

Israel-Palestine: The Causes of Conflict

CBA Lesson Packet

CBA TOPIC: Causes of Conflict

LEVEL: Middle/High School

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This document is intended to assist teachers who are implementing the Causes of Conflict CBA for high school students, but may be useful to anyone teaching about current world issues, international relations and related fields.

WASHINGTON STATE CLASSROOM BASED ASSESSMENT: CAUSES OF CONFLICT

The Causes of Conflict CBA states that, “Understanding the causes of conflicts may help us resolve current conflicts or even prevent future ones from occurring. You will research a conflict and analyze its causes from different social science perspectives.”

What does the CBA require students to do?

- 1) State a position on why a factor (or factors) played a primary role in causing the conflict AND find similarities between this conflict and current conflicts.
- 2) Provide reason(s) for the position that include: an evaluation of factors causing the conflict from two or more of the social science perspectives.*
- 3) Support the position with information from two or more primary sources.
- 4) Make explicit references within the paper or presentation to three or more credible sources that provide relevant information AND cite sources within the paper, presentation, or bibliography.
- 5) Prepare a presentation/paper explaining the position and the supporting evidence.

* The social science perspectives are: geographic, cultural, political, economic, sociological, and psychological.

Please see the following OSPI website for more information: <http://www.k12.wa.us/SocialStudies/Assessments/HighSchool/HSHistory-CausesofConflict-CBA.pdf> The graphic organizer and scoring rubric for this CBA are available at the OSPI website.

OBJECTIVES

Upon completion of this activity, students will be able to:

- 1) Explain how historical events have created or affected the current Palestinian-Israeli conflict.
- 2) Identify factors that caused this conflict and could cause others.

Time: 6-9 weeks (can be shortened; a 2-week version is also provided)

APPROACHING THIS CBA

This CBA helps students understand the Palestinians and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It also helps them understand larger issues such as causes of conflict, the role of culture, and historical analysis. **Please refer first to the introductory material in the Palestine Teaching Trunk.** This material includes a letter to educators, sample letter to parents, discussion of the National Council for Social Studies Ten Themes, the Washington State Standards, and a curriculum comprised of four units. If you feel there are gaps in these units, we encourage you to use the other lessons in this curriculum binder/web site to fill those gaps.

2. Israel-Palestine: The Causes of Conflict

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(Note: This describes a 9-week unit of study; a 2-week unit is also suggested below the calendar. In providing so many lessons, we hope that you can follow your students' interests and answer most of their questions; we understand that very few teachers will have the time to teach it all.)

I. History (3 weeks) p. 12

1. **Introduction Simulation:** Seattle Land Redistributed! News Flash discussion about indigenous peoples claiming land; introduction to CBA; homework to gather news items about the region/conflict. p. 12
2. **Know/Want to Learn/Learned on Israel/Palestine:** KWL table p. 14
3. **Middle East Map:** Blank Political Map; Instructions for filling in countries, cities, and geographical locations; Map Quiz p. 16
4. **Middle East 101:** suggested points to cover for a lecture or powerpoint p. 20
5. **Basic Facts about Israelis and Palestinians-- Now & Population Graphs Over Time, Comparing Israel & Palestine Table:** students look at quality of life, economy, and changing population over time. Goal is to raise questions about what is happening to make the situation so unequal. Students write one paragraph comparing and contrasting one aspect. p. 22
6. **Middle East History:** Palestine & Israel Through Time : Ancient - 1947-- lecture or race-to-research form, Detailed Lecture & Basic Notes form p. 28
7. **Holocaust:** necessary for background if your students have not already studied the Holocaust that occurred in Europe. Powerpoint format. p. 36
8. **Palestinian History: Early 1900s --** lecture p. 43
9. **UN Partition Plan of 1947:** Students read either the **Arab perspective (A)** or the **Jewish perspective (B)** on the UN Partition Plan, discuss the plan and how each side felt, worksheet, class discussion. p. 44
10. **Competing Narratives of Catastrophe/Independence** (3-day lesson-- see Lesson 11 for alternative lessons on this portion of history): Introduce idea of "competing narratives" and show two **films:** *In Search of Peace* (Israeli-government perspective), *The Land Speaks Arabic* (Palestinian perspective); teacher chart of movies; blank student chart; teacher discussion questions; class develops the details of each competing narrative; Homework: Two **articles on Palestinian history banned** in Israeli high schools, students read and respond. (Choose one article) p. 49

11. Israel's Founding: Myths or Realities? (3-day lesson): based on Simha Flapan's (an Israeli "new historian") book. Students **research** a Flapan "myth" and decide whether they think it is fact or fiction. Class discussion. Extra credit HW: research the new historians. (This is an alternative to Lesson 10.) p. 69

Essay: Could the conflict have been avoided in 1947; Was there someone to blame?

12. Competing Narratives About the 1956 Suez Crisis: Students compare an article from the Egyptian/African perspective (from *Key Events in the Decolonization of Africa: Suez Crisis* by Alistair Boddy-Evans) v. a 5-minute section of the film *In Search of Peace* (Israeli-government perspective). (This is an alternative to Lesson 13.) p. 76

13. Competing Narratives of Major Wars Since 1948: lecture on 2 narratives of 1956, 1967, 1973, 1978, 1982. (This is an alternative to Lesson 12.) p. 79

II Current Events-- Post 1967 (5 weeks) p. 82

A. Occupation p. 82

1. Overview of Occupation: UN Article summarizing the history, show **DVD *Palestine for Beginners*** parts II, III with Study Guide. Homework: Read and paraphrase UN Security Council Resolution 242. p. 82

2. International Law & War Crimes (2-day lesson): Introductory lecture and chart; 8 international laws for students to analyze: **Geneva Conventions 49** (settlements), **33** (collective punishment), **147** (war crimes), **UDHR** (arbitrary arrest), **ICCPR** (self-determination), **UN SCR 242** (end occupation), **the Right to Resist**, **Geneva Conventions 47** (can't negotiate away basic rights). (Teacher notes and student copies included.) p. 89

3. What's So Settled About Settlements & the Wall? (4-day lesson): ***Iron Wall* DVD**, Study/Discussion Guide, Movie Notes, **7 articles pro and con** about settlements and the Wall, Guiding Questions, culminating **Socratic Seminar** with explanation of seminar, guiding questions for teachers, rubric, exit slip p. 104

4. Breaking the Silence-- Israeli Soldiers Speak About the Occupation: 7 testimonials, jigsaw reading activity & discussion questions p. 145

5. The Israeli Assault on Gaza 2008 ("Operation Cast Lead"): ***One Family in Gaza* DVD** (an online vimeo), discussion questions, readings: UN summary of UN Report on Gaza assault, "The Blockade on Gaza Began Long Before Hamas Came to Power", "Gaza on the Edge of No Return" by Amira Hass p. 158

6. Americans in the Debate: War Crimes Controversy in Seattle -- Arguments for and against an American bus ad criticizing "Israeli War Crimes." Includes **American support of Israel** articles. Two alternative assignments: 1) **Argumentative Essay**

assignment: “Bus ads shed no light, only heat” by Alex Alben, “Metro says never mind to ‘Israeli war crimes’ ad” by Janet Tu; “Israel right or wrong crowd advocates censorship” by Ed Mast; “A (missed) opportunity for dialogue” by Shiri Raphaely; “US hegemony, not ‘the lobby’, behind complicity with Israel” by Stephen Maher; “The Israel Lobby” by John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt (very long -- use as teacher background) **OR 2) Reading in Pairs and Personal Response** assignment: “‘Israel right or wrong’ crowd advocates censorship in Seattle” by Ed Mast; “The truth about Israel beyond the failed bus ads” by Jonathan Singer; “Lawsuit Filed to Uphold Free Speech for Bus Ads” ACLU press release p. 169

II. B. Resistance to Occupation -- Nonviolent and Violent p. 229

- 1. Two Narratives of Two Intifadas:** Powerpoint lecture from the Palestinian and Israeli points of view. HW: develop 5 questions about the conflict. p. 229
- 2. Nonviolent Resistance (5-day lesson or longer):** a. resistance lecture, watch *Budrus DVD* (Palestinian resistance), answer study questions b. *ISM/Rachel Corrie readings* w/ a KWL chart (international resistance), c. read about Anarchists Against the Wall & Rabbis for Human Rights (*Israeli resistance*), d. **Boycott Divestment Sanctions** lessons (including cultural boycott, but more on this in the Culture CBA): introduction, brainstorm examples, of other BDS movements, jigsaw reading, each student reads 2 of the 4 articles, discussion questions, pro and con articles on BDS, information on specific artists who support/reject BDS, extension suggestion includes having student write a letter to a favorite artist. (The BDS lessons could easily take 5 days on their own, but you can shorten them to two if you need to). p. 231
- 3. Two Narratives of Violence & Aftermaths (2-day lesson):** lecture and discussion questions, readings on Israeli targeted assassination of Hamas member, Bereaved Parents circle with details of Palestinian suicide bombings and Israeli shootings of Palestinians p. 304
- 4. Cast of Characters:** readings on Hamas, Fatah, Labor, Likud -- students report, then play guessing game “Who Am I” p. 327
- 5. Fears:** p. 337
 - a. Does the PLO still call for the destruction of Israel? -- articles on both sides, switching sides debate HW: Personal Response
 - b. Is Israel a democracy or an apartheid state? -- articles or youtubes on both sides, switching sides debate (or a “dueling youtubes” lesson) HW: Personal Response
- 6. Genocide:** powerpoint slides, discussion, *Refugee Returns* article p. 360
- 7. Peace Processes:** two alternative lessons -- 1 is a summary of peace proposals, or 2 contains two articles and students can compare the different emphases; **One State or**

Two? extends this lesson with 3 articles & discussion questions about whether Israel and Palestine should be separate or should merge. p. 366

III Culminating Activity Choices plus Individual Causes of Conflict paper -- Choose one for your students: **(1 week)** p. 386

A. **Timeline** & individual papers p. 387

B. **Promises DVD** & individual papers p. 388

C. Peace & Justice Talks **Role Plays** (2 variations, including a Socratic Seminar) & individual papers p. 393

D. **TV shows** & individual papers (alternative Just Peace Essay topic) p. 405

E. **Speakers Panel** (includes Teacher letter to panelists & research prep for students) & individual papers p. 411

Causes of Conflict Paper: instructions p. 415

CAUSES OF CONFLICT CBA

9 week calendar (for a 2-week version, see below this calendar)

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
Week 1 I. History	Seattle Land Redistributed! Discussion about competing land claims. Introduce CBA. HW: news item about the conflict.	Know/Want to Learn/ Learned about Israelis and Palestinians. Class generates questions. Begin Middle East Map.	Middle East Map continued. Middle East 101 Lecture: ethnicities, geography, religions, etc.	Basic Facts about Palestinians and Israelis. Comparison chart and paragraph. HW: comparison paragraph	Map Quiz. Begin Middle East History lecture or race to research.
Week 2 I. History	Middle East History: Palestine & Israel Through Time (lecture or race to research cont'd)	The Holocaust. Jewish History in Europe 1900s	Palestinian History: early 1900s Begin UN Partition Plan readings	UN Partition Plan -- discussion	Competing Narratives: Independence or Catastrophe? 2 films on creation of Israeli state OR use Israel's Founding: Myth or Reality
Week 3 I. History	Competing Narratives: Independence or Catastrophe? 2 films on creation of Israeli state OR use Israel's Founding: Myth or Reality	Finish lesson on Israel's founding. HW: read article on Palestinian history banned in Israeli high schools	Choices: In next 3 days, you could either pursue Competing Narratives of 1956, OR lecture on Major Wars	1956, OR Major Wars (cont'd)	1956, OR Major Wars (cont'd) Optional: 5-paragraph essay assignment. Could the conflict have been avoided?

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
Week 4 II. Current Events A. Occupation	<i>Palestine for Beginners</i> DVD (II, III) HW: UN Sec.Council Res. 242 read & paraphrase	International Law & War Crimes: lecture, groups analyze international laws	International Law & War Crimes (cont'd)	Settlements & Wall (4-day lesson): <i>Iron Wall</i> DVD	Settlements & the Wall -- readings
Week 5 II. Current Events A. Occupation	Settlements and the Wall (cont'd)	Settlements and the Wall -- Socratic Discussion.	Israeli soldiers Breaking the Silence -- jigsaw reading & discussion	Israeli assault on Gaza -- show <i>One Family in Gaza</i> -- discuss HW: readings	Americans Join the Debate: Pairs read pro & con articles on American ad about Israeli War Crimes -- discuss HW: Personal Response
Week 6 II. Current Events B. Resistance to Occupation	2 Narratives of 2 Intifadas lecture Begin <i>Budrus</i> (Palestinian Nonviolent Resistance)	<i>Budrus</i> (cont'd) Resistance lecture	ISM & Rachel Corrie readings (International Resistance)	Anarchists Against the Wall; Rabbis for Human Rights (Israeli resistance readings)	Boycott, Divestment Sanctions introduction, readings HW: more BDS readings
Week 7 II. Current Events B. Resistance to Occupation	BDS lesson: pro & con readings (cont'd -- could take more than 2 days if you have time)	2 Narratives of Violence & Aftermaths: lecture, readings on targeted assassination & militants	Bereaved Parents readings from Israelis & Palestinians who have lost loved ones to violence	Bereaved Parents readings (cont'd) & discussion	Cast of Characters: Fatah, Hamas, Labor, Likud -- readings, "Who Am I?" "Game

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
Week 8 II. Current Events B. Resistance to Occupation	Switching Sides Debate: Does the PLO still call for the destruction of Israel?	Switching Sides Debate (or dueling youtubes): Is Israel a Democratic or Apartheid State?	Genocide discussion; Refugee Return reading	Peace Processes (alternative lessons)	One State or Two?
Week 9 III. Culminating Activity	Culminating Activity Choices include: Timeline, showing the <i>Promises</i> DVD & writing a paper (con'td)	OR students can role-play peace & justice talks OR present TV shows OR the teacher can present a panel of experts. (cont'd)	All of these culminating activities can be followed by a Causes of Conflict essay or a Just Peace essay or both.	Culminating Activity (cont'd)	Culminating Activity (cont'd)

Causes of Conflict CBA (2 weeks)

Israel-Palestine: The Causes of Conflict

Objective: This CBA asks students to research and analyze the causes of a conflict in order to help us resolve current conflicts or even prevent future ones from occurring. Students will use different social science perspectives to analyze the causes. They will prepare a presentation/paper explaining their position with supporting evidence. They will also prepare a timeline of events.

Note: all lessons referred to are in the Causes of Conflict CBA unless otherwise noted.

Day 1: To engage students, begin with News Flash (part of lesson I.1) and discuss. Then, introduce the CBA to the class by explaining what a CBA is, what the topic is and why students should study this conflict. Give students a Know/Want to Know/Learned Chart about Palestinians (part of lesson I. 2). Locate Israel/Palestine on a map of the Middle East (part of lesson I.3.) Homework: Ask students to listen/look for news stories about Palestinians at home. Send a letter home to parents since this is a controversial topic (see Introductory Documents).

Day 2: Work with students to complete a chart of the Basic Facts on Israel/Palestine (lesson I. 5). Once students are intrigued to know why there is such a disparity between two peoples living in close proximity, offer students a lecture on modern history 1880s-1948 (lesson I. 6).

Day 3: Students will read about the UN Partition Plan (lesson I. 9) from two perspectives and then share their learnings with each other. This lesson is also a good time to model looking for some causes of conflict from different social science perspectives (economic: land conflict; political: conflict over independence and self-determination; cultural: European immigrants v. indigenous peoples, etc.).

Day 4: Students will read a half page United Nations summary of occupation. Then they will read UN Security Council Resolution 242 and paraphrase it. (lesson II. A. 1)

Days 5 & 6: Show *Occupation 101* (90 minutes) over the next two days. Find the questions for this film in the Movies, Games & Study Guides folder. Use discussion questions to debrief. Before the movie, remind students of the CBA and its requirements. Students should take notes on possible causes of conflict and get ideas for what they want to research further.

Day 7: Ask students to read some articles in *favor* of the Wall and Settlements (Lesson II. A. 3): Wall articles A and B and Settlements article 3. These will provide *contrasting* views of the occupation to *Occupation 101*. Students should continue to take notes on possible causes of conflict. Homework: complete the readings.

Day 8: Present the requirements for a paper/project and timeline, according to the CBA. Give students a handout of credible resources (see Introductory Documents). Give them the CBA rubric and the CBA graphic organizer (on the OSPI website and

summarized at the end of Section III of the Causes of Conflict CBA). Give students time to research and write. Students can share good resources with class.

Day 9: Individual research on causes of conflict.

Day 10: Individual research on causes of conflict. HW: write a paper on the 2-3 main causes of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Support your hypothesis with evidence from at least 5 credible sources. Use several different social science perspectives. Include a timeline of events. (Other possible culminating activities are suggested in Lesson III.)

Followup: Students can present summaries of research if they are not going to do a final presentation such as a powerpoint. Try to make time for a culminating class discussion about what students have learned and how we can apply this learning to other conflict situations.

Timing Note: If you have a few more days, teach the three-day lesson on two narratives of violence and aftermaths (Lesson II. B. 3) before your students begin their individual research. These lessons will add depth to student analysis of causes of conflict.

I. HISTORY

1. INTRODUCTION SIMULATION: Seattle Land Redistributed!

News Flash! Tell students you are beginning a new unit of study. To gain understanding of the issues, students should imagine that the following has happened in their city: “The U.S. Government recently heard arguments of representatives from the Suquamish and Duwamish nations, the original people who lived in the Seattle area. They argue that since their lands were taken from them, they should be allowed to get them back. The U.S. is moved by their request and is now thinking about giving them the City of Seattle in compensation.” (see the News Flash! below).

Explain: Members of the Duwamish and Suquamish tribes have won their lawsuit. They are getting their land (all of Seattle) back. If you are living on this land and you are not Native American, then you have to leave. The government will compensate you. Is this fair? Is this just? Where can you go? Give students the News Flash (below) and ask them to **write their thoughts**. After a few minutes, guide students in **discussing** these issues. Other questions to ask: is it fair that you have to move even if you were born here? what if your parents and grandparents were born here? is it fair that the Duwamish and Suquamish cannot have their land even if they and their grandparents and great-great-grandparents were born here? What about Duwamish people forced off the land 100 years ago whose children were born elsewhere? Should the children have the right to come back? What if they’re subject to racism and persecution and oppression where they currently live? What’s the time limit or generational limit on land claims? How much compensation would be enough? Where would people go? Would they fear a similar lawsuit in their new home?

The simulated issue above parallels the claims that both Jewish Israelis and Palestinians make to their land, located in the Middle East. Both peoples have argued that they should be equated with the indigenous peoples of the area. The lesson brings the issues “home” to the students and helps them realize that these are difficult issues for any person to deal with. Obviously, if you are not teaching in Seattle, change the details to fit your location.

After the discussion, **introduce this Causes of Conflict CBA** and tell students that you will be focusing on this issue for the next four-nine weeks. Stress that you will be looking at competing narratives and not forcing students to take sides but to look at it from several perspectives. We’ll start this unit by looking briefly at current geography and population, then back up to look at the history of the conflict, before focusing on current issues. At the end of the unit, there will be a culminating activity, perhaps a panel discussion where students can ask questions of proponents of several different perspectives. You will be asking students to then write about the three main causes of conflict and propose a peaceful solution. **Homework:** Tell students to go home and watch for news items about Israelis and Palestinians. Have them write down at least one news item heard on radio/TV/the internet and note the source.

***The Seattle Post-Times* Date: Today Time: Now**

NEWS FLASH!

The U.S. Government recently heard arguments of representatives from the Suquamish and Duwamish nations, the original people who lived in the Seattle area. They argue that since their lands were taken from them, they should be allowed to get them back. The U.S. is moved by their request and is now thinking about giving them the City of Seattle in compensation.

Write your thoughts and questions here:

2. KNOW/WANT TO LEARN/LEARNED

Give students the KWL Handout that follows. Have them take a few moments to individually write down what they already know or think they know about Israelis and Palestinians (they can draw on their homework from the first lesson). Then have them write down what they want to learn. Have them share with a partner. Then ask each pair to share with the class one thing they'd like to know. Generate a large list of questions. If you can, post these questions prominently in the classroom so that you can all be reminded of some of the answers you'd like to find. Encourage students to continue to fill out this handout with more questions and what they've learned at various points in this unit.

ISRAELIS & PALESTINIANS

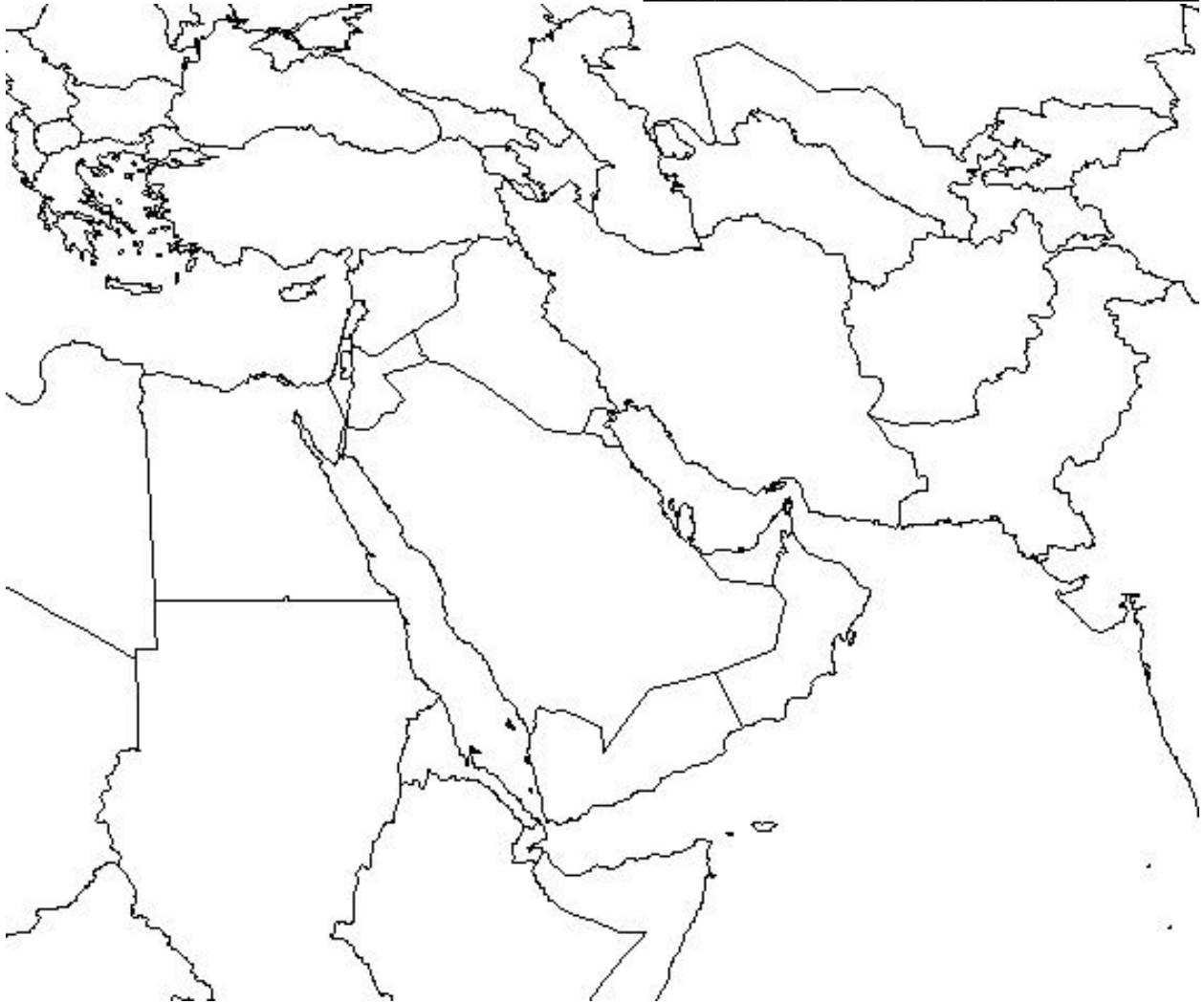
KNOW	WANT TO LEARN	LEARNED

3. MIDDLE EAST MAP

Give students a blank map of the Middle East, instructions for what to place on it and a geography textbook. Tell students they need to understand the geography of the area to understand the people and their issues. Give the map quiz a few days later.

MAP OF THE MIDDLE EAST (& SURROUNDING AREAS)

Name: _____



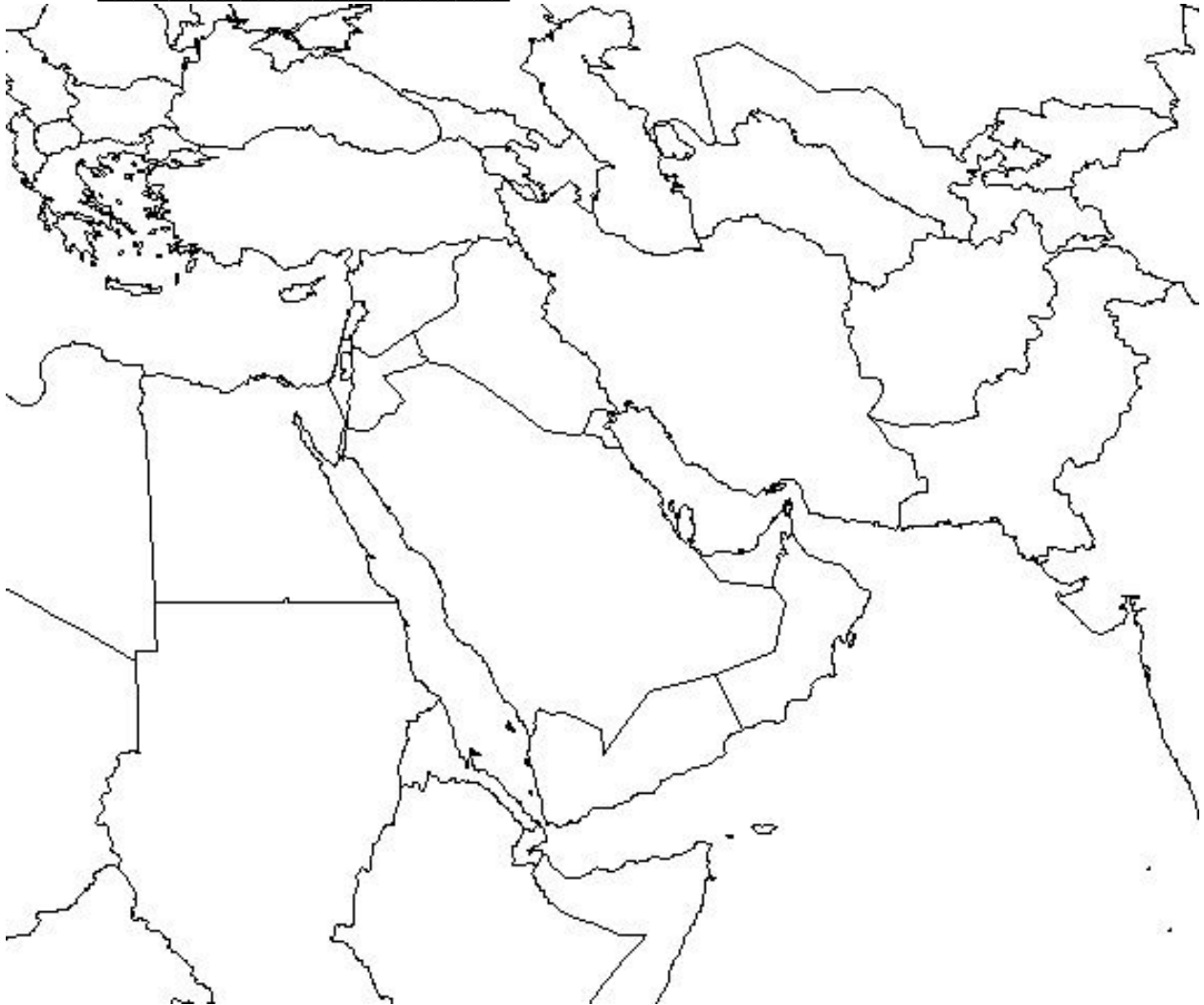
MIDDLE EAST MAP INSTRUCTIONS

Instructions: Use your geography text to fill in the following on your map. Please remember to put your name on your map before turning it in.

Countries	Cities	Other
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Bahrain - Cyprus - Iran - Iraq - Israel - Jordan - Kuwait - Lebanon - Oman - Qatar - Saudi Arabia - Syria - Turkey - The United Arab Emirates (UAE) - Yemen - Egypt 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Istanbul - Ankara - Damascus - Amman - Cairo - Riyadh - Dubai - Doha - Kuwait City - Baghdad - Jerusalem - Beirut - Tehran - Tel Aviv 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sinai Peninsula - Red Sea - Mediterranean Sea - Persian Gulf - Arabian Sea - Caspian Sea - Black Sea - Nile River - Tigris River - Euphrates River - Suez Canal - Arabian Peninsula - West Bank - Gaza Strip

MAP OF THE MIDDLE EAST QUIZ

Name: _____



Instructions: Write the name of the location indicated on the map above.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____
6. _____
7. _____
8. _____
9. _____
10. _____

4. MIDDLE EAST 101

Create a powerpoint presentation or a lecture with the following information. Use a map. Ask students to take notes and ask questions.

Middle East 101

Map!

Geography

Only major rivers:

Nile

Tigris

Euphrates

Water conflicts

Turkey

Israel

People & Languages

Arabs:

Majority

Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, the Arabian Peninsula & $\frac{3}{4}$ of Iraq, 20% of Israel, most of West Bank & Gaza Strip

Arabic

Turks:

Turkey (80%) and Iran (25%)

Turkish

Persians

Iran (60%)

Persian/Farsi

Kurds

Turkey (19%), Iran, Iraq, Syria & some former Soviet countries.

Speak Kurdish

Jews

80% Israel, a few in other Arab countries

Oil

65% of the world's oil reserves

26% of world's natural gas reserves

Some VERY rich countries:

Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates

Some not so much:

Egypt, Yemen

Religion

90% of Middle East are Muslim: mostly Sunni, some Shia/Shiite

Other minorities:

Christian: Coptic, Orthodox, Catholic

Jewish

Druze

5. BASIC FACTS ABOUT ISRAELIS AND PALESTINIANS -- NOW & POPULATION GRAPHS OVER TIME

The aim of this lesson is to start with the present and to raise questions, not answer them.

A. Share the information sheets below with your students. Have them fill out information charts, being careful to put the information in the right categories. Then have students write a paragraph comparing Israelis and Palestinians in terms of one category. Debrief: why the disparity of economy when they live side by side? politics? we'll be looking at this....there's been a conflict there for the last half century. We'll be looking at causes and possible solutions....

B. Look at bar graphs...

Have students explain each bar graph. Discuss the meaning. Ask students if they know how/why the population of Jews grew so rapidly in the first half of the 1900s. Write down guesses. Some students may know about the anti-Jewish pogroms of the late 1800s and early 1900s and some may know about World War II.

FACTS ABOUT ISRAEL

- Population: 6.7 million (UN, 2005)
- Seat of government: Jerusalem, though most foreign embassies are in Tel Aviv
- Area: Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics cites 22,072 sq km (8,522 sq miles), including Jerusalem and Golan
- Major languages: Hebrew, Arabic
- Major religions: Judaism, Islam
- Life expectancy: 77 years (men), 82 years (women) (UN)
- Monetary unit: 1 new Israeli shekel (NIS) = 100 new agorot
- Main exports: Computer software, military equipment, chemicals, agricultural products
- GNI per capita: US \$17,380 (World Bank, 2005)
- Internet domain: .il
- International dialing code: +972

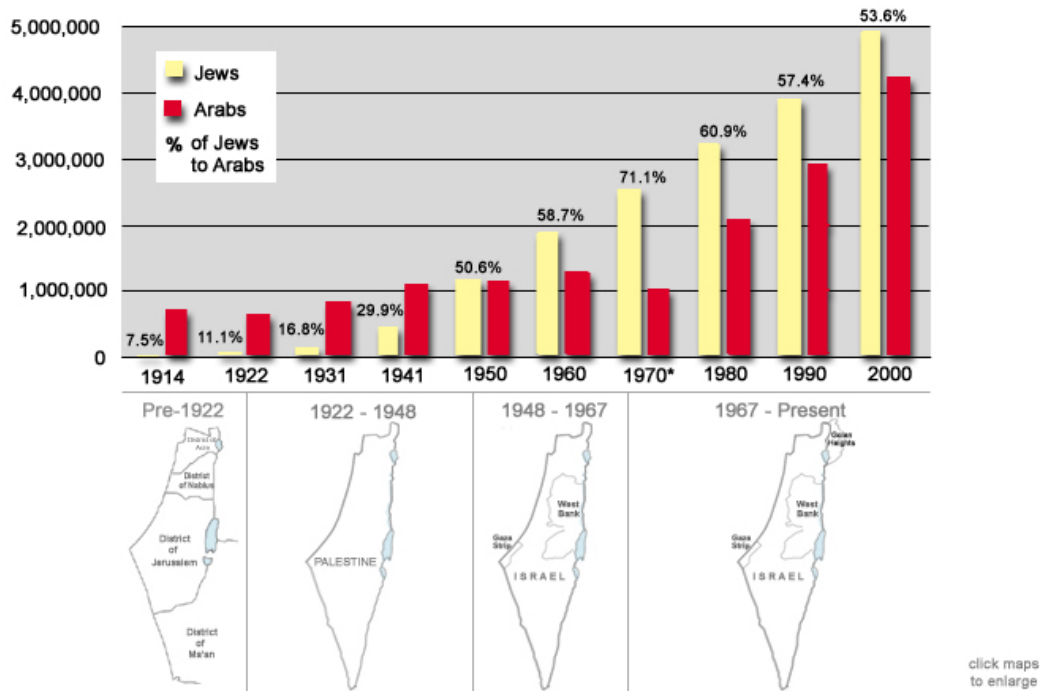
FACTS ABOUT PALESTINIANS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES/WEST BANK & GAZA STRIP (NEXT TO ISRAEL)

- Population: 3.8 million (UN, 2005)
- Intended seat of government: East Jerusalem
- Area: Palestinian Ministry of Information cites 5,970 sq km (2,305 sq miles) for West Bank territories and 365 sq km (141 sq miles) for Gaza
- Major language: Arabic
- Major religion: Islam, some Christian
- Life expectancy: 71 years (men), 74 years (women) (UN)
- Monetary unit: 1 Jordan dinar = 1,000 fils, 1 new Israeli shekel (NIS) = 100 new agorot
- Main exports: Citrus
- GNI per capita: US \$1,120 (World Bank, 2005)
- Internet domain: .ps
- International dialing code: +970

Israel / Palestine:

II. Arab / Jewish Population (1914-2000) (in Israel and the Occupied Territories of West Bank & Gaza Strip)

A. Graph ([Sources & Notes](#))



II. Israel / Palestine: Arab / Jewish Population (1914-2000)

B. Chart ([Sources & Notes](#))

<i>Year</i>	<i>Jews</i>	<i>Arabs</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>% of Jews to Total</i>
1914	60000	731000	791000	7.585%
1922	83790	668258	752048	11.141%
1931	174606	858708	1033314	16.897%
1941	474102	1111398	1585500	29.902%
1950	1203000	1172100	2375100	50.650%
1960	1911300	1340100	3251400	58.783%
1970 *	2582000	1045000	3627000	71.188%
1980	3282700	2100000	5382700	60.986%
1990	3946700	2919000	6865700	57.484%
2000	4955400	4281900	9237300	53.645%

Sources & Notes:

Sources by Year:

1914	Justin McCarthy ★ ★ ★	★ <i>The Population of Palestine</i> , 1990
1922 & 1931	British Census ★ ★ ★	(Census conducted by the British Mandate Government.)
1941	Esco Foundation ★ ★ ★	★ <i>Palestine: A Study of Jewish, Arab, and British Policies Vol. 1</i> , p.46, Yale University Press, 1947

1950 - 2000

☒ Jewish population source: [Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics](#) ★ ★
★ "Statistical Abstract of Israel, No. 55: The population by Religion and Population Group," 2004

☒ Arab population source: [Justin McCarthy](#) ★ ★ ★ "Palestine's Population During the Ottoman and the British Mandate Periods," 2001

Notes:

- * Decrease in the Arab population between 1960 and 1970 due to Arab refugees from the [1967 War](#).

Comparing Israel & Palestine

Name: _____ Period: _____

Instructions:

- Use the pages of statistics to find out as much information about Israel and Palestine's Populations, Quality of Life and Economies as you can. Take notes in the space provided.
- When you finish, choose one category and write a paragraph (8-10 sentences) comparing and contrasting Israel and Palestine for that category.

	Israel	Palestine (West Bank, Gaza Strip)
Population		
Quality of Life		
Economy		

6. MIDDLE EAST HISTORY: PALESTINE & ISRAEL THROUGH TIME

Teacher Introduction: Below is an introduction to a basic history lecture on the Middle East. On the following pages is a detailed history lecture, followed by an outline showing what students should have noted down. (You can shorten your lecture as you need to; we just want to provide you with enough background to answer students' questions).

What you could say to your students:

We'll be studying about Palestinians and Israelis. The first thing to do when you hear what you're going to study is to ask yourself some questions about it. For instance, you could ask:

Who are these people?

Where do Palestinians and Israelis live?

I've heard there is a conflict between these people, is that true? What are they fighting about?

What other questions do you have? Add these to your KWL chart.

I'll be giving you a talk about the history of the region where Israelis and Palestinians live. Organize your notes using Roman numerals. Write the main points and a few details for each section of my talk. At the end, I'll show you the outline that I made and you can see how much of the talk you were able to note down. We'll also see if your questions and mine were answered.

OR, Try This Alternative to the Lecture Format Above:

RACE to RESEARCH

If your students are lecture-averse, try this alternative. Cut up the detailed lecture on the Middle East that follows. Hand each section to a group of students. Tell them they have 15 minutes to research more details about that history (if there are 4 students in the group, ask for 4 details; if there are 3 students, ask for 3 details, etc.). Tell them their details should be factual and interesting. Be sure you have computers or encyclopedias or books in the room, enough so that each group has access to at least one source. When the research is finished, give all students the brief outline of the lecture that follows the detailed lecture in these notes. Each group should present their information from the detailed lecture and their interesting, additional facts. Ask students to write down the additional facts on their lecture notes.

MIDDLE EAST HISTORY: PALESTINE & ISRAEL THROUGH TIME -- detailed lecture

I. GEOGRAPHY:

A. Palestine is an area in the Middle East generally between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River. Exact area varies through time. Sometimes the land has stretched far to east.

B. Other terms for approximately the same area: Canaan, Zion, Holy Land

Q: Where's Israel-Palestine? A: in the Middle East

II. ANCIENT HISTORY

A. Earliest humans live 1.5 million years ago.

Jericho = one of oldest continuously inhabited human settlements (9000 BCE)

CANAANITES, PHILISTINES, ISRAELITES

B. Bronze Age (3000-1200 BCE)

Canaanites live in Palestine, and parts of what is now Lebanon and Syria.

Canaanite cities include: Jib or Jebus (Jerusalem), Bisan

Philistines arrive (probably from Crete) w/ iron tools and mix w/ Canaanites (Philistine becomes the word for Palestine) about 1200-1100 BCE

Habiru/Hebrew/Israelite/Jewish tribes appear and settle some parts of Canaan -- their religion has only one god.

Q: Who are Palestinians and Israelis? At their most ancient, they claim descent from Canaanites, Philistines, and Hebrews.

AGES AND EMPIRES AND CALIPHATES

C. Iron Age (1200-330 BCE)

Israelite tribes unite to form one kingdom of Israel in northern Palestine -- 700s BCE then splits into two kingdoms: Israel and Judah

(no archeological evidence for King Solomon building a First Temple in Jerusalem during this time -- but that's part of the story of Christians and Jews.)

D. Lots of empires conquer the area, the people who live there keep farming, trading, and trying to survive, often learning new languages or religions:

Assyrian Empire destroys n. Kingdom of Israel -- 722 BCE-- exiles Israelite tribes

Babylonian Empire conquers s. Kingdom of Judah -- 586 BCE -- Jerusalem & First Temple destroyed -- many Jews & others deported to Babylon

Persian Empire -- 539 BCE -- allows some Jews back, Jews build Second Temple

Nabataeans establish civilization in southern Palestine -- 400-160 BCE

E. Hellenistic Rule (333 BCE) = Greeks/Alexander the Great defeat the Persians later, his generals divide up the area, much trade and commerce, but later: civil war

F. Hasmonean Dynasty (140 BCE): Independent Jewish kingdom is established for about 80 years, after anti-Jewish persecution and a Maccabean Revolt against former rulers. Jews force many inhabitants to convert to Judaism.

G. Roman Rule:

(63 BCE) Roman army takes over: area becomes a Roman province (70 CE): called Judea, Samaria, Galilee, then later Syria Palaestina. Rome allows autonomy if rulers acknowledge Roman rule.

Herod is appointed King. Renovates Second Temple. Jesus of Nazareth, a Jew, develops new ideas about God. His followers call it Christianity.

Early Christians are oppressed, Jews also. Most inhabitants adopt Roman religion.

First Jewish-Roman War (66-73 CE). Jerusalem and Second Temple destroyed, leaving Western Wall standing.

Romans continue to oppress Jews and Christians to force them to worship Roman gods. More revolts occur. Jews are pushed outside the area.

H. Byzantine (Eastern Roman) Rule (330-638 CE)

Roman Emperor Constantine converts to Christianity 330 CE, making it the official religion of Palestine. Churches built where Jesus was born and crucified. Prosperous period of trade and pilgrimage. Many Palestinians become Christians. Major cities include Gaza and Jerusalem. Christians limit Jewish activities.

I. Islamic Period (638-1918 CE)

Persian occupation (614-628 CE) exhausts both Byzantine empire and Persians. Jews allowed to rule and limit activities of Christians.

Battle of Yarmouk: Arab/Muslim army defeats Persians and occupies Jerusalem (638 CE) -- the Islamic prophet Muhammad had established a new political state on the Arabian Peninsula and his followers expanded their religious, military, and political rule outward to form a large Muslim Arab Empire. Muslims believed in one god, like Jews and Christians, included many stories from the Torah/Old Testament in their Quran/Koran, and believed that Muhammad was the prophet of God/Allah. They believed that Abraham and Jesus were other prophets who had preceded Muhammad.

1. Arab Caliphates Rule (638-1099 CE)

Arabs = Semitic people related ethnically and linguistically to Semitic tribes like Canaanites and Hebrews.

Many Palestinians become Muslims.

Muslim caliphs (religious/political rulers) rule a large area (from southern Europe and North Africa through the mid East to Central Asia and the Indus River in India), including the province now known as Filastin (Palestine):

a. Umayyad Rule (661-750 CE) (capital in Damascus)

Agreements made with non-Muslims give Christians and Jews (other “people of the book” with the same god) some protection in exchange for submitting to Muslim rule and paying a tax (there were other restrictions as well: on clothing and building, etc.). However, their treatment under Moslem rule is better than it was under Byzantine or Persian rule. Some Jews move to Jerusalem. The Caliph declares a place

in Jerusalem, where Muhammad was believed to have ascended to heaven for a visit, to be sacred to Muslims (3rd holiest city after Mecca and Medina). This now houses the Haram al-Sharif, including the Dome of the Rock built in 691 CE, and the Al-Aqsa Mosque built ten years later.

b. Abbasid Rule (750-969 CE)

These Caliphs are based in Baghdad (modern Iraq). They continue to visit holy shrines and encourage trade in Palestinian cities, where European merchants also trade with Asian merchants. Europeans make pilgrimages and send money to build churches there. This is the height of Islamic civilization. A House of Wisdom (library) in Baghdad seeks to translate and preserve all the world's knowledge. This Islamic Golden Age preserves Greek and Roman knowledge, incorporates Chinese knowledge (papermaking, gunpowder) and adds much learning in science, philosophy, medicine, education --such as algebra, the scientific method, *1001 Nights*, windmills, water turbines --later transfers to Europe to fuel its Renaissance beginning in the 1400s.

c. Fatimid Rule (969-1099 CE)

The Fatimids claim to be descendants of Muhammad through his daughter Fatima. Islam has two branches: Shi'ite (of which Fatimids are part); the other main branch is Sunni. The Fatimids rule from Tunisia and conquer Palestine after making Cairo (modern Egypt) their capital. The Seljuk Turks fight with the Fatimids. Warfare disrupts Palestinian life and Christian pilgrimages.

2. Crusader Rule (1099-1187, 1229-1244 CE)

Christians in European countries send armies of crusaders to take over Palestine from Muslims. Many crusaders are poor, landless (not the oldest sons, so they do not inherit any land from parents) young men trying to make their fortunes in feudal, poverty-stricken Middle Ages Europe. Some towns in Palestine are ruled by Crusaders for nearly 200 years. For a while, Jerusalem is a Christian city where no Jews or Muslims are allowed. But Saladin captures Jerusalem in 1187. Various Muslim rulers expel the Europeans from powerful positions. Europeans either return to Europe or merge with the local population. There continue to be Muslim, Jewish, and Christian Palestinians, but Muslims are the vast majority.

3. Mamluk Rule (1250-1516 CE)

Palestine then becomes ruled by military rulers, called Mamluks, based in Cairo and Damascus. The Mamluks revitalize the mosques and build a road from Damascus to Cairo, but they also destroy cities on the coast, fearing a return by Crusaders. From 1486 on, the Mamluks fight with the Ottoman Turks over control of Western Asia.

