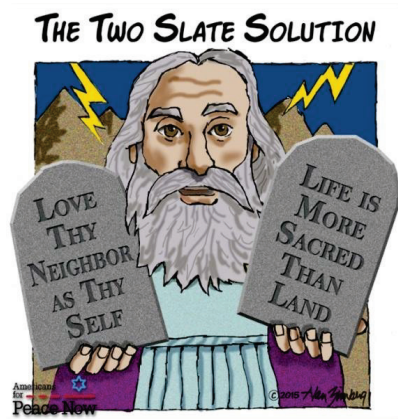
This is the situation primarily in order to assuage the moral dilemmas of “liberal” Jews and Israelis, as well as defeated and corrupted Palestinian officials ironically empowered and sustained by Israel and the United States -- all of whom can’t bring themselves to deal with what has actually happened as well as the tragic roles they have played, whether willingly, through innocence, or by manipulation. That is because doing so would force them to confront their own culpability in the death of the “Two-State Solution.” And that in turn would force them to have to contemplate unpalatable, for many unthinkable, novel solutions most cannot bring themselves to even consider. And so they disparage and shun those who do.

Any malformed “Two-State Solution” that might now be said to be finally achieved in the period ahead will not be, cannot be, real, just, or sustainable. Rather it would be a victor-imposed and enforced Frankenstein-like, conceptual, political, territorial, and highly restricted monstrosity that would contain within it the seeds of unending future bitterness, conflict and turmoil.

That in fact is what has happened with all the temporary historical precursors going back to Balfour, Versailles, League of Nations Mandate, Peel Commission, King-Crane Commission, U.N. Partition Plan, Geneva Conference, Mena House Conference, Camp David Conference, Madrid Conference, Oslo Accords, White House ceremony, Camp David II, Taba Conference, Annapolis Conference, and many more lesser-known failed

conferences, meetings, and jerry-rigged plans — including the horrendous absurdity of the Trump/Kushner/Bibi Super Zionist “Deal of the Century” in 2020.

What started long ago as two-state thinking, initially just an alternative embryonic idea about the future of Palestine, was real in its beginning early in the last century. But even so, throughout that time into the World War II years, Zionist leaders repeatedly and very publicly denied they had any intention of creating a separate Jewish State in Palestine, even though that is in fact what the leadership was plotting all along.



This two-state thinking then evolved in the aftermath of World War II, gaining much support as a result of the German Christian European Holocaust. Then came the new United Nations midwifing the “Jewish State” at American insistence, thus legitimizing for many the concept of partitioning Palestine. This was the time when two-state thinking was first at its apogee.

Out of the dying British “Mandate,” which had itself been born fatally deformed at Versailles after World War I, the shock of the Holocaust combined with the trauma of destitute Jewish refugees, greatly stimulating this approach. Count Folk Bernadotte, officially representing the United Nations

at that time, was actually the first god-father of the “Two-State Solution.” That is the reason he was assassinated in Jerusalem by Jewish extremist “terrorists” of that era.

It was at this time that Mark Bruzonsky was born in Duluth, Minnesota, into a family that a generation before had escaped the Russian Pogroms and the Nazi Holocaust.

Over time those Jabotinskyite Revisionist Zionist descendants of the original Palestine “terrorists” were to become the dominant governing personalities and ideology of today’s Israel. Since the Oslo Agreement they have built the shameful “Apartheid Wall”, greatly expanded illegal settlements essentially imprisoning Palestinians in separated enclaves, created a monstrous open-air ghetto prison now nearing 2 million souls in Gaza, expanded a huge world-wide propaganda and enforcement collage of organizations, and redefined the very nature and structure of “The Jewish State”. They have expanded and reinforced a militant Mossad State in league with the United States, the United Kingdom, other European countries, and despicable dictatorial Arab regimes.

It needs to be always remembered that American complicity in creating and uniquely supporting a “Jewish State” in Palestine goes way back to Balfour days with Louis Brandeis and Woodrow Wilson playing such major roles, as discussed in this book. Then it was in 1947 that the U.S. insistently forced the U.N. General Assembly to specifically and formally endorse creation of a separate “Jewish State.” The “Jewish Lobby”, still then operating mostly behind-the-scenes, was already wielding its powers on the American President of that day even against considerable unprecedented dissent from major officials, most especially Secretary of State George Marshall and Secretary of Defense James Forrestal.

