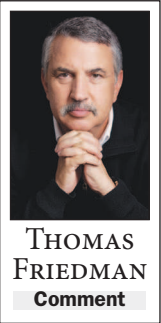


The broken pieces of Middle East peace

This week marks the 40th anniversary of the Camp David accords — the high-water mark of Middle East peacemaking. How far we have fallen since then. It makes you weep.

Rather than a breakthrough, Israelis and Palestinians seem to be inching closer and closer to a total breakdown. Without some dramatic advance, there is a real chance that whatever Palestinian governance exists will crumble, and Israel will have to take full responsibility for the health, education and welfare of the 2.5 million Palestinians in the West Bank. Israel would then have to decide whether to govern the West Bank with one legal authority or two, which would mean Israel would be choosing between bi-nationalism and apartheid, both disasters for a Jewish democracy.



THOMAS FRIEDMAN
Comment



AP Photo/Adel Hana

Protesters cover their faces while running from teargas fired by Israeli troops, while others burn tires near the fence of the Gaza Strip border with Israel during a protest Friday east of Gaza City. Gaza's Health Ministry says a Palestinian was killed and dozens injured by Israeli fire at a border protest.



AP Photo

President Jimmy Carter is flanked by Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Egypt's President Anwar Sadat as they faced newsmen at the conclusion of their discussions toward Middle East Peace moves at Carter's Camp David retreat in Maryland in September 1978.

So many people are acting badly. Hamas is pursuing a strategy of human sacrifice in Gaza — throwing wave after wave of protesters against the Israeli border fence to die without purpose or even much notice anymore. It is shameful.

Hamas has been a curse on the Palestinian people. At a time when the key to any Palestinian breakthrough with Israel is for Palestinians to make Israelis feel strategically secure but morally insecure about holding occupied territories, Hamas, with its relentless tunnel-digging into Israel and border assaults — unaccompanied by any offer of a two-state solution — does everything to make Israelis feel strategically insecure and morally secure about holding territories.

Prime Minister Bibi Netanyahu

of Israel has been a brilliant strategist in confronting Iran and managing Russia in Syria. But on the Palestinian issue, all he has is a PR strategy — he uses all his intelligence to find ways to make sure the Palestinians get blamed in the U.S. for any absence of progress — without offering any new, or old, ideas on how to separate from the Palestinians to avoid the terrible choices of bi-nationalism and apartheid.

Bibi is well on his way to going down in history as the Israeli prime minister who won every debate and lost Israel as a Jewish democracy.

Donald Trump, for his part, is the first U.S. president to have

not just a pro-Israel strategy but also a pro-right-wing Jewish settler strategy. Seeking to please evangelical Christians and far-right Jewish megadonors like Sheldon Adelson, Trump moved the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem — without asking Israel for anything in return. The art of the giveaway. Now he's eliminating U.S. aid for Palestinian development, hospitals and education programs as punishment for Palestinians' not negotiating on Jared Kushner's still-undefined peace plan — while saying not a word about continued Israeli settlements.

Meanwhile in the West Bank, the Palestinian Authority has settled into a strategy of "I am going to hold my breath until you turn blue." It is refusing to negotiate with the Trump team out of anger over Trump's ridiculously one-sided approach and his moving of the embassy and out of frustration for receiving no credit from Israel or the U.S. for its security cooperation in the West Bank.

At the same time, though, a March poll by the respected Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey found that 78 percent of Palestinians believed that the Palestinian Authority was hobbled by corruption.

The authority needs a new

strategy — fast — because its old go-to strategy of defiance and highlighting its victimhood is not working. The status quo is hammering Palestinians but, for now, is tolerable for everyone else. So the authority needs to get back to the negotiating table.

May I make a suggestion?

The Trump team keeps saying that it wants to get America's Arab allies to endorse its peace plan. The Arabs won't do that if that plan does not meet some minimum Palestinian demands, and the Palestinians won't settle for those minimum demands without Arab cover.

Mahmoud Abbas, president of the Palestinian Authority, should go to America's four key Arab allies — Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates — and propose that they collectively say "yes" to engaging Trump and Kushner if the U.S. plan includes two criteria: It calls for a contiguous Palestinian state in the West Bank — not a bunch of disconnected cantons — and it grants Palestinians some form of sovereignty in predominantly Arab East Jerusalem, where 300,000 Arabs already live. (The authority will also have to agree that its state will be demilitarized.)