III. NOT SO ANCIENT HISTORY: Ottoman Rule (1516-1918 CE)

The Ottoman Empire (Muslim and ruling from Istanbul) extends into Europe, North Africa, and the eastern Mediterranean. Muslims, Jews, and Christians enjoy much freedom in worship, schools, and charities (Jews and Muslims flee there after being

pushed out of Spain by 1492). In 1799, Napoleon/France briefly occupy some coastal cities. The Egyptians rule the area for a decade 1831-1841. The British, rising as an imperial power, help the Ottomans force the Egyptians back. However, the Ottoman Empire is losing its ability to control a vast area (by World War I, it is known as “The Sick Man of Europe”). Stronger European countries, trying to build the biggest empires and acquire the most raw materials to fuel an industrial revolution, secretly begin to negotiate on how to divide up the empire. Gradually, European countries win more influence on Christian communities and on trade within the Ottoman Empire.

Q: Are people in the area having a centuries-old fight over religion? A: No. Overall, the Christians, Muslims, and Jews living in the area treated each other rather well (at least compared to how Christians treated Muslims and Jews in Europe). In fact, by 1856, the Ottoman Empire was guaranteeing equal rights to all subjects.

IV. MODERN HISTORY

In 1881 in Palestine:

Arab Muslims make up more than 85% of the population,
Arab Christians are slightly under 10% of the population, and
Arab Jews comprise around 3-4% of the population.

Mostly farmers grow grains, cotton, oranges, wheat, olives; towns have businesses and small industries like soap factories; some bedouin sheep and goat herders.

Palestinians trade and export to Europe. Trade and agriculture are expanding.

Palestine is administered by Ottoman officials in Damascus or Sidon and by prominent families in the area.

A. Jewish National Liberation Movement: Zionism - late 1800s

Facing centuries of persecution of Jews in Europe, inspired by secular nationalist ideas, some European Jews develop the idea of “Zionism”. They want to create a Jewish nation-state. They choose Palestine for historical reasons. About 25,000-35,000 Jews from Eastern Europe and Yemen settle in Palestine from 1881-1903. Another 40,000 Jews immigrate from 1904-1914. Zionists are led by Theodor Herzl, and the World Zionist Organization after 1897. In 1901, the Jewish National Fund begins buying land in Palestine for the exclusive use and ownership by Jews.

B. Palestinian National Liberation Movement - late 1800s

By the early twentieth century, many educated Palestinians want a nation-state of their own. Palestinian Arabs (Muslim and Christian) sit as deputies in Ottoman Parliaments of 1877, 1908, 1912, and 1914. Arabic language newspapers from Palestine at that time show that Arab nationalism and opposition to Zionism (as a European movement taking land) is strong. The awareness of Palestine as a specific place within the Ottoman Empire is also very evident .

C. First World War (1914-1918)

There are 550,000 Palestinian Muslims and Christians.

There are 60,000 Palestinian/indigenous Jews in the area AND 25,000 European/Zionist Jews. That is, Jews comprise about 15% of the population.

The Ottomans side with Germany and Austria-Hungary against Britain, France, Russia, and the United States. The British (with local help) drive the Ottomans from much of the Middle East during the war. The empire dissolves. During WWI, 3 important agreements by the British seem to promise the land of Palestine to the non-Jewish Palestinians, and then again to the Jews, and then the same land to the European Powers (for more in-depth study of these three agreements, see Smith's documents 2.1, 2.2, 2.6 in Sources listed at end of lecture):

1. The Husayn-McMahon Correspondence 1915-1916: British seem to agree with Arab leaders to give land held by Ottoman Turks to Arab nationals who live on that land, in return for support of British during the war.

2. Sykes-Picot Agreement 1916: British and French secretly agree to divide up the Middle East between them after the war.

3. Balfour Declaration 1917: Arthur Balfour, the British foreign minister, promises to establish a Jewish national home in Palestine (while protecting the civil and religious rights of the non-Jewish population -- the other 90%).

D. British Mandate (1922-1948)

After WWI, the British occupy the area and are then granted a Mandate by the new League of Nations (precursor to the United Nations) to rule Palestine. The British create two areas to govern: Palestine and Transjordan (which they quickly set up to be independent, later known as Jordan). The Mandate said:

"Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have also agreed that the Mandatory should be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on November 2, 1917, by the Government of His Britannic Majesty, and adopted by the said Powers, in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country;..."

Ask students: From this Mandate, what would Jews in Palestine believe were their rights and their future? What would Arab Palestinians believe were their rights and their future?

Q: what are they fighting about? A: We need to learn more about the 20th C. history to know for sure. But we could guess now that it's about competing national movements and who gets political power and land in Palestine.

By 1947, first with British help --and then after Arab protests, with British limitations -- the huge number of Jewish immigrants to Palestine bring the percentage of Jewish inhabitants of Palestine to almost 33%, while Muslims now only make up 58% of the population and Christians only about 8%. But, in 1948, the Jewish population owns only 5.6% of the land.

Sources include:

Smith, Charles. *Palestine and the Arab-Israeli Conflict: A History With Documents*, 7th Ed. (Bedford/St. Martin's: Boston, 2010).

Khalidi, Walid. *Before Their Diaspora: A Photographic History of the Palestinians 1876-1948* (Institute for Palestine Studies: Washington, D.C., 1991).

Middle East History: Palestine & Israel -- Do Your Notes Look Like This?

I. Geography: Palestine

- A. Middle East: area betw. Med. Sea & Jordan R.
- B. aka. Canaan, Zion, Holy Land

II. Ancient History

- A. Earliest humans: 1.5 mil. yrs. ago
- B. Bronze Age (3000-1200 BCE): Canaanite, Philistine, Hebrew peoples lived, traded
- C. Iron Age (1200-330 BCE): a united kingdom of Israel splits into Israel, Judah
- D. Empires conquer Palestine: Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, Nabataeans
- E. Greeks (Alexander the Great)
- F. Hasmonean Dynasty -- Jewish kingdom for 80 yrs.
- G. Romans (63 BCE): persecute Jews & Christians
- H. Byzantine (East Roman): Christian emperor
- I. Islamic Period (638-1918 CE)
 - 1. Arab Caliphates
 - a. Umayyad, Abbasid (Islamic Golden Age), Fatimid
 - b. Jews & Christians treated better then before, though not equally
 - 2. Crusaders (1099-1187 CE) from Europe
 - 3. Mamluks: Egyptians

III. Ottoman Rule (1516-1918 CE)

- A. Palestine = part of Syria-Damascus province
- B. Muslims, Jews, Christians: freedom of worship, schools, charities
- C. Empire starts crumbling in 1800s

IV. Modern History

- A. Jewish National Liberation Movement= Zionism (nation state for Jews): stems from persecution of Jews in Europe; immigrants to Palestine from Europe & Yemen, Herzl, Zionist National Congress
- B. Palestinian National Liberation Movement: also want own nation state politicians, newspapers
- C. WWI (1914-1918): British allies defeat Ottomans/Germany/etc. 3 agreements promise Palestine to 3 different peoples:
 - a. McMahon - Palestine to Arabs
 - b. Sykes-Picot - Palestine to British/French
 - c. Balfour Decl. - Palestine to Jews
- D. British Mandate (1920-1948)
 - 1. League of Nations grants British right to rule Palestine.
 - 2. Mandate calls for national home for Jews w/o prejudice to rights of non-Jews
 - 3. British allow Jewish immigration, Arabs protest, Brit. limit immigration. By 1947: Muslims: 58%, Jews: 33%, Christians: 8%

7. HOLOCAUST

Although Zionism and Jewish immigration to Palestine began in the late 1800s, you will need to be sure that students are familiar with the horrific events of the Holocaust that occurred in Europe in the mid-1900s in order to fully understand subsequent events. If you have already taught the Holocaust and World War II, you will not need to teach this. But if you haven't, then this is a good time to touch on these important events. Make the following powerpoint or lecture:

Question

- Have you ever watched someone be treated unfairly by a teacher, police officer, principal, coach etc. and not said anything about it? Why didn't you say/do anything?

- "THEY CAME FIRST for the Communists,
and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Communist.

THEN THEY CAME for the Jews,
and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Jew.

THEN THEY CAME for the trade unionists,
and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a trade unionist.

THEN THEY CAME for the Catholics,
and I didn't speak up because I was a Protestant.

THEN THEY CAME for me
and by that time no one was left to speak up."

- --Pastor Martin Niemöller (1892–1984)

What Was the Holocaust?

The Holocaust was the systematic, bureaucratic, state-sponsored persecution and murder of approximately six million Jews and five million others by the National Socialist (Nazi) regime and its collaborators.

Holocaust is a word of Greek origin meaning “sacrifice by fire.” The Nazis, who came to power in Germany in January 1933, believed that Germans were “racially superior” and that the Jews, deemed “inferior,” were an alien threat to the so-called German racial community.

Rise of the Nazi Party (1918-1933) During the fourteen years following the end of World War I, the Nazi party grew from a small political group to the most powerful party in Germany.

1933-1939 Once Hitler became Chancellor and later Reichsführer, the Nazi party quickly changed Germany's political, social, and economic structure.

Ghettos 1939-1941 Confining Jews to ghettos was another critical step in Hitler's Final Solution.

The Camps (began 1941-1942) The concentration camps were Hitler's final step in the annihilation of the Jews.

Resistance (1942-1944) People resisted by any means possible, from stealing a slice of bread to sabotaging Nazi installations.

Rescue and Liberation (1944-1945) Some survived through the heroics of neighbors; others were liberated by the Allies.

After the war, Nazi perpetrators faced punishment for their war crimes and survivors began rebuilding their lives.

mobile gas vans served as the impetus for the Nazis to seek a more rational and efficient killing process.

Timeline for Nazi Extermination Camps

(Kulmhof) Chelmno	Auschwitz- Birkenau	*Belzek	*Sobibor	*Treblinka	Majdanek	Stutthof
December 7, 1941	September, 1941	March 17, 1942	March, 1942	July 23, 1942	October, 1942	June, 1944
Gas Vans	Zyklon-B	Carbon Monoxide gas	Carbon Monoxide gas	Carbon Monoxide gas	Carbon Monoxide and Zyklon B gas	Zyklon-B gas
Killed 320,000	Killed 1,200,000	Killed 600,000	Killed 250,000	Killed 700,000	Killed 1,380,000	Killed 65,000

termination rather than beginning of construction)

Who was targeted by the Nazis?

Along with the Jews, Nazi authorities targeted other groups because of their perceived "racial inferiority." These groups included:

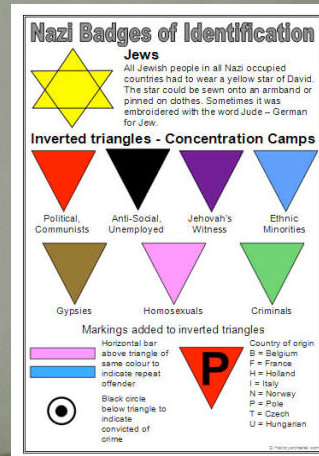
- Roma (Gypsies)
- some Slavic peoples (Poles, Russians, and others).

Other groups were persecuted on political, ideological, and behavioral grounds, among them:

- Communists
- Catholics
- Socialists
- Jehovah's Witnesses
- Homosexuals
- The Disabled

The Early Years

Leading up to the Holocaust, the Nazi party took a series of small measures – often through pseudo-science and propaganda – that up to the discrimination, separation, oppression and eventual extermination of millions of people.



What steps did the Nazis take?

In the early early to mid-30's, the Nazi government began to establish concentration camps, labor camps and ghettos to detain and facilitate the transit of Jews and others. Increasingly in the years before the outbreak of war, the brutal *Schutzstaffel* (SS) officers and police officials incarcerated Jews, Roma, and other victims of ethnic and racial hatred in these camps.



The Warsaw Ghetto



The Ahlem Labor Camp

The “Final Solution”

During the war, the Nazis also mobilized killing units to move behind German lines to carry out mass-murder operations

Between 1941 and 1944, Nazi German authorities employed the “Final solution to the Jewish problem” by sending millions of Jews from all of its occupied territories to ghettos and killing centers, often called extermination camps. Here they would be killed in specially developed gassing facilities with Zyklon-B, a cyanide-based chemical.

The End of the Holocaust

In the final months of the war, SS guards moved camp inmates by train and on forced marches, often called “death marches,” in an attempt to prevent the Allied liberation of large numbers of prisoners.

The marches continued until May 7, 1945, the day the German armed forces surrendered unconditionally to the Allies.

8. PALESTINIAN HISTORY: EARLY 1900s

(for more information on this period, see the Cultural Interactions CBA)

Palestinians were part of the **Ottoman Empire** during the 1800s.

Mostly Muslim, some Christians & Jews

During WWI, they understood that they would soon have their own nation. Pres. Wilson had outlined 14 points of peace after WWI. Point 12 said that non-Turks in the old Turk (Ottoman) empire should govern themselves. The Husayn-McMahon Correspondence during the war also seemed to promise Arabs their own states.

Mandate Period

British ruled; at first allowed large numbers of Jews to immigrate from Europe; “Zionists” wanted their own Jewish country in Palestine. Later, sometimes tried to limit Jewish immigration & land sales, but Zionists continued to immigrate illegally. Many Pal. farmers were pushed off their land into the cities. (Their landlords sold or rented to Zionists who wanted no Palestinians to work the land.)

Palestinians: Letters, Strikes, Demonstrations.

British Response: House demolitions, Violence, Deportations (exiled leaders), Prison Camps.

Palestinian resistance to British & Zionists included vandalism, bombings, shootings. Massive Jewish immigration continued, between 1931-1936 the Jewish population doubled; large arms shipments for Zionist forces/Haganah increased fears of Zionist military takeover of Palestine.

Palestinian Arab Revolt 1936-39

Arab Palestinians rose against British colonial rule and mass Jewish immigration.

Revolt began with reciprocal shootings of Arab and Jewish workers.

Phase I: urban Higher Arab Committee directed strikes, protests.

British made some concessions, involved some Arab rulers (Iraq, Transjordan), and imposed martial law.

Zionist response: more illegal immigration, built increased number of settlements, violent targeting of Palestinians.

Phase II: rural, peasant-led resistance, violent targeting of British soldiers & Zionists.

Revolt was crushed by British. Over 5000 Arab Palestinians killed; 100-500 Jewish Palestinians (aka Jews, Zionists) killed.

Sources include:

Khalidi, Walid. *Before Their Diaspora: A Photographic History of the Palestinians 1876-1948* (Institute for Palestine Studies: Washington, D.C., 1991).

Adwan, Sami, Bar-On, Dan, Naveh, Eyal, ed. *Side by Side: Parallel Histories of Israel-Palestine* (The New Press: New York, 2012).

9. UN PARTITION PLAN OF 1947

Introduce the UN Partition Plan of 1947: the British Mandate has existed since the end of WWI. Now they want out and have dumped the problem onto the newly formed United Nations. Why? And how did everyone in Palestine react to the U.N. plan to partition the land? We are going to try and answer these questions today because the Partition Plan led to the 1947-49 war and Israel's Declaration of Independence.

Show the map of the UN Partition Plan of 1947 (see the Maps Folder online, or find it in the Trunk). Explain that 67% percent of the population (Palestinian Arabs) was being offered 46% percent of the land. Jews, 33% of the population, who owned only about 7% of the land, were being offered 54% of the land. (In the plan, there was also an independent area of Jerusalem.)

Students divide into groups of four. Within each group, have two students read the Arab Palestinian perspective, and two students read the Jewish Palestinian (soon to be Israelis) perspective, excerpted from: *Israel/Palestine*, by Alan Dowty, p. 85-86 and *A Brief History of Israel*, by Bernard Reich, p. 40-42.

Everyone gets 10 minutes to read his/her article. Have each student, then the two students together who have read the same article, decide on the answers to the questions below (find 3-5 reasons). Write the group answers down. Then pairs of students share their answers with the other pair. Students each write down the answers from the other pair. The handout below can help organize this.

1. Palestinian Jews (Remind students that Palestinian Jews were comprised of people who had lived in Palestine for generations (a few) as well as many recent Jewish immigrants from Europe. Natives often held different views from the recent Jewish immigrants. In the following exercise, have students think about what recent European Jewish immigrants thought of Partition because theirs was the majority Jewish perspective): Why did the British leave? How do you feel about the U.N. proposal? Why?

2. Palestinian Arabs: Why did the British leave? How do you feel about the U.N. proposal? Why?

Have a brief whole-class discussion: Ask each large group to state one reason in response to each question. Keep going around the classroom to each group until they have run out of different answers. This should elicit all the reasons, in case one group has omitted one. Tell students to write all the reasons down. You could quiz them the next day if you feel this incentive is necessary.

A. Palestinian Perspective From *Israel/Palestine* by Alan Dowty 2005 p. 85-86

For Palestinian Arabs, the UN vote was a defeat that followed one disaster and preceded another, even worse, catastrophe. The Arab community had been devastated as a result of the 1936-39 fighting, which had caused massive destruction and casualties, uprooted large numbers of people, dispersed the leadership, and left an extremely demoralized population. And while the Palestinian drive for self-determination had been brutally suppressed, neighboring Arab states had one by one achieved their independence (at least formally) during these same years: Iraq in 1932, Egypt in 1936, Syria and Lebanon in 1943, Transjordan in 1946. In 1945 these five states, together with Saudi Arabia and Yemen, formed the Arab League.

Why, asked Palestinian Arabs, was the right of self-determination applicable everywhere in the Middle East except in Palestine? Why was the Arab majority in Palestine held hostage to the attempt to impose an alien immigration? In the Arab case, submitted to a US-British committee of inquiry in 1946, Palestinians argued that they were descendants of the indigenous inhabitants "since the beginning of time," and that the Jewish claim "is based upon a historical connection which ceased effectively many centuries ago." Palestinians could not submit to being turned into a minority in their own state; they "claim the democratic right of a majority to make its own decisions." Furthermore, the Zionist presence had not brought material benefits to Arabs; on the contrary, it had isolated them from their Arab brethren, disrupted normal economic development, and threatened to leave them landless. By geography and history, in short, Palestine was "inescapably part of the Arab world." Partition, or the imposition of a binational state, were both inadmissible as a denial of majority rule; "If it is unjust to the Arabs to impose a Jewish state on the whole of Palestine, it is equally unjust to impose it in any part of the country." (Laqueur and Rubin 2001: 57-62)

With a number of newly independent Arab states by their side, Palestinian Arabs also felt in a stronger position than they had been in 1936-39. In the earlier confrontation, they had faced the forces of a Great Power with little assistance from other Arabs, who were engaged in their own struggles. Now they had strong and growing vocal support from seven independent Arab states, while the British were leaving and they faced a Jewish community of only about three-quarters of a million with little military tradition or experience. Arabs everywhere saw the Palestinian battle as a part of the common struggle against Western imperialism and colonialism, and the Arab governments were under great pressure to intervene in the emerging military conflict. In addition, some of these regimes had their own interests in intervening: the Hashemite states (Transjordan and Iraq) appeared to be thinking again of the greater Hashemite state envisioned after World War I, and this evoked opposition from Egypt and elsewhere. When full-scale war erupted in Palestine, therefore, it was unlikely to be limited to parties within the Mandate borders.

B. Jewish Palestinian/Israeli Perspective From *A Brief History of Israel* by Bernard Reich p. 40-42

The enormous drain on human resources of the Allied powers during and immediately after World War II forced significant rethinking of political and strategic policies for the postwar era in most of the major states of the world. In Britain, the crucial decision was taken to reexamine the empire and reevaluate positions “east of Suez.” The British position in Palestine became increasingly untenable, and it soon became an obvious choice for British withdrawal: The costs of continuing the mandate far outweighed the benefits to Britain of remaining there, especially with the growing pressures accelerated by the war and its subsequent effects on the regional and external players. The British, reflecting on their inability over the previous decades to find a solution to the Palestine issue that would satisfy the conflicting views of the Jews and the Arabs, and reconsidering the cost in men and pounds sterling of their continuation as the mandatory power, made a decision to relinquish their control over the Palestine mandate.

On February 15, 1947, Great Britain turned the issue of the Palestine mandate over to the United Nations. In effect, the British gave up on the issues affecting Palestine and rather than suggesting a serious resolution of the issue, chose to place the problem on the agenda of the international community. The United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) was created to investigate the issue and suggest appropriate measures to be taken.

As part of the Zionist lobbying effort, WZO [World Zionist Organization] president Chaim Weizmann met with U.S. president Truman. These meetings were crucial to generate American support for the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine along the lines preferred by the Zionist movement. Direct and significant U.S. involvement in the Palestine question had developed since the shift of the Zionist movement from Europe to the United States during World War II. Toward the end of the hostilities, the United States was also involved in the question of the future of the displaced persons in the concentration camps liberated by the U.S. and Allied forces. Truman’s interest and concern with this issue was among the earliest of the U.S. involvement in the Palestine matter.

After considerable deliberation, the UNSCOP proposed a plan that called for the partition of the British mandate of Palestine into an Arab state and a Jewish state, with an international regime (*corpus separatum*) for the city of Jerusalem and its environs, as the city was deemed too holy to be accorded to either. The partition plan proposed boundaries for a 4,500-square-mile Arab state that would be home to about 800,000 Arabs and 10,000 Jews. The Jewish state was to consist of some 5,500 square miles where some 498,000 Jews and 468,000 Arabs would live. The Jewish state was located in the coastal plain along the Mediterranean Sea from about Ashkelon to Acre, the eastern area of the Galilee, and much of the Negev desert. The Arab state included the remainder of the territory of the mandate west of the Jordan River, except for Jerusalem and the immediate area around it, which were included in the internationalized area. All would be linked in an economic union. On November 29, 1947, the UN General Assembly, by a vote of 33 to 13, with 10 abstentions and one member absent, adopted

Resolution 181 (II), the plan of partition for Palestine. Thus, the international system created a Jewish state of Israel, within the territory of the Palestine mandate.

The Zionist movement and other Jews were divided concerning the United Nations decision. Among the Zionist groups in Palestine and the Diaspora there were essentially two perspectives. Both believed that they had been offered less than they wanted, but the left-of-center Labor Zionists adopted a practical stance and believed that acceptance of the partition was the most logical and appropriate step. The right wing of the Zionists, primarily the Revisionists, believed that they should have been awarded all of the land west of the Jordan River as well as the territory east of the river that the British had severed from the original League of Nations mandate for Palestine to create the state of Transjordan. Nevertheless, there was little that could be done. Thus, the Yishuv, though unhappy with the exclusion of Jerusalem, and the Jewish Agency accepted the decision of the General Assembly as an important step toward an independent statehood and a practical necessity for providing refuge for survivors of the Holocaust. When the new state of Israel declared its independence in May 1948, it was within the lines drawn by the United Nations.

Meanwhile, the Arab leadership in Palestine and the League of Arab States unconditionally rejected the UN partition plan on the grounds that all of Palestine should be awarded to a Palestinian Arab state. The Arab rejection was based on the position that the United Nations had no right to give away approximately half of Palestine to the Zionists and that Palestinian Arabs should not be made to pay for Europe's crimes against the Jews. The latter argument was advanced despite the fact that the Balfour Declaration had been issued before the Nazis rose to power in Germany.

These clashing perspectives provided a basis for the ongoing Arab-Israeli conflict. The partition plan was supported by the United States and the Soviet Union, both of whom seemed to be courting the new Jewish state as an ally in the east-west struggle for regional mastery.

Name: _____

The United Nations Partition Plan of 1947: Reasons & Reactions

- British want to leave; UN proposes two countries
- Gives Palestinian Jews _____% of the land
- Gives Palestinian Arabs _____% of the land
- Other Details:

1. Why did the British leave?

2. Palestinian Jews (some native, some recent European immigrants, all soon to be Israelis): How do you feel about the U.N. proposal? Why?

3. Palestinian Arabs: How do you feel about the U.N. proposal? Why?

10. Competing Narratives of Catastrophe/Independence: *The Land Speaks Arabic* (from a typical Palestinian perspective, 61 minutes) and *In Search of Peace Part One: 1948-1967* (from a typical Israeli perspective, show 48 of the 112 minutes) (3-day lesson)

To give students a sense of the early history of the conflict and to illustrate the idea of competing narratives, show students the two movies *The Land Speaks Arabic* (61 minutes, 2007) and the first 48 minutes of *In Search of Peace Part One: 1948-1967* (112 minutes).

Introducing the Movies and the Concept of Competing Narratives

A fun way to introduce this concept is to arrange for another teacher to visit your classroom for a moment while you are out of the room. The visitor should say several things (and perhaps wear several odd items of clothing) and then leave and you can return to the room. Have the students report to you exactly what was said and what the teacher looked like. See if you can elicit conflicting details from the students. For example, did the visitor say “*Please* say hello to your teacher” or did the visitor just say “Say hello to your teacher”? Did s/he look mean or just serious? Did the visitor have a striped red and black tie or a checkered red and blue tie? (Alternatively, you can show a picture for 10 seconds and then ask students to recall details about the picture.)

Tell students that this visit shows them how easily the same event can be remembered differently. History is understood as a series of remembered events (narratives). But *who* remembers it determines *how* it will be remembered. Narratives differ. Traditionally, victors and the upper classes tell the histories that are passed on to future generations; they have the power/money/leisure to commission the writing of history. But other groups may remember the same events differently. This is known as “competing narratives.”

Point out that even with competing narratives, some facts can be determined to be true or false (was the tie, in actual fact, blue or black or another color?; what are ways that students could check that fact?). Some narratives may contain more true facts than others; but some competing narratives may simply emphasize different facts. Have students ever experienced competing narratives themselves? Does their sibling remember an argument differently, for example? What are some competing narratives surrounding the European settlement of North America (Manifest Destiny v. Genocide) or the issues of immigration (take jobs v. backbone of country)?

Israelis and Palestinians have competing narratives about what happened in Israel/Palestine. Explain that the students will learn of the competing narratives in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict by watching two movies. Each movie gives a different perspective on the same events/times. Tell students that not all Palestinians or Israelis agree with these perspectives, but that each movie represents a typical

perspective. Students can also get a sense of what “facts” might be true or false from looking at whether there is any proof for a particular part of the narrative.

Below is a teacher chart about the movie with many details filled in, as well as a blank template for students. Students will not be able to fill in all the details that are on the teacher chart; these details are to help the teacher discuss the movies afterwards with the students. After each movie, have students compare their charts with each other in groups of three or four, filling in details. Then their group can write a summary of the main narrative (the last row) together.

After showing both movies and filling in the chart, each group can present one row of information to the class (Group 1 can present the details they wrote down for “Who are the Palestinians”, etc.). Finally, student groups can all present their summaries of the main points of the competing narratives. Perhaps the teacher can write a class summary on the board, garnered from all the groups’ input. Discussion questions are included below.

Teacher Comparison Chart

Issue/Date	<i>The Land Speaks Arabic</i> typical Palestinian perspective	<i>In Search of Peace</i> typical Israeli perspective
Who are the Palestinians?	<p>This film begins here. Inhabitants for many years, large villages, cultivated land; grew wheat, barley, raised sheep; lived on land for centuries, footage of villages, peasants/farmers on the land; a populated country; Christians, Jews, and Muslims; lived in cities like Jerusalem, educated, lived together peacefully with different religions, welcomed Jews, but did not welcome a nation-state for Jews.</p>	<p>Arabs with 700 year presence on land. Grand Mufti of Jerusalem was enthusiastic supporter of Hitler. Had other Arab states to go to; Jews did not.</p> <p>They abandoned their property during the war of independence that formed Israel. The Israeli government took it over, though some Israelis objected. Over 700,000 displaced.</p> <p>In Israel, they do not feel treated like equal citizens, they do not celebrate Israel's independence, it was a disaster for them.</p> <p>The movie calls them "Israeli Arabs".</p>

Issue/Date	<i>The Land Speaks Arabic</i> typical Palestinian perspective	<i>In Search of Peace</i> typical Israeli perspective
Who are the Israelis? What is Zionism?	<p>Settlers from Europe, a colonial movement to make a state for Jews, racist, supremacist; asked Turkey for a nation-state, then asked Britain, which resulted in Balfour Declaration; wanted to transfer Jews to Palestine and transfer the Arabs out; Jews were mainly middle-class (before WW II) from Europe, less than 25% of people in Jerusalem were Jews; did not view Palestinians as having rights to the land; felt right to build national home from promise of God to Abraham; started by secular Jews, most religious Jews were against Zionism; Zionists were secular nationalists; Arab Jews were not Zionists, they were friends with Muslim and Christian Palestinians; problems started later with immigration of Jews from Europe; Zionism used religion to justify establishing Israel; myth that they would build a shining city on swamps;</p> <p>Names: Herzl, Ben Gurion</p> <p>Zionist settlements were also military settlements, most people on them trained as soldiers</p>	<p>Jews had controlled Jerusalem in 70 AD. Historic homeland. Continuous Jewish presence for 3500 years. Chaim Weizmann, leader of Zionists.</p>

Issue/Date	<i>The Land Speaks Arabic</i> typical Palestinian perspective	<i>In Search of Peace</i> typical Israeli perspective
Movement of European Jews onto the land	Started in beginning of Zionist project, Herzl, many documents to prove this in Israeli archives, Labor Zionism believed in a gradual increase of immigration until they were majority; Jewish National Fund/Jewish Agency recorded the village details	not mentioned
Actions in 1900s & 1920s & population	Palestinian demonstrations, appeals, delegations to Europe, population before WWI: only 5-10% Jews; more Jewish immigrants arriving every month, announced in Pal. newspapers as dangerous	not mentioned

Issue/Date	<i>The Land Speaks Arabic</i> typical Palestinian perspective	<i>In Search of Peace</i> typical Israeli perspective
1930s	<p>Main demographic change occurred in late 20s and early 30s under British rule; Palestinians feel threat, join resistance to Jews and Government of Britain. Pal. ambushes, fire at cars and buses, guns bought in Lebanon and Syria, 1 rifle for every 4 families or people, fought Jewish auxiliary/guards. Jews called on Government who had tanks. Pal. rebels were put on trial and faced death or prison. Zionist public policy: coexistence; Zionist private policy: remove Palestinians. There are Jewish militias. Palestinian Rebellion 1936: strikes and rebellions in countryside. British bomb villages, British Peel Commission. Jewish leaders propose organized Transfer of Pal. out of country as way to deal with problems. British defeated Palestinian Rebellion by 1939, disabled leaders, disarmed all Palestinians, severe sentences, tight surveillance, punished for even having a knife. Meanwhile, Jews were arming themselves, which is why Zionists later won. By late 1930s, Zionist militia threw bombs in markets & urban centers, smuggled arms, assassinated Pal. leaders, Jabotinsky, Irgun Gang, Jewish terrorism, Zionist underground. British installations were also targeted by Zionist militias ex. King David Hotel; Semiramis Hotel, trains. Zionists forged money.</p>	not mentioned

Issue/Date	<i>The Land Speaks Arabic</i> typical Palestinian perspective	<i>In Search of Peace</i> typical Israeli perspective
1945-1949	<p>Deir Yassin massacre. 1948: Transfer (moving Pal. out of country) becomes a military tactic. "Plan Dalit" talks about clearing out villages and towns. Only 3 1/2 % of land is bought by Jewish Agency. Almost all of Jewish community was in military, had more soldiers than all the countries around it. Pal. villagers had no arms, at mercy of Hagana (Zionist army). Pal. tried to buy weapons, but had little money. Zionists bombed and shot them. Pal. had the choice of leaving or dying. Even villages that did not resist were bombed. Zionists shot at people who were fleeing. Planes bombed fleeing inhabitants. Pal. had been disarmed by the British in the 1930s. People hid in caves, walked for miles. Zionists destroyed everything, machine-gunned inhabitants, massacres, killed groups, killed people sleeping, Jewish leaders swore they hadn't hurt the native population</p>	<p>This film begins here after showing the 1993 Oslo handshake which was supposed by many to be the start of peace. The film links 1948 Jewish soldiers receiving key to Jerusalem which had not been in Jewish hands since 70 AD/BCE. 1947 UN partition plan of Palestine into Arab and Jewish states, celebrations. Ben Gurion, chair of Jewish Agency, predicts fighting. Jews of Palestine needed weapons to compete with the Arab armies. American Jews helped raise money, Golda Meir raised \$50 million from US. Violence began, Jewish Kfar Etzion village massacre, May 13, 1948 by Arab Legion soldiers, only 4 survived, total 148 killed, Arabs claimed this as retribution for Deir Yassin in April 1948 when radical Jewish groups Irgun and Stern Gangs had killed 245. Deir Yassin had been denounced by Jewish Agency and Chief Rabbi. Secret mtg w/ King of Jordan who had promised not to attack. Jews had waited 2000 years for a state. Jews promised to accept UN borders if there was no war. King of Jordan believes that Jews' knowledge and initiative are needed. King assassinated. Arab countries closed borders. Jews living in those countries worried and sent children away to Israel. May 14, 1948, British sail away and Israel was inaugurated, Declaration of Independence. US officially recognizes Israel. Egyptian air force bombs Tel Aviv, May 15 fighting broke out with Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, (Trans) Jordan, Egypt. This was called the War of Independence. Israel had only 4 airplanes, then more arrived illegally from Am. volunteers. 5000 volunteers from around the world arrived to help fight. Israel bombed Cairo. Israeli women also fought, Palmach (kibbutz fighting force) was egalitarian. (Cont'd in next box)</p>

Issue/Date	<i>The Land Speaks Arabic</i> typical Palestinian perspective	<i>In Search of Peace</i> typical Israeli perspective
1945-49 (cont'd)		<p>Jerusalem's Jewish Quarter (important religious places) destroyed by the Arab Legion and forced to surrender. Jews lost spiritual center of state when they lost Old City/East Jerusalem. Egyptian army only 25 miles from Tel Aviv, supplies running out, slaughter of 70 doctors and nurses, kibbutz in danger, spirited children away, built new "Burma" road to Jerusalem, volunteering Am. colonel Mickey Marcus mistaken as intruder & killed. Hassidic rabbi stayed & died in Jerusalem. June 11, 1948: first of several UN-sponsored truces, used to resupply Jerusalem. Ben Gurion tries to unite Haganah (including Palmach) with Irgun Gang (led by Begin) & Stern Gang (led by Shamir) [both later Prime Ministers of Israel] to create Israel Defense Force, but Irgun tried to land ship with weapons. Palmach (led by Allon) overcomes Irgun. Sept. 2, 1948: "5:1 Arab advantage over it [Israel]", Isr. holds on to territory and gains more. Nov. 1948: Arabs agree to ceasefires and armistice. Jerusalem divided. By 1949, Israel keeps Negev Desert but withdraws from much of Egypt's Sinai, keeps Eilat and [part of] Gulf of Aqaba from Jordan. War of Independence took one year and seven months. 6000 (1% of pop.) Israelis dead. No peace treaties. No Arab nations willing to accept concept of Jewish state. Hundreds of thousands of "Arabs who fled their homes" were refugees. May 11, 1948: 2/3 majority of UN countries vote Israel into UN. Israelis elect Ben Gurion as Prime Minister. Knesset is first Jewish parliament in sovereign Jewish state. (cont'd)</p>

Issue/Date	<i>The Land Speaks Arabic</i> typical Palestinian perspective	<i>In Search of Peace</i> typical Israeli perspective
1945-1949 (cont'd)		<p>Early years of Israeli state, including culture. Palestinians [called "Israeli Arabs"] feel the War of Independence was a disaster for them, feel unequally treated, land taken away by Israeli government & Land Acquisition Law. Israeli PM says they'll trade land for a peace treaty. Israel refuses to allow refugees to return; refugees also not treated well in Arab countries. Hundreds of thousands of Jews forced to flee Arab countries to Israel. Smuggled Jews to Israel. Safe haven [called "Law of Return"] for any Jew in the world was passed as a law in 1950. 1947-1951: 680,000 Jews arrived in Israel, doubling pop. (120,000 were Holocaust survivors; 125,000 Iraqi Jews). Anti-Jewish massacres in Yemen -- Jews evacuated to Israel.</p>
Last thoughts of movie	<p>Europeans took the country. Israeli rabbi in 1950's called it "robbery". Elderly Palestinians have fond memories of better times.</p>	<p>The section immediately following 1949 describes the new culture of Israel, how Israeli Arabs lost their homes, how Jews from all over the Arab world immigrated to Israel. You should show this part. The film continues all the way to 1967 (but is not included in this lesson).</p>

Issue/Date	<i>The Land Speaks Arabic</i> typical Palestinian perspective	<i>In Search of Peace</i> typical Israeli perspective
Summary: The main points of each narrative	<p>Palestinians lived in Palestine peacefully for centuries, with Jews, Christians, and Muslims living together. Then a Jewish settler movement from Europe (Zionism) began with the help of British mandate authorities. Zionism was unfair because it aimed to take land and rights away from Palestinians. After the Palestinian Rebellion of 1936-1939, Palestinian resistance was broken by the British. Well-armed Zionist militias carried out the Transfer/exile of Palestinians, which had been a private policy for decades but became public during the War of 1947-49. Palestinians were outnumbered and outgunned by Zionist forces. Pal. left their homes because their other choice was death. Pal. want to return to their land.</p>	<p>The Jews had a continuous presence in Palestine for 3500 years. They needed one sovereign state for Jews; by contrast, the Arabs there had other countries that were Arab. The UN voted to give the Jews a state in 1947. The Jews were outnumbered and outgunned but fought bravely and prevailed in the War of Independence of 1948. American money and volunteers were very helpful. Finally, Jews have a state and they can help Jews who are persecuted in other lands.</p>

Here are some discussion questions to use with your class after they have watched the movies: (These questions are duplicated below for students)

How do the narratives differ?

What does each narrative call itself and the other people? The Israeli narrative does not refer to the indigenous people as “Palestinians”, but always calls them “Arabs”. Why do you think so? (Teacher note: perhaps to delegitimize the right of that group of people to the land of Palestine, and also to strengthen the Israeli idea that Palestinians should move to other Arab countries.) Notice how *The Land Speaks Arabic* calls the new European immigrants “Jews” (for religion) and “Zionists” (for political beliefs) until 1948. Only after Israel was created in 1948 can the people be called Israelis.

What does each narrative emphasize? How does the title of each movie highlight its narrative? (Teacher note: “Land” and “Arabic” emphasize Palestinian connections to the land and culture of the Middle East and make Israelis, who speak Hebrew, the newly-arrived outsiders; “Peace” emphasizes that Israel is a peaceful state and suggests that Palestinians are a violent group.)

What does each narrative leave out?

--Why do you think that the Israeli narrative omits any mention of the 1920s or 1930s in Palestine or of Jewish immigration during that time? Why do you think that it omits mentioning the Holocaust until after Israel has won its war? (Teacher note: probably because Zionism originated well before the Holocaust; Zionism began with Herzl in the late 1800s; it certainly arose out of the persecution of Jews in Europe, but it preceded the Holocaust by many years.)

--Why do you think that the Palestinian narrative does not mention the UN Partition plan but does mention the Balfour Declaration? (Teacher note: the Palestinians view both as unfair and usually criticize both; perhaps because Palestinians so often look to the UN as the source of international law and upholding Palestinian human rights, the documentary makers decided not to mention a UN proposal that did not support Palestinians.) Why doesn't the Palestinian narrative discuss the mistreatment of Jews in Arab countries?

What were places where you thought one side or the other had more accurate facts, or where you thought that the narratives were in direct conflict with each other?

-For example, the Palestinian narrative says that Zionist leaders said they had not harmed any civilians; whereas the Israeli narrative says that some Zionist and religious leaders criticized the Deir Yassin massacre-- is this reconcilable?

-Also, each side claimed that they were outnumbered by the other side. How would students go about checking these facts to determine their accuracy? Hint: a recent generation of Israeli historians (the “new historians” like Simha Flapan, Benny Morris, Ilan Pappé) have access to more information in Israeli archives and have been debunking many of the myths told about the founding of Israel, including the one that

Israel was outnumbered. Palestinian and other historians have also presented very accurate and well-documented facts and figures on this point in various books.

-Why does the Israeli film mention a massacre by Zionist extremists in 1948 (Deir Yassin) but does not mention market bombs or the destruction of the King David Hotel in 1946?

-Are there times when both narratives can be right? wrong? What are the difficulties in establishing historical fact?

Palestinians call the war of 1947-49 the “Catastrophe/Nakba”, while Israelis call the war of 1948 the “War of Independence” -- explain. And why do you think each narrative gives different dates? (Teacher Note: Palestinians want to emphasize that the violence towards them began before Israel declared itself a state; they want to emphasize that they were outnumbered and outgunned and that it wasn’t a war between two armies; Pal. want to show that Zionists had been forcing Palestinians to move off the land for years. Israelis want to emphasize that several Arab armies fought against them after Israel declared itself a state; they may want to align themselves with the American “War of Independence” as heroic freedom fighters.)

How did you feel about each movie?

What questions do you still have? (Teacher note: remind students that the questions students have at this point could later become the basis for their Causes of Conflict final project.)

Competing Narratives: Israeli and Palestinian

Name: _____

Issue/Date	<i>The Land Speaks Arabic</i> typical Palestinian perspective	<i>In Search of Peace</i> typical Israeli perspective
Who are the Palestinians?		
Who are the Israelis? What is Zionism?		
Movement of European Jews onto the land		

Issue/Date	<i>The Land Speaks Arabic</i> typical Palestinian perspective	<i>In Search of Peace</i> typical Israeli perspective
Actions in 1900s & 1920s & Population		
1930s		
1945-49		
Last thoughts of movie		

Issue/Date	<i>The Land Speaks Arabic</i> typical Palestinian perspective	<i>In Search of Peace</i> typical Israeli perspective
Summary: The main points of each narrative		

Competing Narratives: Questions for Discussion

How do the narratives differ?

What does each narrative call itself and the other people?

What does each narrative emphasize? How does the title of each movie highlight its narrative?

What does each narrative leave out?

What were places where you thought one side or the other had more accurate facts or where you thought that the narratives were in direct conflict with each other? Are there times when both narratives can be right? wrong? What are the difficulties in establishing historical fact?

Palestinians call the war of 1947-49 the Catastrophe/Nakba, while Israelis call the war of 1948 the War of Independence -- explain. And why do you think each narrative gives different dates?

How did you feel about each movie?

What questions do you still have?

HW: Read about Palestinian history being banned from being taught in Israel. But some Israelis want to teach it. Write a reaction: What should be taught in Israeli high school textbooks?

9/29/10 7:19 AM

Israeli principal summoned over history textbook that adds Palestinian view - <http://www.csmonitor.com/layout/set/print/content/view/print/328590>

The Christian Science Monitor - CSMonitor.com

Israeli principal summoned over history textbook that adds Palestinian view
Israel's Education Ministry has called in the principal of Shaar Hanegev high school, which is using a banned textbook that explains both narratives of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Israeli Education Minister Gideon Saar, shown here in 2009, has ordered that the word 'nakba' be removed from a textbook for Israeli Arab children. The term, which is Arabic for 'catastrophe', is used to describe the displacement of Palestinians and the creation of the Israeli state.

(Newscom/File)

By Catrina Stewart, Contributor

posted September 29, 2010 at 7:19 am EDT

Jerusalem — Israel's Education Ministry is locked in a row with a liberal high school over its use of a history textbook that gives both the Israeli and Palestinian versions of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The ministry has summoned the principal of Shaar Hanegev high school in southern Israel for "consultations" over the decision to continue using the textbook, which has been banned from the national school curriculum. Critics denounced the move as a regressive step by Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's right-leaning government to assert the Israeli narrative over the Palestinian one. The row drives at the heart of Israeli identity, shaped by tales of Jewish heroism in the War of Independence that gloss over the fate of the Palestinians. The Israeli narrative asserts that Palestinians left their homes in what is now Israel of their own volition. The Palestinians contend that they were driven out, and they refer to the creation of Israel as the *nakba*, or the catastrophe. "We have a problem with the Palestinian *nakba*," says Tom Segev, a prominent Israeli historian. "Instead of just teaching it and telling kids what happened, we keep trying to ignore it, distort it. It reflects our guilt. We don't know how to deal with it." Under current education minister Gideon Saar, Israel has also struck the word *nakba* from a textbook for Israeli Arab children, arguing that the government should not promote a term that questions the legitimacy of the state.

Textbook prompts students to write their own conclusions

The textbook being used at Shaar Hanegev, aimed at 11th graders, is the product of a decade-long collaboration between Israeli and Palestinian teachers. Each page is split into three columns, with the Israeli narrative down one side, and the Palestinian down the other, with an empty column in the middle for students to write their own conclusions. It is being used as part of a wider experimental history course aimed at tackling, among other things, the events surrounding what Israel calls its War of

Independence, the 1948-49 conflict that prompted hundreds of thousands of Palestinians to leave their homes. The ministry reportedly instructed the school in early September to stop teaching with the book because it was not approved. The principal was subsequently called in, but he is not expected to meet with officials until after the 10-day Sukkot holiday is over, a ministry spokeswoman said. She added that parts of the school's history program were "problematic," but would not elaborate further. "This was a knee-jerk response, almost Pavlovian, to any attempt by the educational system to tackle the Palestinian side," one teacher at the school said, in comments quoted by Israeli newspaper Ha'aretz. "This is a response that attests primarily to narrow-mindedness and an unwillingness to explore new modes of thinking." The school could not be reached for comment due to the Sukkot holiday.

Why Israelis fear alternate versions of history

In recent years, Israel's so-called new historians have helped ignite a public discourse on the events of 1948, challenging the official Israel version of events that Palestinians brought about their own misfortune. But the breakdown of the Oslo peace process and the outbreak of the second Intifada in 2000 led to a backlash against those who opposed the conventional Zionist view. Only now, say observers, are the dissenters again being heard. "The whole thing was swept under the carpet for decades," says Uri Avnery, a prominent Israeli peace activist who fought in the 1948 war. "Israel is now getting mature enough to face it, and the cultural and educational establishment is scared." Israel's fear is understandable, say some observers, when taken in the context of the peace process, which has dragged on now for 17 years. If Israel recognized that it had driven out some Arabs "with intent," says Avnery, "this would have huge implications for a future peace agreement and the refugee problem."