Ever since, that multidimensional lobby has grown more assertive, more powerful, more public, and much more dangerous, with numerous spin-offs and sub-contractors added to the core organizations of AIPAC and The President’s Conference, including the Near East Institute, JINSA, B’nai B’rith, ADL, CAMERA, and CUFI, coupled to the so-called “Pro-Israel Pro-Peace”

Israeli-dominated “liberal” organizations like J-Street and Americans for Peace Now, just to mention a few.

With Israel’s creation in 1948, leading to the subsequent major wars in 1956 and 1967 and 1973, as well as to Israel clandestinely becoming a nuclear and military regional superpower, what was to become called the “Two-State Solution” was in alternative periods of gestation and hibernation.

The Palestinians, greatly supported and encouraged by the Arab and Muslim worlds, as well as much of what was then called the non-aligned and Third Worlds, were determined to regain Palestine. The culpable United Nations passed resolution after resolution about the Palestinian “Right of Return”, and in guilt established the U.N. Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) to aid the many Palestinians now in squalid refugee camps throughout the region. The Palestine Liberation Organization was born, itself midwived by the major Arab States collected into a once vibrant now embarrassingly meek Arab League.

Then, with the leadership of Yasser Arafat, the PLO became more independent, more assertive, and pursued its own variant of “terrorism,” as



the Zionists had done before, to attract the world’s attention. The official Palestinian goal at the time was creation of a “democratic secular state” for all parties, Jews and Arabs alike.

This was all happening around the time of Hisham Ahmed’s birth in Dheisheh Refugee Camp near Bethlehem, then part of the UK/US created and

empowered Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, itself on territory which had been severed from Palestine by Great Britain in 1922.

This two-state idea that had morphed into a vision, then a quest, then an internationally supported goal, then an achievable political objective, was all along quite consciously, though gradually, rendered impossible by what the Israeli Zionist leaders understood from the beginning to be their cunning determination to prevent it from ever coming to be.

All the while continually creating new “facts on the ground,” the Israelis and their supporters have deceptively dragged out, undermined, and sabotaged all the numerous negotiations and conferences. Through incessant political tricks, wars, covert plots, and power plays manipulating the U.S., Europe and some of the Arab states, they have in fact prevailed in the early years of the current century.

Even so, many of the numerous “Two-State Solution” movements that arose in the 1970s, temporarily strengthened in the aftermath of the White House ceremony in 1993 into the early years of this century, still trudge on. What had morphed over many years into the modern-day “Two-State Solution” was at first and for some time real and could have been brought about in the aftermath of the 1967 war. So many struggled, suffered, died, and frustratingly failed in attempting to do so.

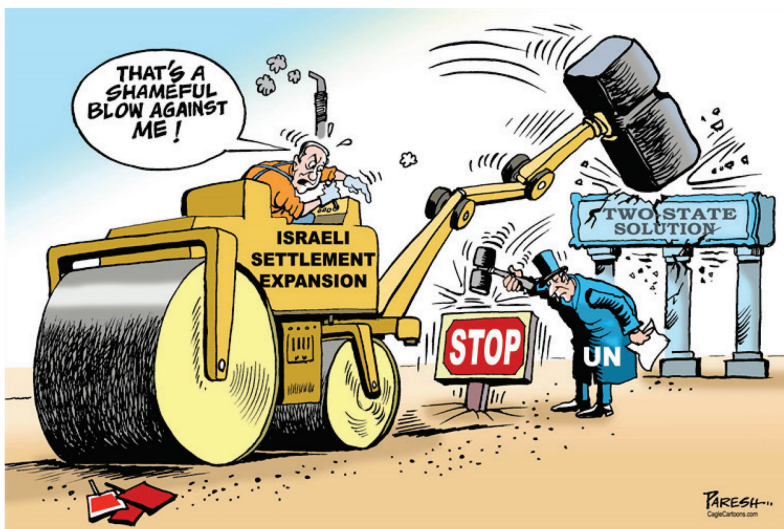
Yet gradually for some, including the authors of this book, the once solution became a quicksand-like trap, a trap sprung closed with the continual help of the Americans at the White House, Camp David, and so many other venues, all orchestrated by the Israelis and their powerful military-political-clandestine leaders, financiers, propagandists, military and Mossad generals, and far-flung lobbyists.

Bottom line: the Israelis with American assistance have now irreversibly succeeded in killing the “Two-State Solution” even while so many times in the past incessantly with winking-eye proclaiming it as their goal. That once achievable “Solution” was also undone, truth be told, by the

weakness, inactions, self-deceptions, and historical mistakes of many who pursued it, some honorably, many giving their lives, too many others with considerable self-deception, cowardice, self-enrichment, and unforgivable hypocrisy.

