

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁶ Palestinian National Authority, *Palestinian Reform and Development Plan, 2005-2010*, available at: http://www.mop-gov.ps/web_files/issues_8/cr/PDRP-en.pdf.

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

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

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