Denial in education reflects broader societal denial

A critical sticking point is the right of return for the Palestinian refugees, made homeless in 1948 and who now live in overcrowded refugee camps in the occupied West Bank, Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan. Israel has long rejected anything more than a symbolic right of return, fearing a threat to the state's Jewish character if thousands of refugees were to return. Jafar Farrah, director of an Israeli-Arab advocacy group Mossawa (Equality), says that he believes a majority of Palestinians now recognize the Jewish right to self-determination, but argues that the recognition will never be mutual as long as Israel does not accept its part in creating the conflict. "There is denial in the public discourse, there is denial in the educational discourse," he says. "That is why there is no reconciliation process."

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9/29/10 7:26 AM

Catastrophe? Israel bans 'nakba' from Arab textbook. - CSMonitor.com

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The Christian Science Monitor - CSMonitor.com

Catastrophe? Israel bans 'nakba' from Arab textbook.

By Ilene R. Prusher, Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

posted July 23, 2009 at 12:00 am EDT

Jerusalem — In the lexicon of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, few terms elicit as much energy as the word *nakba* - Arabic for "the catastrophe," the term Palestinians use to describe the creation of the state of Israel in 1948. This week, the term became even more of a lightning rod. Amid a rising nationalistic tide in Israel's government, Education Minister Gideon Saar moved to expunge the word from school textbooks, reversing a 2007 decision. "No other country in the world, in its official curriculum, would treat the fact of its founding as a catastrophe," Mr. Saar told Israel's parliament on Wednesday. "There is a difference between referring to specific tragedies that take place in a war - either against the Jewish or Arab population - as catastrophes, and referring to the creation of the state as a catastrophe." Since coming to power in February elections, several right-wing parties in the coalition government of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu have been lobbying for a no-tolerance policy toward Israeli Arabs identifying with Palestinian culture. A hallmark of that cultural identification is the marking of the *nakba*. Each May, Israel celebrates its reemergence as an independent political identity after nearly 2,000 years of Jewish dispersion. At the same time, Palestinians solemnly mark the loss of their homeland as they knew it, and the beginning of dispossession and occupation. Some peace proponents believe that the only way to move toward reconciliation is to accept and recognize the narrative of the other, and to that end, more progressive segments of the Israeli educational establishment support the inclusion of the word *nakba* in history and to that end, more progressive segments of the Israeli educational establishment support the inclusion of the word *nakba* in history books. One of them is former education minister Yuli Edelstein, who in 2007 authorized the publication of a sixth-grade history textbook for Arab students with the word *nakba* in it. Israel's population is 20 percent Arab, and pupils primarily attend state-run schools in Arabic.

'Neoconservatism trying to close people's minds'

Saar's move comes on the heels of an attempt by the controversial Israel Beiteinu (Israel is Our Home) Party, headed by Foreign Minister Avigdor Lieberman, to force Israeli-Arabs to sign a loyalty oath as a requirement for maintaining citizenship. The party last month introduced a Knesset bill making it illegal for groups to hold public ceremonies to mark the *nakba*. But when the legality of such a move was called into question, the party modified the bill, which now would prohibit state funding for any organization that marks the *nakba* with mourning rituals. The Knesset's Constitution, Law and Justice Committee approved the measure on Sunday, but it would still have to pass two more readings to become law. "It's simple political populism and it won't change anything: People in the Arab sector in Israel will continue to mark the *nakba* and talk about the *nakba*," says Gershon Baskin, the co-CEO of IPRCI, the Israel/

Palestine Center for Research and Information. "This is a neoconservatism that tries to close people's minds, and it just boomerangs," he says. "It's a sign of the whole anti-Arab, racist trend in the Knesset."

Similar debates in Japan, Korea, Russia

How to teach a disputed history to schoolchildren is a recurring theme around the globe. It has come up in recent years in Japan and in Korea, with critics protesting attempts to whitewash violent chapters of the past or to present attractive portraits of dictators. In Russia, former President Vladimir Putin's administration worked to put a more positive spin on the country's 20th-century history, promoting a textbook which called Josef Stalin the USSR's "most successful" leader and an "effective manager." But the realities of the present-day conflict mean that the issues here are not just a matter to be dissected by history teachers. Israeli officials have often complained that Palestinian schools teach hatred of Israel, and do not prime children for a future of peaceful coexistence with the Jewish state. But the Israeli school system's own critics, such as Dr. Baskin, point out that maps used in Israeli schools do not include the Green Line - separating Israel from the West Bank - nor do textbooks include a section on the past 15 years of history, describing the decision to sign the 1993 Oslo Accords which declared Israeli and Palestinian intentions to reach a two-state solution.

Undermining Arab cultural autonomy?

Adalah, the Legal Center of Arab Minority Rights in Israel, has been closely following what it sees as an upsurge in efforts by ultranationalist Israelis to roll back Arab cultural autonomy and rein in the freedom of Israeli-Arabs to identify as Palestinian. "We see Saar's decision as a very severe interference in the curriculum that is being taught in the Arab schools. And these schools are places where you don't really learn about Palestinian history and culture anyway, because they're under such strict supervision by the Israeli government," says Sawsan Zaher, an Adalah attorney who deals with educational and cultural issues. "The minister, and others like him, want to try to erase our identity as Palestinians, and we think this is one part of the chain of oppression the state is exercising toward the school system."

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11. ISRAEL'S FOUNDING: MYTHS OR REALITY? (3-day lesson)

This lesson will take about 3 days. Give each group one of Simha Flapan's statements to research. Introduce Flapan, a Jewish Israeli and one of Israel's "new" historians. He thinks each statement is a myth. Do you? There are 7 "myths". Each group of 4 gets or chooses 4 myths to research. Each student in a group is personally responsible for one myth. So each myth will have several researchers spread among several groups. Spend a day or two in the library. Then go through the myths in class. Have non-expert classmates speak first about whether they agree with the myth or not. Then ask experts (who researched the myth) to give their opinion and where they researched. The teacher can add what Flapan said if the experts did not.

Myths:

1. Zionists accepted the UN Partition and planned for peace
2. Arabs rejected the partition and launched war
3. Palestinians fled voluntarily, intending reconquest
4. All the Arab states united to expel the Jews from Palestine
5. The Arab invasion made war inevitable
6. Defenseless Israel faced destruction by the Arab Goliath
7. Israel has always sought peace, but no Arab leader has responded

Good sources include: [www. englishaljazeera.net](http://www.englishaljazeera.net), bbc.co.uk, electronicintifada.net, ipl.org. No fair going to discussions of Flapan's book! (there are many other resources listed in the Resource Page of the Introductory Documents).

Teacher: On the next pages are what Flapan said in brief about each myth. A copy of his book is included in the Trunk for a more in-depth look at each myth. At the end of this lesson, you can discuss the "new historians" of Israel, people like Flapan, Benny Morris, and Ilan Pappé, who have carefully researched what happened in 1947-49 and debunked many of the original myths about Israel's creation.

From *The Birth of Israel: Myths and Realities* by Simha Flapan 1987, p. 8-10.

Myth One: Zionist acceptance of the United Nations Partition Resolution of November 29, 1947, was a far-reaching compromise by which the Jewish community abandoned the concept of a Jewish state in the whole of Palestine and recognized the right of the Palestinians to their own state. Israel accepted this sacrifice because it anticipated the implementation of the resolution in peace and cooperation with the Palestinians. My research suggests that it was actually only a tactical move in an overall strategy. This strategy aimed first at thwarting the creation of a Palestinian Arab state through a secret agreement with Abdallah of Transjordan, whose annexation of the territory allocated for a Palestinian state was to be the first step in his dream of a Greater Syria. Second, it sought to increase the territory assigned by the UN to the Jewish state.

Myth Two: The Palestinian Arabs totally rejected partition and responded to the call of the mufti of Jerusalem to launch an all-out war on the Jewish state, forcing the Jews to depend on a military solution. This was not the whole story. While the mufti was, indeed, fanatical in his opposition to partition, the majority of Palestinian Arabs, although also opposed, did not respond to his call for a holy war against Israel. On the contrary, prior to Israel's Declaration of Independence on May 14, 1948, many Palestinian leaders and groups made efforts to reach a *modus vivendi*. It was only Ben-Gurion's profound opposition to the creation of a Palestinian state that undermined the Palestinian resistance to the mufti's call.

Myth Three: The flight of the Palestinians from the country, both before and after the establishment of the state of Israel, came in response to a call by the Arab leadership to leave temporarily, in order to return with the victorious Arab armies. They fled despite the efforts of the Jewish leadership to persuade them to stay. In fact, the flight was prompted by Israel's political and military leaders, who believed that Zionist colonization and statehood necessitated the "transfer" of Palestinian Arabs to Arab countries.

Myth Four: All of the Arab states, unified in their determination to destroy the newborn Jewish state, joined together on May 15, 1948, to invade Palestine and expel its Jewish inhabitants. My research indicates that the Arab states aimed not at liquidating the new state, but rather at preventing the implementation of the agreement between the Jewish provisional government and Abdallah for his Greater Syria scheme.

Myth Five: The Arab invasion of Palestine on May 15, in contravention of the UN Partition Resolution, made the 1948 war inevitable. The documents show that the war was not inevitable. The Arabs had agreed to a last-minute American proposal for a three-month truce on the condition that Israel

temporarily postpone its Declaration of Independence. Israel's provisional government rejected the American proposal by a slim majority of 6 to 4.

Myth Six: The tiny, newborn state of Israel faced the onslaught of the poor Arab armies as David faced Goliath: numerically inferior, poorly armed people in danger of being overrun by a military giant. The facts and figures point to a different situation altogether. Ben-Gurion himself admits that the war of self-defense lasted only four weeks, until the truce of June 11, when huge quantities of arms reached the country. Israel's better-trained and more experienced armed forces then attained superiority in weapons on land, sea, and air.

Myth Seven: Israel's hand has always been extended in peace, but since no Arab leaders have ever recognized Israel's right to exist, there has never been anyone to talk to. On the contrary, from the end of World War II to 1952, Israel turned down successive proposals made by Arab states and by neutral mediators that might have brought about an accommodation.

Myth or reality?

Name: _____

I. Circle the “myth” that you personally are researching today:

1. Zionists accepted the UN Partition and planned for peace
2. Arabs rejected the partition and launched war
3. Palestinians fled voluntarily, intending reconquest
4. All the Arab states united to expel the Jews from Palestine
5. The Arab invasion made war inevitable
6. Defenseless Israel faced destruction by the Arab Goliath
7. Israel has always sought peace, but no Arab leader has responded

II. Good sources include: [www. englishaljazeera.net](http://www.englishaljazeera.net), bbc.co.uk, www.btselem.org , electronicintifada.net, ipl.org. No fair going to discussions of Flapan’s book! You will need to have two book or web sources to research your myth.

III. Right now, without research, what is your opinion of this “myth”?
it’s fiction it’s reality

IV. You are picking one side to argue for/against. Then you are researching that claim. Example: No Arab leaders willing to make peace negotiations. If you don’t agree with this “myth”...Then you research: Arab leaders, pro-peace. If you agree with the “myth”, then you are researching: Arab leaders, no peace negotiations. But whatever you start out thinking, find solid evidence even if it supports the other side. Try to find out the truth.

Myth # _____ My Name: _____
 Other Group Members: _____

Directions: Using the books provided in class or credible websites (.gov, .edu, .org, encyclopedias, etc) research the background of this “myth”. Look for evidence that will support your own personal belief and also evidence that supports the “myth” (even though it might be contrary to your own belief). You will need at least 2 sources, research 3 just in case.

“Myth”: _____

Your opinion (pre-research) about it: _____

Website or book. What sort of bias does this source have? Use MLA format.	Evidence (in your own words). Also pull out one quote you can use.	Does this CORROBORATE or REFUTE your own thinking? How can you use it?

Your opinion (post-research) about the “myth”: _____

Preparing for Myth v. Reality Discussion

Review your research. On a separate piece of paper, write down the following. Be prepared to hand this in at the end of the discussion:

1. The myth -- paraphrase this in your own words.
2. Your position (agree/disagree with the myth, based on the solid facts that you found during research). If you disagree with the myth, then paraphrase the different reality in your own words.
3.
BECAUSE (evidence 1)

BECAUSE (evidence 2)

BECAUSE (more evidence)

Extra Credit Homework

Research the Israeli New Historians and answer the following questions.

What is the goal of the New Historians?

When did they start writing?

What critiques are made of the New Historians? Meaning, why are the New Historians sometimes criticized by their peers?

Who are some (at least two) well known New Historians?

Who are some (at least two) well known critics of the New Historians?

Essay Assignment

Could the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians have been avoided in 1947? Is there someone to blame for the conflict and the continuing tensions between Palestinians and Israelis? Explain. Write a five-paragraph essay.

12. Extension of Competing Narratives. Competing Narratives about the 1956 Suez Crisis. (alternative to lesson 13)

Have students read the article below on the 1956 Suez Crisis. Then have them watch Minutes 54-59 of *In Search of Peace*. Have students compare the narratives of the 1956 Suez Crisis from an Egyptian/African perspective v. an Israeli-government perspective.

Key Events in the Decolonization of Africa: Suez Crisis

Part 2 - The Suez Crisis

By Alistair Boddy-Evans, About.com Guide

http://africanhistory.about.com/od/eraindependence/a/SuezCrisis_2.htm

Funding the Aswan High Dam

Nasser had grand plans - envisaging a pan-Arab revolution, led by Egypt, which would push the British out of the Middle East. Britain was particularly weary of Nasser's plans. Increasing nationalism in Egypt also had France worried - they were facing similar moves by Islamic nationalists in Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia. The third country to be perturbed by increasing Arabic nationalism was Israel. Although they had 'won' the 1948 Arab-Israeli War, and were growing economically and militarily (primarily backed by arm sales from France), Nasser's plans could only lead to more conflict. The United States of America, under President Eisenhower, was desperately trying to play down Arab-Israeli tensions.

To see this dream come to fruition and for Egypt to become an industrial nation, Nasser needed to find funding for the Aswan High Dam project. Domestic funds were not available - during the previous decades Egyptian businessmen had moved funds out of the country, fearing a program of nationalization for both crown property and what limited industry existed. Nasser, however, found a willing source of funds with the US. The US wanted to ensure stability in the Middle East, so they could concentrate on the growing threat of communism elsewhere. They agreed to give Egypt \$56 million directly, and another \$200 million through the world bank

The US Reneges on the Aswan High Dam Funding Deal

Unfortunately, Nasser was also making overtures (selling cotton, buying arms) to the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and communist China - and on 19 July 1956 the US cancelled the funding deal citing Egypt's ties to USSR. Unable to find alternative funding, Nasser looked to the one thorn in his side - the control of the Suez Canal by Britain and France. If the canal was under Egyptian authority it could rapidly create the funds needed for the Aswan High Dam project, conceivably in less than five years!

Nasser Nationalizes the Suez Canal

On 26 July 1956 Nasser announced plans to nationalize the Suez Canal, Britain responded by freezing Egyptian assets and then mobilizing its armed forces. Things escalated, with Egypt blocking the straits of Tiran, at the mouth of the Gulf of Aqaba, which was important to Israel. Britain, France and Israel conspired to end Nasser's domination of Arab politics and return the Suez Canal to European control. They thought that the US would back them - only three years before the CIA had backed a

coup d'état in Iran. However, Eisenhower was furious - he was facing re-election and didn't want to risk the Jewish vote at home by publicly castigating Israel for warmongering.

Tripartite Invasion

On 13 October the USSR vetoed an Anglo-French proposal to take control of the Suez Canal (Soviet ship-pilots were already assisting Egypt run the canal). Israel had condemned the UN's failure to resolve the Suez Canal crisis and warned that they would have to take military action, and on 29 October they invaded the Sinai peninsula. On 5 November British and French forces made an airborne landing at Port Said and Port Fuad, and occupied the canal zone. (See also [Tripartite Invasion of 1956.](#))

UN Pressure to Quit Suez Canal

International pressure mounted against the Tripartite powers, especially from both the US and Soviets. Eisenhower sponsored a UN resolution for a cease-fire on 1 November, and on 7 November the UN voted 65 to 1 that invading powers should quit Egyptian territory. The invasion officially ended on 29 November and all British and French troops were withdrawn by 24 December. Israel, however, refused to give up Gaza (it was put under UN administration on 7 March 1957).

13. Competing Narratives of Israel's Major Wars Since 1948: Lecture

1956

What was it? Israel, Britain, France invaded Egypt.

Egypt's Narrative: In the 1950s, Israel proposed several plans to invade West Bank and Gaza Strip; it also launched many illegal reprisals across the borders of Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, and Egypt. The UN condemned these & noted that refugees had a right to guerrilla raids to try to return home. Egypt nationalized Suez Canal (on Egyptian soil) as part of efforts to establish more independence from colonial powers. Israel invaded to take Sinai & Gaza Strip.

Israel's Narrative: Reprisal raids were because of Palestinian attacks. Israel, Britain and France all wanted to ensure free shipping through Suez Canal, but US pressured them to stop.

Outcome: I/B/F withdrew; UN peacekeeping force established in Sinai; at the same time, 4000 Palestinians expelled from Israel into Syria.

June 1967 War:

What? Israel attacked and destroyed most Egyptian planes and airstrips, then invaded Egypt, then fought Jordanian forces when they attacked. Israel attacked Syria three days into the war. Israel also bombed *USS Liberty*, stationed off Egypt,

Egypt's Narrative: Israel had been threatening the Sinai since 1956. Egypt wanted to be prepared for an attack. Also, Israel was illegally claiming its side of the demilitarized zone (DMZ/Golan Heights) with Syria, Syria attacked this DMZ. Israel retaliated by attacking Syria. Egypt and Syria had a mutual defense pact. Egypt made UN forces leave Egypt in order to take defensive steps to help Syria. Israel announced a full military mobilization, so Egypt closed the Straits of Tiran to strategic materials for Israel. Egypt also moved troops towards its border with Israel to deter it from attacking Syria. UN offered to arrange a settlement and Egypt agreed, but Israel refused. Israel also refused to take UN forces on its side of the armistice line. All indications were that Israel was going to attack Syria. Egypt signed defense agreement with Jordan the day before the war and Egypt withdrew some troops. Israel should have known that Egypt's posture was defensive. Israel knew the *USS Liberty* was an American ship.

Israel's Narrative at the time: Ongoing attacks from refugee groups in several Arab countries. Syrian attacks had taken place from Golan Heights. Egypt removed UN troops in order to start war. Israel mobilized in order to stop war. Straits of Tiran blockade was economic strangulation and an act of war. Egypt's troop movement signaled imminent invasion, as did its pact with Jordan and President Nasser's threats. Israel did not know that the *Liberty* was an American ship. In the first month, Israel claimed that Egypt had attacked it first. By July, Israeli leaders were admitting that they had attacked first.

Israel's Later Narrative: Israeli commanders and political leaders agreed and publicly stated that they had known that Egypt's position was defensive and that they had not expected an attack. The leaders said that they went to war in order to take the initiative and ensure security and their future. Israel calls this war the "Six Day War" because it is proud of how much land it took so quickly.

Outcome: Israel took Sinai and Gaza Strip from Egypt; Golan Heights from Syria; West Bank (including E. Jerusalem) from Jordan. Later, Israel annexed E. Jerusalem, but the rest remained occupied territories under martial law. 350,000 (25%) of Palestinians in WB and GS were displaced (into Egypt, Jordan). UN Security Council Resolution 242 called for: Israel to withdraw from occupied territories, no acquisition of territory by force, establishment of a just peace, and settlement of the refugee problem.

1973 War:

What? Egypt and Syria attacked the Israeli-held Sinai and Golan Heights.

Egypt and Syria's Narrative: wanted to get Sinai and the Golan Heights back; Israel should not have kept them after 1967 War and was illegally occupying them. Force used to recover own territory is legal. The UN Security Council did not condemn the attempt. Egypt won a symbolic victory by showing that it could cross the Suez Canal and break through Israeli defenses. Syria wanted the Golan Heights back and succeeded for several days, but then found that Israel was winning.

Israel's Narrative: Syria and Egypt attacked on the Jewish holy day of Yom Kippur which was particularly surprising and why Israel calls this the "Yom Kippur War". For several days the fighting went very badly for Israel. But with an infusion of American arms and aid, and with reorganization of troops, Israel managed to fight across the Suez Canal and beyond the Golan Heights.

Fighting ended amid fears that the Soviet Union and the US were on a collision course to enter the fight on opposing sides (fear of nuclear war). Also, OPEC (mostly Arab oil states) had imposed an oil embargo on the US because of US aid to Israel.

Outcome: No land changed hands at the time. UN observer forces were stationed on borders. UN Security Council Resolution 338 called for negotiations to begin to establish just peace in Middle East. Israel returned the Sinai to Egypt as part of the Camp David 1 peace agreement between Israel and Egypt in 1979.

1978 Invasion of Lebanon by Israel:

What? Israel invaded Lebanon's southern third.

Lebanon's Narrative: Israel took control of Lebanon's southern third, including the Litani River. It had no right to do so. There had been barely any attacks on Israel from

Lebanon; that was a pretext to gain control of Lebanon and destroy the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

Israel's Narrative: Many Palestinian refugees had fled to Lebanon in 1948, then from Jordan to Lebanon in 1970. They were attacking Israel from within Lebanon. The PLO was encouraging West Bank and Gaza Palestinians to revolt against the occupation. If the PLO were destroyed, then Palestinians would accept occupation.

Outcome: Israel withdrew but handed over positions in southern Lebanon to Christian Lebanese forces and the South Lebanese Army (SLA) supported by Israel.

1982 Invasion & Occupation of Lebanon by Israel:

What? Israel invaded Lebanon all the way to Beirut. Besieged and blockaded Beirut. Much international condemnation of Israel. Palestinian forces evacuated to Tunisia after Israel promised not to harm Palestinian civilians. Israeli forces entered W. Beirut, sealed off refugee camps, and encouraged Christian Lebanese forces (Phalangists) to massacre 3000 Palestinian civilians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps.

Lebanon's Narrative: Israel broke a year-long PLO ceasefire in order to attack Lebanon when the political timing was right. Israel invaded Lebanon and massacred thousands of civilians. Then its proxy army (SLA) occupied the southern third of Lebanon until 2000.

Israel's Narrative: Israel wanted to finish the job begun in 1978 to stop PLO from operating in Lebanon and attacking northern Israel. Wanted to ally with a Lebanese Christian government: Christians were in danger in Lebanon and Israel wanted to protect them. Wanted Syria out of Lebanon (Syrian forces had been in Lebanon since Leb's civil war in the 1970s).

Outcome: 360 Israeli soldiers killed. 33,000 Lebanese and Palestinian civilians killed. An Israeli commission and several international organizations found that Israeli forces were responsible for allowing the massacre to happen. Multinational force came to Lebanon to keep the peace. Israel maintained an occupation in Lebanon until 2000, patrolling southern Lebanon with the SLA. Then Israel decided to withdraw. Out of the Israeli devastation of Shi'ite Muslim Lebanese villages in 1982 grew Hisb'allah (Hezbollah), a new Lebanese political party with a militant wing.

II. CURRENT EVENTS -- POST 1967

A. OCCUPATION

1. OVERVIEW OF OCCUPATION

Now that the lessons have covered history through 1949 and major wars, we're ready to cover current events. We'll look first at various aspects of the Israeli occupation; then we'll look at resistance to occupation.

Read to the students the brief summary from the UN of the history subsequent to 1948: (next page). Then show *Palestine for Beginners*, the second and third parts (41 minutes). Tell students this is an introduction to the issues of occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. While watching the DVD, either ask students to keep a list of the problems that Palestinians are encountering, or you can use the study questions that follow. Tell them that they will also hear about these issues from an Israeli-government point of view in the coming days.

For homework, ask students to read and paraphrase Security Council Resolution 242.

From the UN Summary of The Question of Palestine

After looking at various alternatives, the UN proposed the partitioning of Palestine into two independent States, one Palestinian Arab and the other Jewish, with Jerusalem internationalized (Resolution 181 (II) of 1947). One of the two States envisaged in the partition plan proclaimed its independence as Israel and in the 1948 war expanded to occupy 77 per cent of the territory of Palestine. Israel also occupied the larger part of Jerusalem. Over half of the indigenous Palestinian population fled or were expelled. Jordan and Egypt occupied the other parts of the territory assigned by the partition resolution to the Palestinian Arab State which did not come into being.

In the 1967 war, Israel occupied the remaining territory of Palestine, until then under Jordanian and Egyptian control (the West Bank and Gaza Strip). This included the remaining part of Jerusalem, which was subsequently annexed by Israel. The war brought about a second exodus of Palestinians, estimated at half a million. Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967 called on Israel to withdraw from territories it had occupied in the 1967 conflict.

In 1974, the General Assembly reaffirmed the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, national independence and sovereignty, and to return. The following year, the General Assembly established the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. The General Assembly conferred on the PLO the status of observer in the Assembly and in other international conferences held under United Nations auspices.

Source: <http://unispal.un.org/unispal.nsf/his.htm>

PALESTINE FOR BEGINNERS Parts II-III

Name: _____

Add your own details to this outline as you watch the film.

II. Occupation, Human Rights and US Tax Dollars

A. Why should we care?

B. American Foreign Assistance Act of 1962 says we should finance basic human rights

1. Shelter?

House Demolition:

collective punishment

Geneva Conventions = laws of war, humanitarian law
violates Art. 33

Refugees

land confiscation

settlements

150 settlements, 450,000 settlers
violates Art. 49

Wall

US legally responsible to pressure Isr. to end settlements & Wall

Ethnic Cleansing -- crime against humanity

2. Democracy?

Military Dictatorship

3. Justice?

martial law

divided roads, IDs, license plates

warrantless searches and arrests

detention without charge or trial

torture

unfair trials

targeted assassination

expulsion

use of force

Arms Export Control Act: no sale to countries with “consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights”

illegal use of weapons on densely populated areas

failure to discriminate, human shields, obstructing medical care

Terrorism = violence against civilians for a political purpose

Refusers:

Apartheid: ethnically based set of laws and practices sustained by state system creating preferences for one ethnicity

4. Economic Prosperity and Education?

dedevelopment -- economy worse off now than when occupation started

water

W Bank settler roads, checkpoints, road blocks, closed military zones

town closures

denying family reunification

curfews

education

unemployment, poverty, and hunger

5. Conclusion

III Issues, Obstacles, Futures (13 minutes)

A. Is there a Palestinian government now?

B. Have Palestinians ever been offered a state?

C. Gaza

D. Hamas

E. Nonviolent Resistance

F. Solutions

i. 2 state solution:

ii. 1 state solution:

G. What now?

Post Viewing *Discussion Questions*

What were some facts you learned?

What didn't you understand? What was confusing?

What statements did you agree with? What statements did you disagree with?

What questions that you had before viewing this film have been answered? What questions remain?

What would peace with justice look like for Israelis and Palestinians? What would be fair for all? Why?

Homework: Read: UN Security Res. 242.

**U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242
NOVEMBER 22, 1967**

The Security Council,

Expressing its continuing concern with the grave situation in the Middle East,

Emphasizing the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every State in the area can live in security,

Emphasizing further that all Member States in their acceptance of the Charter of the United Nations have undertaken a commitment to act in accordance with Article 2 of the Charter,

Affirms that the fulfillment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following principles:

Withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict;

Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force;

Affirms further the necessity

For guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area;

For achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem;

For guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area, through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones;

Requests the Secretary General to designate a Special Representative to proceed to the Middle East to establish and maintain contacts with the States concerned in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement in accordance with the provisions and principles in this resolution;

Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the progress of the efforts of the Special Representative as soon as possible.

Paraphrase: What is the UN telling Israel to do about its occupation?

2. International Law & War Crimes (2-day lesson)

Write these questions on the board:

What IS “international law”?

What ARE “war crimes”?

Tell students that these phrases are used a lot with reference to Israel and Palestine. Students should understand what they actually mean in order to judge for themselves what is and is not a violation of international law and what is and is not a war crime.

I. Introductory Notes on International Law:

- Brainstorm what is law in our country?(rules that govern how individuals treat each other and how our country’s government and companies treat each other). This is known as “domestic law”.
- “International Law” is laws that **govern relations between nation states** (like America or Canada). For instance, most countries have signed the Geneva Conventions which govern how countries act in war, treat prisoners of war, and occupy other countries.
- International Law also governs **relations between international organizations** (like the United Nations, World Health Organization, World Bank, International Labor Organization, Organization of American States, or Organization of African Unity).
- **Sometimes** it governs **individual people** (if their human rights are violated or if they are soldiers in a war or people living under occupation).
- Have you heard of any international laws?
- Look at this table as we briefly go over the main points of international law.

Teachers: you may want to reproduce the table below for your students, or project it for them all to see.

International Law	Explanation	Examples	Compared to Domestic Law
Definition	laws that govern relations between countries, international organizations, and sometimes individuals	treaties between 2 countries Kyoto Protocol (anti-pollution treaty signed by many countries),	rules governing how individuals in one country and that country's government should treat each other
History	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • began to emerge in 1500s as nation-states emerged from empires • most international laws that we rely on today were developed in the 20th Century. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • after World War I, the League of Nations was a first effort to resolve conflicts peacefully • after WW II, the United Nations was formed to keep peace and improve human conditions • The UN has written many international laws. So have regional organizations and organizations devoted to particular subjects like aviation. 	laws to maintain peace and stability inside empires and kingdoms have a much longer history. For example, Hammurabi's Code in the Babylonian Empire (about 1700 BCE) called for an "eye for an eye" kind of justice
Sources	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Treaties/ Conventions among countries 2. Customs (customary law)= general practices accepted as law 3. Sometimes international court cases 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. UN Charter, Genocide Convention, Geneva Conventions (governing war and occupation), International Covenants on Civil & Political Rights and on Economic, Social & Cultural Rights 2. Prohibitions on slavery and torture, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. American Constitution 2. Federal & State laws made by legislators 3. Court decisions made by judges

International Law	Explanation	Examples	Compared to Domestic Law
Enforcement	<p>The International Criminal Court or the International Court of Justice (ICJ) or the UN Security Council (or other international bodies) make decisions about which country is right in a dispute or who has committed a war crime.</p> <p>But enforcement is the weakest part of international law.</p> <p>How do you force a country to comply? Sometimes fear of economic/political sanctions will lead a country to comply with a ruling. Usually this only occurs after a large grassroots movement.</p> <p>Sometimes the UN Security Council will send a military force into the country to force compliance. This can only happen if the countries on the SC (including the US) vote for the action. So it's often a very political decision.</p>	<p>In 1962, the UN General Assembly established a committee against apartheid (segregation) and called on countries to impose sanctions against South Africa.</p> <p>The ICJ ruled in 1971 that South Africa's occupation of Namibia was illegal under international law.</p> <p>Countries imposed sanctions and people boycotted S. African products and called on investors to divest from S. African holdings. There was a large divestment movement in US colleges in the 1980s.</p> <p>Meanwhile, S. Africans in the African National Congress like Nelson Mandela struggled violently and nonviolently in an anti-apartheid movement.</p> <p>Finally, in 1990, Namibia gained full independence from South Africa and, in 1994, after decades of economic and diplomatic pressure, South Africa ended apartheid.</p> <p>Chapter 7 of the UN Charter was used by the UN Security Council to send forces into Korea in the 1950s and Afghanistan in the 2000s.</p>	<p>American courts decide if someone is guilty or innocent or owes money. Police and sheriffs enforce the sentence: usually jail or money.</p>

II. So “war crimes” are: major violations (AKA “grave breaches”) of the Geneva Conventions, which are the international laws of war and occupation.

Sometimes these laws of war are called “humanitarian law” (distinct from “human rights law” for times of peace, but overlapping in scope). The Hague Convention of 1907 also comprises international humanitarian law. Common war crimes include: wilfully killing civilians, torture, deportation, and using disproportionate force -- force not justified by military necessity. (The war crimes list is in Article 147 of the Geneva Conventions and included in the lesson below.)

III. Bonus information that we should all know: If you are in a war and follow your commander’s order and commit a war crime (for instance, if you shoot a civilian), you are guilty under international law. It is not an excuse to say you were just following orders. This is known as the “Nuremberg Principle” and emerged from the World War II war crimes trials of the Nazis at Nuremberg.

IV. Now it’s your turn to look at an international law in depth and explain it to us. In groups:

- Read the specific law your teacher gives you
- Paraphrase the law in your own words; be formal and complete
- Think of a one-sentence summary that uses informal language and will make it easy for you to remember the main point
- If you know how the law might be applied to Palestinians and Israelis, tell us what you know; otherwise: apply the law to a situation close to you -- in your city or in your family’s history
- Draw a poster or write a poem/rap or find another artistic way to represent this international law
- Be ready to show your work to the rest of the class

Teachers: Below you will find 8 international laws. The first copy has teacher notes. The second copy of the 8 laws can be cut into strips. Give one law to each group (2-4 students each) with the instructions above.

Extension: Each student can choose one article of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (a class set of booklets are in the trunk, or find the UDHR online). All of these articles are customary international law (regarded as applying to all countries even if a country has not signed a treaty about it). The student can examine the article in depth as s/he did in the groups above. Students can turn in their project or present them to the class.

International Law A. No expulsions

1949 Fourth Geneva Convention: Status and treatment of protected persons in Occupied Territories

ARTICLE 49

- Individual or mass forcible transfers, as well as deportations of protected persons from occupied territory to the territory of the Occupying Power or to that of any other country, occupied or not, are prohibited, regardless of their motive...

Note to teachers: This is the right not to be forced to leave your home. This applies to the case in 1947-49 where Israel forced over 750,000 Palestinians to leave their homes. Again during the 1967 war, many Palestinians were forced to flee their homes. Currently, there are about 4 million Palestinian refugees (and their descendants) waiting to return home to the West Bank, Gaza Strip, or inside Israel. UN General Assembly Resolution 194 called for Palestinians to be able to return home (or be compensated; it was the refugees' choice). General international law on returning refugees would not allow returning refugees to return to their exact homes if Israelis are living in them (you can't displace relatively innocent third parties), but would allow refugees to settle on land as close as possible to their original home. There is land inside Israel that could be settled by refugees. Also, many Palestinian towns inside Israel are not currently inhabited, so refugees could return to their exact land.

UNGA Res. 194: "Resolves that the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which, under principles of international law or in equity, should be made good by the Governments or authorities responsible."

International Law B. No settlers

1949 Fourth Geneva Convention: Status and treatment of protected persons in Occupied Territories

ARTICLE 49

-The Occupying Power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies.

Note to teachers: This is the right to not have settlers from another country moved into your land when your land is occupied by a foreign power. Specifically, it is the right to not have Israeli-Jewish settlers from Israel come live on Palestinian land. There are currently over 500,000 settlers living in the West Bank, including East

Jerusalem. In 2005, Israel forced thousands of settlers to leave Gaza. Many resettled in the West Bank. However, this evacuation shows that it is possible if there is political will.

International Law C. No arbitrary arrests or imprisonments

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Article 9.

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Note to teachers: This is the right to not have police or soldiers breaking down your door in the middle of the night for no reason; it's the right to not be held in prison if you haven't been convicted of a crime; it's the right to not be thrown out of your country. Palestinians are often subjected to raids into their homes by Israeli soldiers. Palestinians can be held in "administrative detention" without charge or trial in Israeli prisons for six months terms, renewable indefinitely. There are thousands of such Palestinian detainees in Israeli prisons. Many of them are held for years. Most Palestinian men have passed through this system (which usually includes periods of torture). For this reason, prison is known as the "Palestinian university." Students could discuss what they think Palestinians are learning from this university. Be sure to tell them that actually Palestinian prisoners usually study hard and learn English and Hebrew and philosophy and world history while in prison.

International Law D. Right to Self-Determination

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

Article 1

1. All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

Note to teachers: This is the right to have a nation-state and not be colonized. Together with the Geneva Conventions, which call for occupations to end as soon as possible, and the UN Charter, which forbids the acquisition of territory by force, this right can also be read to mean that occupations must end quickly and self-determination be given to the occupied people at the earliest possible time.

International Law E: No collective punishment

1949 Fourth Geneva Convention: Status and treatment of protected persons in Occupied Territories

ARTICLE 33

- No protected person may be punished for an offence he or she has not personally committed. Collective penalties and likewise all measures of intimidation or of terrorism are prohibited.
Pillage is prohibited.
Reprisals against protected persons and their property are prohibited.

Note to teachers: this is the right to not be collectively punished. Students will be especially sensitive to collective punishment because it is used often in school. Is there a student in the class who has NOT had to stay in from recess or lose a privilege because some other students in class were ill-behaved? Curfews, town closures, and house demolitions are some examples of collective punishment that Palestinians have suffered under occupation. Note that collective punishment laws were also used by the British against Palestinians before 1948.

International Law F: Israel's occupation should end

United Nations Security Council Resolution 242 (S/RES/242) was adopted unanimously by the UN Security Council on November 22, 1967.

...Affirms that the fulfillment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following principles:

- (i) Withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict;
- (ii) Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force."

...

Note to teachers: Along with SC Res. 338, this is the most commonly cited international law that calls on Israel to end its occupation of the territories occupied in 1967: Gaza Strip, West Bank including East Jerusalem, and the Golan Heights belonging to Syria. Security Council Resolutions have the force of international law (unlike UN General Assembly Resolutions).

International Law G: War crimes

1949 Fourth Geneva Convention: Status and treatment of protected persons in Occupied Territories

ARTICLE 147

Grave breaches to which the preceding Article relates shall be those involving any of the following acts, if committed against persons or property protected by the present Convention: wilful killing, torture or inhuman treatment, including biological experiments, wilfully causing great suffering or serious injury to body or health, unlawful deportation or transfer or unlawful confinement of a protected person, compelling a protected person to serve in the forces of a hostile Power, or wilfully depriving a protected person of the rights of fair and regular trial prescribed in the present Convention, taking of hostages and extensive destruction and appropriation of property, not justified by military necessity and carried out unlawfully and wantonly.

Note to Teachers: This is the war crimes article. If you feel you have already discussed this enough in the previous section of class, you can omit it. However, it might be beneficial for the class to hear the ideas again in a different setting. When the article talks about protected persons, it is referring to people under occupation or during war.

International Law H: Right to armed struggle to achieve self-determination/Right to resist

The UN General Assembly A/Res/37/43 of 3 December 1982

(“Importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights”)

The General Assembly,

...

2. Reaffirms the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples for independence, territorial integrity, national unity and liberation from colonial and foreign domination and foreign occupation by all available means, including armed struggle;

3. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the Namibian people, the Palestinian people and all peoples under foreign and colonial domination to self-determination, national independence, territorial integrity, national unity and sovereignty without outside interference;

....

23. Urges all States, competent organizations of the United Nations system, specialized agencies and other international organizations to extend their support to the Palestinian people through its sole and legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, in its struggle to regain its right to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations;

Note to Teachers: History is full of tales of resistance to colonialism/occupation/oppression, including American revolutionary resistance to British oppression, Native American resistance to European genocide, European resistance to Nazi occupation, and South African resistance to apartheid. We generally treat these stories as heroic and agree that these people had the right to resist oppression. This right is enshrined in the Geneva Conventions and echoed in the UN General Assembly, as well as in the UN Security Council, and the International Court of Justice.

While the right to nonviolently resist is clearly customary law, the right to resist using armed struggle is also a well-established customary law. The Geneva Conventions, the UN Security Council, and the UN General Assembly allow armed struggle. The **International Court of Justice** also recognized this right in the *Namibia* case in 1970. These international bodies use theories of self-defense, victim of aggression, and self-determination. (They distinguish armed struggle to resist oppression, which is legal, from force used against another state, which is illegal under the UN Charter.)

Geneva Conventions: Under the Geneva Conventions, armed resistance is assumed and therefore regulated. (Third Geneva Convention, Article 4) Members of “organized resistance movements” and people who take up arms spontaneously must identify themselves, follow the rules of war, and then have the right to be treated as prisoners of war when captured. Far from criminalizing armed resistance, the Geneva Conventions legitimize it. International law also says that violence against civilians is not allowed by either the oppression or resistance forces. So armed struggle (legal) can be distinguished from terrorism (illegal) in this way.

Security Council of the United Nations: The UN Security Council has clearly said since before 1967, and in reference to Israeli and Palestinian cross-border raids, that the perpetrator of an aggression does not have a right to force equal to that of the victim of that aggression. Thus, the Security Council recognized the rights of Palestinians to armed struggle and did not recognize any right by Israel to retaliate for such an attack. (See UNSC Res 248, 1968 and 256, 1968 and statements in UN Doc S/PV. 1402 and 1435 (1968)). In commenting on analogous colonial struggles in Africa, the Security Council noted that a guerrilla group had a right to use force that was superior to a colonial state’s right to force because guerrilla groups were victims of aggression and had a right to self-determination.

General Assembly: The General Assembly (UNGA) stated (see above) that struggling for self-determination “by all available means”, including armed struggle, is a right. The right has been echoed now for so many decades and in so many bodies, and practiced so often, that it has reached the level of customary law. Here are three more times that the UNGA has affirmed the right to armed struggle:

1. United Nations General Assembly Resolution A/RES/3246 (XXIX) of 29 November 1974:

3. Reaffirms the legitimacy of the peoples' struggle for liberation from colonial and foreign domination and alien subjugation by all available means, including armed struggle; ...

7. Strongly condemns all Governments which do not recognize the right to self-

determination and independence of peoples under colonial and foreign domination and alien subjugation, notably the peoples of Africa and the Palestinian people

2. United Nations General Assembly Resolution A/RES/33/24 of 29 November 1978:

"2. Reaffirms the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples for independence, territorial integrity, national unity and liberation from colonial and foreign domination and foreign occupation by all available means, particularly armed struggle."

3. Again in 1987, The Geneva Declaration on Terrorism affirmed (UN General Assembly Doc. A/42/307, 29 May 1987, Annex):

"As repeatedly recognized by the United Nations General Assembly, peoples who are fighting against colonial domination and alien occupation and against racist regimes in the exercise of their right of self-determination have the right to use force to accomplish their objectives within the framework of international humanitarian law. Such lawful uses of force must not be confused with acts of international terrorism. Thus, it would be legally impermissible to treat members of national liberation movements in the Caribbean Basin, Central America, Namibia, Northern Ireland, the Pacific Islands, Palestine, and South Africa, among others, as if they were common criminals. Rather, national liberation fighters should be treated as combatants subject to the laws and customs of warfare and to the international laws of humanitarian armed conflict as evidenced, for example, by the 1907 Hague Regulations, the Four Geneva Conventions of 1949, and their Additional Protocol I of 1977. Hence, national liberation fighters would be held to the same standards of belligerent conduct that are applicable to soldiers fighting in an international armed conflict. Thus, when a liberation fighter is captured by a belligerent state, he should not be tried as a criminal, but would be treated as a prisoner of war. He could be interned for the duration of the conflict, or released upon condition of a pledge to refrain from further participation in hostilities, or traded in a prisoner of war exchange. In the event such a national liberation fighter is found in a neutral state, he should not be subjected to extradition to the belligerent state.

"In the spirit of Geneva Protocol I, just as is true for soldiers in regular armed forces, when a national liberation fighter is captured after directly attacking innocent civilians as such, he would still be treated as a prisoner of war, but would be subject to prosecution for the commission of war crimes before an impartial international tribunal, preferably in a neutral state or by an international court. And, to the extent that the concerned belligerent states refuse to treat national liberation fighters analogously to soldiers for political reasons or propaganda purposes, they must assume a considerable amount of direct responsibility for whatever violence that is inflicted upon their civilian populations by national liberation fighters.

"Nevertheless, we wish to emphasize that the overwhelming majority of violations of the laws and customs of warfare have been and are still being committed by the regular, irregular, para-military and covert forces of states, not by national liberation fighters. The Western news media have purposely distorted and perverted this numerical relationship in order to perpetrate the cult of counter-terrorism for their

governments' own militaristic and terrorist purposes.

The Declaration also says:

“The terrorism of modern state power and its high technology weaponry exceeds qualitatively by many orders of magnitude the political violence relied upon by groups aspiring to undo oppression and achieve liberation.

“Let us also be clear, we favour non-violent resistance wherever possible and we praise those long efforts by the liberation movement in South Africa and elsewhere to avoid violence in their pursuit of justice. We condemn all those tactics and methods of struggle that inflict violence directly upon innocent civilians as such. We want no part of any form of terrorism but we must insist that terrorism originates with nuclearism, criminal regimes, crimes of state, high-technology attacks on Third World peoples, and systematic denials of human rights. It is a cruel extension of the terrorist scourge to [taint] the struggles against terrorism with the label “terrorism”. We support these struggles and call for the liberation of political language along with the liberation of peoples.

“Terrorism originates from the statist system of structural violence and domination that denies the right of self-determination to peoples (e.g., in Namibia, Palestine, South Africa, the Western Sahara); that inflicts a gross and consistent pattern of violations of fundamental human rights upon its own citizens (e.g., in Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala, South Africa); or that perpetrates military aggression and overt or covert intervention directed against the territorial integrity or political independence of other states (e.g., Afghanistan, Angola, Grenada, Lebanon, Libya, Mozambique, Nicaragua).” [emphasis in original]

Conclusion: International law says that the Israeli occupation is illegal because it is holding territory acquired by force. Palestinians have the right to resist it and pursue self-determination. Palestinians have the right to resist both violently and nonviolently. But they do not have the right to target civilians. Attacking civilians -- even if waging a war in self-defense, or if the other side does it -- is unlawful (see many UNGA resolutions, including 40/61, Dec. 9, 1985)). To the extent that armed Palestinians target Israeli civilians, this is illegal under international law. To the (far greater) extent that Israeli soldiers target Palestinian civilians, this too is illegal under international law. The UN has noted that most terrorism is perpetrated by colonialism, occupation or racism, which are therefore threats to international peace; the General Assembly has suggested applying economic and military sanctions against nations which maintain such unjust regimes. (UNGA Res. 34/145, Dec. 17, 1979) An excellent discussion of these ideas appears in chapter 26 of John Quigley’s book: *Palestine and Israel: A Challenge to Justice*, Duke University Press, 1990.