All the while the Americans of course, with additional help from European countries and guilt reparations from Germany, have kept pouring unprecedented amounts of money, war weapons, and endless covert CIA connivance, into making Israel what it is today.

The two-state mirage has served its purpose well for what has become today's super dangerous regional superpower, the Jewish State of Israel.



To sum up, the “Two State Solution” as originally conceived is no longer possible because the Israelis have been largely successful, to date at least, in achieving their long-term goals. Yet even so, the very term “Two-State Solution” has itself now taken on characteristics of a most complicated, confusing, and misunderstood myth.

Myths live on even when their underlying reality never was or, as in this case, was quite purposefully and cynically undermined. Sometime in the future there may be some kind of historical reckoning, maybe even some form of redemption by way of some combination of war, confession, contrition, reparations, or compensation.

But that does not seem the likelihood at this point. Indeed, expect a worsening future in the years ahead because of the past, partially, though admittedly very insufficiently, detailed in this book.

After all, the considerable after-effects of the original racist sins of the United States—the massacres of the natives and the slavery of the blacks—still plague America today. Guilt and reparations for the Holocaust continue to haunt contemporary Germany and Europe. Turkish genocide of the Armenians has not been forgotten or forgiven. The plight of the Kurdish people remains unresolved. What America did in Korea, Vietnam, Chile, Cambodia, Laos, Iran and so many other lands in the wake of World War II; and more recently in Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Libya, Venezuela, Bolivia, and beyond in the wake of 9/1, all continue to reverberate. The European forced, American endorsed, fragmentation of the once envisioned Arab nation-state into the false boundaries and divisions that haunt the Middle East today remains the original source of so much bloodshed and despair – this of course in the wake of World War I. And there are many other historical remembrances that could be enumerated that lead to many millions of deaths, social and economic collapse, and tremendous suffering, for which the U.S. and allies are primarily responsible.

Yet the “Holy Land” conflict is *sui generis*, taking on special symbolic and psychological importance because it is only here that the three great one-God Abrahamic religions originated and collide. The real underlying conflicts today though are not so much religious as they are driven by zealous ideology, imperialist impulses, hegemonic pursuits, and the incessant ever-more-deadly competition for power, wealth, and superiority.

The original sin of Israel was actually the contrived conspiracy of international Zionism to bring more and more Jews to Palestine with the intent, no matter how much denied for so long, of bringing about a “Jewish State” and vanquishing the indigenous Palestinian population. That original sin has since been compounded and expanded in multiple dimensions.

Like so many historical undertakings, in retrospect it was actually a conspiracy in plain sight. After all, as the quote that opens Chapter 1 of this book attests, Theodore Herzl himself boldly enunciated it in his original book clearly titled “*The Jewish State*”. And by 1929, Judah Magnes, the first Chancellor of Hebrew University in Jerusalem, proclaimed his historic warning in the prescient quote on page 46 of this book—this just four years after Lord Balfour’s visit to then Palestine during which he triumphantly participated in the inaugurating Hebrew University on Mt. Scopus.

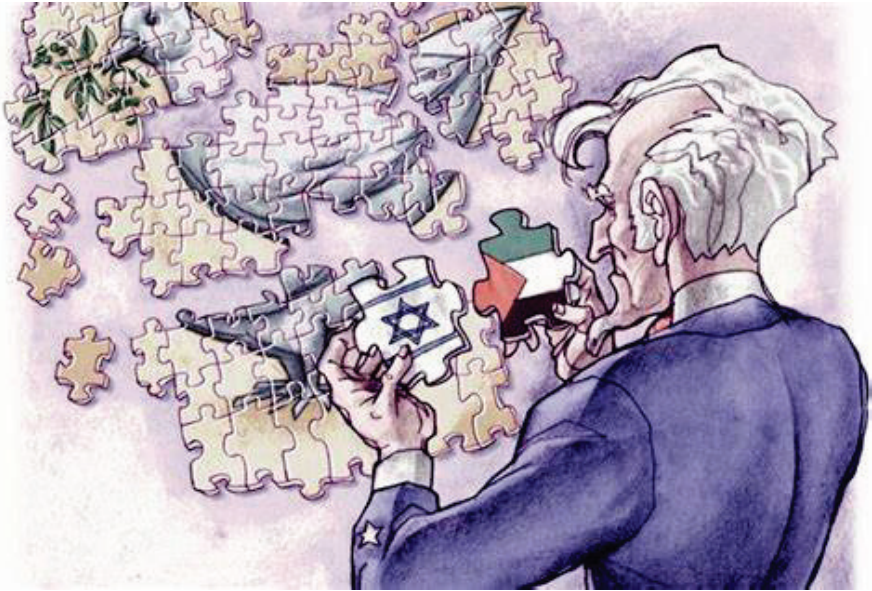
That original sin has since fractured into many sub-sins -- elaborate ongoing deceit, ethnic-cleansing cum massacres, vanquishment, disenfranchisement, systematic land thievery, massive propaganda and political pressure campaigns, all coupled with novel forms of collective imprisonment and multiple forms of torture for the Palestinian people -- policies far more complicated and far worse than Apartheid of old in South Africa.