This would give the Arab leaders cover with their publics for supporting a Trump plan and give the Palestinians cover for re-engaging with Trump. It would also say to Trump: If your plan does not include the bare minimum of a Palestinian state and some

Palestinian sovereignty in Arab districts of Jerusalem, don't bother bringing it out; it will be dead on arrival in the Arab world, not just the West Bank.

If the Trump team embraced such a Palestinian-Arab initiative and made it part of its plan, it would also force Bibi to make some decisions. Because the truth is, Bibi has been at zero on the question of a Palestinian state and at zero on the question of Palestinian sovereignty in Jerusalem. Bibi has managed to keep his obstinacy obscured, though, because the Palestinians have boycotted the talks.

If a Kushner-Trump plan embraced the Arab-Palestinian minimums, Bibi would have to either reject it — exposing his real position — or jettison some of his far-right political supporters and form a new government prepared to negotiate on the U.S. terms. He could definitely do the latter — if he wanted.

"The Palestinians can't want to lose their governing authority in the West Bank," notes veteran Middle East negotiator Dennis Ross. "And the Trump administration and Israel can't want a total vacuum to emerge there, because in the Middle East, all vacuums are filled by something worse."

An agreement by the Palestinians and America's Arab allies on their minimum foundations for negotiations, adds Ross, gives Palestinians cover to come back to the table and puts pressure on the Trump team to deliver a credible plan or be exposed as not being serious. And "it gives Israel a partner and some fateful choices to make."

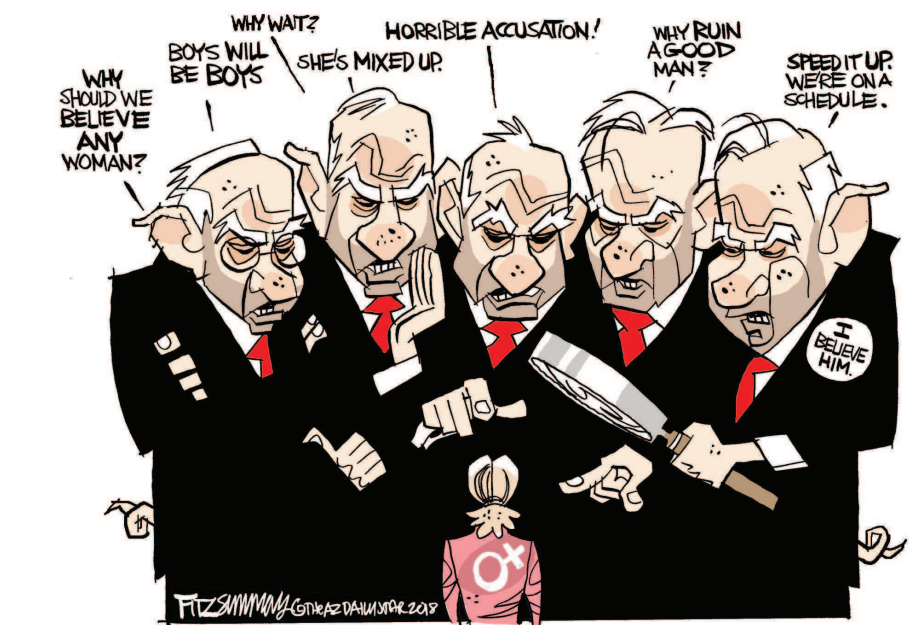
Say what you will about Anwar Sadat and Menachem Begin and Jimmy Carter 40 years ago, but they came to a point at Camp David where there were only hard choices — and they made them, and they made the right ones.

We're again at a fateful moment. For the Palestinians, it's choose nihilism or pacifism. For Israel, it's choose separation from the Palestinians or get bi-nationalism or apartheid. For Jared and Donald, it's either be serious — and be ready to take a tough stance with all parties, including Israel — or stay home.

Making progress toward peace requires telling everyone the truth, twisting everyone's arms and not letting any party drive drunk. Not ready for that? Then stick to building condos and golf courses.

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Thomas L. Friedman became the New York Times' foreign affairs columnist in 1995 and has been awarded three Pulitzer prizes.



Anita Hill all over again

The Baltimore Sun

Stop us when this sounds familiar: A woman comes forward to allege sexual misconduct by a nominee to the United States Supreme Court. Her credibility and motives are attacked. She is invited to give testimony about some of the most painful moments of her life before a panel of unsympathetic men. And many simply dismiss her claims because she did not come forward sooner.

That's what was happening in October of 1991 when Anita Hill alleged pervasive sexual harassment by her former boss, Clarence Thomas. And it's what's happening now after Christine Blasey Ford went public with her accusation that Judge Brett Kavanaugh sexually assaulted her during a high school party in the early 1980s.