International Law I. Right to not negotiate away basic human rights

1949 Fourth Geneva Convention: Status and treatment of protected persons in Occupied Territories

ARTICLE 47

- Protected persons who are in occupied territory shall not be deprived, in any case or in any manner whatsoever, of the benefits of the present Convention by any change introduced, as the result of the occupation of a territory, into the institutions or government of the said territory, nor by any agreement concluded between the authorities of the occupied territories and the Occupying Power, nor by any annexation by the latter of the whole or part of the occupied territory.

Note to teachers: this means that as long as Palestinians are living under occupation, they are entitled to all the rights of the Geneva Conventions (rights like no settlers or house demolitions or collective punishments). Even if Israel and a Palestinian Authority signed an agreement saying that settlements were legal or torture were allowed, it would be void under international law. International law recognizes that occupied people have much less power than an occupying government and may be forced to agree to many actions that are unfair. Article 47 ensures a minimal standard for human rights that cannot be negotiated away during occupation, even if a quisling government tries to do so. Nelson Mandela expressed the idea this way: “Only free men can negotiate; prisoners cannot enter into contracts.”

International Law A.

1949 Fourth Geneva Convention: Status and treatment of protected persons in Occupied Territories

ARTICLE 49

- Individual or mass forcible transfers, as well as deportations of protected persons from occupied territory to the territory of the Occupying Power or to that of any other country, occupied or not, are prohibited, regardless of their motive...

International Law B.

1949 Fourth Geneva Convention: Status and treatment of protected persons in Occupied Territories

ARTICLE 49

-The Occupying Power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies.

International Law C

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Article 9.

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

International Law D: Right to Self-Determination

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

Article 1

1. All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

International Law E: Collective Punishment

1949 Fourth Geneva Convention: Status and treatment of protected persons in Occupied Territories

ARTICLE 33

- No protected person may be punished for an offence he or she has not personally committed. Collective penalties and likewise all measures of intimidation or of terrorism are prohibited.
Pillage is prohibited.
Reprisals against protected persons and their property are prohibited.

International Law F: Israel's Occupation

United Nations Security Council Resolution 242 (S/RES/242) was adopted unanimously by the UN Security Council on November 22, 1967.

...Affirms that the fulfillment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following principles:

- (i) Withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict;
- (ii) Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force."

...

International Law G: War Crimes

1949 Fourth Geneva Convention: Status and treatment of protected persons in Occupied Territories

ARTICLE 147

Grave breaches to which the preceding Article relates shall be those involving any of the following acts, if committed against persons or property protected by the present Convention: wilful killing, torture or inhuman treatment, including biological experiments, wilfully causing great suffering or serious injury to body or health, unlawful deportation or transfer or unlawful confinement of a protected person, compelling a protected person to serve in the forces of a hostile Power, or wilfully depriving a protected person of the rights of fair and regular trial prescribed in the present Convention, taking of hostages and extensive destruction and appropriation of property, not justified by military necessity and carried out unlawfully and wantonly.

International Law H: Right to Armed Struggle to achieve self-determination/Right to Resist

The UN General Assembly A/Res/37/43 of 3 December 1982

(“Importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights”)

The General Assembly,

...

2. Reaffirms the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples for independence, territorial integrity, national unity and liberation from colonial and foreign domination and foreign occupation by all available means, including armed struggle;

3. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the Namibian people, the Palestinian people and all peoples under foreign and colonial domination to self-determination, national independence, territorial integrity, national unity and sovereignty without outside interference;

....

23. Urges all States, competent organizations of the United Nations system, specialized agencies and other international organizations to extend their support to the Palestinian people through its sole and legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, in its struggle to regain its right to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations;

International Law I.

1949 Fourth Geneva Convention: Status and treatment of protected persons in Occupied Territories

ARTICLE 47

•

Protected persons who are in occupied territory shall not be deprived, in any case or in any manner whatsoever, of the benefits of the present Convention by any change introduced, as the result of the occupation of a territory, into the institutions or government of the said territory, nor by any agreement concluded between the authorities of the occupied territories and the Occupying Power, nor by any annexation by the latter of the whole or part of the occupied territory.

3. What's So Settled About Settlements and the Wall? Socratic Discussion (4-day lesson)

- A. Show the DVD *The Iron Wall*, which touches on both the Wall and the settlements,
- B. introduce them to the settlements with a map and brief article about the 5 biggest settlements (excluding East Jerusalem),
- C. and then give student groups time to read their articles on settlements and the Wall. We suggest showing the film over two days and leaving the rest of the class time for reading, with some reading for homework as well.
- D. Finally, have a Socratic Discussion about the settlements and the Wall.

What follows is the DVD study guide, settlement introduction, the readings, and finally the Socratic Discussion guideline.

A. *The Iron Wall* -- DVD (52 minutes)

Teacher's Note:

The first 35 minutes of this DVD give excellent background and analysis of the settler movement in Israel and the Occupied Territories.

The next ten minutes (35-45) give good maps and analysis about the Wall.

The final seven minutes (45-52) show the “disappearing Palestine map” and discuss whether two states (as opposed to one state with equal rights for all) is possible any more.

The DVD does not give background about how the conflict started, or what happened in 1967. It does not start with maps. Thus, this is not an introductory film. We suggest that you show this in two segments to accompany a lesson on settlements and a lesson on the Wall.

On the following page, you will find a study guide for students to use as they watch the film. Since visuals are important, we have written the main points of the film and asked students to jot down a detail or two for each main point (so they won't spend much time looking at their page, and can focus on the film). You may want to read over the main points first, so that students can look out for details as they appear. After watching the film, you can use the study guide questions as a discussion guide for the film. However, be sure to ask students a general question, such as “how did you feel while watching the movie” or “what did you think while watching the movie?” before you launch into particulars.

Finally, the DVD ends with David Rovics singing his song “Occupation”. The lyrics are included here. The song could generate an interesting discussion.

Watch the film and add a detail to each of the main points below.

Settlements:

1. Settlements have been the policy of the Israeli government, not one particular political party.
2. To Palestinians, the Oslo Peace Process was clearly not working because settlement growth increased during this time.
3. Settlements and the by-pass roads comprise 42% of the future Palestinian state.
4. There were many negative impacts of settlements on Palestinians besides taking their land.
5. “Economic” settlers (80%) are often manipulated into buying homes in the Occupied Territories.
6. “Religious” settlers (20%) can be very violent and believe that it is their right to live in the Occupied Territories.
7. Israeli soldiers sometimes criticize settlers and settlements.
8. Palestinians in Hebron are subject to closures, curfews, and attacks because of settlers.

THE IRON WALL-- MOVIE NOTES

Name: _____

Watch the film and add a detail to each of the main points below.

The Wall:

1. The Wall is not for Israeli security. The border with the Occupied Territories is 315 km long and the Wall is 670 km long.

2. Palestinian villages are losing land and livelihood.

3. Jerusalem and Bethlehem are also severely impacted.

4. The Wall annexes more than 80% of the settlers and settlements into Israel.

5. The International Court of Justice ruled the Wall illegal in 2004.

Conclusion:

6. The “disappearing Palestine” map shows that “land for peace” is becoming increasingly impossible.

7. The “two-state solution” may be in jeopardy.

8. The song at the end of the movie (“Occupation” by David Rovics) notes that peace will only come when settlers return to Tel Aviv. What do you think?

“Occupation” by David Rovics

(http://lyrics.wikia.com/David_Rovics:Occupation)

You ask me how it is
That I dare to take a side
You say I loathe myself
For pointing out that you have lied
You say it's tribal warfare
But I disagree
For the dynamics of the situation
Are not difficult to see
On one side is the fighter jet
On the other side the stone
On one side is the slave
On the other is the throne
For the many there are checkpoints
While foreign soldiers rule the street
For one side there is victory
But the people don't accept defeat

(Chorus)

The word you need to know is occupation
The very definition of a land without a nation
And if peace is what you're after then let us not deceive
It will come on the day the tanks return to Tel Aviv

On one side there is hunger
And bulldozed olive trees
On the other is the Army

Ruling by decrees
Caterpillars maul the streets
And destroy entire city blocks
While children swallow shrapnel
For the crime of throwing rocks
Fences are erected
Around the towns they flatten
And Herzl's own fanatics
Sleep on sheets of satin
And they water their plantations
Drilling ever-deeper wells
While the displaced children of the hopeless
Are filled with bullet shells

(Chorus)

...It will come on the day the settlers return to Tel Aviv

On one side there is the Mossad
Rounding up the men
Thrown in jail with no trial
Being tortured once again
On the other there is rage
Helplessness and fear
And a growing realization
That another holocaust is near
On the outside there are prisons
Inside detainees
Being stripped of their humanity

Beaten naked to their knees
Outside ghetto prison walls
There are stormtroopers all around
While inside the hungry people
Yearn for liberated ground

(Chorus)

...It will come on the day the jailguards return to Tel Aviv

All across the world
You can hear the people say
The children of Jerusalem
Will be free one day
In overcrowded camps
Amidst the stench of death and flies
To the suburbs of Detroit
You can hear the anguished cries
While in the land of Israel
With God ever on their side
Walls and fences are constructed
And papers are denied
People fight for their existence
While the world turns a blinded eye
And those who should know better
Insist on asking why

(Chorus)

...It will come on the day the refugees return to Tel Aviv

B. Settlements Introductory Article

Show or give the students the overview of Israeli settlements that follows. Go over it quickly with the class. Be sure everyone understands basically what the settlements are and where they are (show them a map of the settlements included in the Trunk or Maps Folder).

Overview of the Israeli settlements. If you go to the websites listed, you can get pictures too.

9/15/10 6:52 AM Five largest Israeli settlements: who lives there, and why -

CSMonitor.com ; <http://www.csmonitor.com/layout/set/print/content/view/print/325558> By Ariel Zirulnick, Contributor posted September 14, 2010 at 2:16 pm EDT

Five largest Israeli settlements: who lives there, and why

The end goal of the current Israeli-Palestinian peace talks is two separate, sovereign states. Palestinians say that the expansion of Israeli settlements in the West Bank, deemed illegal by the United Nations, influence the outcome of such talks. With more than 300,000 Israelis now living in such settlements, Israel expects to keep at least some of them under a final peace deal - possibly as part of a land swap.

An estimated three-quarters of Israeli settlers live on a relatively small percentage of the West Bank, most of them in communities adjacent to Israel proper. Some of them are ideologically driven and some are attracted by the low cost of living; many are motivated by a combination of the two.

Here are the five most populous settlements in the West Bank.

#5 Ariel

Founded in 1978

Population: 16,716

Of the five largest settlements in the West Bank, Ariel is located the furthest from the Green Line - more than 9 miles. It lies east of Tel Aviv and north of Jerusalem. Though it remains on the Palestinian side of the separation barrier, it is considered a strategic bulwark protecting Israel's narrow middle. It is home to the Ariel University Center of Samaria, which enrolls 8,500 students, both Jews and Arabs.

#4 Gush Etzion bloc

First post-1948 settlement was founded in 1967

Population: 20,532 (excluding Betar Illit)

Gush Etzion is the collective name used for a group of Israeli settlements in the vicinity of the West Bank city of Bethlehem. The Foundation for Middle East Peace counts 15 settlements as part of the bloc, including Betar Illit. The settlements lie on both sides of the separation barrier, but entirely on the Palestinian side of the Green Line. Jews first attempted to settle the area now part of the Gush Etzion bloc in the 1920s. The first attempt was unsuccessful, and later attempts were destroyed in the 1948 war. Efforts began again in 1967, when Israel took over the West Bank in the Six-Day War.

#3 Betar Illit

Founded in 1985

Population: 34,829

Betar Illit is situated about six miles south of Jerusalem and west of Bethlehem, and is located less than a kilometer within the Palestinian side of the Green Line. It is an Orthodox Jewish community with one of the fastest-growing populations in the West Bank. Because much of the population is engaged in religious study, rather than

employed in nearby cities, it is relatively self contained. Betar Illit is often considered part of the Gush Etzion settlement bloc.

#2 Maale Adumim

Founded in 1975

Population: 33,821

Maale Adumim lies east of Jerusalem, about 2.5 miles from the Green Line.

Considered by many Israelis to be a suburb of the city because of its close proximity, it began as a planned community and commuter town for Israelis working in Jerusalem. A mix of religious and secular Jews live there. Israel values the "strategic depth" Maale Adumim offers against an army coming from the east. But Palestinians and their international supporters have criticized Israel's efforts to incorporate Maale Adumim, as well as an adjacent area known as E-1, because those plans threaten the territorial contiguity of a future Palestinian state. The Maale Adumim bloc extends far into the West Bank, leaving only a narrow corridor of land in the eastern West Bank to connect the northern and southern regions of the territory.

#1 Modiin Illit

Founded in 1996*

Population: 41,869

Modiin Illit sits about halfway between Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. With more than 42,000 settlers today, Modiin Illit alone has about four times the number of settlers that were in the entire Gaza Strip before the 2005 disengagement. Most of its residents are Orthodox Jews. Modiin Illit is encompassed by the Israeli separation barrier - designed to protect Israeli citizens from Palestinian militant attacks - even though it lies outside the pre-1967 Israeli border known as the Green Line. Just on the other side of the wall from Modiin Illit is Bilin, where Palestinians have held weekly protests against the wall for several years.

***Editor's note:** The original version of this story used an earlier date from the Foundation for Middle East Peace, but the official Israeli statistics give 1996 as the founding date.

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C. Readings on the Wall and Settlements

Pass out the following readings and allow students time today and tomorrow to read them. Give them the study questions that will also prepare them for the Socratic Discussion.

Here is an analysis of the main points of the readings:

Wall -- pro = A, B	anti = C, D
Settlements -- pro= 3	anti = 1,2

You can jigsaw the readings if students don't have time to read them all. Ensure that everyone has read a pro and a con on both Wall and Settlements. This will take 3 days: 2 for the readings, and 1 for the Socratic Discussion. Students will participate in creating the questions to be discussed around the overarching questions of:

'How do Israel's settlements and its Wall/Fence impact the West Bank? What should change, if anything?'

Directions: Read about the settlements and the Wall and answer the following questions.

Wall:

1. Who is building the fence/wall? On whose land is the fence/wall being built?
2. Does either the United Nations or the United States support the construction of the fence/wall?
3. Imagine that you are an Israeli citizen being asked by a journalist about the security fence. How would you argue in favor of the construction of the security fence?
4. Imagine that you are a Palestinian being asked by a journalist about the separation wall. How would you argue against the construction of the separation wall?
5. Talk to someone older than you about the construction of the security fence/separation wall. Assess together how the peace process is impacted by the barrier construction. (Remember, this can be anyone-a teacher, a parent, an older friend, a relative, etc.) Then, working together, create a question that can be asked during the Socratic Discussion (a question that leads to in-depth discussion and cannot be answered yes/no).

Settlements:

1. Where are the settlements being built?
2. Do they have the support of Israel? Of the United States? Of the United Nations?
3. Imagine that you are a Jewish settler being interviewed by a journalist about the settlements on the West Bank. How would you defend your people's rights to live on the West Bank?
4. Imagine that you are a Palestinian being interviewed by a journalist about the settlements on the West Bank? How would you defend your people's rights to live on the West Bank without the settlements?

Talk to someone older than you about the Israeli settlements in the West Bank and assess together how the peace process is impacted by the settlements. (Remember, this can be anyone-a teacher, a parent, an older friend, a relative, etc.) Then, working together, create a question that can be asked during the Socratic Discussion (a question that leads to in-depth discussion and cannot be answered yes/no).

Articles on the Wall (A, B, C, D) and Settlements (1,2,3) -- pro and con

A. Is Israel's Security Barrier Unique?

by Ben Thein

Middle East Quarterly

Fall 2004

On July 9, 2004, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) ruled that Israel's security barrier was a violation of international humanitarian law and human rights law. Eleven days later, the United Nations General Assembly voted 150-6 to condemn Israel and demand removal of the barrier. All twenty-five members of the European Union supported the motion.^[1] The EU position would not have been so offensive had it not then undertaken an act of stunning hypocrisy. In August 2004, the EU put out tenders for companies to construct a European separation fence to prevent migration into the EU from countries excluded from it.^[2] European officials undertook to build a wall less than one month after condemning Israel's barrier at the United Nations.

EU countries are not the only ones to display hypocrisy. Several states voting to condemn Israel themselves have built barriers on disputed land, often as a response to terrorism. Israel's decisions rest on firm precedent. India, for example, has built a barrier along its line-of-control with Pakistan. Following a number of violent confrontations with Yemeni soldiers and tribesmen, the Saudi Arabian government unilaterally began constructing a barrier on land disputed by its southern neighbor. Morocco has built a barrier against Algerian infiltration in the disputed territory of Western Sahara. Ironically, while both British foreign minister Jack Straw and Turkish foreign minister Abdullah Gül condemned Israel's security fence, both their countries have built their own barriers to combat terrorism. In Cyprus, it is the U.N. itself that, at significant hardship to the local populace, sponsored a security fence reinforcing the island's de facto partition.

The idea of physical separation between Israelis and Palestinians predates the current Palestinian *intifada*. A brutal 1992 terrorist murder of a teenage girl in Bat Yam helped motivate Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin to negotiate the Oslo accords. Physical separation was not yet on the table. But in 1994, in response to a suicide attack in Tel Aviv, Rabin declared, "We have to decide on separation as a philosophy."^[3]

While Rabin's assassination sidetracked the barrier plan, Prime Minister Ehud Barak revived the idea. Shortly before the collapse of the July 2000 Camp David summit, Barak gave a speech arguing that separation would both guarantee security and preserve the Jewish identity of the state. Barak continued to state that "a physical separation" would be "essential to the Palestinian nation in order to foster its national identity and independence, without being dependent on the state of Israel."^[4] However, it would be a Likud government that would actually bring the goal to fruition. On February 21, 2002, following a rash of suicide bombings, Prime Minister Ariel Sharon declared his support for the barrier. Whatever resistance there was in his government was swept aside the next month after Palestinian terrorists killed 80 Israelis and wounded 600 in twelve different suicide attacks. On April 14, 2002,

Sharon's security cabinet approved a plan to build three "buffer zones" in areas where terrorists had frequently infiltrated Israel; [\[5\]](#) construction began two months later. [\[6\]](#) While the West Bank security fence is long by Israeli standards at about 500 miles when complete, [\[7\]](#) it is, nevertheless, small in comparison to other barriers in existence.

India and Pakistan

A case in point is the separation barrier between India and Pakistan. Upon their independence in 1947, a massive exchange of populations took place. Millions of Muslims streamed from India into Pakistan while millions of Hindus fled in the opposite direction. The two countries fiercely disputed possession of the provinces of Jammu and Kashmir, fighting three wars in subsequent decades. In 1989, the Indian government, frustrated at the continued infiltration of terrorists from Pakistan, constructed a security barrier along the frontier in the states of Punjab and Rajasthan. The barrier worked and infiltration subsided. [\[8\]](#) Five years later, India sought to extend the barrier 620 miles through Jammu and Kashmir. More than 80 percent of the barrier's planned route was on disputed land. [\[9\]](#)

The Pakistani government's reaction to India's barrier-building was harsh. Islamabad accused India of violating both the U.N. charter and the two countries' cease fire agreement. In July 2003, Pakistani military spokesman, Shaukat Sultan, declared, the border in Jammu and Kashmir remains un-demarcated ... any measure to alter the status of these and any attempt to erect a new impediment is a direct violation of international commitments, and Pakistan opposes it. Border fencing is not allowed. [\[10\]](#)

But the Indian government disagreed, citing its right to defend itself against terrorism. After all, since 1989 more than 40,000 people have perished in Jammu and Kashmir in terrorism and insurgency-related violence. [\[11\]](#) And, just as Israel has found its barrier to be a successful deterrent, so, too, has India. According to the chief-of-staff of the Indian army, Nirmal Chand Vij, the number of terrorists inside Jammu and Kashmir plummeted almost 50 percent in the year after the barrier's construction. The fence stopped almost 90 percent of infiltration attempts. [\[12\]](#) India's vote against Israel's West Bank barrier [\[13\]](#) may have undermined its own position, a fact that was not lost on at least one Pakistani senator. In a July debate in the Pakistani senate, Ishaq Dar suggested that Islamabad parlay the ICJ ruling into a move to condemn India's fence construction along its line-of-control. [\[14\]](#)

Good Fences Make Good Neighbors

When the ICJ ruled on July 9 that Israel's security barrier was illegal, it based its decisions exclusively on interpretation of international humanitarian law. Fourteen of the fifteen judges ruled that Israel should raze its barrier. The one dissenting justice, Thomas Buergenthal, was American. He argued that the court failed to consider all relevant facts. He wrote, "The nature of these cross-Green Line attacks and their impact on Israel and its population are never really seriously examined by the court." While the ICJ claimed that Israel could not invoke "the right of legitimate or inherent self-defense," Buergenthal disagreed. After all, in resolutions 1368 and 1373, the U.N.

Security Council reaffirmed the right to combat terrorism without limitation to "state actors only."[\[35\]](#)

And there is little doubt that the security barriers work. Suicide attacks in Israel declined 75 percent in the first six months of 2004 compared to an equivalent period in 2003.[\[36\]](#) The Israeli government is not alone in this conclusion. Many of the most vocal critics of Israel's security barrier have employed the same defense. Their immunity from ICJ and U.N. criticism illustrates both the politicization of the International Court of Justice and the inherent bias of the United Nations. U.N. secretary general Kofi Annan's criticism of Israel's security barrier,[\[37\]](#) especially when juxtaposed with his silence regarding the region's other security barriers, illustrates the double standard.[\[38\]](#)

Perhaps the greatest tragedy of the ICJ decision, however, is that it creates a precedent that allows terrorism to trump security. Israel will not be the only victim. The Turkish government, which vociferously condemned Israel, unwittingly undermined its own security with regard to Syria. Some Pakistani politicians already seek to use the ICJ's decision on Israel to undermine India's self-defense. While separate peace processes proceed in Cyprus, Western Sahara, and Northern Ireland, it was the dampening of terrorism made possible by the security barriers that allowed the space for diplomats to resume negotiations. On a number of levels, the ICJ decision was a ruling against peace and security, not only in Israel but also across the region and elsewhere.

Ben Thein, a student in international relations, economics, and business management at Clark University, was an intern at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy.

March 18, 2006

Op-Ed Contributor

B. How I Learned to Love the Wall

By IRSHAD MANJI

New Haven

ON March 28, Israelis will elect a new prime minister to replace the ailing Ariel Sharon. But I'd bet my last shekel that I'll continue to hear the phrase "Ariel Sharon's apartheid wall." It's a phrase spoken — make that spewed — on almost every university campus I visit in North America and Europe.

Among a new generation of Muslims, this is what Mr. Sharon will be known for long after he leaves office: unilaterally erecting a barrier, most of it a fence, some of it a wall, that cuts Arab villages in half, chokes the movement of ordinary Palestinians, cripples local economies and, ultimately, separates human beings.

The critics have a point — up to a point.

They're right that Palestinians are virtually wailing at "the wall." When I went to see its towering cement slabs in the West Bank town of Abu Dis last year, an Arab man approached me to unload his sadness. "It's no good," he said. "It's hard."

"Why do you think they built it?" I asked.

The man shook his head and repeated, "It's hard." After some silence, he added, "We are not two people. We are one."

"How do you explain that to suicide bombers?" I wondered aloud.

The man smiled. "No understand," he replied. "No English. Thank you. Goodbye."

Was it something I said? Maybe my impolite mention of Palestinian martyrs? Then again, how could I not mention them?

After all, this barrier, although built by Mr. Sharon, was birthed by "shaheeds," suicide bombers whom Palestinian leaders have glorified as martyrs. Qassam missiles can kill two or three people at a time. Suicide bombers lay waste to many more. Since the barrier went up, suicide attacks have plunged, which means innocent Arab lives have been spared along with Jewish ones. Does a concrete effort to save civilian lives justify the hardship posed by this structure? The humanitarian in me bristles, but ultimately answers yes.

That's not to deny or even diminish Arab pain. I had to twist myself like an amateur gymnast when I helped a Palestinian woman carry her grocery bags through a gap in the wall (such gaps, closely watched by Israeli soldiers, do exist). It made me wonder how much more difficult the obstacle course must be for people twice my age, who must travel to one of the wider official checkpoints nearby.

I appreciate that Israel's intent is not to keep Palestinians "in" so much as to keep suicide bombers "out." But in the minds of many Palestinians, Ariel Sharon never adequately acknowledged the humiliation felt by a 60-year-old Arab whose family has harvested the Holy Land for generations when she has to show her identity card to an

18-year-old Ethiopian immigrant in an Israeli Army uniform who's been in the country for eight months. In that context, fences and walls come off as cruelly gratuitous.

For all the closings, however, Israel is open enough to tolerate lawsuits by civil society groups who despise every mile of the barrier. Mr. Sharon himself agreed to reroute sections of it when the Israel High Court ruled in favor of the complainants. Where else in the Middle East can Arabs and Jews work together so visibly to contest, and change, state policies?

I reflected on this question as I observed an Israeli Army jeep patrol the gap in Abu Dis. The vehicle was crammed with soldiers who, in turn, observed me filming the anti-Israel graffiti scrawled by Western activists — "Scotland hates the blood-sucking Zionists!" I turned my video camera on the soldiers. Nobody ordered me to shut it off or show the tape. My Arab taxi driver stood by, unprotected by a diplomatic license plate or press banner.

Like all Muslims, I look forward to the day when neither the jeep nor the wall is in Abu Dis. So will we tell the self-appointed martyrs of Islam that the people — not just Arabs, but Arabs and Jews — "are one"? That before the barrier, there was the bomber? And that the barrier can be dismantled, but the bomber's victims are gone forever?

Young Muslims, especially those privileged with a good education, cannot walk away from these questions as my interlocutor in Abu Dis did. If we follow in his footsteps, we are only conspiring against ourselves. After all, once the election is over, we won't have Ariel Sharon to kick around anymore.

Irshad Manji, a fellow at Yale, is the author of "The Trouble With Islam Today: A Muslim's Call for Reform in Her Faith."

C. Fighting Israel's Wall

By [Ann Petter](#)

The International Court of Justice has ruled Israel's "Separation Wall" illegal and has called on Israel to dismantle the wall. Nineteen days ago I came to Israel to protest that wall and to bear witness to its devastating effects on the Palestinian population. Instead I was detained by Israel police upon arrival at Tel Aviv's Ben Gurion airport and have since been held in immigration detention awaiting deportation. I have been labeled a threat to "security," and the judge has called my camera a weapon. It seems to me the only threat I pose to Israel is a public relations one.

I have been asked, Why did I come from outside Israel to participate in political activity here? The first and simplest answer is because it is the right thing to do. The international community needs to insist on justice for all, for the sake of all. Secondly, I came from outside Israel to engage in political activity here because my country, the United States, bears the greatest responsibility for perpetuating the violence here.

The United States gives more foreign aid to Israel than to all African countries combined and crucial political support for nearly all of its policies concerning Palestinians, even those that violate international law, as does construction of the wall. I came to Israel because my tax money pays for Apache helicopters and tank shells like the ones recently shot at a peaceful protest in Gaza, and because the labels on the tear-gas containers we pick up in demonstrations say "Made in Pennsylvania." My taxes are sent to Israel in violation of US laws. The US Foreign Military Assistance Act prohibits military assistance to any country that has a pattern of consistently violating human rights.

During a visit to the West Bank a year ago I saw that the wall is being built primarily inside the West Bank on Palestinian land, cutting off thousands of Palestinians from their farmland, trapping many in enclaves and devastating the Palestinian economy. With that knowledge, I returned here to say the exact same thing that the ICJ has now declared.

I intended to join a march organized by the International Solidarity Movement, a Palestinian-led movement working for Palestinian self-determination and to end the Israeli occupation. Through nonviolent actions, the ISM volunteers bear witness to the effects of military occupation. We act where our governments fail to act. We report what the international media fail to report.

For daring to witness and report the brutal effects the wall is taking on the Palestinian population, I have been deemed a "security threat" by the State of Israel, denied entry to both Israel and the occupied Palestinian territories, and threatened with expulsion. My first appeal to challenge my deportation was denied yesterday. However, because I know that my efforts to stand against human rights violations like the construction of the wall are supported by international law, I am appealing this decision to the Israeli Supreme Court and will remain in prison until my case is reviewed there.

From Ben Gurion's detention center I have experienced first-hand a scaled-down version of the system of injustice experienced daily by Palestinians, who call on us to pay attention to the prison walls being built around them. In light of the decision made by the International Court of Justice, and in light of America's ongoing support of Israel's defiance of international law, I urge people to answer the call and participate in bringing to the world the Palestinian voices calling for freedom and justice.

D. A Wall as a Weapon

Noam Chomsky

[*The New York Times*](#), February 23, 2004

It is a virtual reflex for governments to plead security concerns when they undertake any controversial action, often as a pretext for something else. Careful scrutiny is always in order. Israel's so-called security fence, which is the subject of hearings starting today at the International Court of Justice in The Hague, is a case in point.

Few would question Israel's right to protect its citizens from terrorist attacks like the one yesterday, even to build a security wall if that were an appropriate means. It is also clear where such a wall would be built if security were the guiding concern: inside Israel, within the internationally recognized border, the Green Line established after the 1948-49 war. The wall could then be as forbidding as the authorities chose: patrolled by the army on both sides, heavily mined, impenetrable. Such a wall would maximize security, and there would be no international protest or violation of international law.

This observation is well understood. While Britain supports America's opposition to the Hague hearings, its foreign minister, Jack Straw, has written that the wall is "unlawful." Another ministry official, who inspected the "security fence," said it should be on the Green Line or "indeed on the Israeli side of the line." A British parliamentary investigative commission also called for the wall to be built on Israeli land, condemning the barrier as part of a "deliberate" Israeli "strategy of bringing the population to heel."

What this wall is really doing is taking Palestinian lands. It is also — as the Israeli sociologist Baruch Kimmerling has described Israel's war of "politicide" against the Palestinians — helping turn Palestinian communities into dungeons, next to which the bantustans of South Africa look like symbols of freedom, sovereignty and self-determination.

Even before construction of the barrier was under way, the United Nations estimated that Israeli barriers, infrastructure projects and settlements had created 50 disconnected Palestinian pockets in the West Bank. As the design of the wall was coming into view, the World Bank estimated that it might isolate 250,000 to 300,000 Palestinians, more than 10 percent of the population, and that it might effectively annex up to 10 percent of West Bank land. And when the government of Ariel Sharon finally published its proposed map, it became clear the the wall would cut the West Bank into 16 isolated enclaves, confined to just 42 percent of the West Bank land that Mr. Sharon had previously said could be ceded to a Palestinian state.

The wall has already claimed some of the most fertile lands of the West Bank. And, crucially, it extends Israel's control of critical water resources, which Israel and its settlers can appropriate as they choose, while the indigenous population often lacks water for drinking.

Palestinians in the seam between the wall and the Green Line will be permitted to apply for the right to live in their own homes; Israelis automatically have the right to use these lands. "Hiding behind security rationales and the seemingly neutral

bureaucratic language of military orders is the gateway for expulsion," the Israeli journalist Amira Hass wrote in the daily *Haaretz*. "Drop by drop, unseen, not so many that it would be noticed internationally and shock public opinion." The same is true of the regular killings, terror and daily brutality and humiliation of the past 35 years of harsh occupation, while land and resources have been taken for settlers enticed by ample subsidies.

It also seems likely that Israel will transfer to the occupied West Bank the 7,500 settlers it said this month it would remove from the Gaza Strip. These Israelis now enjoy ample land and fresh water, while one million Palestinians barely survive, their meager water supplies virtually unusable. Gaza is a cage, and as the city of Rafah in the south is systematically demolished, residents may be blocked from any contact with Egypt and blockaded from the sea.

It is misleading to call these Israeli policies. They are American-Israeli policies — made possible by unremitting United States military, economic and diplomatic support of Israel. This has been true since 1971 when, with American support, Israel rejected a full peace offer from Egypt, preferring expansion to security. In 1976, the United States vetoed a Security Council resolution calling for a two-state settlement in accord with an overwhelming international consensus. The two-state proposal has the support of a majority of Americans today, and could be enacted immediately if Washington wanted to do so.

At most, the Hague hearings will end in an advisory ruling that the wall is illegal. It will change nothing. Any real chance for a political settlement — and for decent lives for the people of the region — depends on the United States.

1. Settlements 'violate Israeli law'

More than a third of the Jewish settlements in the West Bank are built on privately owned Palestinian land, an Israeli campaign group has reported.

Peace Now says nearly 40% of the land the settlements sit on is, according to official data, "effectively stolen" from Palestinian landowners. This, the group says, is a violation of Israel's own laws. Settlements in the occupied West Bank are illegal under international law, although Israel rejects this. About 430,000 Jews live in these residential areas in the West Bank and East Jerusalem.

Leaked data

Peace Now called on the Israeli government to return the private land to its Palestinian owners. In recent years the Israeli government has said repeatedly that it respects Palestinian property rights in the West Bank. An Israeli official has said the government is reviewing the report.

REPORT FINDINGS

☒ 130 settlements were constructed either entirely or partially on private Palestinian land

☒ 19,800 acres of the land used by the settlements, nearly 40% of the total, is private Palestinian land

☒ 86.4% of Maale Adumim is built on privately-owned land. **Source: Peace Now**

The data on which the findings are based comes from a 2004 survey by the Civil Administration, which manages the civilian aspects of Israel's occupation of the West Bank. The data was leaked to Peace Now via an official in the Civil Administration. The group says the government had refused to give this information to it. The group says that the data it has received has been "hidden by the State for many years, for fear that the revelation of these facts could damage its international relations". According to the report, 86.4% of the Maale Adumim settlement block, the largest in the West Bank, is built on private Palestinian land, and not on what the Israeli government refers to as "state land". The settlement is home to 32,372 people and lies due east of Jerusalem.

'Violation' of Israeli law

"The claim by the State and settlers that the settlements have been constructed on state land is misleading and false," Peace Now says.

JEWISH SETTLEMENTS

☒ Illegal under international law according to Fourth Geneva Convention (article 49), which prohibits an occupying power transferring citizens from its own territory to occupied territory

☒ Israel argues international conventions relating to occupied land do not apply to West Bank because it was not under the legitimate sovereignty of any state before 1967

"The vast majority of settlement construction was done against the law of the land and the Supreme Court ruling and therefore unauthorised. "[The data] indicates the direct violation of Israeli law carried out by the State itself, driven by the architects

and leaders of the settlement movement." In 1979 the Israeli High Court forbade the establishment of settlements on privately-owned Palestinian land that has been seized by Israel for military purposes. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is at its core a conflict over land and in the West Bank property rights, BBC Jerusalem correspondent Crispin Thorold says. This is the area which Palestinians want to be the basis of a future independent state. If confirmed the findings could have major implications for any future peace deal. Some of the settlements that the Israeli government wants to be included within its final borders are built on land overwhelmingly owned by Palestinian individuals. Peace Now is an Israeli group that monitors Israel settlements in the West Bank. The oldest peace movement in Israel, it advocates the setting up of a Palestinian state on land occupied by Israel in 1967.

2. Settlements in Focus

Settlements in Focus: "Settlement Bloc(kage)s on the Road to Peace" (Vol. 4, Issue 3)

We often hear about "Settlements blocs," mainly from Israeli politicians who declare that any Israeli settlement freeze will not include these areas. What are these blocs?

"Settlement bloc" is an informal term, referring to areas in the West Bank where clusters of settlements have been established in relatively close proximity to one another. In the current political context, the term "settlement bloc" has become a code name for those settlements that are supposedly within the Israeli national "consensus" as being settlements that should, and likely will, remain part of Israel under any future peace agreement.

It must be emphasized that these "blocs" have no legal definition or standing, either under Israeli or international law. The blocs and the settlements they contain are not recognized by the Palestinians or the international community as having any special status compared to other settlements, either now or in terms of a future peace agreement. For its part, Israel has always left the size and borders of the blocs undefined, allowing their informal borders to grow year after year, as construction has systematically thickened the blocs and expanded them to include settlements and land located at a greater distance from their centers. At present, the best indication of Israel's definition of the blocs is the route of the security barrier, with the barrier in effect defining the blocs (i.e., what is kept on the Israeli side of the barrier is part of that area's bloc, what is left on the Palestinian side of the barrier is not).

What is U.S. policy regarding construction in the settlement blocs?

On April 14, 2004, in the context of discussions over Israeli plans to evacuate its settlements in Gaza, U.S. President George W. Bush and Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon exchanged letters expressing their commitments and understandings related to the Roadmap, the disengagement plan, and the overall parameters of Israeli-Palestinian peace. In his letter to Sharon, Bush included language that appeared to constitute U.S. approval, or at least tacit acceptance, of the Israeli demand that, under any future peace agreement, areas of the West Bank that are home to large Israeli populations would become part of Israel. The [letter](#) stated:

"...As part of a final peace settlement, Israel must have secure and recognized borders, which should emerge from negotiations between the parties in accordance with UNSC Resolutions 242 and 338. **In light of new realities on the ground, including already existing major Israeli population centers, it is unrealistic to expect that the outcome of final status negotiations will be a full and complete return to the armistice lines of 1949, and all previous efforts to negotiate a two-state solution have reached the same conclusion. It is realistic to expect that any final status agreement will only be achieved on the basis of**

mutually agreed changes that reflect these realities." (Emphasis added by SiF authors.)

Advocates of the West Bank settlement enterprise, including in the Israeli government, immediately began arguing that this language meant, in effect, that the U.S. was giving a green light to continued expansion of settlements in areas of the West Bank that constitute "already existing major Israeli population centers" - code for what Israel usually calls "settlement blocs." Then, earlier this month, the *Washington Post* broke the [story](#) that, according to Israeli officials, the Bush letter was actually part of a secret U.S. agreement to permit Israel to continue building in these areas. Administration officials have strongly denied that there was any such secret agreement.

We have no way of knowing whether there was a behind-the-scenes secret agreement - or even an informal understanding based on winks and nods - under which the U.S. gave Israel the go-ahead for new construction in settlement population centers. What we do know is what has happened on the ground: since the Bush letter, Israeli construction in these areas has continued and even intensified, and efforts to oppose it have run into the argument: "but everyone knows these places are going to remain part of Israel anyway, so why should anyone invest political capital in stopping this construction?" We also know that U.S. public objections to settlement expansion in these areas have been minimal

Thus, the question of a "secret" agreement is something of a red herring. Secret agreement or no secret agreement, Israeli construction in and around "already existing major Israeli population centers" in the West Bank has continued without pause, and continues to this day. Similarly, we have seen relentless construction of roads and other infrastructure to facilitate their expansion, erase the Green Line, and connect them to/integrate them into Israel. We have also witnessed the establishment and expansion of a security regime that in effect seals off the West Bank from these areas and isolates the Palestinians caught inside them.

The Bush Administration offered no specific definition of "already existing major Israeli population centers," and both the press and the general population has interpreted the phrase as equivalent to what Israel has generally referred to as "settlement blocs."

Is construction in settlement blocs permitted under the Roadmap?

No. According to Phase I of the Roadmap, "Consistent with the Mitchell Report, GOI [the Government of Israel] freezes all settlement activity (including natural growth of settlements)." There is no implicit or explicit reference to settlement blocs having any special status under which settlement activity in them - as opposed to anywhere else - may continue. Indeed, the inclusion of the explicit statement regarding the requirement for a freeze on so-called "natural growth" would seem to make it compellingly clear that the Roadmap applies especially in settlement blocs, where the demands for new housing caused by "natural growth" would be the strongest. (For the full text of the Roadmap, see: <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2003/20062.htm>)

Are settlement blocs really part of an Israeli "national consensus," and if so, why?

First, it is important to note that around 20% of Israel's citizens are Arab, and this portion of the population generally does not support the view that Israel should or must hold onto settlement blocs. Thus, when observers - Israeli or non-Israeli - refer to the "national consensus" on settlements, they are by definition excluding the opinions of around one-fifth of the country's citizens. Moreover, even among Israeli Jews there is not an actual consensus, but rather a spectrum of views, including those adamantly opposed to Israel keeping any settlements and those adamantly in favor of Israel keeping all settlements. There are also many Israeli Jews who view the attainment of peace - not the keeping of settlement blocs - as the most important goal of peace negotiations, and who believe that the decision over whether or not Israel will get to keep settlement blocs must be left to the negotiating table.

Keeping all of this in mind, a number of different factors are responsible for the fact that, today, Israeli politicians can argue with some accuracy that the majority of Israeli Jews are in favor of keeping settlements blocs. One of the main reasons, of course, is that over the years, almost all Israeli governments have invested heavily in making the settlement blocs seem like an integral part of the state of Israel, even without officially annexing them to Israel. More specifically:

Size: Unlike the stereotype of a settlement as a small pastoral village, the settlements that anchor the settlement blocs were built in general as large urban settlements. This accounts for the fact that overall, around three-quarters of all of the settlers live in "settlement blocs" that are located on the Israeli side of the West Bank barrier. Settlements like Ma'ale Adumim, Modi'in Illit and Beitar Illit (all of which have been officially named 'cities' by Israel) are each home to more than 30,000 people, and are surrounded by smaller "suburb" settlements. Looking at this reality on the ground, it is difficult for Israelis to believe that they might one day be evacuated, especially given that the government has continued to build in these areas on a large scale throughout the recent years, including during periods of negotiations with the Palestinians.

Location: Most (but not all) of the settlements in the "settlement blocs" are located relatively close to the Green Line and to major cities in Israel. Most are integrated closely into Israeli life, with residents commuting to Israel for work, school, and social activities. With the routing of the security barrier, which leaves most of the settlements blocs on the Israeli side of the barrier, the popular sense that these areas are part of Israel is validated and enhanced. This of course raises the question: is it because the majority of Israeli Jews support keeping these settlements that they are included on the Israeli side of the barrier, or is it because they are included on the Israeli side of the barrier that the majority of Israeli Jews have come to believe that Israeli should keep them?

Transportation Integration: Over the years, Israel has invested huge sums of money to build an excellent system of highways that connect the settlements within the blocs to each other and to Israel, bypassing neighboring Palestinian towns and villages completely and effectively erasing the Green Line. This transportation integration strongly impacts perceptions, creating a situation where for the average Israeli, the

distinction between Israel and the West Bank is increasingly blurred. For example, when an Israeli drives from Tel Aviv to Ariel (a settlement located deep inside the West Bank, but less than an hour's drive from Tel Aviv) or from Jerusalem to Ma'ale Adumim (a 10-minute drive), he/she will likely not see any sign that they have crossed into the West Bank, and he/she will likely see almost no Palestinian cars or houses. (For more details on roads in the West Bank, see: [Settlements in Focus, Vol. 1, Issue 7](#))

Population Type - Non-Ideological Population: In general, the settlers who live in the blocs don't come to the settlements for ideological reasons and don't think of themselves as settlers; rather, they come in search of a better quality of life and better value for their money. Thus, most of these settlers come from the Israeli mainstream, and as a result, they are much easier for the mainstream of the Israeli population (and political leaders) to relate to and sympathize with than the ideological settlers living deeper inside the West Bank. (For more details on the quality of life settlers, see: [Settlements in Focus, Vol. 3, Issue 1](#))

Population Type - The ultra-Orthodox: In the early 1980's a decision was made to begin building new settlements specifically for the ultra-Orthodox (the Haredim). Previously, the ultra-Orthodox were not part of the settlement enterprise, being ideologically distinct from the national religious movement that was the backbone of the settler movement. However, the government recognized that with the very fast growth rate of the ultra-Orthodox population (where most families have a large number of children), their preference for homogeneous communities, and their demand for cheap housing (most ultra-Orthodox adult males spend their lives in study, and thus do not earn an income), this population was ideal for anchoring and filling out settlement blocs in key locations. Over time, ultra-Orthodox settlements have become the primary generators of growth in settlement blocs located both north and south of Jerusalem. As a result, the ultra-Orthodox political parties, who represent the interests of this population and play a key role either within, or in opposition to, every Israeli government, joined the fight in support of construction in the settlement blocs, and in support of permanent Israeli control over these areas. (For more details on ultra-Orthodox settlers, see: [Settlements in Focus, Vol. 1, Issue 12](#))

Domestic Political Trends: Over the years there has been a gradual change in how the Israeli public views settlements. In the early days of the settlement enterprise (post-1967 through the early 1990s and the beginning of the Oslo peace process), settlements appealed to the Israeli public on a deep, emotional level, with people seeing them to a great degree as a strategic security necessity, and viewing the settlers as the present-day equivalent of the earlier Jews who fought to create the state of Israel. However, with the onset of the era of Israeli-Palestinian peacemaking there has been the growing recognition that settlements not only are not strategic security assets, but rather are liabilities. We have thus seen a steady decline in support for the more isolated settlements, with most Israelis today already accepting the fact that, in the end, Israel will need to evacuate most of them (this trend was clearly on display both with the wide support in Israel for the evacuation of settlements from Gaza and with the election of Prime Minister Olmert on a platform that called for further settlement evacuations in the West Bank). As the settler

movement realized that it probably lost the fight for the isolated settlements, it started to focus its efforts on making sure that the "blocs," defined as expansively as possible, are supported by the Israeli public.

The Peace Process: When Prime Minister Olmert declared in Annapolis in November 2007 that Israel would freeze settlement construction, the settlers and their supporters immediately began to erode this freeze with pressure to build more settlement units first in East Jerusalem (another area that is supposedly within the "national consensus") and then in the settlement blocs. When the ultra-Orthodox parties joined the pressure, in particular with respect to a new neighborhood in Givat Ze'ev to be built especially for the ultra-Orthodox, Olmert caved to the pressure and approved the construction.

Where are the settlement blocs and what do they contain?

As noted above, "settlement blocs" have never been officially defined, and different politicians make use of the term according to their own interests and agendas. Some might define the "blocs" as including only settlements that are very close to the Green Line, while others might also add settlements located further inside the West Bank. In many ways, the fact that this phrase was never defined makes it easier for the government of Israel to allow construction in many settlements in the West Bank.