For Israel and the Jewish people, as well as their primary superpower enabler, the United States of America —itself incessantly and unforgivably manipulated by the “Israeli/Jewish Lobby”—the future day of reckoning may come in as yet unconceived forms. Or militant Zionism might continue to triumph over Palestinianism—the alliance between Israel, the dictatorial Arab States, and the U.S., may prevail into the indefinite future.

Israel’s original sin, a century-long plot to steal Palestine bringing so much killing and suffering to its native inhabitants, is, truth be told, a crime of historical proportions. That it came at the end of the colonial era and that the Jewish people remain so few, even though so powerful, makes today’s situation so difficult to project into the future. There are, it has to be admitted, reasons to think that with regard to contemporary Israel past

historical parallels may not prove valid.

Whether a reckoning might come in the form of a regional historic war that could not only bring about the end of Israel but destroy much of the Middle East and even escalate into World War remains quite conceivable.



Whether Israel, in league with the miserably corrupted Arab dictatorships and with continuation of extreme American support even as the U.S. itself spirals into decline, will be able to fully complete the vanquishing of the Palestinians as was done to the Indians in North America and to other groups in history, remains unlikely, but at this point indeterminant.

Whether there might be the Revisionist Zionist fulfillment of turning the East Bank of the Jordan River, today's Hashemite Kingdom, into a castrated Palestine, with Israel pushing many Palestinians across that river, and with the U.S. and Israel setting up another new Arab "client regime", is another serious possibility.

Or whether geopolitical changes combined with some kind of political/moral revival could lead to some kind of new “One-State Solution” for all is also among the alternatives which is now in itself a newly recast embryonic idea.

The current regional fighting, extreme escalating war preparations, media propaganda expansion, and so much covert international intrigue, are all underway precisely in order to try to twist the future in alternative ways with different attempted and expected outcomes.

Yet, even as this book is finally being completed, the world community through the United Nations keeps enunciating the concepts and terminology of the “Two-State Solution”. On 20 November 2020 in fact the U.N. General Assembly’s Third Committee voted 163 to 5 (with 10 abstentions) to reaffirm once again “the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including the right to their independent State of Palestine” and “stressed the urgency of achieving without delay an end to the Israeli occupation that began in 1967 and a just, lasting, and comprehensive peace settlement between the Palestinian and Israeli sides.” Only the U.S. and Israel opposed this latest



resolution, joined by Nauru, the Marshall Islands, and Micronesia.*

In the British named area of the world known as “The Middle East” since the mid-19th century, there is much more history, conflict, war, revolution, destruction, and uncertainty ahead.

The now mythical “Two-State Solution” will continue to be much in the news. But as originally conceived it will not now ever come to be. Nor will it now, as originally envisioned, ever lead to an acceptable or reasonably just settlement between Israelis of Jewish heritage and Palestinian Arabs of Muslim and Christian heritage.

In conclusion, this recent quote from one of the most significant, principled, and influential Professors I was fortunate to have, Richard Falk, who taught international law and human rights at Princeton. After forty years at what was then known as the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, in retirement Professor Falk went on to serve two terms as Special Rapporteur for the United Nations Human Rights Council on “the situation of human rights in the Palestinian territories occupied since 1967.”

In his just published extensive memoir book, which I only read in proof page form when this book you are reading was already completed, he writes this:

“No issue of our time is more ethically compelling for me, given my social location as Jew, American, and progressive humanist, than the plight of the Palestinian people, and the responsibility of my country and its government for indefinitely prolonging this ordeal.”

