

***Haifa Conference for the Right of Return
And the Secular Democratic State in Palestine***

Friday and Saturday, June 20-21, 2008

Haifa, Al Midan Theatre, Khouri St 2

The Program

Friday June 20th, 2008

<p>17:00 – 19:00 <i>Young People's Encounter</i> Youth Struggle, Manifesting Return, Democracy and Secularism Workshop Facilitator : George Ghantous</p>	<p><i>Young members and activists of various organizations of 48 Palestinians – Discussion of youth activity in the struggle for a free, enlightened, democratic and secular society... Memory of the Nakba and dreams for the future, return of the refugees, preserving ties amongst various parts of the Palestinian people, and message to Israeli society...</i></p>
<p>17:00 – 19:00 <i>Youth Meeting</i> Youth Struggle, Manifesting Return, Democracy and Secularism Workshop facilitator: Lana Khaskia</p>	<p><i>The workshop aims to explore the meaning of the expression "right of return and democratic secular state", through examining the components of 1) right of return, 2) secularism and the interrelations of religion and politics, 3) democracy, 4) Palestinian identity, 5) pluralism within one society.</i></p>

19:00 – 22:00 Opening Session

- **On behalf of the Initiating Committee – Rajaa Zo’abi O’mari**
- **Ayman O’deh – Secretary General - Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (HADASH)**
- **Awad Abed El-Fatah – Secretary General - National Democratic Alliance (BALAD)**
- **Muhammad Kanaa’ne – Secretary General - Abnaa elBalad Movement (The movement is part of the coalition that constitute the Initiating Committee)**
- **Palestinian speakers from the post-1967 occupied territories and the Diaspora**
- **Dr. Anat Matar**
- **Prof. Bhim Singh from Kashmir**
- **Greetings to the Haifa Conference.**

Cultural Program

Saturday, June 21

9:30 – 10:00	<i>Reception and registration in the lobby</i>
10:00 – 10:20	<i>Greetings and dividing into workshops – large hall</i>
9 workshops in three cycles: 3 simultaneous workshops in each cycle	
10:30 – 12:00	3 workshops
12:00 – 13:30	3 workshops
13:30 – 14:30	Lunch Break
14:30 – 16:00	3 workshops
16:00 – 16:15	Coffee Break
16:15 – 18:00	Concluding Session

First workshop cycle: 10:30 – 12:00

<i>(1) Aspects of the Conflict in Palestine Facilitator: Hisham Naffa</i>	
1. The Palestine Question, from understanding the conflict, to defiance: theory and practice	Dr Massoud Eghbarieh
2. Between national and class levels – the history and horizon of the trade union struggle in Palestine	Wehbe Badarneh
3. The racist separation wall and the World Monetary Fund's policy	Doud Hamoudi
4. Israeli economic hegemony – variations in a one complementary colonialist economic order throughout Palestine	Prof. Leila Farsakh
5. The Jewish question and the Jewish state, in view of resisting imperialism in Palestine	Eli Aminov

<i>(2) Zionism and the Borders of Ethnic Cleansing; facilitator: Dr. Johnny Mansour</i>	
1. Ethnic cleansing in Zionist ideology and practice	Dr. Mahmoud Muhareb
2. The Negev – ethnic cleansing here and now	Atiya el-A'assam
3. Cleansing without borders – ethnic cleansing in the Golan and failed attempts in South Lebanon	Dr. Taysir Mara'i
4. Separation as a new form of transfer	Jonathan Cook
5. Ethnic cleansing in Palestine, a crime against humanity – who bears the responsibility?	Attorney Walid Al-Fahum

(3) Right of return and the democratic secular state in human rights perspective; <i>facilitator: Attorney Hussein Abu Hussein</i>	
1. Democratic regime throughout Palestine: expanding the borders of the state of all citizens, and the return of the refugees	Attorney Hassan Jabareen
2. Right of return of the internally displaced and refugees – between positive law and natural right	Attorney Wakim Wakim
3. Return of the refugees as a condition for humanizing the Israeli entity – criticism of recognizing the right of return in exchange for an actual return	Michael Warshavsky
4. The democratic secular state – the right to self-determination and de-Zionisation of historical Palestine	Omar Barghouti