Assuming, as we do, that the route of the barrier is a good indication of Israel's intentions with respect to which settlements it hopes to keep in any peace agreement, then the following settlement "blocs" emerge:

> the **"Greater Jerusalem blocs,"** referring to:

- the **"E-1/Ma'ale Adumim bloc"** Located east of Jerusalem and anchored by the settlement-city of Ma'ale Adumim, the bloc comprises 5 settlements with a total population of around 36,000 settlers, and stretches across 15,034 acres of land. It also includes the as-yet undeveloped but much-planned E-1 (which so far is home only to a new Israeli police station). Due to the topography of the surrounding area, this bloc in effect divides the West Bank between north and south, preventing the establishment of a viable Palestinian state with territorial contiguity, and isolating East Jerusalem from the West Bank. (For more details, see: [Settlements in Focus, Vol. 1, Issue 1](#))
- the **"Giv'at Ze'ev bloc"** Located northwest of Jerusalem and southwest of Ramallah, and stretching across 6,246 acres of land, this bloc includes the settlement-town of Giva't Ze'ev and another 4 settlements, with a total population of around 13,000 settlers. The government of Israel has recently approved the construction of a huge new neighborhood in Giva't Ze'ev, Agan Ha'ayalot, with hundreds of housing units intended for ultra-Orthodox residents.
- the **"Etzion bloc"** Located southwest of Jerusalem and west of Bethlehem, this bloc includes the huge ultra-Orthodox city of Beitar Illit and another 9 settlements, with a total population of approximately 46,000 settlers. It stretches across a little over 18,000 acres of land.

(For more details on the Etzion bloc, see: [Settlements in Focus, Vol. 2, Issue 14](#), and [Settlements in Focus Vol. 1, Issue 14](#)).

> the **"Modi'in Illit bloc"** Located northwest of Jerusalem, near the Green line, this bloc comprises about 2,800 acres of land, home to 4 settlements with a total population of approximately 41,000 settlers, anchored by the large ultra-Orthodox settlement of Modi'in Illit. Modi'in Illit was originally called Qiryat Sefer; changing the name to "Modi'in Illit" (literally, "upper Modi'in") represented an effective way of blurring the Green Line by making it appear that the settlement is a suburb of the Israeli city of Modi'in (located just across the Green Line). (For details of illegal construction in Modi'in Illit, see: [Settlements in Focus, Vol. 2, Issue 1](#))

> the **"Ariel bloc"** This bloc is actually a settlement "finger" extending from the Green Line (south of the Palestinian city of Qalqilya) deep into the West Bank, delimited to the east by the settlement city of Ariel (located almost in the middle of the West Bank), and to the south by the settlement of Bet Arye, with two main road "corridors" connecting it to the Green Line. The bloc, which extends across a little more than 20,000 acres, includes 13 settlements with a total population of approximately 44,000 settlers, and includes numerous illegal outposts established mainly in the past few years. (For more details about the Ariel bloc, see: [Settlements in Focus, Vol. 1, Issue 2](#))

> the **"Karnei Shomron bloc"** This bloc is another settlement "finger" extending from the Green Line (near the Palestinian city of Qalqilya) deep into the West Bank, comprising 8 settlements with a total population of around 16,000. The bloc, which stretches over almost 20,000 acres, is anchored by the settlements of Alfei Menashe (located near the Green Line), Karni Shomron (located about halfway between the Green Line and the West Bank city of Nablus), and Kedumim (located northeast of both Aflei Menashe and Karni Shomron, about 6 km west of Nablus). The bloc includes other small settlements and a number of illegal outposts. (One might include in the bloc the settlements of Tzofim and Sali't which are located north of the bloc and much closer to the Green Line, although due to the barrier, these settlements are cut off from the rest of the bloc, except through Israel). Except for Alfei Menashe (and Tzofim and Sali't) all the settlements in this bloc are located outside the route of the barrier as currently constructed, but within the planned route of additional barrier construction.

Aren't most of these areas going to end up part of Israel anyway?

Regardless of who may end up in control of or with sovereignty over these areas under a future peace agreement, if Israel is serious about wanting to make peace with the Palestinians, the future of these areas must be left to negotiations and not determined by unilateral acts. This is all the more true at a time when President Abbas and his pro-peace Palestinian Authority need to demonstrate to the Palestinian people that diplomacy and negotiations are the only route to achieving Palestinian aspirations. Unilateral acts by Israel only undermine President Abbas and the hopes for achieving peace and a two state solution. Such acts also publicly defy and embarrass the United States, waste goodwill towards Israel around the world, and pointlessly consume valuable Israeli political capital.

It is worth mentioning that under the only detailed agreement ever achieved between Israelis and Palestinians - the model peace agreement called the Geneva Accords - the Palestinians (many of whom were and remain senior and influential political figures) agreed to Israel's annexation of some settlement blocs, in exchange for equal land swaps. However, such a negotiated agreement is far different from Israel acting unilaterally to annex territory, and it is important to note that the areas the Palestinian agreed would be ceded to Israel were far more modest than the expansive blocs of settlements and surrounding lands that Israel has de facto annexed with the security barrier. Indeed, the Geneva experience makes clear that any serious peace effort will have to recognize that settlement "fingers" stretching deep into the West Bank (like the Ariel and Kedumim blocs), and inflated settlement "balloons" that effective block territorial contiguity of the West Bank (like the E-1/Ma'ale Adumim bloc) are not consistent with the achievement of a peace agreement or the establishment of a viable Palestinian state.

What are the current trends in settlement blocs in construction and population?

Population trends: Approximately 75% of the settlers live in settlements located west of the barrier (on the Israeli side) and the settler population growth rate is higher in these areas than on the eastern side (in large part due to the presence of large ultra-Orthodox settlements, which boast a very high birth rate).

Construction trends: For some time now, most settlement construction has been taking place in settlements located on the west side of the barrier, and most of this construction has been initiated directly by the government (as opposed to construction that is initiated by private companies). Since the Annapolis summit in November 2007, Israeli Ministry of Housing [data](#) indicate that: 20% of the public housing units that were sold by the Ministry of Housing in Israel (that is, in all of Israel plus the West Bank) were in the settlement blocs; another 10% were in Har Homa in East Jerusalem; the same trend prevailed also in the last few years, when approximately one-third of the public housing units sold were beyond the Green Line (2/3 of which are in the blocs, and another 1/3 of which are in East Jerusalem).

Recent developments:

New neighborhood/settlement in Giv'at Ze'ev - three months after the Annapolis summit and the Israeli commitment to freeze settlement activity, the Israeli government approved the construction of "Agan Ha'ayalot," a huge new neighborhood for the ultra-Orthodox population, located between Giv'at Ze'ev and Beit Horon settlements, in the Giv'at Ze'ev settlement bloc. The first phase of the plan will include a few hundred housing units with the possibility for further expansion.

Unification of municipalities & creation of a new urban entity in the "Ariel bloc" - the Israeli Minister of Interior recently decided to establish a new municipality in the West Bank, to encompass four settlements in the Ariel bloc, located in a cluster close to the Green Line, on the far western end of the Ariel bloc. The new municipality will be comprised of Elkana and Etz Efraim (religious settlements), and the mixed religious/secular settlements of Oranit (which lies directly along the Green Line) and Sha'arei Tikva, with a total population of more than 13,200 settlers. This ostensibly "technical" and "administrative" decision - which removes the four settlements from

their traditional settlement regional authorities or council - will in fact strengthen the settlements individually and as a bloc, likely paving the way for further development and expansion in them. Merging these relatively small settlements into one relatively large municipality will likely impact the way the settlements and their inhabitants are viewed by Israelis and by Israeli authorities, making them, as a group, seem more strongly connected to Israel. It should be noted that the area also includes one Palestinian village, Azun Atma, which is already a fenced and isolated enclave on the Israeli side of the security fence. It is not yet clear what the change in administrative authority in this area will mean to the village.

3. BACKGROUNDER: Jewish Settlements and the Media

Ricki Hollander

October 5, 2001

http://www.camera.org/index.asp?x_article=259&x_context=2

The subject of Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza has long provoked severely distorted coverage. Regardless of differing political views on settlement policy, information about the much-reported issue should be factual and balanced. Among the most frequent of the distortions is the blanket claim that the settlements are illegal. This claim, which directly echoes those of the Palestinians, is particularly prevalent in the European media, but also crops up in American newspapers, television, and radio. Typical of the reporting in Europe are the following:

The settlements, illegal under international law, are one of the main Palestinian grievances against the Jewish state... (AFP June 26, 2001)

The mortar bombs fired almost daily by Palestinians in the Gaza Strip are all aimed at Jewish settlements, which are illegal under international law. (BBC May 10, 2001)

The Jewish settlements on the West Bank and in Gaza, illegal under international law, are one of the main causes of friction between Israel and the Palestinians. (The Guardian [London] June 27, 2001)

Reuters until recently repeated the Palestinian characterization of settlements on an almost daily basis, even to the point of implicitly justifying attacks on settlers:

Palestinians see settlements, illegal under international law, as legitimate targets in their struggle for independence. That 200,000 Jews live in 145 settlements scattered among three million Palestinians on West Bank and Gaza lands Israel captured in the 1967 war is a major grievance driving the uprising. (July 20, 2001)

Jewish settlements, illegal under international law, are built on land Israel captured in the 1967 Middle East war and which Palestinians want for an independent state. (June 26, 2001)

Jewish settlements, illegal under international law, are at the heart of a Palestinian uprising that began last September. (July 1) Some 200,000 Jewish settlers live among three million Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip on Arab land Israel captured in the 1967 Middle East war. The international community says the settlements are illegal. Palestinians view them as an obstacle to building a state and a legitimate target in their uprising. (June 24, 2001)

More recently, Reuters began to tone down and qualify this characterization:

Much of the international community regards as illegal Israeli settlements in areas occupied by Israel in the 1967 Middle East war. Israel disputes this. Many Palestinians view settlers as legitimate targets in their uprising. (October 4, 2001)

In contrast to this, the Associated Press correctly refrains from commenting on the legality of the settlements; articles either refer to the settlements as disputed, or attribute to the Palestinians opinions about their legality:

About 200,000 settlers live in the disputed lands, captured by Israel in the 1967 Mideast war. (June 27) Palestinians regard all Jewish settlements as illegal and have killed more than two dozen settlers in drive-by attacks and roadside shootings during nine months of violence. (June 23; June 24, 2001)

The Palestinians, calling them [settlements] illegal encroachment on their land, demand that all of them be removed. (June 27, 2001)

The major American newspapers vary in how they portray settlements. The *New York Times* passes no independent judgment on the legality of the settlements while others, like the *Los Angeles Times*, *Chicago Tribune*, and *Boston Globe*, repeat the Palestinian claim as fact. Still others, such as the *Washington Post*, fall somewhere in the middle, qualifying the Palestinian position by attributing it to the opinion of “most Western governments and human rights organizations.”

Various false or questionable assumptions and claims underpin the assertion that settlements are illegal.

False Assertion: The settlements are built on Arab land and are therefore illegal under international law.

Fact: While ownership of the land and the legality of Jewish settlements are sometimes disputed, there is no international law that prohibits Israel from building settlements.

Those who maintain that the settlements are illegal rely on Article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, August 12, 1949, which states:

Individual or mass forcible transfers, as well as deportations of protected persons from occupied territory to the territory of the occupying power or to that of any other country...are prohibited...

and in the sixth paragraph:

The Occupying Power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies.

They interpret this to be applicable to Israel’s settlement of the West Bank and Gaza, understanding Israel to have become a “belligerent occupant” of this territory through entry by its armed forces.

Those who argue that the settlements are legal point out that the Geneva Convention does not apply to the West Bank or Gaza, for, under its Article 2, the Convention pertains only to “cases of...occupation of the territory of a High Contracting Party” by another such party. The West Bank and Gaza were never the territory of a High Contracting Party; the occupation after 1948 by Jordan and Egypt was illegal and neither country ever had lawful or recognized sovereignty. The last legal sovereignty over the territories was that of the League of Nations Palestine Mandate, which stipulated the right of the Jewish people to settle in the whole of the Mandated territory. According to Article 6 of the Mandate, “close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands not required for public use” was to be encouraged. (Article 25 allowed the League Council to temporarily postpone the Jewish right to settle in what is now Jordan, if conditions were not amenable.) Article 80 of the U.N. Charter preserved this Jewish right to settlement by specifying that:

nothing in the [United Nations] Charter shall be construed ... to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or peoples or the terms of existing international instruments.

Furthermore, even if the Geneva Convention would apply, it would not outlaw Israeli settlements, since the relevant Article 49 was intended to outlaw the Nazi practice of forcibly transporting populations into or out of occupied territories to death and work camps, and cannot be applied to Israel because Israelis were not forcibly transferred. More than a year after Israel gained control of the territories as the result of an act of self-defense in 1967, Jews moved there of their own volition because of the historical and religious connection they felt, in some places reestablishing Jewish communities that had been destroyed in 1948 by Arab aggression. Arabs continue to live in these territories and their population continues to grow rapidly.

The U.S. government, as well as others, presently hold the view that the settlements are not illegal and that the extent of Israeli withdrawal from the territories is subject to negotiation. The Carter administration had held that settlements were illegal, relying on the opinion of its legal advisor Herbert Hansell, who in turn quoted the prominent authority on jurisprudence and international law, Professor Julius Stone, from his 1959 analysis "Legal Controls of International Conflict." It is noteworthy, however, that in writing about the specific legal aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict in 1980, Professor Stone maintained that the effort to designate Israeli settlements as illegal was, in fact, a "subversion. . . of basic international law principles."

The Reagan administration and subsequent administrations reversed Carter's position, with the opinion that while it disapproved of building new settlements in the disputed territories before negotiations, settlements are not illegal.

Former U.S. Undersecretary of State Eugene Rostow wrote several articles presenting the case why the settlements are legal and arguing that United Nations Resolution 242 stipulates that Israel withdraw from some of the disputed territory, but not necessarily all. It should be remembered that Rostow was one of the drafters of Resolution 242, the very resolution relied upon by Palestinians and their supporters to demand Israel's complete withdrawal from all of the West Bank and Gaza and the dismantlement of all of the Jewish settlements.

Proponents of the view that settlements are illegal also often cite numerous U.N. resolutions criticizing Israel's presence in the West Bank and Gaza, as if these General Assembly resolutions had any legal weight. They do not, even if one ignores the U.N.'s long, deplorable history of bias against Israel evidenced by the infamous "Zionism is Racism" resolution. Backed by a pro-Arab majority, special U.N. bodies have been set up exclusively to report on Israel's practices—for example, the "Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Palestinian People" and the "Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People," which continue to pass partisan, anti-Israel resolutions.

Although the United States abstains or votes against Security Council resolutions unfairly condemning Israel, under former President Carter the United States initially voted for U.N. Security Council Resolution 465 which was passed on March 1, 1980. This resolution stating that Israeli settlements in the territories have no "legal

validity” is often quoted to bolster the “illegality of settlements” argument. However, the American vote for this resolution was subsequently retracted, with the United States claiming that it had intended to abstain and blaming a communications failure as responsible for the vote. Finally, although Article 25 of the U.N. Charter says: “The Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the present Charter,” this cannot invalidate Article 80 which says that:

nothing in the [U.N.] Charter shall be construed . . . to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or peoples or the terms of existing international instruments.

False Assertion: The existence of Jewish settlements within the West Bank and Gaza is the main issue at stake for the Palestinians and the reason for launching their “uprising for independence.”

Fact: The intifada was not launched because of the settlements. At Camp David, Barak had offered to withdraw from 100 percent of the Gaza Strip and over 95 percent of the West Bank, with compensation to the Palestinians with land in Israel’s Negev. Most of the settlements would have been closed. Arafat spurned the offer and did not even make a counter-offer.

Demonizing "Settlers"

In parallel with the constant characterization of settlements as “illegal” and as a foremost obstacle to peace is the pejorative media treatment of Jewish residents of these territories.

When Israeli shepherd Yair Har-Sinai was shot dead by Palestinian gunmen, a Reuters subtitle read “Settler Body in River Bed.” And when Ekaterina Weintraub of Ganim was fatally shot in the chest as she was driving home on the Jenin bypass road, Jennifer Ludden of NPR referred to the victim as “a settler woman.” When 10-month-old Shalhevet Pass was targeted by a Palestinian sniper in Hebron and fatally shot in front of her parents, BBC reported that “The Israeli army has imposed severe restrictions on Palestinians in the West Bank town of Hebron after a Jewish settler baby was shot dead.” And when Palestinian terrorists targeted an Israeli schoolbus in the Gaza Strip, CNN, NPR and other newscasters referred to attacks on “a settler bus.” By referring to victims of Palestinian violence as a “settler body,” “settler woman,” “settler children,” or “settler bus,” instead of man’s body, Israeli civilian, Jewish children, or Israeli school bus, news writers are adopting the Palestinian position of portraying them as interlopers on Palestinian land and, by implication, legitimate targets of violence.

Sometimes the problem is more explicit. For example, in an interview by BBC’s Alex Brodie with Mahmoud Zahar, a Gazan Hamas leader, in the aftermath of a murderous rampage by Hamas terrorists on the Jewish community of Elei Sinai in Gaza, which killed two and wounded at least 15, Brodie suggested that:

...one could argue that an attack on an illegal Jewish settlement is not terrorism. However what about suicide bomb attacks on buses inside Israel? (BBC World Service Newshour, Oct. 3, 2001)

And when Erez and Elanit Shmuelian and their baby daughter were ambushed and shot by Palestinians near the entrance of their Har Bracha neighborhood in Samaria, BBC's Frank Gardner explained that::

...most Palestinian militants continue to consider Jewish settlers to be legitimate targets. They're living on Arab land seized by Israel, and the militants are determined to drive them out (BBC Newshour World Briefing, July 12, 2001).

Media misinformation about settlements and settlers, including the frequent repetition of Palestinian assertions without regard to fact, not only harms public understanding of the important subject but can even serve, unconscionably, to sanction violence.

D. Socratic Discussion on ‘How do Israel’s settlements and its Wall/Fence impact the West Bank? What should change, if anything?’

Instruction (30 minutes total)

Input (5 minutes): Remind students again about the rules of a Socratic seminar. Go through the rubric that they will be graded on (see attached) and answer any questions they may have on it.

Students will engage in Socratic Seminar on the cluster questions listed below. Allow the students to guide the conversation with little input from teacher (see following explanation of Socratic Seminar). However, should the students need follow-up questions, offer some from the following list:

Cluster question #1: “What role do the settlements and the Wall/Fence play in the conflict and why are they a problem?”

Follow up questions:

What are some of the reasons Israel is building the settlements? the Wall? the by-pass roads?

What justification does Israel give for building them?

How do you think the Palestinians feel about the settlements? the Wall?

How is life in the settlements different from that in the Palestinian camps and towns?

What resources does Israel have to provide in order to support the settlements? the Wall? the by-pass roads?

Do the settlements represent a greater benefit for Israel or a problem?

What do the settlements represent for Israelis *not* living in them? What does the Wall represent?

Basic Question #2: What should change, if anything, about the Israeli settlements and the Wall/Fence in the West Bank?

Follow up questions:

Should Israel stop future building of settlements?

What should be done with the settlements that already exist? the Wall?

How would the settlers who live there feel if Israel decided to pull out of the West Bank entirely?

If Israel doesn’t abandon the settlements, how will this affect future peace talks?

Is there any sort of middle ground?

What's So Settled about the Settlements and the Wall/Fence? Exit Slip:

One thing I learned today:

One thing that surprised me:

One thing that I would still like to know:

Socratic Seminar Evaluation Rubric:

Courtesy: Demonstrates respectful listening and communication.

Always	Sometimes	Rarely/Never
5	3	1

Listening: Demonstrates active listening.

Always	Sometimes	Rarely/Never
5	3	1

Participation: without dominating discussion.

Always	Sometimes	Rarely/Never
5	3	1

Viewpoints: Expresses thoughtful and/or original views.

Always	Sometimes	Rarely/Never
5	3	1

Exit Slip: Provided at least one point and one question. ____/5

Total Points earned: ____/25

Socratic Seminars Explanation

Here is a brief explanation of Socratic Seminars -- discussion-based learning. This teaching tool is very useful for whatever issues you are focusing on with your students. It encourages open-ended exploration of ideas. We encourage you to use Socratic Seminars frequently during the year.

Source: <http://www.journeytoexcellence.org/practice/instruction/theories/miscideas/socratic/> "Journey to Excellence: Socratic Seminars"

Socratic Seminars are the result of the work of Mortimer Adler, Director of the Institute for Philosophical Research in Chicago. Adler published *The Paideia Proposal* (1982) and *Paideia Problems and Possibilities* (1983) in which he argued that education should be rooted in three goals: the acquisition of knowledge, the development of intellectual skills, and the enlarged understanding of ideas and values. The first goal can be accomplished through textbooks and didactic teaching in the content areas. The second goal can be developed through coaching, exercises, and supervised practice. The third goal can be achieved through Socratic Questioning and Active Participation using books (not textbooks), other works of art, or involvement in artistic activities (*Paideia Proposal* 23). The seminar begins with a teacher's question but is entirely different from the Socratic questioning style which many teachers already employ.

Teaching by discussion imposes still other requirements. For older children, it calls for more than a fifty-minute class period. It calls for a room in which the participants in the discussion sit around a table instead of in rows. The teacher is one of the participants, not the principal performer standing up in front of the group.

The teacher's role in discussion is to keep it going along fruitful lines - by moderating, guiding, correcting, leading, and arguing like one more *student*! The teacher is first among equals. All must have the sense that they are participating as equals, as is the case in a genuine conversation. (*Paideia Proposal* 54)

The seminar is more than a common classroom discussion in that it is focused on a textbook, painting, poem, film clip, scientific hypothesis, etc. The Socratic Seminar is also a performance assessment, and as such, it begins with *outcomes*. Numerous critical thinking skills are addressed through the seminar method including analysis of text, synthesis of ideas, evaluation of concepts, and inferential reasoning. Of course, speaking and listening skills are developed as well. Socratic Seminars also include a written dimension. Students can write about the ideas presented or evaluate the quality of the seminar itself (participation, quality of comments, insights, new ideas). These activities can be used by all disciplines as teachers engage in discussing and evaluating concepts and texts in all content areas be they musical scores, paintings, mathematical theorems, or scientific experiments.

What To Do

1. Choose a text. Good texts are ones that interest the students. Paragraphs and lines (or portions of a score or painting) need to be easily identified and referenced.
2. Design possible opening questions. Good opening questions:
 - arise from genuine interest or curiosity on the part of the teacher,
 - are open to interpretation (no right or wrong answer),
 - foster analysis and a greater understanding of the text,
 - are supportable by the text (answered by reference to the text),
 - are framed in such a way that they generate dialogue from the students.
3. Teach any background information necessary for a good understanding of the text. This prevents the need for the teacher to interrupt the discussion to clarify or provide additional information.
4. Have the students put their desks in circle so that they can see each other. Provide an empty desk for the "hot seat."
5. Choose an *outer circle* to critique, trouble-shoot, record main and dropped ideas, journal on what they heard, etc. Students who didn't do the necessary reading or randomly chosen students make up the outer circle. These students may sit in the "hot seat" if they want to participate.
6. Start by explaining the Socratic Seminar to the students.
 - Explain that the conversation is theirs, and that your question is a starting point which they can move away from as they pose ideas and questions that are more interesting to them as long as the new ideas and questions can be discussed in terms of the text
 - Tell the students to direct their comments *to other students* and explain to them that you will not comment on what they say, since this will cause them to talk to you rather than to each other. It may help if you look down or avoid eye contact until the discussion takes off on its own.
 - Encourage the students to think before they talk, try to comment, or add on to what others have said. Listen to others.
7. Toss out the question.
 1. Students have learned to be passive, and this activity can be risky for some students, so it may take time for some groups to catch on. The conversation is likely to have stops and starts, but *it is crucial that the teacher not step in and try to rescue the conversation*. If the conversation goes dead, wait. Students will find the silence unbearable before the teacher does. Your silence also indicates your level of commitment to the activity.
 2. If students ask you a question, throw it out to the group or ask the questioner what his/her opinion is. Answer factual questions only *if there is no way around it*.

3. Teacher Behavior

Keep students from having side conversations.

Ask students to cite support from the text if the conversation begins to wander.

Invite students to participate.

Keep conversations from becoming debate or debasement of others.

Ask students to question their assumptions.

Manipulate the amount of participation. For example, if only a few students are speaking, the teacher might say, "Everyone who has spoken so far, look at the clock, and don't jump in for five minutes." Or if one gender is dominating the conversation, ask for the other to speak for the next five minutes.

Use the *outer circle* to your advantage if the conversation is truly dying out prematurely. Ask the students sitting there to summarize or comment on what they have heard. Ask them to re-introduce the points they thought were especially good or prematurely dropped. This strategy can often reignite the conversation.

4. End the seminar when it feels done. With an experienced group, you might ask the students, or a student might suggest it. If things go really well, a student may suggest another poem, text, or section to discuss which correlates well with the original text.

5. The Critique: Go around the circle and ask each student about the experience. What was good about it? What was not so good? What could be improved for the next time? Let the *outer circle* discuss the group dynamics, but be careful that they focus their comments on group rather than individual behaviors.

8. Extension Activities

Socratic Seminars are good preparation for individual explication or a comparison/contrast essay. Students can journal about the texts discussed

For rubrics and more discussion of the Socratic Seminar, including a sample Socratic Seminar, please go to this website or others like it: <http://www.journeytoexcellence.org/practice/instruction/theories/miscideas/socratic/>

4. Breaking the Silence -- Israeli Soldiers Speak About the Occupation

Many Palestinians criticize the Occupation. What about Israelis? What do Israeli soldiers say about their own role in the Occupation?

Your students can read testimonials in the booklets in the Trunk or they can go online and read some from the website. Some of the booklet testimonials, online testimonials, and the organization's aims are reproduced below. Have each student read either article A, or B, or C, or D, or E, or F, or G, or H (or a combination). Then put them in groups ABC, or DEF, or AGH and have them discuss what they read: What did you learn about the occupation? What questions do you still have? What is unbelievable? What is believable? What would be hardest about being a soldier? Why don't the soldiers speak up? Have you ever been in a situation where you wanted to object to a problem, but felt you couldn't?

A. The quotes below are from <http://www.breakingthesilence.org.il/about/organization> , the “Breaking the Silence” organization page. It is written by Israeli soldiers speaking about their time as soldiers in the Occupied Territories. As you read, think about: What did you learn about the occupation? What questions do you still have? What is unbelievable? What is believable? What would be hardest about being a soldier? Have you ever been in a situation where you wanted to object to a problem, but felt you couldn’t?

Breaking the Silence is an organization of veteran combatants who have served in the Israeli military since the start of the Second Intifada and have taken it upon themselves to expose the Israeli public to the reality of everyday life in the Occupied Territories. We endeavor to stimulate public debate about the price paid for a reality in which young soldiers face a civilian population on a daily basis, and are engaged in the control of that population’s everyday life.

Soldiers who serve in the Territories witness and participate in military actions which change them immensely. Cases of abuse towards Palestinians, looting, and destruction of property have been the norm for years, but are still explained as extreme and unique cases. Our testimonies portray a different, and much grimmer picture in which deterioration of moral standards finds expression in the character of orders and the rules of engagement, and are justified in the name of Israel's security. While this reality is known to Israeli soldiers and commanders, Israeli society continues to turn a blind eye, and to deny that what is done in its name. Discharged soldiers returning to civilian life discover the gap between the reality they encountered in the Territories, and the silence about this reality they encounter at home. In order to become civilians again, soldiers are forced to ignore what they have seen and done. We strive to make heard the voices of these soldiers, pushing Israeli society to face the reality whose creation it has enabled.

We collect and publish testimonies from soldiers who, like us, have served in the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem since September 2000, and hold lectures, house meetings, and other public events which bring to light the reality in the Territories through the voice of former combatants. We also conduct tours in Hebron and the South Hebron Hills region, with the aim of giving the Israeli public access to the

reality which exists minutes from their own homes, yet is rarely portrayed in the media.

Founded in March 2004 by a group of soldiers who served in Hebron, Breaking the Silence has since acquired a special standing in the eyes of the Israeli public and in the media, as it is unique in giving voice to the experience of soldiers. To date, the organization has collected more than 700 testimonies from soldiers who represent all strata of Israeli society and cover nearly all units that operate in the Territories. All the testimonies we publish are meticulously researched, and all facts are cross-checked with additional eye-witnesses and/or the archives of other human rights organizations also active in the field. Every soldier who gives a testimony to Breaking the Silence knows the aims of the organization and the interview. Most soldiers choose to remain anonymous, due to various pressures from official military persons and society at large. Our first priority is to the soldiers who choose to testify to the public about their service.

B. The quotes below from Israeli soldiers are from the booklet “Breaking the Silence: Soldiers Speak Out About Their Service in Hebron.” These testimonials are taken from 2000-2004. More recent testimonials can be found on their website: www.breakingthesilence.org.il. Hebron is a city with 150,000 Palestinians and about 500 Jewish Israeli settlers. As you read, think about: What did you learn about the occupation? What questions do you still have? What would be hardest about being a soldier in Hebron? Why do you think the soldiers feel they cannot object to what is happening? Have you ever felt that you wanted to object to a problem but couldn’t?

The great thing about Hebron, the thing that gets to you more than anything else, is the total indifference it instills in you. It’s hard to describe the kind of enormous sea of indifference you’re swimming in while you’re there. It’s possible to explain a little, through little anecdotes, but it’s not enough to make it really clear. One story is about a little [Israeli settler] kid, a boy of about six, who passed by me at my post. We were at... He said to me: “Soldier, listen, don’t get annoyed, don’t try and stop me, I’m going out to kill some Arabs.: I look at the kid and don’t quite understand exactly what I’m supposed to do. So he says: “First, I’m going to buy a popsicle at Gotnik’s” -- that’s their grocery store, “then I’m going to kill some Arabs.” I had nothing to say to him. Nothing. I went completely blank. And that’s not such a simple thing.... that a city, that such an experience can turn someone who was an educator, a counselor, who believed in education, who believed in talking to people, even if their opinions were different. But I had nothing to say to a kid like that. There’s nothing to say to him. (p. 17)

What bothered me most, let’s face it... In *** you really see it, at the outposts that are right there on the street. One day I saw an elderly Palestinian. Really old. With a long white beard, his face all wrinkles, carrying 2 shopping bags, passing by a small religious Jewish boy, probably a first grader, a 6-7 year-old, maximum 9. The child came up, looked the Arab in the eye -- mind you, this is a street where both Jews and Arabs are allowed to use -- and said to him: “You filthy Arab”, spat in his face and ran off. Far away, he climbed some roof and threw stones at him. I was in shock. I thought, is this the kind of upbringing these children get here? If I had done much less, as a child, I think my mother...I don’t know what she would have done. It doesn’t make sense. Inconceivable. And then if you manage to catch that kid and call his parents, they tell you? “What do you want from my child?” You tell them what happened, and it’s fine with them. Right next to the kid. It’s fine, it’s legitimate. That really blew my mind--how could this be legitimate? How could your son go spit at an elderly person’s face, no matter who or what he is, plain spit in his face.... (p 15-16)

What I finally realized after half a year there, was that we have to protect the Palestinians from the Jews there, rather than watching over the Jews. The Jews are the ones threatening the Palestinians in that area. (p. 18)

C. The quotes below from Israeli soldiers are from the booklet “Breaking the Silence: Soldiers Speak Out About Their Service in Hebron.” These testimonials are taken from 2000-2004. More recent testimonials can be found on their website: www.breakingthesilence.org.il. Hebron is a city with 150,000 Palestinians and about 500 Jewish Israeli settlers. As you read, think about: What did you learn about the occupation? What questions do you still have? What would be hardest about being a soldier in Hebron? Why do you think the soldiers feel they cannot object to what is happening? Have you ever felt that you wanted to object to a problem but couldn’t?

In a patrol in Abu Sneina a commanding officer and three soldiers, patrolling the area. We make a check post. It’s a station where you stop cars and check ‘em out. We stop a guy whom we know, who always hangs around doesn’t make trouble... and no, personally, I never had a run-in with him, in short, a guy who looks all right, it happens. Connections are made, even if we don’t speak the same language and even if its hard to explain. The commander stops him, the guy with the car, two soldiers on one side. “You cover the front. You cover the back.” So I cover the front. The commander goes to him: “Do you know the commercials for Itong?” “Go on, get going.” “Get out your jack.” The guy just stands there and stares. He doesn’t understand what they want from him. So the commander yells at him that he should get out his jack and begin to take the wheels off. I’m standing near a stone wall and the guy comes over and takes a stone to put under the car, and then another stone. At that point, the commander comes over to me and says: “Does it look humane to you?” He has this horrible grin on his face. It’s awful. I can’t do anything. I don’t have enough air to say anything. I take my helmet and fall on the stone wall, still covering from the front, and I cry. There’s nothing I can do. (p. 16)

In one of our conversations with the Border Police in Hebron, two of them were bragging about how much they liked to take a Palestinian whom they caught throwing stones or just throwing a word at them, or looking at them the wrong way. They’d put him into an armored jeep and then hit him with the spark-mufflers of their weapons in the chest or the stomach or the neck. They they’d bet how fast they could take the turn in the road where they’d throw him out of the armored jeep. If you ask me, then yes, it really bothered me, but what could I do about it?

Q: You know that the Border Police did this to someone afterwards and he was killed. They murdered someone.

That’s very sad. And, so?

Q: Did you recognize any of the murderers, the guys who are standing trial now?

No. I didn’t recognize anyone. I don’t know them. I just heard ‘em talking.

p. 19)

If I go to the sergeant now and tell him: “There’s this woman and her child is ill, and she wants to take him to the hospital”, and could I let her through, he asks me: How does she seem? I think she’s okay, I tell him. Not suspicious. The company commander and HQ get on the line and tell me: “No way. There’s curfew on. She’s not going anywhere.” And sure enough, she doesn’t. (p. 34)

D. The quotes below are from Israeli soldiers in Hebron. More recent testimonials can be found on their website: www.breakingthesilence.org.il. Hebron is a city with 150,000 Palestinians and about 500 Jewish Israeli settlers. As you read, think about: What did you learn about the occupation? What questions do you still have? What would be hardest about being a soldier in Hebron? Why do you think the soldiers feel they cannot object to what is happening? Have you ever felt that you wanted to object to a problem but couldn't?

- I. Hebron Testimonies

<http://www.shovrimshatika.org/UserFi...>

"Every day a six-man unit would cross over the roofs and enter a house. First they'd search the entrances and exits, order the entire family into a single room and get them to talk: ID cards, profession, begin to interrogate them. It also serves one of the army's aims—to make its presence felt. I remember many of the interrogations, but I recall one in particular where we asked...we spoke with an older man who, unlike many of the others who say things like, "We've got no problem with Israel," "We're neither Fatah nor Hamas"... "All we really want is peace so we can work"... Usually when they say things like that you can see that they're just looking at you. They're looking at your weapon. They're all scared, so it's only natural that they act so defeated. But this man was not obsequious, and he spoke the truth: that his life was a living hell, and that he wanted us to get out already. He said that we are to blame for this entire situation, and all he wanted was for us to get out. I think someone asked him why he hated us, why he supports the opposition fronts. Why he supports killings. I don't agree with the man's opinions, but he told the soldier that he had entered his home just like that, and was humiliating him, undermining his dignity. And I looked at this man and said to myself: wait a minute, here is this man in his own home, and it made me think of my own family home, surrounded by a garden, and greenery, a kind of fortress surrounded by a hedge of lantana and hibiscus, and I thought what if someone were to burst into our house like that, entering through an upstairs window, and force my parents and my younger brother into one of the rooms and start interrogating us, questioning us, searching the entrances and exits, and treating us so patronizingly... If I had not received the kind of education I did, I think I would certainly support even ... That is to say, this going into people's houses, how can you relate to it as something separate?

These are not people of a different kind. The men even physically look like my grandfather. ... An elderly man, or an old man who has to beg you at the checkpoint to allow him to pass, who shows you an X-Ray and you have no idea why he's showing it to you, or the man who tells you that his brother in Bab al-Zawia is ill with asthma or some other disease and that he has to pay him a visit. That same person could be your own father, for whom you have the greatest respect, but do we really understand what respect is...It's hard to say what I felt at that moment. On the one hand, I was stationed there, I didn't choose to be there. On the other hand, I wanted to get the hell out of there. As an individual who considers himself a nice guy, a moral kind of guy... I said to myself, damn I'm really doing something here that I don't believe in. I don't believe in it 100%, and I'm putting myself in a position where

*someone wants to kill me because of it. The question is, where am I? Do I have no choice in the matter? In other words, should I refuse? Is refusal the answer? So there I was torn by the dilemma, pondering. I had lots of time eight by eight [eight hours on-duty eight hours off-duty] to think about it. The point is that I was faced with a crazy dilemma where I was torn between personal freedom and personal choice. Here lies the contradiction between the military, which is undemocratic and the state, which is supposed to be democratic. When you see that you are doing things which in your own home could not possibly happen and must never be allowed to happen, this is where you cross a certain line. Okay, so here you're in a different state. That is to say, everything you have known until now, all the rules by which you and your own family conduct your lives, all that does not seem to count here. ****

E. The quotes below are from Israeli soldiers. More recent testimonials can be found on their website: www.breakingthesilence.org.il. As you read, think about: What did you learn about the occupation? What questions do you still have? What would be hardest about being a soldier? Why do you think the soldiers feel they cannot object to what is happening? Have you ever felt that you wanted to object to a problem but couldn't?

II. Testimonial Booklet #2 (not available on Internet yet)

The witness: First Sergeant from battalion 932 of the Nahal brigade. The Location: Refugee camp near Ramallah. Date: ***

Okay so our "house" swooped onto the refugee camp. That is why we were there. There was a snipers' post there. This is regarding the orders to commence fire that were to shoot anyone who had a Molotov cocktail in his hand, because it is a life threatening situation. We knew that they were planning to throw the Molotov. We saw them with the bottle. We kept them under surveillance. There was a Molotov in their hands, but they did not ever throw it, they never lit it. SO that they would do it, we did something that was the idea of one of the platoon commanders. We told the sniper to "be ready" when we just arrived from the Ofer camp. We brought supplies or something. We said, okay, we will pass through, and we will let them throw the bottle, and then the sniper can shoot him. We intentionally drew their attention and we passed through there with our half-track, on purpose, on a road that we do not usually drive on. We went on that road on purpose. Then he threw the Molotov cocktail, and the sniper hit him. He was a 10-year-old boy.

A boy?

10-year-old boy. He did not kill him. I think he wounded him seriously or moderately, a ten-year-old boy. That is what he did there. You know, it was the intent, for the purpose of shooting someone. For doing ... I just don't know what. This is not a special story. There are a few more like that in the "cartridge".

F. The quotes below are from Israeli soldiers in 2003. More recent testimonials can be found on their website: www.breakingthesilence.org.il. As you read, think about: What did you learn about the occupation? What questions do you still have? What would be hardest about being a soldier? Why do you think the soldiers feel they cannot object to what is happening? Have you ever felt that you wanted to object to a problem but couldn't?

- III. Testimonial Booklet #2

<http://www.shovrimshika.org/UserFi...>

Witness: Staff sergeant, Paratroops Place: Beit-Furik. Date: end of 2003

Can any fighter shoot? Yes. From one's personal weapon. If the commander in the patrol is a vice company commander, he can authorize such a thing. And if I accidentally hit someone in the back, or kill him - and things like that have happened to us... It happened two or three times only in our last deployment. Kids were killed? Kids were killed accidentally. One aims at the legs - shoot them in the back and kill them. How do you find out later whether they were killed? [We get] reports, later on, from the coordination and liaison office, the Palestinians report. There is cooperation in this regard. So kids get killed. For a soldier it means nothing. An officer can get a 100 or 200 Shekel fine for such a thing. 100, 200 Shekel for a kid? Yes. Prison? No, no. Trial? Is such a thing seriously investigated? No. I am sure it does not get beyond the battalion commander. I don't know [of any case] in which people were investigated. I cannot tell you for certain that it didn't happen... but I haven't seen them being taken for investigation, and I know nothing was done about that later on.

- G. The quotes below are from Israeli soldiers in Hebron. More recent testimonials can be found on their website: www.breakingthesilence.org.il. Hebron is a city with 150,000 Palestinians and about 500 Jewish Israeli settlers. As you read, think about: What did you learn about the occupation? What questions do you still have? What would be hardest about being a soldier in Hebron? Why do you think the soldiers feel they cannot object to what is happening? Have you ever felt that you wanted to object to a problem but couldn't?

IV. Soldiers' Testimonies from Hebron 2005-2007

<http://www.shovrimshatika.org/UserFi...>

Testimony 64, Hebron

First interviewee: ... At Beit Hadassah we once ran on patrol because we were told settlers were throwing stones at the Shalalas (a Palestinian market in Hebron). So we ran all the way from Menuchat Rachel: Something was happening, we ran and ran, children on recess came out of school at Beit Hadassah, and went to throw stones. When we got to the site, they already went back into class, recess was over and they began their lesson.

Second interviewee: As part of the patrol, there was always that point in time when children would come out of the Palestinian school house, so we had to stand guard and watch over them so the settlers wouldn't throw stones at them. And then you continue your patrol. Every morning.

First interviewee: ...what happened was that we got there running, out of breath, suddenly we realize this is about a few cheeky little kids, second or third graders, who had thrown stones. Our platoon commander knocked on the door of the classroom, the teacher came out and he told him: "Listen, there are children here who throw stones. I'm asking you to have them come out for a second, we need to talk with them, with whoever it was who threw stones." Then the teacher answered him: "Will you kindly let me educate my pupils as I see fit, and not intervene, please?" and he closed the door. That's how it ended....

*First interviewee: I don't know what happened afterwards. Another day, a Saturday, I was with ***, we caught little children. They were throwing stones at the TIPH (international observers) as well as at Arabs in the Shalalas. We caught them like this, they hit us and *** accidentally ripped the shirt of one of these kids as he tried to stop him from throwing stones. It was on the Sabbath and all the parents were in the Avraham Avinu settlement, at Beit Hadassah, they saw us struggling with their children and they went inside. It really felt like, what am I doing here anyway? What is this bullshit, kids hitting you, little kids. Really. Afterwards we tried to corner them into a playground there, a basketball court. And Bnei Akiva (religious youth movement) were having their get-together there, with a counselor.*

So I spoke to him about this, to ask him to take the kids. You're their counselor, come on, help us, round up the children, play with them or something. And then, I don't know, we were talking and he told me that there was this ruling by some rabbi that Arabs are not humans. Some regional rabbi ruled this, and that it was okay to throw stones at them, really okay. And you're standing there, in shock, facing some boy who's a counselor in Bnei Akiva, wearing the movement shirt, and you don't know, what can you do? What am I still doing here? There's nothing I can do...

*Second interviewee: I recall once standing at 44 post (army post), there's this path below which was then opened just for Abu Aisha (an isolated Palestinian family living in Tel Rumeida next to the settlement). One of the guys passed there, a young boy, and one of the settler women from Tel Rumeida simply caught him and began to beat him. I didn't know what to do. I stood there between them. I let him go, he went back and she tried to push me away and continue hitting him. At some point she simply stood and began screaming at me and pushing me. I didn't know how to handle this. Finally a sergeant showed up (from the second platoon, I think) and he managed to get me out of there. I had no idea what to do. All she wanted was to beat him up. She said he was not allowed to be there and was jeopardizing her children by just being there. He must not pass by there and how can we let something like that happen. That he was there to murder her children and how can I let this take place. He came along, trying to go home, that's his way home. Afterwards they came and yelled at me. That's what I remember. ****

H. The quotes below are testimonials taken from Israeli soldiers in Gaza during the assault by Israel in 2008-09. More recent testimonials can be found on their website: www.breakingthesilence.org.il. As you read, think about: What did you learn about the occupation? What questions do you still have? What would be hardest about being a soldier? Why do you think the soldiers feel they cannot object to what is happening? Have you ever felt that you wanted to object to a problem but couldn't?

V. Operation Cast Lead, Gaza 2009

<http://www.shovrimshatika.org/oferet...>

Testimony 43 - Rules of Engagement

One guy said he just couldn't finish this operation without killing someone. So he killed someone, apparently some sort of lookout. There was an order that if you see someone on the lookout at our building, he should be taken down.

What does that mean? During the bombing, people either ran away or hid, so it was said that if anyone is out on a street where the IDF is currently present, and he's holding a cell phone - he must be a lookout. What's important here is the fact that he said he wasn't willing to go home empty-handed, without having marked an X on his rifle butt. You recall at what distance you may or may not open fire? I suppose the guy also got some okay...

I think the okay was the instruction given for the future. I mean, say a terrorist is running and crossing the line, you may act at your discretion according to the general instructions. But here, for example, it's someone holding a cell phone, not someone running towards you, armed.

That's right. But he is considered incriminated. We're not on routine security duty here, suspect arrest procedures. This is a type of war. So what was the story with that Palestinian, in this case? The soldier was lying in his position, he has a shooting crack. The kind snipers have.

And he detected the guy with the cell phone?

I don't remember exactly whether it was a cell phone. Could be I can definitely say he was not armed. I can definitely say the soldier regarded this as some children's game and was delighted and laughing after this. I think that a normal person, even having killed an armed terrorist, would not be amused. Too bad there are people for whom the army is a way to work out their aggressions. I want to get the picture: a soldier in a position shot someone, hit him, he's glad he scored. What's the reaction? More things happen at the same time. There's a tank company around us and more things are happening.

But inside the house?

There are several positions that must be manned, and the rest are relaxing. I think that if this platoon commander had thought just anyone had been shot, he would really not like this. But listen, the lines are pretty blurred... In general, in the West Bank the battalion commander could order us to tell apart civilian population from terrorists. He could tell us, "You're not in a war zone, but this could turn into a war zone". But Gaza is war.