One of the Senators who mistreated Ms. Hill then is still on the Senate Judiciary Committee, and he hasn't changed much. Sen. Orrin Hatch of Utah claims to welcome further investigation into Ms. Ford's accusations but in the same breath casts the matter in a political light, claiming it has been orchestrated by Democrats to deny Mr. Kavanaugh a seat

on the court.

Twenty-seven years later, amid the #MeToo movement that has forced a reckoning about how little has changed since Ms. Hill's testimony, we can do better. Ms. Hill, now a law professor at Brandeis, has some excellent ideas for how. In an op-ed in the *New York Times*, she suggests a number of steps, including handing the initial investigation of the complaint not to the Senate, with its partisan interests and high pressure, but to an independent panel expert in such cases. We shouldn't leave the truth to the mercy of people whose main concern isn't the truth or fairness but the midterm elections. Ms. Hill also urged the committee to take more time with the matter than it now plans. If the standard was two weeks of consideration in 1991, how can it be just one in 2018?

Ms. Hill's final admonition, that we should call Mr. Kavanaugh's accuser by her name, is particularly poignant. What (political cartoonist) KAL depicted in 1991 was a group of thugs intent on treating Ms. Hill like a political prop to be beaten down in the name of Justice Thomas' confirmation. A generation later, we can't treat Christine Blasey Ford the same way.

Native women need VAWA

By DELEANA OTHERBULL

It was a Sunday when Kirby Cleveland's wife and children were sitting at home watching TV when he became enraged. The 32-year-old had been drinking and, in a state of anger, began firing off a rifle outside. His wife called the Navajo Nation police to report a domestic dispute. Police told her an officer would be en route. But two hours later, the police still hadn't arrived, so she took matters into her own hands.

After calming her husband down, she drove him to a neighbor's house. Later that evening she heard gunshots again. According to police reports, she looked out the window of her home to see a patrol car's lights flashing. Her husband, who was on probation for a 2012 assault of a woman after spending two years in prison, came in and told her that he had shot an officer. Houston James Largo, a 27-year decorated officer, was found 50 yards from his vehicle wearing a bulletproof vest and with a gunshot wound to the forehead. The officer later died at a local hospital.

The incident is one of many in Indian Country where law enforcement is scarce and plagued with jurisdictional issues. Response times can take hours, and when an officer arrives, they are often alone. If the offender is non-Native, tribal police officers often lack the jurisdiction or resources to arrest or prosecute them. For women experiencing domestic violence, these facts can mean life or death. Lawmakers must act and help tribal police do their jobs.

As the executive director of the Coalition to Stop Violence Against Native Women, a regional nonprofit based in New Mexico with a mission to end violence against Native women and children, I know that there are many women like Kirby Cleveland's wife who have experienced domestic violence as well as the shortcomings of the justice system. Native women are 10 times more likely to be murdered than any other ethnicity, and Native women face domestic and sexual violence at disproportionately high levels, while the Department of Justice reports that more than 60 percent of Native victims describe their attackers as white. Yet our

safety, justice and healing are not prioritized at the national level.

The Violence Against Women Act will expire at the beginning of December, and it is imperative that Congress reauthorizes the law with new provisions.

Given the rates of violence against women, the reauthorization of VAWA and the proposed expansions will increase safety for our families and communities. Funding would be made available for prosecution, training and advocacy services for domestic violence, sexual assault, dating violence, sex trafficking and stalking crimes. Within the act are provisions specifically for tribes, which provide support to develop and strengthen law enforcement, prosecution strategies to combat violence against Native women and children, and provide more comprehensive victim services.

Those tribal provisions and funding that VAWA provides is fundamental to support tribal law enforcement agencies, training, advocacy, community education and social programming that not only break cycles of violence in our communities, but also support healing for our survivors and their families and a culturally responsive justice system. At the moment, many tribes fund their law enforcement through federal grants. A reauthorization of VAWA and its expanded provisions will give law enforcement and tribal agencies the resources that most non-native communities already have access to.

As a state-appointed member to the New Mexico Intimate Partner Violent Death Review team, a committee that reviews the state's intimate partner related homicides, I work alongside a multidisciplinary team of passionate and committed individuals whose efforts identify system gaps. In one week alone in August, we reviewed six Native American-related homicide cases involving domestic violence in our state. Each case is not only a statistic, but also a person.

Failing to reauthorize VAWA means those women, those people, have even less access to justice.

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Deleana OtherBull is the executive director of the Coalition to Stop Violence Against Native Women based in New Mexico.