Second workshop cycle 12:00 – 13:30

(4) Partition of Palestine: Solving the problem or complicating the solution? <i>facilitator: Rawiya Shanti</i>	
1. Palestine – a one united continual history and geography across the eras.	Dr. Ibrahim El-Fanni
2. The colonization and racist separation regime – comparing South Africa and Israel	Dr. Amneh Badran
3. The right of return between the two-state and the one-state solutions	Badil - Bethlehem
4. Concluding the one-state solution from international law and legitimacy	Dr. Uri Davis

(5) Palestine towards freedom and return – Philosophical, pedagogical and political perspectives; <i>facilitator – Salman Natur</i>	
1. Dialectics of homeland and Diaspora, and resisting the misleading temptation of the 'return home'	Prof. Ilan Gur-Ze'ev
2. Scenes of the tragedy – notes at the sides of the catch	Dr. Ismail Nashef
3. Secularism – supportive environment for the national and cultural freedom project	Abed Anabtawi
4. An optimistic look at the return of the refugees – from an anarchist point of view	Eyal Rosenberg

(6) The Crisis in Israeli Society; <i>facilitator: Ranin Giryas</i>	
1. Who's afraid of the return of the refugees? Developing practical ideas about the return of the refugees to Palestine	Eitan Bronstein
2. An optimistic perspective: "Despairing of the state" as a leverage to end the religion/state fixation	Ofra Yeshua-Lyth
3. Jewish Arabs in Israel: will they facilitate the way to the 1 state?	Reuven Aberjil
4. Anti-Zionism as a Zionist belonging, and alternatives to a Jewish collective identity	Yana Knopova

13:30 – 14:30 Lunch Break

Third workshop cycle 14:30 – 16:00

<i>(7) Different Perspectives of a One-State Palestine; facilitator Muhammad Kayal</i>	
1. A bi-national state for Palestinians and Israelis	Dr. As'ad Ghanem
2. A democratic secular republic of all its Palestinian citizens	Prof. Yehuda Kupferman
3. The democratic secular state in the context of a liberation vision of the Arab world	Muhammad Kana'aneh
4. The catch and the escape	Ahmad Katamesh

<i>(8) Boycotting Israel and Solidarity of Nations; facilitator Samieh Jabbarin</i>	
1. Lessons to be learned from South Africa – boycott from without and popular struggle within	Melissa Hall
2. The European civil society's support of the struggle for return and against racism	John Rose
3. Boycotting Israel – Resisting the normalization of Occupation and Apartheid	Yael Lerer
4. How to comply with the Palestinian call to boycott Israel?	Roy Haroush/Kobi Snitz
5. Boycott: civil resistance is the most effective in face of a complicated Zionist Colonial oppression	Omar Barghouti

<i>(9) Approaches to freedom and enlightenment in the activity of civil society organizations; facilitator Subhi Zgheir</i>	
1. Feminism: resisting hegemony in theory and in practice	Leila Jaroushi / Areen Hawari
2. The dialectics of the self and the other, and the formation of a belonging youth Palestinian identity	Awni Kreim
3. Towards liberation of the Israeli Society of Hegemony and the Nakba denial	Dr. Mary Totari
4. The Palestine 48 struggle against discrimination and racism, differs but completes the struggle of the Palestinian people	Muhammad Zidan

16:00 – 16:15 Break

16:15 – 18:00 Concluding Plenary; facilitator Makbula Nassar	
16:15	Presentation of workshops conclusions; discussion on what to do tomorrow, and how to define the tasks at hand?
17:00	Proposal for a concluding public statement
17:15	Discussion with audience participation
17:30	Joining the Follow-up Committee for ongoing activity (defining timetable for the final formulation of public statement)
18:00	Closure

- **Accommodations**

- Activists of the Haifa and the region area will host guests from other areas.
- We request guests to inform us of their interest in accommodations.

- **Tours**

- Guests from abroad interested in tours to familiarize themselves with other aspects – political and social – of the struggle, are requested to inform us in order to a guided tour to be organized.

- **Information:**

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- **Participation in absentia and support letters**

Unfortunately the conference dates could not be suited to the schedules of all those who found interest in it, and we have chosen to enable participation in absentia in the following ways:

- 1. Publishing articles, studies, and position papers about the right of return and the democratic secular state at the conference website.*
- 2. Papers written especially for the conference will be printed along with all the conference papers in a book we are planning to publish.*
- 3. Support and greeting letters to the conference will be posted on the website and we shall read them out at the opening session.*
- 4. Those interested in joining the follow-up committee of the conference are requested to notify us.*

THE HAIFA CONFERENCE WEBSITE: www.ror1state.org