VI. Women Soldiers' Testimonies

<http://www.shovrimshatika.org/UserFi...>

Testimony 91 Name: * | Rank: Sergeant | Unit: Erez Crossing | Location: Gaza Strip**

*There was the child, the most shocking story about a tank-commander, you've got to find him. Anyway, he was sitting there Saturday around noon, that most boring of times, sitting there in 'Magen', in his tank, and some kids threw stones at the tank, which sounds fun, right? Kids throwing stones at a tank. It annoyed him, though. That doesn't exactly jeopardize a tank...No, but it annoyed him. So he got on the radio with us: "There are kids here throwing stones." He was expecting some kind of response. That's it. Eventually he did shoot, we heard shots. I remember being surprised at the sound of shooting, because if there is any shooting at 'Magen' you hear it at the war-room, although it's a 3-minute drive away. Not adjacent. But you hear. So we did hear shots. We got on the radio to all the companies. The tank fired and the kid fell. He fell? Fell. They always 'fall.' He saw him fall? Yes. And then he had to be retrieved. ****

Photo on homepage: FLV (Hebron: checkpoint in Tel Rumeida, old city)

For more details about Breaking the Silence or to participate in the tours: <http://www.shovrimshatika.org>

5. The Israeli Assault on Gaza 2008-09 (“Operation Cast Lead”)

I. Watch *One Family in Gaza*, a 23 minute film by Jen Marlowe. The DVD is in the Trunk or you can go online to <http://vimeo.com/18384109> and play the film directly from there.

In the film, a family recounts what it was like when Israeli soldiers attacked them. One son was killed, the mother and father were both injured, and their house was demolished. For two years they had to live in a tent. Although they live in desperate circumstances, the family is not overcome with despair. This becomes clear as the family tells of all the ways that they remember Ibrahim and asks questions like: “How can I build a family void of violence?” As the filmmaker says: “Palestinians in Gaza are depicted either as violent terrorists or as helpless victims. The Awajah family challenges both portrayals. Through one family’s story, the larger tragedy of Gaza is exposed, and the courage and resilience of its people shine through.”

Since the Awajahs speak in Arabic and there are subtitles, don’t ask students to take notes during the film.

II. Here are some post-film discussion questions (these questions are reproduced in a one-page handout for students in the Movies, Games & Study Guides folder):

- How did you feel watching this movie?
- What happened to Ibrahim, the son?
- What is the family’s life like now, after the invasion?
- How are the children still affected by the trauma of the invasion?
- Describe the relationship between the parents and their children.
- Besides the poster, what are ways that the family remembers Ibrahim?
- The father (Kamal) struggles with what message he wants to give to an Israeli, but ends by saying that he does not want any human being to go through this kind of pain. What does this say about Kamal? How would you feel and what might your message be if you had had the Awajahs’ experience?
- The father wants the kind of help that will raise their “value as human beings”. What do you think he means? What kind of help could that be?
- The father also asks “How can I build a family void of violence?” What suggestions do you have? How can peaceful people deal with violence around them? Can they remove violence entirely from their surroundings?

The film ends with these statistics about Israel’s 3-week assault on Gaza:

- 1390 Palestinians killed (of these: 318 were children),
- 13 Israelis killed,
- 3540 homes destroyed

These statistics are from B’Tselem -- an Israeli human rights organization-- and Human Rights Watch -- an international human rights organization based in the U.S.

III. A United Nations Fact Finding Mission led by Judge Richard Goldstone* investigated the Gaza conflict. The following article from the UN News Centre describes the mission's findings. Ask students to read the article and summarize the major conclusions of the UN Report. Ask students why the headline might lay blame equally on both sides, while the article itself focuses more on Israel. (This could lead to a discussion about how the UN is a very political body and the US, a powerful member of the UN, is a staunch ally of Israel.)

* Since the report came out, Judge Goldstone has stated that he found no Israeli military intention to harm civilians. However, the other judges who co-wrote the report have criticized Judge Goldstone's statements and said that they are not based on fact.

IV. Gaza Background Articles: "The blockade on Gaza began long before Hamas came to power". For background on Gaza, and how the blockade began in 1991 and has gradually become stronger, your students could also read the following article. Or you could summarize the article for them as background before they read about the UN Report. Also included is Amira Hass' piece titled **"Gaza On The Edge Of No Return"**. Hass is a very respected Israeli journalist who lived in Gaza for several years.

UN mission finds evidence of war crimes by both sides in Gaza conflict - UN News Center



The four person United Nations fact-finding mission on the Gaza conflict

15 September 2009 - The United Nations fact-finding mission on the Gaza conflict at the start of this year has found evidence that both Israeli forces and Palestinian militants committed serious war crimes and breaches of humanitarian law, which may amount to crimes against humanity.

“We came to the conclusion, on the basis of the facts we found, that there was strong evidence to establish that numerous serious violations of international law, both humanitarian law and human rights law, were committed by Israel during the military operations in Gaza,” the head of the mission, Justice Richard Goldstone, told a press briefing today.

“The mission concluded that actions amounting to war crimes and possibly, in some respects, crimes against humanity, were committed by the Israel Defense Force (IDF).”

“There’s no question that the firing of rockets and mortars [by armed groups from Gaza] was deliberate and calculated to cause loss of life and injury to civilians and damage to civilian structures. The mission found that these actions also amount to serious war crimes and also possibly crimes against humanity,” he said.

The 575-page report by the four-person mission was released today, ahead of its presentation to the UN’s Human Rights Council in Geneva on 29 September.

“The mission finds that the conduct of the Israeli armed forces constitute grave breaches of the Fourth Geneva Convention in respect of wilful killings and wilfully causing great suffering to protected persons and as such give rise to individual criminal responsibility,” the report’s ...summary said. “It also finds that the direct targeting and arbitrary killing of Palestinian civilians is a violation of the right to life.”

It went on to criticize the “deliberate and systematic policy on the part of the Israeli armed forces to target industrial sites and water installations,” and the use of Palestinian civilians as human shields.

On the objectives and strategy of Israel’s military operation, the mission concluded that military planners deliberately followed a doctrine which involved “the application of disproportionate force and the causing of great damage and destruction to civilian property and infrastructure, and suffering to civilian populations.”

On the firing of mortars from Gaza, the mission concluded that they were indiscriminate and deliberate attacks against a civilian population and “would constitute war crimes and may amount to crimes against humanity.” It added that their apparent intention of spreading terror among the Israeli civilian population was a violation of international law.

The report recommended that the Security Council should require Israel to take steps to launch appropriate independent investigations into the alleged crimes committed, in conformity with international standards, and report back on these investigations within six months.

It further called on the Security Council to appoint a committee of experts to monitor the proceedings taken by the Israeli Government. If these did not take place, or were not independent and in conformity with international standards, the report called for the Security Council to refer the situation in Gaza to the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (ICC).

It also called on the Security Council to require the committee of experts to perform a similar role with regard to the relevant Palestinian authorities.

At today’s briefing, Justice Goldstone said the mission had investigated 36 incidents that took place during the Israeli operation in Gaza, which he said did not relate to decisions taken in the heat of battle, but to deliberate policies that were adopted and decisions that were taken.

As an example, he described one such incident: a mortar attack on a mosque in Gaza during a religious service, which killed 15 members of the congregation and injured many others. Justice Goldstone said that even if allegations that the mosque was used as sanctuary by military groups and that weapons were stored there were true, there was still “no justification under international humanitarian law to mortar the mosque during a service,” because it could have been attacked during the night, when it was not being used by civilians.

Justice Goldstone added that the report reflected the unanimous view of the mission’s four members.

The other members of the team are Christine Chinkin, Professor of International Law at the London School of Economics and Political Science at the University of London; Hina Jilani, Advocate of the Supreme Court of Pakistan and former Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Human Rights Defenders; and retired Colonel Desmond Travers, member of the Board of Directors of the Institute for International Criminal Investigations (IICI).

<http://972mag.com/the-blockade-on-gaza-began-long-before-hamas-came-to-power/>

Wednesday, June 29 2011 | +972blog

The blockade on Gaza began long before Hamas came to power

The gradual closure of Gaza began in 1991, when Israel canceled the general exit permit that allowed most Palestinians to move freely through Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories. Since then the closure, which may soon be challenged by the second Freedom Flotilla, has become almost hermetic.

By Mya Guarnieri

EXCERPT:

Athens, Greece - The second Freedom Flotilla is slated to set sail by the end of the month in an attempt to challenge the Israeli blockade of the Gaza Strip. The act will call attention to the closure that the United Nations and human rights organizations have decried as a violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention, which prohibits the collective punishment of civilians.

According to the Israeli government – and most of the mainstream media – the blockade began in 2007, following the Hamas takeover of the Gaza Strip. The aim of this “economic warfare” was to weaken Hamas, a group that the Israeli government had once supported. Israel also sought to stop rocket fire and to free Gilad Shalit, the Israeli soldier who has been held in Gaza since 2006.

Four years on, none of these goals have been achieved.

Israel has achieved a minor victory on one front, however. Even critics use 2007 as the start-date of the blockade, unintentionally legitimizing Israel’s cause-and-effect explanation that pegs the closure to political events.

But the blockade did not begin in 2007, following the Hamas takeover of the Strip. Nor did it start in 2006, with Israel’s economic sanctions against Gaza. The hermetic closure of Gaza is the culmination of a process that began twenty years ago.

Punitive closures begin

Sari Bashi is the founder and director of Gisha, an Israeli NGO that advocates for Palestinian freedom of movement. She says that the gradual closure of Gaza began in 1991, when Israel canceled the general exit permit that allowed most Palestinians to move freely through Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories. Non-Jewish residents of Gaza and the West Bank were required to obtain individual permits.

This was during the First Intifada. While the mere mention of the word invokes the image of suicide bombers in the Western imagination, it’s important to bear in mind that the First Intifada was, by and large, a non-violent uprising comprised of civil disobedience, strikes, and boycotts of Israeli goods.

A wave of violence came, however, in 1993. It was then, Bashi explains, that Israel began closing some crossings temporarily, turning away even those who held exit permits. Because a tremendous majority of Palestinians are not and were not suicide bombers, the restrictions on movement constituted collective punishment for the actions of a few – foreshadowing the nature of the blockade to come.

Over the years, there were other suggestions that a hermetic, punitive closure was on the horizon. The beginning of the Second Intifada, in September of 2000, saw Palestinian students “banned from traveling from Gaza to the West Bank,” Bashi says. In general, travel between the Occupied Palestinian Territories came under increasing restrictions, as well.

Exports took a hit in 2003, with the sporadic closures of the Karni crossing. While the 2005 disengagement supposedly signaled the end of the occupation of Gaza, in reality, it brought ever tightening restrictions on the movement of both people and goods. And, in 2006, the few Gazans who were still working in Israel were banned from entering, cutting them off from their jobs at a time when the Strip’s economy was under even more pressure.

Gaza today: the economy has been driven into the ground. The unemployment rate is almost 50 percent and four out of every five Palestinians in Gaza are dependent on humanitarian aid. Hospitals are running out of supplies. The chronically ill cannot always get exit permits, which can lead to access-related deaths. Students are sometimes prevented from reaching their universities. Families have been shattered. Some psychologists say that the intense pressure created by the blockade - which was compounded during Operation Cast Lead - accounts for spikes in domestic violence, divorce and drug abuse.

Gaza On The Edge Of No Return

January 6, 2011 By Amira Hass (Israeli journalist)

"Get away from the window, you're crazy!" screamed Kauthar. She was terrified to find her daughter standing on the couch by the window, observing the street from the seventh floor. The window had bars. She was afraid not that the girl might fall, but that she would be struck by fire from a UAV (unmanned aerial vehicle). A next-door neighbour had been killed that way only a day or two earlier: a missile hit him as he was talking on his phone on the balcony.

That was on one of the first days of the Israeli onslaught on the Gaza Strip, which began on 27 December 2008. People very quickly learned the hard way that their daily activities could tempt death: standing by a window, trying to find a spot that still had a shred of mobile-phone reception so you could tell your worried father in the Rafah refugee camp that everything was all right, riding a motorbike, going up to the roof to take the washing off the line or feed the pigeons, paying a condolence visit, baking bread in the backyard oven, taking water to the goats. Journalists' notebooks and reports from human rights organisations overflow with testimonies from ordinary civilians, people who lost loved ones or who were wounded under these non-combat circumstances.

Information spread in real time, even though many houses had no electricity and people were unable to learn from the media how entire families were being wiped out. This was a hallmark of Israel's wintertime assault: the sheer number of families that had to bury most of their members, including babies, after their homes were hit by yet another bomb lauded by the Israelis for its precision.

"Although it was not my usual custom, I made a point of kissing my children every night," one young father from Gaza City told me. "I never knew which of us would still be alive the next day, and I wanted to say goodbye properly."

Samouni, Daya, Ba'alusha, Sultan, A'bsi, Abu Halima, Barbakh, Najjar, Shurrab, Abu A'isheh, Ryan, Azzam, Jbara, Astel, Haddad, Qur'an, 'Alul, Deeb. These are all families in which grandfathers, parents and their children were killed; or one parent and a number of children, or cousins, or older siblings, or just the small children. And that is without even mentioning the wounded - or the emotional wounds suffered by everyone, which time does not heal. In the overwhelming majority of cases, the casualties were hit by computer-guided missiles or shells, operated by anonymous weapon launchers who watched their targets on a computer screen as if they were playing a video game.

"The sky was black with drones circling like flocks of birds," one man told me with a note of self-aware Gazan hyperbole. But an Israel Defence Forces officer on reserve duty who took part in the assault confirmed his impression: "It was a total UAV war. The [UAV] unit worked harder than any others." I met the IDF officer through Breaking

the Silence, an Israeli organisation that collects testimonies about the army's policies in the occupied territories from soldiers beginning to detect moral dissonance.

In Gaza slang, the drone is referred to as zanana. "There are three kinds of zan-ana," a low-ranking Hamas official told me shortly after the end of the 2008-2009 offensive. "One watches over us and photographs every move, every person; the second fires missiles at us . . ." He paused, then added with typical Gazan drollness: "And the third kind? Its whole purpose is to annoy us, to drive us crazy." And he expertly mimicked the humming sound made by the latest word in postmodern warfare.

The zanana isn't always heard or seen but you know it's there because of the disruptions to television broadcasts. It has been a central component in the process of turning Gaza into a vast panopticon, a detention camp under constant supervision and increasingly invisible control. Every move is photographed, documented and transferred on to computer screens in control rooms populated by young Israeli men and women who, with a few keyboard strokes, turn the zanana from voyeuristic, annoying objects into the lethal kind. The footage is backed up by old-fashioned verbal information gathered by various mechanisms of the occupation, primarily the Israeli Civil Administration and the Shin Bet, which are responsible for every civilian document (identity cards, travel permits, promissory notes for goods) and are assisted by a network of collaborators.

In the days leading up to the offensive, people noticed more persistent humming. They grew more anxious - and rightly so. Now every increase in the sound reawakens fears of another all-out attack. It's been two years, and even a thunderstorm or a slammed door can stir up the sense of dread inside Gaza.

Under Operation Cast Lead, no one was safe anywhere - at home, on the street, in UN facilities, in the fields, at work, at the American school, or in public shelters opened by the UN for people fleeing their homes. In the past there had been isolated areas attacked by the Israeli military, where everyone felt that they were targets for a few hours or days, but during Cast Lead the entire Gaza Strip was simultaneously under attack from air, sea and land for three weeks without pause. Gazans had nowhere to flee (unlike the residents of Lebanon, for instance, who had previously become acquainted with the all-embracing thoroughness of Israeli assaults). This is another component of the "heritage" Gazans have borne for these past two years: a feeling of total exposure to mortal danger and lack of any protection.

If there had been any illusions that Israel would not cross certain red lines, it was because, in the not-so-distant past, the Israeli military had been positioned amid the Palestinians, and because most of the older people knew Israelis and even spoke Hebrew. This intimacy was considered a means of preventing arbitrary killings. However, dozens of cases in which soldiers killed civilians at short range, and not just in a "video game", proved that geographical proximity is no safety net.

Mohammed Shurrab, 65, a resident of Khan Younis in southern Gaza, took advantage of the brief respite that the army declared each day to drive with two of his sons to their plot of land. On the afternoon of Friday 16 January (two days before the end of the offensive), they were driving home through an eastern neighbourhood whose residents had all fled two weeks earlier. Israeli soldiers who had set up a base in an abandoned house some 20 or 30 yards away fired at the car.

There was no battle going on at the time. The three men were wounded, the father sustaining only injuries to his arm. He called for help. The nearest hospital was just a minute or two away, but the soldiers would not allow the ambulance to approach. The Red Cross, the Red Crescent, Doctors for Human Rights (based in Tel Aviv), a third son who lives in the US, and later myself, all tried to reach someone who might persuade the commanders to relent. But it was in vain. The hours crawled by, and the sons bled to death in their father's arms. Shortly before midnight, 27-year-old Kassab died. Late on Saturday morning, 17-year-old Ibrahim died.

(An IDF spokesperson wrote to me in response: "As a rule, during the ceasefire the IDF responded with fire only when rockets were launched at Israel or shots fired at the IDF. We are unable to investigate every incident and confirm or deny all information. Ambulances were able to enter only after operational conditions made it possible. The injured [sic] parties were evacuated by the Palestinian ministry of health to a hospital in Rafah.")

This was not an unusual case of short-range cruelty and bold-faced lies to the media; even so, the number of Palestinians (both civilians and combatants) killed at short range during the 2008-2009 assault is negligible compared to the number killed by various "video-game" methods, far away from those who gave the order to shoot and those who pulled the trigger: fewer than 100 by the former method, compared to some 1,300 by the latter. These figures are based on inquiries I made with the Palestinian human rights organisation al-Mezan. This particular case of short-range brutality reflects the commander's spirit and the spirit of the assault.

An old acquaintance, Salah al-Ghoul, thought that he would be protected by a different kind of closeness. The son of an impoverished family of refugees, he became a wealthy merchant and built a large house on the north-western border with Israel. He is well known by the Israeli authorities because of his requests for travel and trade permits. They know full well that he is a political opponent of Hamas and Islamic Jihad. He speaks fluent Hebrew. During brief routine military incursions into the Gaza Strip, when tanks rolled past his house, he would keep on roasting corn out in his yard.

On 3 January 2009, on the eve of the ground raid, an Israeli plane dropped a bomb on al-Ghoul's dream home, completely destroying it. His son, who was studying for his matriculation exams, and his cousin, a lawyer who was making coffee at the time, were both killed. An IDF spokesperson responded in writing to my query: "The target

in question was identified as a Hamas observation point, directing attacks against IDF forces . . ."

This is an absolute lie, like so many other lies fed by the IDF to the Israeli public. Still, the lie holds a kernel of truth: for several years, Hamas and other armed Palestinian organisations chose to fire on Israeli communities along the Gaza border using home-made rockets ("Qassams") or primitive missiles. Their main operational "success" was in managing to terrify many Israelis.

In 2003, I asked two commanders of Hamas's Qassam unit what good the rocket firing did when Israel retaliated with such force against the civilian Palestinian population. They answered candidly: "We want mothers and children in Israel to feel the same fear our mothers and children feel."

During the Second Intifada, which began in September 2000, the use of weapons - ineffective and counterproductive as it might have been in the fight against the occupation - served the Palestinian organisations in their internal competition for hegemony and popularity. As part of its propaganda efforts, Israel exaggerated, and still does, the extent of the threat posed by the rockets. But the Israeli overstatements also helped Hamas's own propaganda, allowing it to represent itself as the only organisation able to weaken Israel - on the way to ultimate defeat. This permanent promise of future victory is also what gives Hamas the prerogative to halt or greatly reduce the mortar shelling, at the same time as quelling public debate over the logic of its strategy. In this respect, the cruelty of Israel's total attack achieved its objective.

But did Israel fail at another aim, namely, to topple the Hamas regime? Opinions are divided as to whether this was an objective. Social and mental severance between the Gaza Strip and the West Bank has been, since the early 1990s, a cornerstone of Israel's undeclared policy. Precisely because all Gazans - including Hamas's opponents - felt that they had become targets in Israel's range of fire, they could not use the offensive as a reason to disclaim the Hamas regime, even as it continued to refine its methods of oppression. The more ensconced Hamas rule becomes in the Gaza Strip, and the dimmer the chances of healing the political rift with the Palestine Liberation Organisation, the more this severance becomes a reality from which there is no return.

"In Israel they were living in a virtual reality, believing there was an actual war going on in Gaza," said some of the soldiers who took part in the offensive, whom I met through Breaking the Silence. They very quickly discovered that, contrary to what they had been told by their commanders, Hamas was not waging an intense or determined war against them. A Palestinian security man told me there had been a conscious decision in Hamas not to sacrifice its finest combatants in such a lopsided war. The organisation was well aware that it could not deliver the goods it had promised the Palestinian public for two years - that is, "surprises in warfare".

Still, immediately the offensive ended, Hamas declared victory. "In 1967 Israel subdued all the Arab armies in six days, but it could not conquer the Gaza Strip from us even after three weeks," its spokespeople said. But people in Gaza preferred to quote an old man who courageously proclaimed on television: "One more victory like this and all of Gaza will be wiped out."

An officer who broke the silence told me that he felt as though he had taken part in a military exercise using live fire, whose aim was to improve and upgrade operational communications between Israeli ground forces and the Israeli air force. As more preparation for wars to come, perhaps?

Amira Hass is a correspondent for Haaretz.

This report, written exclusively for the New Statesman, was translated from the Hebrew by Jessica Cohen

Gaza Timeline

August 2004 Ariel Sharon moves to withdraw Israeli forces and citizens from Gaza Strip, as declared in December 2003

September 2005 Last Israeli soldiers leave Gaza; settlers are forcibly removed

January 2006 Hamas wins a majority in Palestinian parliamentary elections

June 2006 Israel invades Gaza in attempt to rescue Gilad Shalit, a kidnapped soldier

December 2006 Fighting begins between the governing Hamas and Fatah parties

June 2007 Hamas seizes complete control of Gaza following struggle with Fatah.

Naval blockade of Gaza begins, leaving the territory cut off by land, sea and air

December 2008 Israel launches a three-week offensive to stop persistent rocket attacks. Between 1,100 and 1,400 Gazans are killed, with 13 Israeli losses

May 2010 An international flotilla tries to break the naval blockade. Israeli forces board one ship from Turkey, killing nine people

June 2010 Israel announces that it is easing the Gaza blockade

6. Americans in the Debate: War Crimes Controversy in Seattle

Below are two different lesson plans involving whether Americans should criticize Israeli policies. The first culminates in an argumentative essay, the second in a personal response. The issues also involve First Amendment rights in the US and American support for Israel. Included with the first assignment are two articles that present two different views on why the United States government supports Israel.



These ads from the Seattle Mideast Awareness Campaign were scheduled to appear on the sides of 12 Metro buses on Seattle routes on Dec. 27, 2011. The group, seeking tax-exempt nonprofit status, paid \$2,760 for a one-month run.

Directions: Read the following news articles and opinions about Seattle bus ads accusing Israel of war crimes and America of funding them. As you read, fill out the chart below of arguments for and against running the ads. Then make your own decision as the head of King County on whether to run the ads. Report your decision in a 5-paragraph argumentative essay.

For the Ads	Against the Ads

A.

Guest columnist

Bus ads shed no light, only heat on Middle East conflict

Guest columnist Alex Alben says the Metro Transit bus-ad controversy does little to enlighten people about the complicated history of the Middle East conflict.

By Alex Alben

Special to The Times

THE bus ads simply state: "Israeli War Crimes; Your Tax Dollars at Work." A Seattle group called "The Seattle Middle East Awareness Campaign" claims they hope these full-length ads, showing a collapsed building in the Gaza Strip, will raise awareness of America's "one-sided" support of Israeli policies that violate human rights.

A few facts, both recent and historical, which don't neatly fit on the side of a bus panel:

- The Palestine Liberation Organization was formed in 1964 in east Jerusalem. Its charter called — and still calls — for the destruction of the state of Israel. At the time, Arab nations occupied most of Jerusalem, the West Bank and Gaza, begging the question of what the PLO intended to "liberate" aside from its leader Ahmed Shukairy's stated goal of "driving the Zionists into the Sea."
- The Israeli government withdrew from Gaza in August 2005, uprooting 21 Israeli settlements. In January 2006, the terrorist group Hamas won a majority of votes in elections held in the West Bank and Gaza, creating a violent rift with the "moderate" PLO leadership of Mahmoud Abbas. Both Egypt and Israel imposed a blockade of certain goods in and out of Gaza.
- Since 2005, Hamas has fired more than 8,000 rockets and mortars at southern Israel from Gaza, killing and wounding many civilians. Hamas operatives fired these rockets from houses, mosques and schools. The Quassam IV Rocket has a 22-pound warhead and a range of up to nine miles. You can find more information about them at the Ezzedeen Al-Quassam Brigade's website, "The military wing of the Islamic resistance movement Hamas."
- Iran funds both Hezbollah and Hamas, supplying them with weapons and supporting their radical agendas against both the United States and Israel. Iran seeks to keep the Israel-Palestinian conflict simmering in order to increase its footprint in the region and counter America's military presence in Iraq and Afghanistan.

The "free speech" card has been played to justify the bus ads, but no serious-minded person would maintain that inflammatory images of fallen buildings is a way to educate people about a complex and emotional conflict in a foreign land. The ads

don't rise to the level of foreseeably inciting or producing violence, which would take them out of the protected speech category.

Defenders of Israel could retaliate by taking out Metro bus ads that attempted to put Israel's actions in Gaza in perspective, raising revenue for King County, but probably not providing meaningful context for citizens of Seattle.

Given our exposure to images of violence in the Middle East over the past generation, ranging from PLO suicide bombers to Israeli military responses in Lebanon and Gaza, it is not surprising that many people find plenty of blame for both sides. Or that some tilt toward sympathy for the Palestinians, who have been sustained as political pawns for 60 years by their so-called Arab allies and let down by their own leaders, who have lined their pockets with European and American aid dollars intended to foster economic development.

The bus ads shed only heat, not light, on the controversy. They are intended to foster anti-Israel opinion. Even the name of the group, "Stop30billion-Seattle" misleads people as to the economic and military aid figures from the U.S. to Israel, failing to mention the billions of foreign aid dollars American taxpayers supply to Arab countries.

Israel has made political and military mistakes in the decades since Egypt's Nasser and other Arab rulers mobilized their armies on its borders prior to June 1967, precipitating the Six Day War that led to Israel taking Gaza, the Golan and West Bank of the Jordan River. The political debate within Israel reflects the different approaches to reconciling its future with the Palestinians and Syria.

So, on the eve of Christmas, we are reminded of how far we are from achieving peace on Earth and goodwill toward the men and women of the Middle East — a controversy that is not enlightened in any way by the Metro bus ads.

Alex Alben is writing a book about digital culture.

B.

Metro says never mind to 'Israeli war crimes' ads

Metro will not allow bus ads alleging "Israeli war crimes" after all. Nor will it allow ads countering that ad.

By [Janet I. Tu](#)

Seattle Times staff reporter

The ad from the Seattle Mideast Awareness Campaign were scheduled to appear on the sides of 12 Metro buses on Seattle routes. Metro officials rejected the proposed ad Thursday.

Related

In a reversal of an earlier decision, Metro Transit said Thursday it would not allow a bus ad alleging "Israeli war crimes," saying a flood of comments has convinced officials that service could be disrupted.

The ad, purchased by the Seattle Mideast Awareness Campaign, ties alleged Israeli war crimes to U.S. military aid. The ad had been set to run for a month on the sides of 12 buses starting next week.

Metro also rejected proposals for two counter ads.

"The escalation of this issue from one of 12 local bus placards to a widespread and often vitriolic international debate introduces new and significant security concerns that compel reassessment," said King County Executive Dow Constantine.

Metro spokeswoman Linda Thielke earlier this week said lawyers had advised Metro that it couldn't refuse to accept the "Israeli war crimes" ad under current agency policy.

Metro policy restricts advertising that, among other things, can be reasonably foreseen to result in harm to, disruption of, or interference with the transportation system.

"When we accepted the ad from Seattle Mideast Awareness Campaign, we didn't have any information to cause us to reasonably foresee that there could be a disruption to transit service," Thielke said.

That changed once media locally, nationally and internationally ran the story and the comments started coming in, Thielke said. Metro customer service has received about 3,000 e-mails, and local elected officials thousands more.

That made officials concerned that running the ads "could've caused anything from vandalism to protests that met the buses," she said.

Leaders of four Jewish organizations met Wednesday with King County officials, asking them to reconsider allowing the "Israeli war crimes" ad, saying local Jews had reason to fear the ad could bring harm to them. They mentioned how local Jewish institutions had increased security in recent years, and spoke of the 2006 shootings at the Jewish Federation of Greater Seattle, in which one woman was killed.

Metro officials on Thursday also put in place a moratorium on accepting any new noncommercial advertising on King County buses until a new permanent advertising policy is in place. Metro is supposed to have a draft of a permanent policy to Constantine in January.

Ed Mast, spokesman for Seattle Mideast Awareness Campaign, said he was disappointed by Metro's decision.

He said his ads "weren't disrupting Metro. There was no evidence that they were gong to disrupt."

Rather, he said, "groups who wanted the ads silenced mounted a campaign to disrupt Metro. The disruptions were going to be from people who wanted the message silenced."

He said he was examining all options and is talking to legal advisers.

"It's a disturbing precedent that King County approved the ad in the first place and then gave in to public pressure on the content of the ad," he said.

Amin Odeh, with Voices of Palestine, which supports the bus ad, said, "We know how powerful and aggressive the bullying by right-wing Jewish groups and their special-interest friends can be We're very disappointed that this is going to affect not just our campaign. It also takes away free speech from us and other peace and justice groups."

Amy Wasser-Simpson, vice president for planning and community services at the Jewish Federation, said the organization was relieved and grateful to hear about Metro's decision "not to allow Seattle Mideast Awareness Campaign's divisive advertising to run on Seattle buses."

Writer David Horowitz, of the Los Angeles-based David Horowitz Freedom Center, was one of several to propose a counter ad. His ad would have alleged "Palestinian war crimes."

Horowitz said Thursday he was happy with Metro's decision. "I believe that the civic space, which is what buses occupy, should be where community comes together and should not be a platform for polarizing political advertisements in the first place."

Another counter ad, proposed by Stop Islamization of America, would have said: "In any war between the civilized man and the savage, support the civilized man. Support Israel. Defeat Islamic jihad," according to a news release.

Metro will still run noncommercial ads that had already been accepted under the old policy, including those for MEOW Cat Rescue and King County Library System.

C. Originally published Friday, December 31, 2010 at 4:00 PM Seattle Times

Guest columnist

'Israel right or wrong' crowd advocates censorship in Seattle

By rallying pressure to prevent the placement of ads critical of Israel's treatment of Palestinians, writes guest writer Ed Mast, the "Israel right or wrong" supporters advocated censorship in Seattle.

By [Edward Mast](#)

Special to The Times COURTNEY BLETHEN RIFFKIN / THE SEATTLE TIMES

I WAS part of a group that raised money for a series of Metro Transit bus ads that read, "ISRAELI WAR CRIMES: Your Tax Dollars At Work." We abided by King County guidelines and our ads were approved by King County Metro Transit.

With a signed contract, ads were printed and ready for Dec. 27, which marked two years to the day since Israel dropped a bomb on a schoolyard in Gaza just as children were leaving class. Many were killed. For the next three weeks, Israel killed 1,400 people in Gaza, mostly noncombatants. More than 300 of the killed were children. Investigations by the United Nations and Amnesty International concluded that Israel committed war crimes.

We didn't announce the ad campaign, but news leaked out and some local groups that defend Israel from all criticism took action to convince King County that any discussion of Israeli war crimes is inappropriate for public speech.

"War crime" is a legal term referring to a grave violation of the Geneva Conventions. Such violations by Israel have been well-documented throughout its lengthy occupation of Palestinian lands, and have included thousands of Israeli rockets fired into Gaza before 2008 and continuing attacks today. But U.S. military, political and diplomatic support, including \$3 billion per year in military funding, gives Israel virtual impunity, and this one-sided U.S. support makes us complicit in Israel's crimes.

Violations by Palestinians in their struggle for self-determination have also been documented, though violations by Israel are far more numerous and far less reported in this country. The bus ads were an attempt to correct that imbalance.

When the U.N. Fact-Finding Committee Report, known as the Goldstone Report, concluded that Israel's assault on Gaza was "a deliberately disproportionate attack designed to punish, humiliate and terrorize a civilian population," Israel tried to bury the report, not by bringing counter-evidence but by defaming committee chair Richard Goldstone as anti-Jewish, even though Goldstone is Jewish himself and is a self-declared Zionist with family in Israel.

Similarly, when we tried to raise awareness of Israeli war crimes this month in Seattle, groups trying to block the ad imitated Israel's approach. Rather than attempting to disprove that Israel commits war crimes, they demanded special treatment for Israel, using the reprehensible and increasingly discredited argument that any criticism of Israel is the same as criticizing Jewish people in Seattle.

Israel uses the Jewish people of the world as a shield for its own ongoing human-rights violations. An increasing number of Jews — including those who worked with us on our bus-ad campaign — are outraged that Israel uses them as its excuse for continuing crimes. They insist that Israel is a nation-state that should not be immune from criticism. But others still defend Israel, right or wrong, as a frightened parent might defend a spoiled child who is also a bully.

Those groups wanting to silence the ad mounted a phone and e-mail campaign to disrupt King County Metro, along with an implied threat of violence both toward Metro buses and toward others. In the short term, they were successful in preventing the ads from going up.

In doing so, they not only demonstrated fear of open debate, but made public the problem: Any hard truths about Israel must face silencing not only by those who defend Israeli impunity, but also by those elected officials who can be intimidated by them.

Many of those who take an "Israel right or wrong" stance consider themselves social-justice activists in other fields. On the subject of Israel, however, they become advocates of apartheid, ethnic dictatorship and outright racism.

In this case, they have advocated censorship in Seattle. It is a chilling spectacle to watch some of our neighbors demonstrating so clearly that support for oppression anywhere is a danger to freedom everywhere.

Edward Mast is a volunteer with Seattle Mideast Awareness Campaign, which sponsored the recently canceled bus ads.

D. <http://www.jew-ish.com/index.php?/stories/item/3817>

A (missed) opportunity for dialogue

The American Jewish community should encourage criticism of Israel's policies that do not uphold the standards of human rights and democracy that we defend in our own country and abroad.

By Shiri Raphaely • Posted December 25, 2010

This past Tuesday, the Seattle Times began running a series of articles covering the response to the Seattle Mideast Awareness Campaign's plan to place an ad criticizing U.S. investment in "Israeli war crimes" on Seattle Metro buses. Various groups from the Jewish community vehemently objected to the ad, including Richard Fruchter, president and CEO of the Jewish Federation of Greater Seattle, who stated that he believes the ad is "designed to insult Israelis and the 50,000 members of the Jewish community, many of whom support Israel." In response to the reaction against the ad, by Thursday, Metro announced that it would not be run, leading to a missed opportunity for dialogue and contributing to further isolation and separation within the Seattle community.

As a young American-Israeli Jew, I want to say that I don't feel insulted. I understand that the ad criticizes Israel, and, because Israel and Jews in general are often incorrectly seen as one and the same, could provide fodder for anti-Semitism against the Jewish community in Seattle. I recognize that the conflict has caused unspeakable pain for all those involved, and that there are reasons for the two-sided dichotomy that has risen as a result. Nevertheless, Israel's current administration supports actions that threaten values of democracy that I, and other supporters of Israel, view as crucial elements of the state's character. It is because of my personal connection to Israel that I strongly believe that the American Jewish community should encourage criticism of Israel's policies that do not uphold the standards of human rights and democracy that we defend in our own country and abroad.

Rather than reacting with a concerted effort to silence the Mideast Awareness Campaign, the Jewish Federation and other organizations should view the campaign as a catalyst for open dialogue within the Jewish community, the expat Israeli and Palestinian community and others who feel strongly about US involvement within the region. I believe a well-organized panel where diverse community leaders share their opinions and provide information on the conflict could provide the information not offered by the ad, and decrease the defensiveness engendered by it. As a result, groups such as the Mideast Awareness Campaign will also have the arena to offer their information and perspective, and not rely only on eye-catching bus ads - ones that may risk being inflammatory rather than educational. We fear racism and anti-Semitism, however discouraging dialogue only increases isolation and ignorance.

Akiva Eldar, the chief political editor of *Ha'aretz*, one of Israel's largest newspapers, recently compared American Jews' unfaltering backing of Israel's policies to a parent handing cash to their drug-addicted child. It is undeniable that the situation in the

Middle-East right now is far from ideal, and if the news from the last year has shown us anything, the Israeli administration seems to be addicted to a pattern of compulsive self-destructive behavior, and its closest ally continues to be the enabling parent. Living in Israel for the past year, has taught me that Israel needs the support of American Jews, but that turning a blind eye to the occupation, the blockade on Gaza, and illegal construction of settlements, even in the name of security, poses a dangerous threat to the future of Israel as a democratic state.

As a citizen of Israel, an American-Jew and an activist, I know that an emotional or spiritual connection to Israel does not require unfaltering support of its policies; criticism does not imply a threat to Israel's existence and illuminating the amount of US financial and military aid directed to Israel is not equivalent to anti-Semitism. Anger and isolation may be natural responses in times of fear, but they do not address the problem. We still have the opportunity to engage proactively, and the right to freedom of speech protected in the United States allows for individuals with different perspectives to interact mindfully and together encourage a US policy that is pro-peace and promotes freedom from violence for both Israelis and Palestinians.

Shiri Raphaely is a Seattleite and 2009 graduate of Tufts University who now lives in Israel. She has been working on human rights advocacy in Israel for the last year, and is about to transition into the field of environmental justice with Friends of the Earth: Middle East, a trilateral environmental organization working to facilitate cooperative efforts and dialogue between Israel, Jordan, and the West Bank.

E. US hegemony, not "the lobby," behind complicity with Israel
Stephen Maher, *The Electronic Intifada*, 27 April 2010



What really drives decades of US complicity in Israel's human rights abuses? (Pete Souza/White House Photo)

Many of Israel's critics blame an "Israel lobby" for the near-total complicity of the US in Israeli annexation, colonization and cleansing programs in the occupied West Bank. This complicity continues to the present, despite the "row" that erupted after the Israeli government humiliated US Vice President Joe Biden by announcing the construction of 1,600 settlement units in occupied East Jerusalem while he was visiting the country. Indeed, despite the apparent outrage expressed by top White House officials, the administration has made clear that its criticism of Israel will remain purely symbolic. However, as we shall see, the lobby thesis does little to explain US foreign policy in the Middle East.

Years after Noam Chomsky, Stephen Zunes, Walter Russell Mead and many others published their critiques of the Stephen Walt and John Mearsheimer "Israel lobby" thesis, many of the sharpest critics of Israel continue to attribute US foreign policy in the Middle East to the influence of the lobby. Given the prevalence of the Israel lobby

argument, and the latest diplomatic confrontation between the US and Israel, it is important to revisit the flaws in the thesis, and properly attribute US behavior to the large concentrations of domestic political and economic power that truly drive US policy.

US foreign policy in the Middle East is similar to that which is carried out elsewhere in the world, in regions free of "the lobby's" proclaimed corrupting effects. The inflated level of support that the US lends Israel is a rational response to the particular strategic importance of the Middle East, the chief energy-producing region of the world. By building Israel into what Noam Chomsky refers to as an "offshore US military base," it is able to protect its dominance over much of the world's remaining energy resources, a major lever of global power. As we shall see, those blaming the lobby for US policy once again misunderstand US's strategic interests in the Middle East, and Israel's central role in advancing them.

Geopolitics and the US-Israeli relationship

A central claim of the "Israel lobby" thesis is that the "lobby," however defined, overwhelmingly shapes US policy towards the Middle East. Thus, if the argument were true, its proponents would have to demonstrate that there is something qualitatively unique about US policy towards the Middle East compared with that in other regions of the world. Yet upon careful analysis, we find little difference between the purported distortions caused by the lobby and what is frequently referred to as the "national interest," governed by the same concentrations of domestic power that drive US foreign policy elsewhere.

There are states all around the world that perform similar services to Washington as Israel, projecting US power in their respective regions, whose crimes in advancing Washington's goals are overtly supported and shielded from international condemnation. Take for instance the 30 years of US support for the horrors of the Indonesian invasion and occupation of East Timor. In addition to the use of rape and starvation as weapons, and a gruesome torture regime, Indonesian president Suharto slaughtered 150,000 persons out of a population of 650,000. These atrocities were fully supported by the US, including supplying the napalm and chemical weapons indiscriminately used by the Indonesian army, which was fully armed and trained by the US. As Bill Clinton said, Suharto was "our kind of guy."

Daniel Patrick Moynahan, US ambassador to the UN at the time of the Indonesian invasion, later wrote that "the Department of State desired that the United Nations prove utterly ineffective in whatever measures it undertook" to end the butchering of

the East Timorese, a goal he carried out with "no inconsiderable success." Yet this support was not due to the influence of an "Indonesia lobby." Rather, planners had identified Indonesia as one of the three most strategically important regions in the world in 1958, as a result of its oil wealth and important role as a link between the Indian and Pacific oceans.

In some regions, as in Latin America where US clients like Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador, and terrorist armies like the Nicaraguan contras spent years murdering defenseless peasants demanding basic human rights, the threat is mostly one of "successful defiance;" that is, a country defying US orders and getting away with it. Should the US tolerate one such case, the logic goes, it will embolden resistance to its dictates elsewhere. The danger underlying such defiance -- referred to as "the threat of a good example" by Oxfam -- is that a country will implement a successful model for independent development, refusing US dictates and seeking to direct much-needed resources to serve the needs of the domestic population instead of wealthy foreign investors.

Such thinking is deeply institutionalized and exhibited by US policy worldwide, going back to the very beginnings of the modern imperial era after World War II. It was clear from early in the war that the US would emerge as the dominant world power in its aftermath, and so the State Department and Council on Foreign Relations began planning to create a post-war international order in which the US would "hold unquestioned power." One way it planned to do so was gaining control of global energy resources, primarily those of Saudi Arabia, which were referred to at the time as "the greatest material prize in history" by the US State Department.

As Franklin Roosevelt's "oil czar" Harold Ickes advised, control of oil was the "key to postwar political arrangements" since a large supply of cheap energy is essential to fuel the world's industrial capitalist economies. This meant that with control of Middle Eastern oil, particularly the vast Saudi reserves, the US could keep its hand on the spigot that would fuel the economies of Europe, Japan and much of the rest of the world. As US planner George Kennan put it, this would give the United States "veto power" over the actions of others. Zbigniew Brzezinski has also more recently discussed the "critical leverage" the US enjoys as a result of its stranglehold on energy supplies.

Thus in the Middle East it is not simply "successful defiance" that the US fears, nor merely independent development. These worries are present as well, but there is an added dimension: should opposition threaten US control of oil resources, a major source of US global power is placed at risk. Under the Nixon Administration, with the

US military tied down in Vietnam and direct intervention in the Middle East to defend vital strategic interests unlikely, military aid to pre-revolution Iran (acting as an American regional enforcer) skyrocketed. Amnesty International's conclusion in 1976 that "no country has a worse human rights record than Iran" was ignored, and US support increased, not because of an "Iran lobby" in the US, but rather because such support was advancing US interests.

Strategic concerns also led the US to support other oppressive, reactionary regimes, including Saddam Hussein's worst atrocities. During the Anfal genocide against the Kurds, Iraqi forces used chemical weapons provided by the US against Kurdish civilians, killed perhaps 100,000 persons, and destroyed roughly 80 percent of the villages in Iraqi Kurdistan, while the US moved to block international condemnation of these atrocities. Again, supporting crimes that serve the "national interest" set by large corporations and ruling elites, and shielding them from international criticism is the rule, not the exception.

It is no coincidence that the US-Israel relationship crystallized after Israel destroyed the independent nationalist regime of Gamal Abdel Nasser in a preemptive attack in 1967, permanently ending the role of Egypt as a center of opposition to US imperialism. Since before World War II, Saudi Arabia had happily served as an "Arab facade," veiling the hand of the true ruling power on the Arabian peninsula, to borrow British colonial terminology. With Nasser's Arab nationalist rhetoric "turning the whole region against the House of Saud," the threat he posed to US power was serious. In response, the State Department concluded that the "logical corollary" to US opposition to Arab nationalism was "support for Israel" as the only reliable pro-US force in the region. Israel's destruction and humiliation of Nasser's regime was thus a major boon for the US, and proved to Washington the value of a strong alliance with a powerful Israel.

This unique regional importance is one reason for the tremendous level of aid Israel receives, including more advanced weaponry than that provided to other US clients. Providing Israel with the ability to use overwhelming force against any adversary to the established order has been a pivotal aspect of US regional strategy. Importantly, Israel is also a reliable ally -- there is little chance that the Israeli government will be overthrown, and the weapons end up in the hands of anti-Western Islamic fundamentalists or independent nationalists as happened in Iran in 1979.

Today, with the increased independence of Europe, and the hungry economies of India and China growing at breakneck speed along with their demand for dwindling energy resources, control over what is left is more crucial than ever. In the September 2009

issue of the *Asia-Africa Review*, China's former Special Envoy to the Middle East Sun Bigan wrote that "the US has always sought to control the faucet of global oil supplies," and suggested that since Washington would doubtless work to ensure that Iraqi oil remained under its control, China should look elsewhere in the region for an independent energy source. "Iran has bountiful energy resources," Bigan wrote, "and its oil gas reserves are the second biggest in the world, *and all are basically under its own control*" (emphasis added).

It is partially as a result of this independence that Israel's strategic importance to the US has increased significantly in recent times, particularly since the Shah's cruel, US-supported dictatorship in Iran was overthrown in 1979. With the Shah gone, Israel alone had to terrorize the region into complying with US orders, and ensure that Saudi Arabia's vast oil resources remain under US control. The increased importance of Israel to US policy was illustrated clearly as its regional strategy shifted to "dual containment" during the Clinton years, with Israel countering both Iraq and Iran.