* After extensive pressuring by the U.S. and Israel to block the resolution from final passage, the resolution, titled “Peaceful settlement of the question of Palestine”, nevertheless was adopted on 2 December 2020 by the full General Assembly 145 to 7 (Against: Australia, Canada, Israel, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, United States). In a series of resolutions in fact the U.N. called on all Member States not to recognize any changes to the pre-1967 borders, including with regard to Jerusalem, other than those agreed by the parties through negotiations. The U.N. further specified that agreements with Israel must not imply recognition of Israeli sovereignty over the territories occupied by Israel in 1967.

As Falk independently remembers in his book, I was quite an ardent Zionist during my years at Princeton. The circumstances and timing of my birth, my upbringing in a sincerely religious though modern Jewish family, the early experiences at my synagogue, in Hebrew School, and at Herzl Camp in Wisconsin many summers, had all so oriented me in my early years. Then going to law school at New York University in New York City resulted in my being in touch with persons connected to the Jewish Agency and the national headquarters of Jewish organizations, as well as my years representing the International Student Movement at the United Nations.

It was in those years that Falk and a few other key persons including, Yasushi Akashi, the Under Secretary-General at the United Nations*, planted seeds of learning and rethinking that grew quickly as I started traveling the world, visiting Israel many dozens of times as well as many Arab countries, and then having the fortune to meet and become friends with many Palestinians, some of whom I have mentioned in the Dedication to this book, most especially my co-author Hisham Ahmed.

So even now, with the “Two-State Solution” dead, with Israel now firmly controlled by Revisionist Zionism having its own “terrorist” legacy, and with the U.S. more dominated than ever by the Israeli/Jewish lobby, I conclude it is my own moral and existential responsibility to finally finish this book as candidly and honestly as I can. I do so with the considerable desire, and in the profound hope, that knowing as much as possible about the past can somehow help make the future much more thoughtful, peaceful, and just – and much less gruesome.

* A long letter written to Akashi in December 1973, in the wake of the October Yom Kipper war that year, is illustrative. It is at MarkBruzonsky.com/akashi

The short phrases "Middle East Peace Process" and "Two-State Solution" have taken on long lives of their own in contemporary world affairs. Repeatedly for a very long time everyone has heard about this process – which seems to be never ending, and about this "solution" that some say never comes into being. In this book the conventional, simplified, much distorted, and ultimately tragic history of the "Two-State Solution" is chronicled by two unusual special figures—one an American Jew the other a Palestinian refugee—each with considerable personal involvement and experience in trying to bring it about.

Both authors were born into a world where the struggle over this small "Holy Land" territory would come to dominate much of their lives. Both would grow up to become involved in significant and complementary ways with the "The Peace Process" and the seemingly never-ending attempts to make the "Two-State Solution" a reality. This important historical story is told in this book in a unique way through the unusual collaboration of Mark Bruzonsky with Hisham Ahmed as they together unravel the complex nuances behind these major questions:

- How did the idea of two states, in what was until the end of World War II an area known to the world as Palestine, come about?
- How has this idea and discussion about it, changed at different times throughout the years since?
- Why has the United States repeatedly proclaimed itself champion of the "two-state solution" over so many years and yet never succeeded in bringing it about?
- Why is it that so many Jews and Zionists are now in favor of the "Two-State Solution" while so many Palestinians and their supporters are actually now opposed?
- What are the prospects now, after all that has happened in the past, for a real and lasting "Two-State Solution" to still be achieved?



with Egyptian President Anwar Sadat

Mark Bruzonsky

American Jewish journalist and special political consultant with many publications and organizations who has made more than 200 international trips to over 50 countries. His website is MarkBruzonsky.com



with PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat

Hisham Ahmed

Palestinian born destitute and blind in refugee camp who became a leading scholar, commentator, and Chairman of the Political Science Department at St. Mary's College in California. His website is HishamAhmed.com

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF THE "TWO-STATE SOLUTION"

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF THE "TWO-STATE SOLUTION"

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"For the greatest enemy of the truth is very often not the lie – deliberate, contrived, and dishonest – but the myth – persistent, persuasive, and unrealistic."
 President John F. Kennedy,
 Yale University, 11 June 1962

In collaboration and dialogue with each other American Jew **Mark Bruzonsky** and Palestinian refugee **Hisham Ahmed** provide a uniquely insightful book that should be of considerable interest to everyone concerned about the "Two-State Solution" from inception to demise, whatever one's view of the present, whatever one's expectations for the future.

Mark Bruzonsky
 Hisham Ahmed

MarkBruzonsky.com/books