With Iran developing technology that could eventually allow it to produce what are referred to in the February 2010 Quadrennial Defense Review as "anti-access weapons," or weapons of mass destruction that prevent the US from being able to freely use force in any region of the world, this is a crucial moment in Washington's struggle to seize control of Iran. This confrontation, stemming from the desire of the US to control its oil and destroy a base of independent nationalism, makes US support for Israel strategically crucial.

The "Israel lobby" and US Pressure

If we adopt "the lobby" hypothesis, we would predict that the US would bend to Israel's will when the interests of the two states diverge, acting against its "national interest." Yet if US policies in the Middle East were damaging its "national interest," as proponents of the lobby argument claim, that must mean that such policies have been a failure. This leads one to ask: a failure for whom? Not for US elites, who have secured control of the major global energy resources while successfully crushing opposition movements, nor for the defense establishment, and most certainly not for the energy corporations. In fact, not only is US policy towards the Middle East similar to that towards other regions of the world, but it has been a profitable, strategic success.

Indeed, the US's policy towards Israel and the Palestinians is not to achieve an end to the occupation, nor to bring about respect for Palestinian rights -- in fact, it is the actor primarily responsible for preventing these outcomes. To the US, Israel's

"Operation Defensive Shield" in 2002 had sufficiently punished the Palestinians and their compliant US-backed leadership for their intransigence at Camp David. While the Palestinian Authority was already acting as Israel's "subcontractor" and "collaborator" in suppressing resistance to Israeli occupation, in the paraphrased words of former Israeli Foreign Minister Shlomo Ben Ami, former Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's deliberate destruction of Palestinian institutions provided the opportunity to rebuild them, and ensure an even greater degree of US control.

The settlement and annexation programs help guarantee Israeli control over the most valuable Palestinian land and water resources, ensuring Israel will remain a dominant society not easily pressured by its neighbors. To help achieve these goals, the US shields Israeli expansion behind a "peace process" in hopes that given enough time the Palestinians will concede more and more of what was once theirs. The primary concern is to present the appearance that the US and Israel are ardently crusading for peace, battling against those who oppose this noble objective. Though it is true that people across the region are appalled and outraged by Israeli crimes, such anger is a small consideration next to the strategic gain of maintaining a strong, dependent ally in the heart of the Middle East.

The reconstitution of an even more tightly-controlled Palestinian Authority, with General Keith Dayton directly supervising the Palestinian security forces, enabled the US to meet these goals while more effectively suppressing resistance to the occupation. Likewise, redeploying Israeli soldiers outside of Gaza allowed Sharon a free hand to continue the annexation of the West Bank while being heralded internationally as a "great man of peace."

The treatment of Israel by the mainstream US media is also standard for all US allies. Coverage in the corporate press is predictably skewed in favor of official US allies and against official enemies, a well-documented phenomenon. Thus, proponents of the lobby thesis are missing the forest for the trees. What they see as the special treatment of Israel by the mainstream press is actually just the normal functioning of the US media and intellectual establishment, apologizing for and defending crimes of official allies while demonizing official enemies.

Of course, this is not to argue that there are not organizations in the US, like the American Jewish Committee, Anti-Defamation League and AIPAC, that seek to marginalize dissent from Israeli policy in every forum possible. Rather, I am pointing out that the power of these groups pales in comparison to other, far more powerful, interests and concerns. While the AJC or ADL may mobilize for the firing of a professor critical of Israel, for example, that argument is amplified by the elite-owned and

controlled press because doing so serves their interests. Likewise, AIPAC can urge unwavering support for Israel on the part of the US government, but without the assent of other far more powerful interests, like the energy corporations and defense establishment, AIPAC's efforts would amount to little. US policy, like that of other states, is rationally planned to serve the interests of the ruling class.

Israel could not sustain its aggressive, expansionist policies without US military aid and diplomatic support. If the Obama Administration wanted to, it could pressure Israel to comply with international law and resolutions, join the international consensus, and enact a two-state solution. While the "Israel lobby" thesis conveniently explains his failure to do so and absolves US policy-makers of responsibility for their ongoing support of Israeli apartheid, violence and annexation, it simply does not stand up under closer scrutiny.

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The Israel Lobby

John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt

For the past several decades, and especially since the Six-Day War in 1967, the centrepiece of US Middle Eastern policy has been its relationship with Israel. The combination of unwavering support for Israel and the related effort to spread 'democracy' throughout the region has inflamed Arab and Islamic opinion and jeopardised not only US security but that of much of the rest of the world. This situation has no equal in American political history. Why has the US been willing to set aside its own security and that of many of its allies in order to advance the interests of another state? One might assume that the bond between the two countries was based on shared strategic interests or compelling moral imperatives, but neither explanation can account for the remarkable level of material and diplomatic support that the US provides.

Instead, the thrust of US policy in the region derives almost entirely from domestic politics, and especially the activities of the 'Israel Lobby'. Other special-interest groups have managed to skew foreign policy, but no lobby has managed to divert it as far from what the national interest would suggest, while simultaneously convincing Americans that US interests and those of the other country - in this case, Israel - are essentially identical.

Since the October War in 1973, Washington has provided Israel with a level of support dwarfing that given to any other state. It has been the largest annual recipient of direct economic and military assistance since 1976, and is the largest recipient in total since World War Two, to the tune of well over \$140 billion (in 2004 dollars). Israel receives about \$3 billion in direct assistance each year, roughly one-fifth of the foreign aid budget, and worth about \$500 a year for every Israeli. This largesse is especially striking since Israel is now a wealthy industrial state with a per capita income roughly equal to that of South Korea or Spain.

Other recipients get their money in quarterly installments, but Israel receives its entire appropriation at the beginning of each fiscal year and can thus earn interest on it. Most recipients of aid given for military purposes are required to spend all of it in the US, but Israel is allowed to use roughly 25 per cent of its allocation to subsidise its own defence industry. It is the only recipient that does not have to account for how the aid is spent, which makes it virtually impossible to prevent the money from being used for purposes the US opposes, such as building settlements on the West Bank. Moreover, the US has provided Israel with nearly \$3 billion to develop weapons systems, and given it access to such top-drawer weaponry as Blackhawk helicopters and F-16 jets. Finally, the US gives Israel access to intelligence it denies to its Nato allies and has turned a blind eye to Israel's acquisition of nuclear weapons.

Washington also provides Israel with consistent diplomatic support. Since 1982, the US has vetoed 32 Security Council resolutions critical of Israel, more than the total number of vetoes cast by all the other Security Council members. It blocks the efforts of Arab states to put Israel's nuclear arsenal on the IAEA's agenda. The US comes to the rescue in wartime and takes Israel's side when negotiating peace. The Nixon administration protected it from the threat of Soviet intervention and resupplied it during the October War. Washington was deeply involved in the negotiations that ended that war, as well as in the lengthy 'step-by-step' process that followed, just as it played a key role in the negotiations that preceded and followed the 1993 Oslo Accords. In each case there was occasional friction between US and Israeli officials, but the US consistently supported the Israeli position. One American participant at Camp David in 2000 later said: 'Far too often, we functioned ... as Israel's lawyer.' Finally, the Bush administration's ambition to transform the Middle East is at least partly aimed at improving Israel's strategic situation.

This extraordinary generosity might be understandable if Israel were a vital strategic asset or if there were a compelling moral case for US backing. But neither explanation is convincing. One might argue that Israel was an asset during the Cold War. By serving as America's proxy after 1967, it helped contain Soviet expansion in the region and inflicted humiliating defeats on Soviet clients like Egypt and Syria. It occasionally helped protect other US allies (like King Hussein of Jordan) and its military prowess

forced Moscow to spend more on backing its own client states. It also provided useful intelligence about Soviet capabilities.

Backing Israel was not cheap, however, and it complicated America's relations with the Arab world. For example, the decision to give \$2.2 billion in emergency military aid during the October War triggered an Opec oil embargo that inflicted considerable damage on Western economies. For all that, Israel's armed forces were not in a position to protect US interests in the region. The US could not, for example, rely on Israel when the Iranian Revolution in 1979 raised concerns about the security of oil supplies, and had to create its own Rapid Deployment Force instead.

The first Gulf War revealed the extent to which Israel was becoming a strategic burden. The US could not use Israeli bases without rupturing the anti-Iraq coalition, and had to divert resources (e.g. Patriot missile batteries) to prevent Tel Aviv doing anything that might harm the alliance against Saddam Hussein. History repeated itself in 2003: although Israel was eager for the US to attack Iraq, Bush could not ask it to help without triggering Arab opposition. So Israel stayed on the sidelines once again.

Beginning in the 1990s, and even more after 9/11, US support has been justified by the claim that both states are threatened by terrorist groups originating in the Arab and Muslim world, and by 'rogue states' that back these groups and seek weapons of mass destruction. This is taken to mean not only that Washington should give Israel a free hand in dealing with the Palestinians and not press it to make concessions until all Palestinian terrorists are imprisoned or dead, but that the US should go after countries like Iran and Syria. Israel is thus seen as a crucial ally in the war on terror, because its enemies are America's enemies. In fact, Israel is a liability in the war on terror and the broader effort to deal with rogue states.

'Terrorism' is not a single adversary, but a tactic employed by a wide array of political groups. The terrorist organisations that threaten Israel do not threaten the United States, except when it intervenes against them (as in Lebanon in 1982). Moreover, Palestinian terrorism is not random violence directed against Israel or 'the West'; it is largely a response to Israel's prolonged campaign to colonise the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

More important, saying that Israel and the US are united by a shared terrorist threat has the causal relationship backwards: the US has a terrorism problem in good part because it is so closely allied with Israel, not the other way around. Support for Israel is not the only source of anti-American terrorism, but it is an important one, and it makes winning the war on terror more difficult. There is no question that many al-Qaida leaders, including Osama bin Laden, are motivated by Israel's presence in Jerusalem and the plight of the Palestinians. Unconditional support for Israel makes it easier for extremists to rally popular support and to attract recruits.

As for so-called rogue states in the Middle East, they are not a dire threat to vital US interests, except inasmuch as they are a threat to Israel. Even if these states acquire nuclear weapons - which is obviously undesirable - neither America nor Israel could be blackmailed, because the blackmailer could not carry out the threat without suffering overwhelming retaliation. The danger of a nuclear handover to terrorists is equally remote, because a rogue state could not be sure the transfer would go undetected or that it would not be blamed and punished afterwards. The relationship with Israel actually makes it harder for the US to deal with these states. Israel's nuclear arsenal is one reason some of its neighbours want nuclear weapons, and threatening them with regime change merely increases that desire.

A final reason to question Israel's strategic value is that it does not behave like a loyal ally. Israeli officials frequently ignore US requests and renege on promises (including pledges to stop building settlements and to refrain from 'targeted assassinations' of Palestinian leaders). Israel has provided sensitive military technology to potential rivals like China, in what the State Department inspector-general called 'a systematic and growing pattern of unauthorised transfers'. According to the General Accounting Office, Israel also 'conducts the most aggressive espionage operations against the US of any ally'. In addition to the case of Jonathan Pollard, who gave Israel large quantities of classified material in the early 1980s (which it reportedly passed on to the Soviet Union in return for more exit visas for Soviet Jews), a new controversy erupted in 2004 when it was revealed that a key Pentagon official called Larry Franklin had passed classified information to an Israeli diplomat. Israel is hardly the only country that spies on the US, but its willingness to spy on its principal patron casts further doubt on its strategic value.

Israel's strategic value isn't the only issue. Its backers also argue that it deserves unqualified support because it is weak and surrounded by enemies; it is a democracy; the Jewish people have suffered from past crimes and therefore deserve special treatment; and Israel's conduct has been morally superior to that of its adversaries. On close inspection, none of these arguments is persuasive. There is a strong moral case for supporting Israel's existence, but that is not in jeopardy. Viewed objectively, its past and present conduct offers no moral basis for privileging it over the Palestinians.

Israel is often portrayed as David confronted by Goliath, but the converse is closer to the truth. Contrary to popular belief, the Zionists had larger, better equipped and better led forces during the 1947-49 War of Independence, and the Israel Defence Forces won quick and easy victories against Egypt in 1956 and against Egypt, Jordan and Syria in 1967 - all of this before large-scale US aid began flowing. Today, Israel is the strongest military power in the Middle East. Its conventional forces are far superior to those of its neighbours and it is the only state in the region with nuclear weapons. Egypt and Jordan have signed peace treaties with it, and Saudi Arabia has offered to do so. Syria has lost its Soviet patron, Iraq has been devastated by three disastrous wars and Iran is hundreds of miles away. The Palestinians barely have an effective police force, let alone an army that could pose a threat to Israel. According to a 2005 assessment by Tel Aviv University's Jaffee Centre for Strategic Studies, 'the strategic balance decidedly favours Israel, which has continued to widen the qualitative gap between its own military capability and deterrence powers and those of its neighbours.' If backing the underdog were a compelling motive, the United States would be supporting Israel's opponents.

That Israel is a fellow democracy surrounded by hostile dictatorships cannot account for the current level of aid: there are many democracies around the world, but none receives the same lavish support. The US has overthrown democratic governments in the past and supported dictators when this was thought to advance its interests - it has good relations with a number of dictatorships today.

Some aspects of Israeli democracy are at odds with core American values. Unlike the US, where people are supposed to enjoy equal rights irrespective of race, religion or ethnicity, Israel was explicitly founded as a Jewish state and citizenship is based on

the principle of blood kinship. Given this, it is not surprising that its 1.3 million Arabs are treated as second-class citizens, or that a recent Israeli government commission found that Israel behaves in a 'neglectful and discriminatory' manner towards them. Its democratic status is also undermined by its refusal to grant the Palestinians a viable state of their own or full political rights.

A third justification is the history of Jewish suffering in the Christian West, especially during the Holocaust. Because Jews were persecuted for centuries and could feel safe only in a Jewish homeland, many people now believe that Israel deserves special treatment from the United States. The country's creation was undoubtedly an appropriate response to the long record of crimes against Jews, but it also brought about fresh crimes against a largely innocent third party: the Palestinians.

This was well understood by Israel's early leaders. David Ben-Gurion told Nahum Goldmann, the president of the World Jewish Congress:

If I were an Arab leader I would never make terms with Israel. That is natural: we have taken their country ... We come from Israel, but two thousand years ago, and what is that to them? There has been anti-semitism, the Nazis, Hitler, Auschwitz, but was that their fault? They only see one thing: we have come here and stolen their country. Why should they accept that?

Since then, Israeli leaders have repeatedly sought to deny the Palestinians' national ambitions. When she was prime minister, Golda Meir famously remarked that 'there is no such thing as a Palestinian.' Pressure from extremist violence and Palestinian population growth has forced subsequent Israeli leaders to disengage from the Gaza Strip and consider other territorial compromises, but not even Yitzhak Rabin was willing to offer the Palestinians a viable state. Ehud Barak's purportedly generous offer at Camp David would have given them only a disarmed set of Bantustans under de facto Israeli control. The tragic history of the Jewish people does not obligate the US to help Israel today no matter what it does.

Israel's backers also portray it as a country that has sought peace at every turn and shown great restraint even when provoked. The Arabs, by contrast, are said to have acted with great wickedness. Yet on the ground, Israel's record is not distinguishable from that of its opponents. Ben-Gurion acknowledged that the early Zionists were far

from benevolent towards the Palestinian Arabs, who resisted their encroachments - which is hardly surprising, given that the Zionists were trying to create their own state on Arab land. In the same way, the creation of Israel in 1947-48 involved acts of ethnic cleansing, including executions, massacres and rapes by Jews, and Israel's subsequent conduct has often been brutal, belying any claim to moral superiority. Between 1949 and 1956, for example, Israeli security forces killed between 2700 and 5000 Arab infiltrators, the overwhelming majority of them unarmed. The IDF murdered hundreds of Egyptian prisoners of war in both the 1956 and 1967 wars, while in 1967, it expelled between 100,000 and 260,000 Palestinians from the newly conquered West Bank, and drove 80,000 Syrians from the Golan Heights.

During the first intifada, the IDF distributed truncheons to its troops and encouraged them to break the bones of Palestinian protesters. The Swedish branch of Save the Children estimated that '23,600 to 29,900 children required medical treatment for their beating injuries in the first two years of the intifada.' Nearly a third of them were aged ten or under. The response to the second intifada has been even more violent, leading *Ha'aretz* to declare that 'the IDF ... is turning into a killing machine whose efficiency is awe-inspiring, yet shocking.' The IDF fired one million bullets in the first days of the uprising. Since then, for every Israeli lost, Israel has killed 3.4 Palestinians, the majority of whom have been innocent bystanders; the ratio of Palestinian to Israeli children killed is even higher (5.7:1). It is also worth bearing in mind that the Zionists relied on terrorist bombs to drive the British from Palestine, and that Yitzhak Shamir, once a terrorist and later prime minister, declared that 'neither Jewish ethics nor Jewish tradition can disqualify terrorism as a means of combat.'

The Palestinian resort to terrorism is wrong but it isn't surprising. The Palestinians believe they have no other way to force Israeli concessions. As Ehud Barak once admitted, had he been born a Palestinian, he 'would have joined a terrorist organisation'.

So if neither strategic nor moral arguments can account for America's support for Israel, how are we to explain it?

The explanation is the unmatched power of the Israel Lobby. We use ‘the Lobby’ as shorthand for the loose coalition of individuals and organisations who actively work to steer US foreign policy in a pro-Israel direction. This is not meant to suggest that ‘the Lobby’ is a unified movement with a central leadership, or that individuals within it do not disagree on certain issues. Not all Jewish Americans are part of the Lobby, because Israel is not a salient issue for many of them. In a 2004 survey, for example, roughly 36 per cent of American Jews said they were either ‘not very’ or ‘not at all’ emotionally attached to Israel.

Jewish Americans also differ on specific Israeli policies. Many of the key organisations in the Lobby, such as the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) and the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organisations, are run by hardliners who generally support the Likud Party’s expansionist policies, including its hostility to the Oslo peace process. The bulk of US Jewry, meanwhile, is more inclined to make concessions to the Palestinians, and a few groups - such as Jewish Voice for Peace - strongly advocate such steps. Despite these differences, moderates and hardliners both favour giving steadfast support to Israel.

Not surprisingly, American Jewish leaders often consult Israeli officials, to make sure that their actions advance Israeli goals. As one activist from a major Jewish organisation wrote, ‘it is routine for us to say: “This is our policy on a certain issue, but we must check what the Israelis think.” We as a community do it all the time.’ There is a strong prejudice against criticising Israeli policy, and putting pressure on Israel is considered out of order. Edgar Bronfman Sr, the president of the World Jewish Congress, was accused of ‘perfidy’ when he wrote a letter to President Bush in mid-2003 urging him to persuade Israel to curb construction of its controversial ‘security fence’. His critics said that ‘it would be obscene at any time for the president of the World Jewish Congress to lobby the president of the United States to resist policies being promoted by the government of Israel.’

Similarly, when the president of the Israel Policy Forum, Seymour Reich, advised Condoleezza Rice in November 2005 to ask Israel to reopen a critical border crossing in the Gaza Strip, his action was denounced as ‘irresponsible’: ‘There is,’ his critics said, ‘absolutely no room in the Jewish mainstream for actively canvassing against the

security-related policies ... of Israel.’ Recoiling from these attacks, Reich announced that ‘the word “pressure” is not in my vocabulary when it comes to Israel.’

Jewish Americans have set up an impressive array of organisations to influence American foreign policy, of which AIPAC is the most powerful and best known. In 1997, *Fortune* magazine asked members of Congress and their staffs to list the most powerful lobbies in Washington. AIPAC was ranked second behind the American Association of Retired People, but ahead of the AFL-CIO and the National Rifle Association. A *National Journal* study in March 2005 reached a similar conclusion, placing AIPAC in second place (tied with AARP) in the Washington ‘muscle rankings’.

The Lobby also includes prominent Christian evangelicals like Gary Bauer, Jerry Falwell, Ralph Reed and Pat Robertson, as well as Dick Armey and Tom DeLay, former majority leaders in the House of Representatives, all of whom believe Israel’s rebirth is the fulfilment of biblical prophecy and support its expansionist agenda; to do otherwise, they believe, would be contrary to God’s will. Neo-conservative gentiles such as John Bolton; Robert Bartley, the former *Wall Street Journal* editor; William Bennett, the former secretary of education; Jeane Kirkpatrick, the former UN ambassador; and the influential columnist George Will are also steadfast supporters.

The US form of government offers activists many ways of influencing the policy process. Interest groups can lobby elected representatives and members of the executive branch, make campaign contributions, vote in elections, try to mould public opinion etc. They enjoy a disproportionate amount of influence when they are committed to an issue to which the bulk of the population is indifferent. Policymakers will tend to accommodate those who care about the issue, even if their numbers are small, confident that the rest of the population will not penalise them for doing so. In its basic operations, the Israel Lobby is no different from the farm lobby, steel or textile workers’ unions, or other ethnic lobbies. There is nothing improper about American Jews and their Christian allies attempting to sway US policy: the Lobby’s activities are not a conspiracy of the sort depicted in tracts like the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. For the most part, the individuals and groups that comprise it are only doing what other special interest groups do, but doing it very much better. By contrast, pro-Arab interest groups, in so far as they exist at all, are weak, which makes the Israel Lobby’s task even easier.

The Lobby pursues two broad strategies. First, it wields its significant influence in Washington, pressuring both Congress and the executive branch. Whatever an individual lawmaker or policymaker's own views may be, the Lobby tries to make supporting Israel the 'smart' choice. Second, it strives to ensure that public discourse portrays Israel in a positive light, by repeating myths about its founding and by promoting its point of view in policy debates. The goal is to prevent critical comments from getting a fair hearing in the political arena. Controlling the debate is essential to guaranteeing US support, because a candid discussion of US-Israeli relations might lead Americans to favour a different policy.

A key pillar of the Lobby's effectiveness is its influence in Congress, where Israel is virtually immune from criticism. This in itself is remarkable, because Congress rarely shies away from contentious issues. Where Israel is concerned, however, potential critics fall silent. One reason is that some key members are Christian Zionists like Dick Armey, who said in September 2002: 'My No. 1 priority in foreign policy is to protect Israel.' One might think that the No. 1 priority for any congressman would be to protect America. There are also Jewish senators and congressmen who work to ensure that US foreign policy supports Israel's interests.

Another source of the Lobby's power is its use of pro-Israel congressional staffers. As Morris Amitay, a former head of AIPAC, once admitted, 'there are a lot of guys at the working level up here' - on Capitol Hill - 'who happen to be Jewish, who are willing ... to look at certain issues in terms of their Jewishness ... These are all guys who are in a position to make the decision in these areas for those senators ... You can get an awful lot done just at the staff level.'

AIPAC itself, however, forms the core of the Lobby's influence in Congress. Its success is due to its ability to reward legislators and congressional candidates who support its agenda, and to punish those who challenge it. Money is critical to US elections (as the scandal over the lobbyist Jack Abramoff's shady dealings reminds us), and AIPAC makes sure that its friends get strong financial support from the many pro-Israel political action committees. Anyone who is seen as hostile to Israel can be sure that AIPAC will direct campaign contributions to his or her political opponents. AIPAC also organises letter-writing campaigns and encourages newspaper editors to endorse pro-Israel candidates.

There is no doubt about the efficacy of these tactics. Here is one example: in the 1984 elections, AIPAC helped defeat Senator Charles Percy from Illinois, who, according to a prominent Lobby figure, had ‘displayed insensitivity and even hostility to our concerns’. Thomas Dine, the head of AIPAC at the time, explained what happened: ‘All the Jews in America, from coast to coast, gathered to oust Percy. And the American politicians - those who hold public positions now, and those who aspire - got the message.’

AIPAC’s influence on Capitol Hill goes even further. According to Douglas Bloomfield, a former AIPAC staff member, ‘it is common for members of Congress and their staffs to turn to AIPAC first when they need information, before calling the Library of Congress, the Congressional Research Service, committee staff or administration experts.’ More important, he notes that AIPAC is ‘often called on to draft speeches, work on legislation, advise on tactics, perform research, collect co-sponsors and marshal votes’.

The bottom line is that AIPAC, a de facto agent for a foreign government, has a stranglehold on Congress, with the result that US policy towards Israel is not debated there, even though that policy has important consequences for the entire world. In other words, one of the three main branches of the government is firmly committed to supporting Israel. As one former Democratic senator, Ernest Hollings, noted on leaving office, ‘you can’t have an Israeli policy other than what AIPAC gives you around here.’ Or as Ariel Sharon once told an American audience, ‘when people ask me how they can help Israel, I tell them: “Help AIPAC.”’

Thanks in part to the influence Jewish voters have on presidential elections, the Lobby also has significant leverage over the executive branch. Although they make up fewer than 3 per cent of the population, they make large campaign donations to candidates from both parties. The *Washington Post* once estimated that Democratic presidential candidates ‘depend on Jewish supporters to supply as much as 60 per cent of the money’. And because Jewish voters have high turn-out rates and are concentrated in key states like California, Florida, Illinois, New York and Pennsylvania, presidential candidates go to great lengths not to antagonise them.

Key organisations in the Lobby make it their business to ensure that critics of Israel do not get important foreign policy jobs. Jimmy Carter wanted to make George Ball his first secretary of state, but knew that Ball was seen as critical of Israel and that the Lobby would oppose the appointment. In this way any aspiring policymaker is encouraged to become an overt supporter of Israel, which is why public critics of Israeli policy have become an endangered species in the foreign policy establishment.

When Howard Dean called for the United States to take a more ‘even-handed role’ in the Arab-Israeli conflict, Senator Joseph Lieberman accused him of selling Israel down the river and said his statement was ‘irresponsible’. Virtually all the top Democrats in the House signed a letter criticising Dean’s remarks, and the *Chicago Jewish Star* reported that ‘anonymous attackers ... are clogging the email inboxes of Jewish leaders around the country, warning - without much evidence - that Dean would somehow be bad for Israel.’

This worry was absurd; Dean is in fact quite hawkish on Israel: his campaign co-chair was a former AIPAC president, and Dean said his own views on the Middle East more closely reflected those of AIPAC than those of the more moderate Americans for Peace Now. He had merely suggested that to ‘bring the sides together’, Washington should act as an honest broker. This is hardly a radical idea, but the Lobby doesn’t tolerate even-handedness.

During the Clinton administration, Middle Eastern policy was largely shaped by officials with close ties to Israel or to prominent pro-Israel organisations; among them, Martin Indyk, the former deputy director of research at AIPAC and co-founder of the pro-Israel Washington Institute for Near East Policy (WINEP); Dennis Ross, who joined WINEP after leaving government in 2001; and Aaron Miller, who has lived in Israel and often visits the country. These men were among Clinton’s closest advisers at the Camp David summit in July 2000. Although all three supported the Oslo peace process and favoured the creation of a Palestinian state, they did so only within the limits of what would be acceptable to Israel. The American delegation took its cues from Ehud Barak, co-ordinated its negotiating positions with Israel in advance, and did not offer independent proposals. Not surprisingly, Palestinian negotiators complained that they were ‘negotiating with two Israeli teams - one displaying an Israeli flag, and one an American flag’.

The situation is even more pronounced in the Bush administration, whose ranks have included such fervent advocates of the Israeli cause as Elliot Abrams, John Bolton, Douglas Feith, I. Lewis ('Scooter') Libby, Richard Perle, Paul Wolfowitz and David Wurmser. As we shall see, these officials have consistently pushed for policies favoured by Israel and backed by organisations in the Lobby.

The Lobby doesn't want an open debate, of course, because that might lead Americans to question the level of support they provide. Accordingly, pro-Israel organisations work hard to influence the institutions that do most to shape popular opinion.

The Lobby's perspective prevails in the mainstream media: the debate among Middle East pundits, the journalist Eric Alterman writes, is 'dominated by people who cannot imagine criticising Israel'. He lists 61 'columnists and commentators who can be counted on to support Israel reflexively and without qualification'. Conversely, he found just five pundits who consistently criticise Israeli actions or endorse Arab positions. Newspapers occasionally publish guest op-eds challenging Israeli policy, but the balance of opinion clearly favours the other side. It is hard to imagine any mainstream media outlet in the United States publishing a piece like this one.

'Shamir, Sharon, Bibi - whatever those guys want is pretty much fine by me,' Robert Bartley once remarked. Not surprisingly, his newspaper, the *Wall Street Journal*, along with other prominent papers like the *Chicago Sun-Times* and the *Washington Times*, regularly runs editorials that strongly support Israel. Magazines like *Commentary*, the *New Republic* and the *Weekly Standard* defend Israel at every turn.

Editorial bias is also found in papers like the *New York Times*, which occasionally criticises Israeli policies and sometimes concedes that the Palestinians have legitimate grievances, but is not even-handed. In his memoirs the paper's former executive editor Max Frankel acknowledges the impact his own attitude had on his editorial decisions: 'I was much more deeply devoted to Israel than I dared to assert ... Fortified by my knowledge of Israel and my friendships there, I myself wrote most of our Middle East commentaries. As more Arab than Jewish readers recognised, I wrote them from a pro-Israel perspective.'

News reports are more even-handed, in part because reporters strive to be objective, but also because it is difficult to cover events in the Occupied Territories without acknowledging Israel's actions on the ground. To discourage unfavourable reporting, the Lobby organises letter-writing campaigns, demonstrations and boycotts of news outlets whose content it considers anti-Israel. One CNN executive has said that he sometimes gets 6000 email messages in a single day complaining about a story. In May 2003, the pro-Israel Committee for Accurate Middle East Reporting in America (CAMERA) organised demonstrations outside National Public Radio stations in 33 cities; it also tried to persuade contributors to withhold support from NPR until its Middle East coverage becomes more sympathetic to Israel. Boston's NPR station, WBUR, reportedly lost more than \$1 million in contributions as a result of these efforts. Further pressure on NPR has come from Israel's friends in Congress, who have asked for an internal audit of its Middle East coverage as well as more oversight.

The Israeli side also dominates the think tanks which play an important role in shaping public debate as well as actual policy. The Lobby created its own think tank in 1985, when Martin Indyk helped to found WINEP. Although WINEP plays down its links to Israel, claiming instead to provide a 'balanced and realistic' perspective on Middle East issues, it is funded and run by individuals deeply committed to advancing Israel's agenda.

The Lobby's influence extends well beyond WINEP, however. Over the past 25 years, pro-Israel forces have established a commanding presence at the American Enterprise Institute, the Brookings Institution, the Center for Security Policy, the Foreign Policy Research Institute, the Heritage Foundation, the Hudson Institute, the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis and the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs (JINSA). These think tanks employ few, if any, critics of US support for Israel.

Take the Brookings Institution. For many years, its senior expert on the Middle East was William Quandt, a former NSC official with a well-deserved reputation for even-handedness. Today, Brookings's coverage is conducted through the Saban Center for Middle East Studies, which is financed by Haim Saban, an Israeli-American businessman and ardent Zionist. The centre's director is the ubiquitous Martin Indyk. What was once a non-partisan policy institute is now part of the pro-Israel chorus.

Where the Lobby has had the most difficulty is in stifling debate on university campuses. In the 1990s, when the Oslo peace process was underway, there was only mild criticism of Israel, but it grew stronger with Oslo's collapse and Sharon's access to power, becoming quite vociferous when the IDF reoccupied the West Bank in spring 2002 and employed massive force to subdue the second intifada.

The Lobby moved immediately to 'take back the campuses'. New groups sprang up, like the Caravan for Democracy, which brought Israeli speakers to US colleges. Established groups like the Jewish Council for Public Affairs and Hillel joined in, and a new group, the Israel on Campus Coalition, was formed to co-ordinate the many bodies that now sought to put Israel's case. Finally, AIPAC more than tripled its spending on programmes to monitor university activities and to train young advocates, in order to 'vastly expand the number of students involved on campus ... in the national pro-Israel effort'.

The Lobby also monitors what professors write and teach. In September 2002, Martin Kramer and Daniel Pipes, two passionately pro-Israel neo-conservatives, established a website (Campus Watch) that posted dossiers on suspect academics and encouraged students to report remarks or behaviour that might be considered hostile to Israel. This transparent attempt to blacklist and intimidate scholars provoked a harsh reaction and Pipes and Kramer later removed the dossiers, but the website still invites students to report 'anti-Israel' activity.

Groups within the Lobby put pressure on particular academics and universities. Columbia has been a frequent target, no doubt because of the presence of the late Edward Said on its faculty. 'One can be sure that any public statement in support of the Palestinian people by the pre-eminent literary critic Edward Said will elicit hundreds of emails, letters and journalistic accounts that call on us to denounce Said and to either sanction or fire him,' Jonathan Cole, its former provost, reported. When Columbia recruited the historian Rashid Khalidi from Chicago, the same thing happened. It was a problem Princeton also faced a few years later when it considered wooing Khalidi away from Columbia.

A classic illustration of the effort to police academia occurred towards the end of 2004, when the David Project produced a film alleging that faculty members of

Columbia's Middle East Studies programme were anti-semitic and were intimidating Jewish students who stood up for Israel. Columbia was hauled over the coals, but a faculty committee which was assigned to investigate the charges found no evidence of anti-semitism and the only incident possibly worth noting was that one professor had 'responded heatedly' to a student's question. The committee also discovered that the academics in question had themselves been the target of an overt campaign of intimidation.

Perhaps the most disturbing aspect of all this is the efforts Jewish groups have made to push Congress into establishing mechanisms to monitor what professors say. If they manage to get this passed, universities judged to have an anti-Israel bias would be denied federal funding. Their efforts have not yet succeeded, but they are an indication of the importance placed on controlling debate.

A number of Jewish philanthropists have recently established Israel Studies programmes (in addition to the roughly 130 Jewish Studies programmes already in existence) so as to increase the number of Israel-friendly scholars on campus. In May 2003, NYU announced the establishment of the Taub Center for Israel Studies; similar programmes have been set up at Berkeley, Brandeis and Emory. Academic administrators emphasise their pedagogical value, but the truth is that they are intended in large part to promote Israel's image. Fred Laffer, the head of the Taub Foundation, makes it clear that his foundation funded the NYU centre to help counter the 'Arabic [*sic*] point of view' that he thinks is prevalent in NYU's Middle East programmes.

No discussion of the Lobby would be complete without an examination of one of its most powerful weapons: the charge of anti-semitism. Anyone who criticises Israel's actions or argues that pro-Israel groups have significant influence over US Middle Eastern policy - an influence AIPAC celebrates - stands a good chance of being labelled an anti-semite. Indeed, anyone who merely claims that there *is* an Israel Lobby runs the risk of being charged with anti-semitism, even though the Israeli media refer to America's 'Jewish Lobby'. In other words, the Lobby first boasts of its influence and then attacks anyone who calls attention to it. It's a very effective tactic: anti-semitism is something no one wants to be accused of.

Europeans have been more willing than Americans to criticise Israeli policy, which some people attribute to a resurgence of anti-semitism in Europe. We are 'getting to a point', the US ambassador to the EU said in early 2004, 'where it is as bad as it was in the 1930s'. Measuring anti-semitism is a complicated matter, but the weight of evidence points in the opposite direction. In the spring of 2004, when accusations of European anti-semitism filled the air in America, separate surveys of European public opinion conducted by the US-based Anti-Defamation League and the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press found that it was in fact declining. In the 1930s, by contrast, anti-semitism was not only widespread among Europeans of all classes but considered quite acceptable.

The Lobby and its friends often portray France as the most anti-semitic country in Europe. But in 2003, the head of the French Jewish community said that 'France is not more anti-semitic than America.' According to a recent article in *Ha'aretz*, the French police have reported that anti-semitic incidents declined by almost 50 per cent in 2005; and this even though France has the largest Muslim population of any European country. Finally, when a French Jew was murdered in Paris last month by a Muslim gang, tens of thousands of demonstrators poured into the streets to condemn anti-semitism. Jacques Chirac and Dominique de Villepin both attended the victim's memorial service to show their solidarity.

No one would deny that there is anti-semitism among European Muslims, some of it provoked by Israel's conduct towards the Palestinians and some of it straightforwardly racist. But this is a separate matter with little bearing on whether or not Europe today is like Europe in the 1930s. Nor would anyone deny that there are still some virulent autochthonous anti-semites in Europe (as there are in the United States) but their numbers are small and their views are rejected by the vast majority of Europeans.

Israel's advocates, when pressed to go beyond mere assertion, claim that there is a 'new anti-semitism', which they equate with criticism of Israel. In other words, criticise Israeli policy and you are by definition an anti-semite. When the synod of the Church of England recently voted to divest from Caterpillar Inc on the grounds that it manufactures the bulldozers used by the Israelis to demolish Palestinian homes, the Chief Rabbi complained that this would 'have the most adverse repercussions on ...

Jewish-Christian relations in Britain', while Rabbi Tony Bayfield, the head of the Reform movement, said: 'There is a clear problem of anti-Zionist - verging on anti-semitic - attitudes emerging in the grass-roots, and even in the middle ranks of the Church.' But the Church was guilty merely of protesting against Israeli government policy.

Critics are also accused of holding Israel to an unfair standard or questioning its right to exist. But these are bogus charges too. Western critics of Israel hardly ever question its right to exist: they question its behaviour towards the Palestinians, as do Israelis themselves. Nor is Israel being judged unfairly. Israeli treatment of the Palestinians elicits criticism because it is contrary to widely accepted notions of human rights, to international law and to the principle of national self-determination. And it is hardly the only state that has faced sharp criticism on these grounds.

In the autumn of 2001, and especially in the spring of 2002, the Bush administration tried to reduce anti-American sentiment in the Arab world and undermine support for terrorist groups like al-Qaida by halting Israel's expansionist policies in the Occupied Territories and advocating the creation of a Palestinian state. Bush had very significant means of persuasion at his disposal. He could have threatened to reduce economic and diplomatic support for Israel, and the American people would almost certainly have supported him. A May 2003 poll reported that more than 60 per cent of Americans were willing to withhold aid if Israel resisted US pressure to settle the conflict, and that number rose to 70 per cent among the 'politically active'. Indeed, 73 per cent said that the United States should not favour either side.

Yet the administration failed to change Israeli policy, and Washington ended up backing it. Over time, the administration also adopted Israel's own justifications of its position, so that US rhetoric began to mimic Israeli rhetoric. By February 2003, a *Washington Post* headline summarised the situation: 'Bush and Sharon Nearly Identical on Mideast Policy.' The main reason for this switch was the Lobby.

The story begins in late September 2001, when Bush began urging Sharon to show restraint in the Occupied Territories. He also pressed him to allow Israel's foreign minister, Shimon Peres, to meet with Yasser Arafat, even though he (Bush) was highly critical of Arafat's leadership. Bush even said publicly that he supported the creation

of a Palestinian state. Alarmed, Sharon accused him of trying 'to appease the Arabs at our expense', warning that Israel 'will not be Czechoslovakia'.

Bush was reportedly furious at being compared to Chamberlain, and the White House press secretary called Sharon's remarks 'unacceptable'. Sharon offered a pro forma apology, but quickly joined forces with the Lobby to persuade the administration and the American people that the United States and Israel faced a common threat from terrorism. Israeli officials and Lobby representatives insisted that there was no real difference between Arafat and Osama bin Laden: the United States and Israel, they said, should isolate the Palestinians' elected leader and have nothing to do with him. The Lobby also went to work in Congress. On 16 November, 89 senators sent Bush a letter praising him for refusing to meet with Arafat, but also demanding that the US not restrain Israel from retaliating against the Palestinians; the administration, they wrote, must state publicly that it stood behind Israel. According to the *New York Times*, the letter 'stemmed' from a meeting two weeks before between 'leaders of the American Jewish community and key senators', adding that AIPAC was 'particularly active in providing advice on the letter'.

By late November, relations between Tel Aviv and Washington had improved considerably. This was thanks in part to the Lobby's efforts, but also to America's initial victory in Afghanistan, which reduced the perceived need for Arab support in dealing with al-Qaida. Sharon visited the White House in early December and had a friendly meeting with Bush.

In April 2002 trouble erupted again, after the IDF launched Operation Defensive Shield and resumed control of virtually all the major Palestinian areas on the West Bank. Bush knew that Israel's actions would damage America's image in the Islamic world and undermine the war on terrorism, so he demanded that Sharon 'halt the incursions and begin withdrawal'. He underscored this message two days later, saying he wanted Israel to 'withdraw without delay'. On 7 April, Condoleezza Rice, then Bush's national security adviser, told reporters: "'Without delay" means without delay. It means now.' That same day Colin Powell set out for the Middle East to persuade all sides to stop fighting and start negotiating.

Israel and the Lobby swung into action. Pro-Israel officials in the vice-president's office and the Pentagon, as well as neo-conservative pundits like Robert Kagan and William Kristol, put the heat on Powell. They even accused him of having 'virtually obliterated the distinction between terrorists and those fighting terrorists'. Bush himself was being pressed by Jewish leaders and Christian evangelicals. Tom DeLay and Dick Armey were especially outspoken about the need to support Israel, and DeLay and the Senate minority leader, Trent Lott, visited the White House and warned Bush to back off.

The first sign that Bush was caving in came on 11 April - a week after he told Sharon to withdraw his forces - when the White House press secretary said that the president believed Sharon was 'a man of peace'. Bush repeated this statement publicly on Powell's return from his abortive mission, and told reporters that Sharon had responded satisfactorily to his call for a full and immediate withdrawal. Sharon had done no such thing, but Bush was no longer willing to make an issue of it.

Meanwhile, Congress was also moving to back Sharon. On 2 May, it overrode the administration's objections and passed two resolutions reaffirming support for Israel. (The Senate vote was 94 to 2; the House of Representatives version passed 352 to 21.) Both resolutions held that the United States 'stands in solidarity with Israel' and that the two countries were, to quote the House resolution, 'now engaged in a common struggle against terrorism'. The House version also condemned 'the ongoing support and co-ordination of terror by Yasser Arafat', who was portrayed as a central part of the terrorism problem. Both resolutions were drawn up with the help of the Lobby. A few days later, a bipartisan congressional delegation on a fact-finding mission to Israel stated that Sharon should resist US pressure to negotiate with Arafat. On 9 May, a House appropriations subcommittee met to consider giving Israel an extra \$200 million to fight terrorism. Powell opposed the package, but the Lobby backed it and Powell lost.

In short, Sharon and the Lobby took on the president of the United States and triumphed. Hemi Shalev, a journalist on the Israeli newspaper *Ma'ariv*, reported that Sharon's aides 'could not hide their satisfaction in view of Powell's failure. Sharon saw the whites of President Bush's eyes, they bragged, and the president blinked first.'

But it was Israel's champions in the United States, not Sharon or Israel, that played the key role in defeating Bush.

The situation has changed little since then. The Bush administration refused ever again to have dealings with Arafat. After his death, it embraced the new Palestinian leader, Mahmoud Abbas, but has done little to help him. Sharon continued to develop his plan to impose a unilateral settlement on the Palestinians, based on 'disengagement' from Gaza coupled with continued expansion on the West Bank. By refusing to negotiate with Abbas and making it impossible for him to deliver tangible benefits to the Palestinian people, Sharon's strategy contributed directly to Hamas's electoral victory. With Hamas in power, however, Israel has another excuse not to negotiate. The US administration has supported Sharon's actions (and those of his successor, Ehud Olmert). Bush has even endorsed unilateral Israeli annexations in the Occupied Territories, reversing the stated policy of every president since Lyndon Johnson.

US officials have offered mild criticisms of a few Israeli actions, but have done little to help create a viable Palestinian state. Sharon has Bush 'wrapped around his little finger', the former national security adviser Brent Scowcroft said in October 2004. If Bush tries to distance the US from Israel, or even criticises Israeli actions in the Occupied Territories, he is certain to face the wrath of the Lobby and its supporters in Congress. Democratic presidential candidates understand that these are facts of life, which is the reason John Kerry went to great lengths to display unalloyed support for Israel in 2004, and why Hillary Clinton is doing the same thing today.

Maintaining US support for Israel's policies against the Palestinians is essential as far as the Lobby is concerned, but its ambitions do not stop there. It also wants America to help Israel remain the dominant regional power. The Israeli government and pro-Israel groups in the United States have worked together to shape the administration's policy towards Iraq, Syria and Iran, as well as its grand scheme for reordering the Middle East.

Pressure from Israel and the Lobby was not the only factor behind the decision to attack Iraq in March 2003, but it was critical. Some Americans believe that this was a war for oil, but there is hardly any direct evidence to support this claim. Instead, the

war was motivated in good part by a desire to make Israel more secure. According to Philip Zelikow, a former member of the president's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, the executive director of the 9/11 Commission, and now a counsellor to Condoleezza Rice, the 'real threat' from Iraq was not a threat to the United States. The 'unstated threat' was the 'threat against Israel', Zelikow told an audience at the University of Virginia in September 2002. 'The American government,' he added, 'doesn't want to lean too hard on it rhetorically, because it is not a popular sell.'

On 16 August 2002, 11 days before Dick Cheney kicked off the campaign for war with a hardline speech to the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the *Washington Post* reported that 'Israel is urging US officials not to delay a military strike against Iraq's Saddam Hussein.' By this point, according to Sharon, strategic co-ordination between Israel and the US had reached 'unprecedented dimensions', and Israeli intelligence officials had given Washington a variety of alarming reports about Iraq's WMD programmes. As one retired Israeli general later put it, 'Israeli intelligence was a full partner to the picture presented by American and British intelligence regarding Iraq's non-conventional capabilities.'

Israeli leaders were deeply distressed when Bush decided to seek Security Council authorisation for war, and even more worried when Saddam agreed to let UN inspectors back in. 'The campaign against Saddam Hussein is a must,' Shimon Peres told reporters in September 2002. 'Inspections and inspectors are good for decent people, but dishonest people can overcome easily inspections and inspectors.'

At the same time, Ehud Barak wrote a *New York Times* op-ed warning that 'the greatest risk now lies in inaction.' His predecessor as prime minister, Binyamin Netanyahu, published a similar piece in the *Wall Street Journal*, entitled: 'The Case for Toppling Saddam'. 'Today nothing less than dismantling his regime will do,' he declared. 'I believe I speak for the overwhelming majority of Israelis in supporting a pre-emptive strike against Saddam's regime.' Or as *Ha'aretz* reported in February 2003, 'the military and political leadership yearns for war in Iraq.'

As Netanyahu suggested, however, the desire for war was not confined to Israel's leaders. Apart from Kuwait, which Saddam invaded in 1990, Israel was the only country in the world where both politicians and public favoured war. As the journalist

Gideon Levy observed at the time, 'Israel is the only country in the West whose leaders support the war unreservedly and where no alternative opinion is voiced.' In fact, Israelis were so gung-ho that their allies in America told them to damp down their rhetoric, or it would look as if the war would be fought on Israel's behalf.

Within the US, the main driving force behind the war was a small band of neo-conservatives, many with ties to Likud. But leaders of the Lobby's major organisations lent their voices to the campaign. 'As President Bush attempted to sell the ... war in Iraq,' the *Forward* reported, 'America's most important Jewish organisations rallied as one to his defence. In statement after statement community leaders stressed the need to rid the world of Saddam Hussein and his weapons of mass destruction.' The editorial goes on to say that 'concern for Israel's safety rightfully factored into the deliberations of the main Jewish groups.'

Although neo-conservatives and other Lobby leaders were eager to invade Iraq, the broader American Jewish community was not. Just after the war started, Samuel Freedman reported that 'a compilation of nationwide opinion polls by the Pew Research Center shows that Jews are less supportive of the Iraq war than the population at large, 52 per cent to 62 per cent.' Clearly, it would be wrong to blame the war in Iraq on 'Jewish influence'. Rather, it was due in large part to the Lobby's influence, especially that of the neo-conservatives within it.

The neo-conservatives had been determined to topple Saddam even before Bush became president. They caused a stir early in 1998 by publishing two open letters to Clinton, calling for Saddam's removal from power. The signatories, many of whom had close ties to pro-Israel groups like JINSA or WINEP, and who included Elliot Abrams, John Bolton, Douglas Feith, William Kristol, Bernard Lewis, Donald Rumsfeld, Richard Perle and Paul Wolfowitz, had little trouble persuading the Clinton administration to adopt the general goal of ousting Saddam. But they were unable to sell a war to achieve that objective. They were no more able to generate enthusiasm for invading Iraq in the early months of the Bush administration. They needed help to achieve their aim. That help arrived with 9/11. Specifically, the events of that day led Bush and Cheney to reverse course and become strong proponents of a preventive war.

At a key meeting with Bush at Camp David on 15 September, Wolfowitz advocated attacking Iraq before Afghanistan, even though there was no evidence that Saddam was involved in the attacks on the US and bin Laden was known to be in Afghanistan. Bush rejected his advice and chose to go after Afghanistan instead, but war with Iraq was now regarded as a serious possibility and on 21 November the president charged military planners with developing concrete plans for an invasion.

Other neo-conservatives were meanwhile at work in the corridors of power. We don't have the full story yet, but scholars like Bernard Lewis of Princeton and Fouad Ajami of Johns Hopkins reportedly played important roles in persuading Cheney that war was the best option, though neo-conservatives on his staff - Eric Edelman, John Hannah and Scooter Libby, Cheney's chief of staff and one of the most powerful individuals in the administration - also played their part. By early 2002 Cheney had persuaded Bush; and with Bush and Cheney on board, war was inevitable.

Outside the administration, neo-conservative pundits lost no time in making the case that invading Iraq was essential to winning the war on terrorism. Their efforts were designed partly to keep up the pressure on Bush, and partly to overcome opposition to the war inside and outside the government. On 20 September, a group of prominent neo-conservatives and their allies published another open letter: 'Even if evidence does not link Iraq directly to the attack,' it read, 'any strategy aiming at the eradication of terrorism and its sponsors must include a determined effort to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq.' The letter also reminded Bush that 'Israel has been and remains America's staunchest ally against international terrorism.' In the 1 October issue of the *Weekly Standard*, Robert Kagan and William Kristol called for regime change in Iraq as soon as the Taliban was defeated. That same day, Charles Krauthammer argued in the *Washington Post* that after the US was done with Afghanistan, Syria should be next, followed by Iran and Iraq: 'The war on terrorism will conclude in Baghdad,' when we finish off 'the most dangerous terrorist regime in the world'.

This was the beginning of an unrelenting public relations campaign to win support for an invasion of Iraq, a crucial part of which was the manipulation of intelligence in such a way as to make it seem as if Saddam posed an imminent threat. For example, Libby pressured CIA analysts to find evidence supporting the case for war and helped

prepare Colin Powell's now discredited briefing to the UN Security Council. Within the Pentagon, the Policy Counterterrorism Evaluation Group was charged with finding links between al-Qaida and Iraq that the intelligence community had supposedly missed. Its two key members were David Wurmser, a hard-core neo-conservative, and Michael Maloof, a Lebanese-American with close ties to Perle. Another Pentagon group, the so-called Office of Special Plans, was given the task of uncovering evidence that could be used to sell the war. It was headed by Abram Shulsky, a neo-conservative with long-standing ties to Wolfowitz, and its ranks included recruits from pro-Israel think tanks. Both these organisations were created after 9/11 and reported directly to Douglas Feith.

Like virtually all the neo-conservatives, Feith is deeply committed to Israel; he also has long-term ties to Likud. He wrote articles in the 1990s supporting the settlements and arguing that Israel should retain the Occupied Territories. More important, along with Perle and Wurmser, he wrote the famous 'Clean Break' report in June 1996 for Netanyahu, who had just become prime minister. Among other things, it recommended that Netanyahu 'focus on removing Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq - an important Israeli strategic objective in its own right'. It also called for Israel to take steps to reorder the entire Middle East. Netanyahu did not follow their advice, but Feith, Perle and Wurmser were soon urging the Bush administration to pursue those same goals. The *Ha'aretz* columnist Akiva Eldar warned that Feith and Perle 'are walking a fine line between their loyalty to American governments ... and Israeli interests'.

Wolfowitz is equally committed to Israel. The *Forward* once described him as 'the most hawkishly pro-Israel voice in the administration', and selected him in 2002 as first among 50 notables who 'have consciously pursued Jewish activism'. At about the same time, JINSA gave Wolfowitz its Henry M. Jackson Distinguished Service Award for promoting a strong partnership between Israel and the United States; and the *Jerusalem Post*, describing him as 'devoutly pro-Israel', named him 'Man of the Year' in 2003.

Finally, a brief word is in order about the neo-conservatives' prewar support of Ahmed Chalabi, the unscrupulous Iraqi exile who headed the Iraqi National Congress. They backed Chalabi because he had established close ties with Jewish-American groups

and had pledged to foster good relations with Israel once he gained power. This was precisely what pro-Israel proponents of regime change wanted to hear. Matthew Berger laid out the essence of the bargain in the *Jewish Journal*: 'The INC saw improved relations as a way to tap Jewish influence in Washington and Jerusalem and to drum up increased support for its cause. For their part, the Jewish groups saw an opportunity to pave the way for better relations between Israel and Iraq, if and when the INC is involved in replacing Saddam Hussein's regime.'

Given the neo-conservatives' devotion to Israel, their obsession with Iraq, and their influence in the Bush administration, it isn't surprising that many Americans suspected that the war was designed to further Israeli interests. Last March, Barry Jacobs of the American Jewish Committee acknowledged that the belief that Israel and the neo-conservatives had conspired to get the US into a war in Iraq was 'pervasive' in the intelligence community. Yet few people would say so publicly, and most of those who did - including Senator Ernest Hollings and Representative James Moran - were condemned for raising the issue. Michael Kinsley wrote in late 2002 that 'the lack of public discussion about the role of Israel ... is the proverbial elephant in the room.' The reason for the reluctance to talk about it, he observed, was fear of being labelled an anti-semitite. There is little doubt that Israel and the Lobby were key factors in the decision to go to war. It's a decision the US would have been far less likely to take without their efforts. And the war itself was intended to be only the first step. A front-page headline in the *Wall Street Journal* shortly after the war began says it all: 'President's Dream: Changing Not Just Regime but a Region: A Pro-US, Democratic Area Is a Goal that Has Israeli and Neo-Conservative Roots.'

Pro-Israel forces have long been interested in getting the US military more directly involved in the Middle East. But they had limited success during the Cold War, because America acted as an 'off-shore balancer' in the region. Most forces designated for the Middle East, like the Rapid Deployment Force, were kept 'over the horizon' and out of harm's way. The idea was to play local powers off against each other - which is why the Reagan administration supported Saddam against revolutionary Iran during the Iran-Iraq War - in order to maintain a balance favourable to the US.

This policy changed after the first Gulf War, when the Clinton administration adopted a strategy of 'dual containment'. Substantial US forces would be stationed in the

region in order to contain both Iran and Iraq, instead of one being used to check the other. The father of dual containment was none other than Martin Indyk, who first outlined the strategy in May 1993 at WINEP and then implemented it as director for Near East and South Asian Affairs at the National Security Council.

By the mid-1990s there was considerable dissatisfaction with dual containment, because it made the United States the mortal enemy of two countries that hated each other, and forced Washington to bear the burden of containing both. But it was a strategy the Lobby favoured and worked actively in Congress to preserve. Pressed by AIPAC and other pro-Israel forces, Clinton toughened up the policy in the spring of 1995 by imposing an economic embargo on Iran. But AIPAC and the others wanted more. The result was the 1996 Iran and Libya Sanctions Act, which imposed sanctions on any foreign companies investing more than \$40 million to develop petroleum resources in Iran or Libya. As Ze'ev Schiff, the military correspondent of *Ha'aretz*, noted at the time, 'Israel is but a tiny element in the big scheme, but one should not conclude that it cannot influence those within the Beltway.'

By the late 1990s, however, the neo-conservatives were arguing that dual containment was not enough and that regime change in Iraq was essential. By toppling Saddam and turning Iraq into a vibrant democracy, they argued, the US would trigger a far-reaching process of change throughout the Middle East. The same line of thinking was evident in the 'Clean Break' study the neo-conservatives wrote for Netanyahu. By 2002, when an invasion of Iraq was on the front-burner, regional transformation was an article of faith in neo-conservative circles.

Charles Krauthammer describes this grand scheme as the brainchild of Natan Sharansky, but Israelis across the political spectrum believed that toppling Saddam would alter the Middle East to Israel's advantage. Aluf Benn reported in *Ha'aretz* (17 February 2003):

"Senior IDF officers and those close to Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, such as National Security Adviser Ephraim Halevy, paint a rosy picture of the wonderful future Israel can expect after the war. They envision a domino effect, with the fall of Saddam Hussein followed by that of Israel's other enemies ... Along with these leaders will disappear terror and weapons of mass destruction. Once Baghdad fell in mid-April

2003, Sharon and his lieutenants began urging Washington to target Damascus. On 16 April, Sharon, interviewed in *Yedioth Ahronoth*, called for the United States to put 'very heavy' pressure on Syria, while Shaul Mofaz, his defence minister, interviewed in *Ma'ariv*, said: 'We have a long list of issues that we are thinking of demanding of the Syrians and it is appropriate that it should be done through the Americans.' Ephraim Halevy told a WINEP audience that it was now important for the US to get rough with Syria, and the *Washington Post* reported that Israel was 'fuelling the campaign' against Syria by feeding the US intelligence reports about the actions of Bashar Assad, the Syrian president."

Prominent members of the Lobby made the same arguments. Wolfowitz declared that 'there has got to be regime change in Syria,' and Richard Perle told a journalist that 'a short message, a two-worded message' could be delivered to other hostile regimes in the Middle East: 'You're next.' In early April, WINEP released a bipartisan report stating that Syria 'should not miss the message that countries that pursue Saddam's reckless, irresponsible and defiant behaviour could end up sharing his fate'. On 15 April, Yossi Klein Halevi wrote a piece in the *Los Angeles Times* entitled 'Next, Turn the Screws on Syria', while the following day Zev Chafets wrote an article for the *New York Daily News* entitled 'Terror-Friendly Syria Needs a Change, Too'. Not to be outdone, Lawrence Kaplan wrote in the *New Republic* on 21 April that Assad was a serious threat to America.

Back on Capitol Hill, Congressman Eliot Engel had reintroduced the Syria Accountability and Lebanese Sovereignty Restoration Act. It threatened sanctions against Syria if it did not withdraw from Lebanon, give up its WMD and stop supporting terrorism, and it also called for Syria and Lebanon to take concrete steps to make peace with Israel. This legislation was strongly endorsed by the Lobby - by AIPAC especially - and 'framed', according to the *Jewish Telegraph Agency*, 'by some of Israel's best friends in Congress'. The Bush administration had little enthusiasm for it, but the anti-Syrian act passed overwhelmingly (398 to 4 in the House; 89 to 4 in the Senate), and Bush signed it into law on 12 December 2003.

The administration itself was still divided about the wisdom of targeting Syria. Although the neo-conservatives were eager to pick a fight with Damascus, the CIA and the State Department were opposed to the idea. And even after Bush signed the new

law, he emphasised that he would go slowly in implementing it. His ambivalence is understandable. First, the Syrian government had not only been providing important intelligence about al-Qaida since 9/11: it had also warned Washington about a planned terrorist attack in the Gulf and given CIA interrogators access to Mohammed Zammar, the alleged recruiter of some of the 9/11 hijackers. Targeting the Assad regime would jeopardise these valuable connections, and thereby undermine the larger war on terrorism.

Second, Syria had not been on bad terms with Washington before the Iraq war (it had even voted for UN Resolution 1441), and was itself no threat to the United States. Playing hardball with it would make the US look like a bully with an insatiable appetite for beating up Arab states. Third, putting Syria on the hit list would give Damascus a powerful incentive to cause trouble in Iraq. Even if one wanted to bring pressure to bear, it made good sense to finish the job in Iraq first. Yet Congress insisted on putting the screws on Damascus, largely in response to pressure from Israeli officials and groups like AIPAC. If there were no Lobby, there would have been no Syria Accountability Act, and US policy towards Damascus would have been more in line with the national interest.

Israelis tend to describe every threat in the starkest terms, but Iran is widely seen as their most dangerous enemy because it is the most likely to acquire nuclear weapons. Virtually all Israelis regard an Islamic country in the Middle East with nuclear weapons as a threat to their existence. 'Iraq is a problem ... But you should understand, if you ask me, today Iran is more dangerous than Iraq,' the defence minister, Binyamin Ben-Eliezer, remarked a month before the Iraq war.

Sharon began pushing the US to confront Iran in November 2002, in an interview in the *Times*. Describing Iran as the 'centre of world terror', and bent on acquiring nuclear weapons, he declared that the Bush administration should put the strong arm on Iran 'the day after' it conquered Iraq. In late April 2003, *Ha'aretz* reported that the Israeli ambassador in Washington was calling for regime change in Iran. The overthrow of Saddam, he noted, was 'not enough'. In his words, America 'has to follow through. We still have great threats of that magnitude coming from Syria, coming from Iran.'

The neo-conservatives, too, lost no time in making the case for regime change in Tehran. On 6 May, the AEI co-sponsored an all-day conference on Iran with the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies and the Hudson Institute, both champions of Israel. The speakers were all strongly pro-Israel, and many called for the US to replace the Iranian regime with a democracy. As usual, a bevy of articles by prominent neo-conservatives made the case for going after Iran. 'The liberation of Iraq was the first great battle for the future of the Middle East ... But the next great battle - not, we hope, a military battle - will be for Iran,' William Kristol wrote in the *Weekly Standard* on 12 May.

The administration has responded to the Lobby's pressure by working overtime to shut down Iran's nuclear programme. But Washington has had little success, and Iran seems determined to create a nuclear arsenal. As a result, the Lobby has intensified its pressure. Op-eds and other articles now warn of imminent dangers from a nuclear Iran, caution against any appeasement of a 'terrorist' regime, and hint darkly of preventive action should diplomacy fail. The Lobby is pushing Congress to approve the Iran Freedom Support Act, which would expand existing sanctions. Israeli officials also warn they may take pre-emptive action should Iran continue down the nuclear road, threats partly intended to keep Washington's attention on the issue.

One might argue that Israel and the Lobby have not had much influence on policy towards Iran, because the US has its own reasons for keeping Iran from going nuclear. There is some truth in this, but Iran's nuclear ambitions do not pose a direct threat to the US. If Washington could live with a nuclear Soviet Union, a nuclear China or even a nuclear North Korea, it can live with a nuclear Iran. And that is why the Lobby must keep up constant pressure on politicians to confront Tehran. Iran and the US would hardly be allies if the Lobby did not exist, but US policy would be more temperate and preventive war would not be a serious option.

It is not surprising that Israel and its American supporters want the US to deal with any and all threats to Israel's security. If their efforts to shape US policy succeed, Israel's enemies will be weakened or overthrown, Israel will get a free hand with the Palestinians, and the US will do most of the fighting, dying, rebuilding and paying. But even if the US fails to transform the Middle East and finds itself in conflict with an increasingly radicalised Arab and Islamic world, Israel will end up protected by the

world's only superpower. This is not a perfect outcome from the Lobby's point of view, but it is obviously preferable to Washington distancing itself, or using its leverage to force Israel to make peace with the Palestinians.

Can the Lobby's power be curtailed? One would like to think so, given the Iraq debacle, the obvious need to rebuild America's image in the Arab and Islamic world, and the recent revelations about AIPAC officials passing US government secrets to Israel. One might also think that Arafat's death and the election of the more moderate Mahmoud Abbas would cause Washington to press vigorously and even-handedly for a peace agreement. In short, there are ample grounds for leaders to distance themselves from the Lobby and adopt a Middle East policy more consistent with broader US interests. In particular, using American power to achieve a just peace between Israel and the Palestinians would help advance the cause of democracy in the region.

But that is not going to happen - not soon anyway. AIPAC and its allies (including Christian Zionists) have no serious opponents in the lobbying world. They know it has become more difficult to make Israel's case today, and they are responding by taking on staff and expanding their activities. Besides, American politicians remain acutely sensitive to campaign contributions and other forms of political pressure, and major media outlets are likely to remain sympathetic to Israel no matter what it does.

The Lobby's influence causes trouble on several fronts. It increases the terrorist danger that all states face - including America's European allies. It has made it impossible to end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, a situation that gives extremists a powerful recruiting tool, increases the pool of potential terrorists and sympathisers, and contributes to Islamic radicalism in Europe and Asia.

Equally worrying, the Lobby's campaign for regime change in Iran and Syria could lead the US to attack those countries, with potentially disastrous effects. We don't need another Iraq. At a minimum, the Lobby's hostility towards Syria and Iran makes it almost impossible for Washington to enlist them in the struggle against al-Qaida and the Iraqi insurgency, where their help is badly needed.

There is a moral dimension here as well. Thanks to the Lobby, the United States has become the de facto enabler of Israeli expansion in the Occupied Territories, making it complicit in the crimes perpetrated against the Palestinians. This situation undercuts Washington's efforts to promote democracy abroad and makes it look hypocritical when it presses other states to respect human rights. US efforts to limit nuclear proliferation appear equally hypocritical given its willingness to accept Israel's nuclear arsenal, which only encourages Iran and others to seek a similar capability.

Besides, the Lobby's campaign to quash debate about Israel is unhealthy for democracy. Silencing sceptics by organising blacklists and boycotts - or by suggesting that critics are anti-semites - violates the principle of open debate on which democracy depends. The inability of Congress to conduct a genuine debate on these important issues paralyses the entire process of democratic deliberation. Israel's backers should be free to make their case and to challenge those who disagree with them, but efforts to stifle debate by intimidation must be roundly condemned.

Finally, the Lobby's influence has been bad for Israel. Its ability to persuade Washington to support an expansionist agenda has discouraged Israel from seizing opportunities - including a peace treaty with Syria and a prompt and full implementation of the Oslo Accords - that would have saved Israeli lives and shrunk the ranks of Palestinian extremists. Denying the Palestinians their legitimate political rights certainly has not made Israel more secure, and the long campaign to kill or marginalise a generation of Palestinian leaders has empowered extremist groups like Hamas, and reduced the number of Palestinian leaders who would be willing to accept a fair settlement and able to make it work. Israel itself would probably be better off if the Lobby were less powerful and US policy more even-handed.

There is a ray of hope, however. Although the Lobby remains a powerful force, the adverse effects of its influence are increasingly difficult to hide. Powerful states can maintain flawed policies for quite some time, but reality cannot be ignored for ever. What is needed is a candid discussion of the Lobby's influence and a more open debate about US interests in this vital region. Israel's well-being is one of those interests, but its continued occupation of the West Bank and its broader regional agenda are not. Open debate will expose the limits of the strategic and moral case for

one-sided US support and could move the US to a position more consistent with its own national interest, with the interests of the other states in the region, and with Israel's long-term interests as well.

10 March

THE ARGUMENTATIVE ESSAY

Write your decision about whether to run the bus ads as a 5-paragraph essay.

1. In the first paragraph, introduce the issue, giving the basic information about who, what, when, and where. Then state your decision (thesis).
- 2, 3. In the second and third paragraphs, give the strongest arguments for your decision.
4. In the fourth paragraph, explain the other side's strongest argument. Follow that with your counter argument to it.
5. In the fifth paragraph, conclude with a statement about how your decision will be important to future generations.

Directions: Read both of the following opinions about displaying bus ads on county buses in Washington state. What are each author's three main reasons for his perspective? Express each author's opinion to your partner. Now write or say your own perspective: Should Americans focus on Israeli war crimes? Did Israel commit war crimes? Homework: Write a Personal Response stating your own perspective.

Guest columnist

'Israel right or wrong' crowd advocates censorship in Seattle

By rallying pressure to prevent the placement of ads critical of Israel's treatment of Palestinians, writes guest writer Ed Mast, the "Israel right or wrong" supporters advocated censorship in Seattle.

By [Edward Mast](#)

Special to The Times



[enlarge](#)

COURTNEY BLETHEN RIFFKIN / THE SEATTLE TIMES

Jan. 1, 2011

I WAS part of a group that raised money for a series of Metro Transit bus ads that read, "ISRAELI WAR CRIMES: Your Tax Dollars At Work." We abided by King County guidelines and our ads were approved by King County Metro Transit.

With a signed contract, ads were printed and ready for Dec. 27, which marked two years to the day Israel dropped a bomb on a schoolyard in Gaza just as children were leaving class. Many were killed. For the next three weeks, Israel killed 1,400 people in Gaza, mostly noncombatants. More than 300 of the killed were children. Investigations by the United Nations and Amnesty International concluded that Israel committed war crimes.

We didn't announce the ad campaign, but news leaked out and some local groups that defend Israel from all criticism took action to convince King County that any discussion of Israeli war crimes is inappropriate for public speech.

"War crime" is a legal term referring to a grave violation of the Geneva Conventions. Such violations by Israel have been well-documented throughout its lengthy occupation of Palestinian lands, and have included thousands of Israeli rockets fired into Gaza before 2008 and continuing attacks today. But U.S. military, political and diplomatic support, including \$3 billion per year in military funding, gives Israel virtual impunity, and this one-sided U.S. support makes us complicit in Israel's crimes.

Violations by Palestinians in their struggle for self-determination have also been documented, though violations by Israel are far more numerous and far less reported in this country. The bus ads were an attempt to correct that imbalance.

When the U.N. Fact-Finding Committee Report, known as the Goldstone Report, concluded that Israel's assault on Gaza was "a deliberately disproportionate attack designed to punish, humiliate and terrorize a civilian population," Israel tried to bury the report, not by bringing counter-evidence but by defaming committee chair Richard Goldstone as anti-Jewish, even though Goldstone is Jewish himself and is a self-declared Zionist with family in Israel.

Similarly, when we tried to raise awareness of Israeli war crimes this month in Seattle, groups trying to block the ad imitated Israel's approach. Rather than attempting to disprove that Israel commits war crimes, they demanded special treatment for Israel, using the reprehensible and increasingly discredited argument that any criticism of Israel is the same as criticizing Jewish people in Seattle.

Israel uses the Jewish people of the world as a shield for its own ongoing human-rights violations. An increasing number of Jews — including those who worked with us on our bus-ad campaign — are outraged that Israel uses them as its excuse for continuing crimes. They insist that Israel is a nation-state that should not be immune from criticism. But others still defend Israel, right or wrong, as a frightened parent might defend a spoiled child who is also a bully.

Those groups wanting to silence the ad mounted a phone and e-mail campaign to disrupt King County Metro, along with an implied threat of violence both toward Metro buses and toward others. In the short term, they were successful in preventing the ads from going up.

In doing so, they not only demonstrated fear of open debate, but made public the problem: Any hard truths about Israel must face silencing not only by those who defend Israeli impunity, but also by those elected officials who can be intimidated by them.

Many of those who take an "Israel right or wrong" stance consider themselves social-justice activists in other fields. On the subject of Israel, however, they become advocates of apartheid, ethnic dictatorship and outright racism.

In this case, they have advocated censorship in Seattle. It is a chilling spectacle to watch some of our neighbors demonstrating so clearly that support for oppression anywhere is a danger to freedom everywhere.

Edward Mast is a volunteer with Seattle Mideast Awareness Campaign, which sponsored the recently canceled bus ads.

Originally published Monday, January 3, 2011 at 4:11 PM

Guest columnist to Seattle Times

The truth about Israel beyond the failed bus ads

A failed effort to place ads on Metro Transit buses that accuse Israel of war crimes is part of an effort to delegitimize the state of Israel. Guest columnist Jonathan L. Singer disputes the war-crimes allegations.

By [Jonathan L. Singer](#)

Special to The Times



THE Big Lie is alive and well in Seattle, and this fact is ironic for a city that prides itself on having a commitment to diversity, openness and intellectual engagement.

In the past, big lies were used by fascists and dictators as a means of delegitimizing certain groups or classes, seeking a scapegoat upon whom to blame general societal disappointments. Experts at utilizing this tool understand you cannot start with an outlandish statement but must state many small lies at first. In an age of Twitter and instant messaging, our culture is ripe for domination by this political approach.

We recently saw this approach at work in the failed attempt to place billboard ads on city buses in Seattle claiming that Israel is a state actively engaging in war crimes with the support of American dollars. [" 'Israel right or wrong' crowd advocates censorship in Seattle," Opinion, Jan. 1]

It is a beautiful example of the Big Lie at work — on buses that normally have photos of theater performers, or insurance agents, the proposed ad would have given us a

stark and chilling vision of a brutish monster oppressing a helpless victim. Had the bus ads been allowed, the only context of the message would have been a government-owned bus adding legitimacy to a claim that is anything but true.

Seattle is ripe for this kind of hate speech because in schools, houses of worship and political gatherings, our community leadership has not challenged the little lies that delegitimize the state of Israel. It has become commonplace to portray Israel as an oppressor and an occupier without respecting Israel's legitimate rights and fears in a region where her neighbors actively call for her destruction.

No condemnation is made with similar vehemence or focus of other nations that clearly violate human rights and receive millions from the U.S. government. Only Israel, the democratic state — that supports women's rights, to which Sudanese refugees flee oppression in their land, where none are at risk of genocide — is the focus of their ire.

If you go to the website of the group sponsoring the ads, they make it clear that no matter what Israel does, she should not exist. They claim that in 1948 she displaced the Palestinians, though they pose the argument as if the concern is only the land captured by Israel in 1967.

This ignores the fact that Jews have had a continuous presence in the land of Israel since Biblical times and that the Palestinians declared war on the nascent Jewish state.

They do not want you to know that throughout history there has never been another state on that land, that the land was purchased, and the Jewish state was and is recognized by the United Nations.

They fail to mention the call by Hamas, which rules Gaza, to destroy Israel, and the rockets still being fired at Israeli civilian population centers.

And then they conclude that their position is not anti-Jewish but only a protest against the misbehavior of a state, but we know that it really is a new form of the old anti-Semitism, wrapped in the Big Lie insinuating that Jews are guilty of defending

themselves, and therefore must be punished by being ostracized by the world and made stateless yet again.

Israel, like all countries, makes mistakes. Criticism in the context of support for Israel's legitimate rights is not hate speech. We hope that Seattleites concerned with fairness who want to create space for real dialogue about difficult issues will speak out against all hate speech. That outcry should not just be against the big lies but should focus as well on the smaller lies about Israel and the Middle East that if unchallenged create an environment in which the Big Lie thrives.

Israel wants peace with her neighbors, she has accepted the idea of two states, one Jewish, one Palestinian existing as neighbors in peace. In spite of all efforts at obfuscation, that is the Big Truth.

Jonathan L. Singer is a senior rabbi at Temple Beth Am, Seattle. Another 24 rabbis in the Seattle and Tacoma area support this statement.

Additional Information as background to the bus ads controversy in Seattle:

January 19, 2011

Seattle, WA

Contact: Doug Honig, ACLU-WA
206-624-2184

Lawsuit Filed to Uphold Free Speech for Bus Ads

ACLU Challenges King County's Refusal to Honor Agreement to Run Ads

The ACLU of Washington today filed suit on behalf of the Seattle Mideast Awareness Campaign, seeking a preliminary injunction to uphold the Campaign's free speech rights to publish a paid bus ad expressing its views on actions of the Israeli government. Filed in U.S. District Court in Seattle, the lawsuit says that King County's refusal to allow the ad on Metro buses violated the Campaign's First Amendment rights.

"In a free and democratic society, we cannot allow the government to suppress lawful speech. Many of us are concerned about political rhetoric and fear where it may lead. But chipping away at fundamental free speech rights is not the answer," said Kathleen Taylor, ACLU of Washington executive director. "We should keep in mind that mild speech doesn't need protection. It is when we are faced with controversial speech, speech that is intensely upsetting to some people, that our adherence to the First Amendment is most important," added Taylor.

The Seattle Mideast Awareness Campaign (SeaMAC), a nonprofit grassroots organization that seeks to educate the public about U.S. policy on the Israel-Palestinian conflict, intended to place a paid advertisement on the outside of King County Metro buses. The ad's text read "Israeli War Crimes: Your Tax Dollars at Work."

SeaMAC submitted the ad on Oct. 15, 2010 to Titan Outdoor LLC, the company that handles advertising on Metro buses. Titan informed SeaMAC on Nov. 10 that the ad had been approved and accepted for placement on Metro buses. SeaMAC signed a contract on Dec. 13 to run the ad and paid Titan the following day. SeaMAC paid for the printing of the ad, which was delivered to King County on Dec. 17. The ad was scheduled to run on 12 Metro buses for four weeks, beginning on Dec. 27.

King County has a long-established practice of publishing on its buses a wide variety and spectrum of ads containing non-commercial speech. For example, paid ads related to the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians in Gaza previously have run on Metro buses, as have ads with atheist messages. The SeaMAC ad was submitted and approved under King County's written Advertising Policy concerning its practices and procedures of placing paid ads on buses.

The prospect of the ad generated an outpouring of strong opposition. On December 23, King County issued a press release announcing that the county now would not permit the ad to run. The county also announced that its existing Advertising Policy was no longer in effect and that it was immediately implementing a new interim policy. Later that day Titan formally notified SeaMAC that the previously accepted ad had been cancelled.

The lawsuit seeks a court declaration that King County's decision not to publish the ad violates the First Amendment and a preliminary injunction against King County and an order that it publish the ad, as originally promised.

Representing SeaMAC are ACLU-WA cooperating attorney Jeffrey Grant of Skellenger Bender, PS and ACLU-WA staff attorneys Sarah Dunne and Lindsey Soffes.

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END--

II. B. Resistance to Occupation-- Nonviolent and Violent

1. Two Narratives of Two Intifadas

Prepare a powerpoint with these slides:

Intifadas

I. First Intifada

A. Palestinian Narrative

Intifada: uprising/shaking off

12/9/1987: erupted after 20 years of Israeli military occupation

Four Palestinian civilians killed at a checkpoint on the Gaza Strip, then a teenager killed by an Israeli officer who fired into the crowd of protesting Palestinians

Last straw in the past 20 years: land taken away from them, expelled from homes, no citizenship, rule by Israeli army, despised and rejected by the world, victims of colonialism

What was the First Intifada?

Civil disobedience: boycotted Israeli goods, refusal to pay taxes, provided social services, organized strikes -- people power, a grassroots movement, begun by people in the territories, not by their PLO leaders in Tunisia

Disbanded as people prepared for implementation of Oslo Peace Process (1993)

B. Israeli Narrative

Israeli stabbed to death while shopping in Gaza, and rumors that the four who were killed in a car accident at the checkpoint as revenge went around the Palestinian refugee camps

The 17 year old who was killed was throwing Molotov cocktails at the Israeli military
Rumors of "Israeli atrocities" played a large part in the conflict

What was the First Intifada?

The PLO played a large role in the Intifada, leading the uprisings by telling when and where to attack -- not grassroots

PLO also attacked any Arabs that were seen as working with the Israelis

Considered a reign of terror by the PLO

Second Intifada

A. Palestinian Narrative

Al-Aqsa Intifada, began 09/00

1993-2000: expected Oslo to bring peace & Palestinian state;

1993-2000: brought increased settlements & settlers, more roadblocks, harder on economy & daily lives = continued occupation

After breakdown in peace talks 2000 between President Clinton, PM Barack, and Yasir Arafat: myth of a "generous offer" by Israelis actually offered a tiny sliver of non-contiguous land -- not a viable state

Palestinians provoked by Ariel Sharon's visit to Temple Mount and the Al-Aqsa Mosque, the third holiest site for Muslims (although he didn't go in the Mosque). Sharon entered with about 1000 soldiers and some remained the next day. Palestinians felt as if the Mosque were occupied by Israel in a show of force.

Mass demonstrations followed -- stone throwing--, Israeli security forces responded with live bullets from soldiers, tanks, and helicopters. Killed 4-9 the first day and hundreds in the following months.

Israelis used much more force from the start of the second Intifada than they had in the first Intifada --

Palestinian resistance included violence and nonviolence:

- * violence: small, violent Palestinian actions: Suicide bombings (first used in 1994 after Israeli settler killed 29 Palestinians in mosque), assassinations and other violence continued through 02/05

- * nonviolence: a Palestinian movement called on internationals to join Palestinians in their nonviolent demonstrations in order to reduce the likelihood that Israeli soldiers would fire on the crowd. Demonstrations at land confiscations and at checkpoints, sit-ins at the Wall, etc.

4 times as many Palestinians as Israelis killed or wounded; most Israelis killed were soldiers or settlers

B. Israeli Narrative

Palestinian War from 9/00-9/05

Ariel Sharon had permission from Palestinian security to visit the Temple Mount, Judaism's holiest place, as long as he didn't go in the mosque; he was just going to show that as an Israeli he had the right to walk anywhere in Jerusalem; he was running for election as Prime Minister; he took soldiers with him for security

Palestinian demonstrators protested

Palestinians attacked shrines on Jewish holy days

Soldiers shot in self-defense

The IDF (Israeli army/Israel Defense Force) has been governed by a policy of restraint

PLO did nothing to stop the attacks, it encouraged protestors, and Arafat began to

take serious steps to stop the violence only to gain favor with the United States

Suicide attacks and other Palestinian violence was provocation for Israeli retaliation

Homework

What five questions do you have about Palestine-Israel and the conflict now?

2. Resistance to Occupation

Now that students understand that there is an occupation and that there have been uprisings in response, introduce students to details about resistance to occupation. First, give them the following mini-lecture on nonviolent resistance. Next, show the movie *Budrus*, about Palestinian nonviolent resistance. Then, have them read about the ISM, give them a mini-lecture on Rachel Corrie and have them read excerpts from her journals and an article about her trial. Students can fill out a Know /Want to Learn/ Learned Chart as they read her article. Finally, introduce students to Anarchists Against the Wall and Rabbis for Human Rights, two of the many Israeli groups working against the occupation.

Lecture: Nonviolent Resistance to Occupation

Palestinians have a long history of nonviolent resistance to Zionism and Israeli occupation -- began in 1920s

Some examples:

Palestinian Rebellion 1936-39 -- strikes, demonstrations

Beit Sahur -- during 1st Intifada -- tax resistance

Budrus & Bilin -- two villages practicing nonviolent resistance to building the Wall on their land: demonstrations, prayer on confiscated land, camping out on land, etc.

Palestinian-led International solidarity with resistance:

International Solidarity Movement to End the Occupation -- 2001 -- formed by Palestinians, Israelis, and internationals

one of several Palestinian-led groups using nonviolence to end occupation

invites internationals to come stand with Palestinians

civil disobedience: ISMers stay at homes to be demolished, stay by wells about to be covered, join Pal. demonstrations against Wall, challenge checkpoints, ride on Jewish-only roads with Palestinians

International Solidarity with resistance:

Christian Peacemaker Teams, International Women's Peace Service, etc.

Israeli solidarity with resistance:

Anarchists Against the Wall, Boycott from Within, Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions, MACHSOMWATCH (observers at checkpoints), Rabbis for Human Rights, Ta'ayush, Whoprofits, etc.

***BUDRUS* (82 min.)**

Show the movie *Budrus*, which is a documentary about one Palestinian village's nonviolent attempts to stop the confiscation of land and building of the Wall. Israelis and internationals also join in the (eventually successful) attempt.

Note: the movie shows just one village and its nonviolent movement. Tell students that Palestinians have been using nonviolent resistance since at least the 1930s, and that the actions depicted in *Budrus* are happening all over Palestine.

Ask the students to watch the film with the following 6 questions in mind:

1. How did you feel when watching this film?
2. What is the injustice?
3. What are the actions that people in the film are taking?
4. How do they think that these actions will right the injustice?
5. What do you think? How do these actions connect to your understanding of nonviolent civil disobedience?
6. What connections can you make between the actions in this film and other nonviolent struggles you know about? For instance, compare the actions to those you know about during the Civil Rights struggle in the US, or in apartheid-era South Africa, or in Gandhi's India.

III. As the **culmination** of this lesson, students can create a personal response to any aspect of the discussions about nonviolence. They can create an essay, story, song, poem, rap, poster, or artwork (etc.). They can focus on what was analyzed in class or you can encourage them to make their creation about an issue they feel strongly about. For instance, if they would like to see healthier food in their cafeteria, or an end to agism in stores, what kind of nonviolent actions could they take to bring about that change? How could their art/song/poem (etc.) inform about the issue and start a nonviolent campaign?

BUDRUS

Name: _____

1. How did you feel when watching this film?

2. What is the injustice?

3. What are the actions that people in the film are taking?

4. How do they think that these actions will right the injustice?

5. What do you think? How do these actions connect to your understanding of nonviolent civil disobedience?

6. What connections can you make between the actions in this film and other nonviolent struggles you know about? For instance, compare the actions to those you know about during the Civil Rights struggle in the US, or in apartheid-era South Africa, or in Gandhi's India.

Reading: ISM olive harvest

10/10/10 8:30 AM Gaza Olive harvest begins in the Beit Hanoun buffer zone while strawberr...it Lahiya is shot by Israeli Snipers | International Solidarity Movement Page 1 of 5 <http://palsolidarity.org/2010/10/14854/> Posted on: October 9, 2010

International Solidarity Movement

Gaza Olive harvest begins in the Beit Hanoun buffer zone while strawberry picker in Beit Lahiya is shot by Israeli Snipers

“This tree is blessed for us and our grandfathers and ancestors have taken care of this tree for generations. I grew up with an olivetree in our back yard and it represents the peaceful life we had always lived on these lands. Now our olive groves are bulldozed and farm workers are shot at so we are here in solidarity with farmers whose lives are made impossible by the Israeli siege and occupation.” This is how much it meant to Mohammed el Massry, a 20 year old student in Al Azhar University to enter a high risk area to help farmers begin the olive harvest and help maintain land that used to be the breadbasket of the Palestinian economy. In what turned out to be a beautiful day’s climbing, picking and bagging of black and green olives, Mohammed joined other members of the Beit Hanoun ‘Local Initiative’ group accompanied by 4 International Solidarity Movement activists to help farmer Abdel Al Baseony begin the Olive harvest 300 metres from the Erez border wall with Israel.

Beginning early on Tuesday morning, farm workers, Palestinian and international activists marched with flags, buckets, step ladders and hessian bags ready for a morning’s work picking olives, accompanied by the cameras of Arabic and international media. Around the unilaterally imposed Israeli buffer zone - a 300 metre wide belt of land along the Israeli border, farm workers have been picked off by snipers and shelling as a matter of course, often over a kilometer beyond the designated area. A month ago near to where we were picking the olives Grandfather Ibrahim Abu Sayed, his 17 year-old grandson and friend were mutilated and killed by Israeli tank shelling despite being twice as far from the border as we were.

Khalil Nasir, coordinator of the Local Initiative group sees farmers as the first line of resistance: “We’re here today to offer some support for the farmers who have continued the resistance to the occupation everyday of their lives, not letting go of these lands so near to the Israeli wall. Last month three farm-workers were directly shelled, when all they were doing were tending to their sheep and animals. We thank them for the life they left behind and we want to give farmers along the border whatever support we can.”

Shootings of farmers and destruction of their land are not exceptions - the dangers of farming in the bufferzone were comprehensively documented in the recent United Nations and World Food Programme report: “Between the Fence and a Hard Place”. It concluded that the violence used to restrict Palestinians from accessing their land covers areas up to 1500m from the border fence, meaning that over 35% of Gaza’s most agricultural land is in a high risk area causing severe losses of food production and livelihoods.

This does not stop farmers and their families from continuing to plant and harvest there, their livelihoods and resistance far too important to prevent them from working their own land. Nor are the regular demonstrations ceasing despite being confronted by frequent live gunfire and many of the demonstrators were pleased to show direct solidarity by picking the olives. “We have been shot at near here before on peaceful demonstrations”, said 22 year old student Anwar Alaaneen. “I’m here in solidarity with the farmers in Beit Hanoun who are always under threat from shooting and shelling when their land is so close to the Israeli fence. The international community should allow us the right to farm our own land, instead of allowing Israel to continue to commit these crimes.” she added.

Unbeknown to the olive pickers, nearby in the North of Gaza in Beit Lahiya a farm worker in the Siafa area 27 year old Zeyad Mohammed Tambora now and then worked for a farmer in Siafa area, had just finished picking strawberries when suddenly with no warning his right foot was hit by a bullet. He was carried back by his 2 cousins from the farmland at about 300 meter from the fence and they escorted him to a waiting car on a donkey cart. Arriving at hospital Tuesday at about 10.00 AM Zeyad then underwent surgery to stop the bleeding. The bones in his foot are smashed and according to doctors he might have problems to walk for the rest of his life and he is not expected to be walking for a few months. Whether its for strawberry picking, olive picking or wheat gathering, incidents like this happen on a daily basis in this region. Two days before and last week, two more workers were slightly injured by firing from the border.

The farmer whose olives we were picking laments the history behind the continuous attacks on their land and the destruction of their life before. “There used to be many trees in this area, they bulldozed them and although we have lost so much we have continued to farm it”, said Abzel Al Baseony the farmer whose olives we were picking. “Everyone is afraid coming here to farm. They take photos of us from the control towers so they know who we are yet they still just shoot whenever they want at whatever they want. I’ve been here since 1984 and my father farmed this land before me. We will keep farming.”

Give students a mini-lecture on Rachel Corrie. Then have students read excerpts from Rachel's journal as well as a followup on Rachel's trial article. Students can either fill out the following Know/Want to Learn/Learn Chart, or you can give them the much more detailed discussion questions found in the Dig Deep CBA. Remind students that they are learning about the occupation and the nonviolent ways that Palestinians and internationals resist the occupation.

Mini- Lecture: Rachel Corrie

Rachel Corrie, 23 y o student from Evergreen College in Olympia, Washington
joined ISM in Gaza

stood in front of house to be demolished (a Palestinian pharmacist & family lived
there)

crushed to death by Caterpillar bulldozer built in US, armored, driven by Israeli
soldier

March 16, 2003

Name: _____

Date: _____

The Corrie Diaries

What I *Know*

What I *Want* To Learn

What I Have *Learned*

KNOW

-

WANT TO LEARN

-

LEARNED

The Life & Death of a Young Activist

Excerpts from *Let Me Stand Alone: The Journals of Rachel Corrie*

Born in 1979, Rachel was a writer and an artist from the start. From her childhood, through her teen years, and into college, she kept journals, wrote poems, and created art. She possessed a sharp sense of humor that was at play in every aspect of her life—in her own words she was “scattered, and deviant, and too loud.” She was also politically conscious, and as her understanding of international politics expanded during her time at the Evergreen State College, she decided she needed “to go to a place and meet people who are on the other side of the portion of my tax money that goes to fund the U.S. and other militaries.” Thus, at the age of twenty-three, Rachel ventured from her home in Olympia, Washington to Gaza, where she joined activists working in solidarity with the Palestinian people to oppose the Israeli Occupation. She and other activists stood between Palestinian municipal workers and Israeli military watchtowers, as the workers repaired damaged wells and the soldiers shot at them. The activists slept at the wells to protect them from demolition. They lived with Palestinian families whose homes were threatened with demolition, and stood between the homes and the bulldozers sent to demolish them. She studied Arabic and became close with the Palestinian people she knew and lived with. She also became close with the activists who came from all over the world to bring attention to the human rights violations that are the everyday experience of the Palestinian people. Always a prolific writer, Rachel wrote press releases for her hometown newspaper about the things she witnessed, she wrote e-mails to her family, and entries in her journal.

Words from Craig Corrie, Rachel’s Father:

On Rachel’s Death

“On March 16, 2003 there were two Israeli bulldozers and an armored personnel carrier operating in Hi Salaam in Rafah along the Egyptian border. Each bulldozer had two occupants: an operator and, sitting next to him, a vehicle commander. The onsite commander of the operation watched from the armored personnel carrier nearby. Late in the afternoon, one of the bulldozers headed toward the home of the Nasrallah brothers (a pharmacist and an accountant), their wives, and five young children. The older brother’s family lived on the first floor, the younger brother’s family on the second. Rachel knew the Nasrallah’s, had often spent time with them, and sometimes had slept in their home.

Rachel knew the Nasrallah family was inside their home as the bulldozer approached it. At approximately 5 pm. she positioned herself between the home and the D-9. From eyewitness accounts, we know that her actions were the same as those taken by other activists in the preceding hours. Bulldozers had often come so close that the dirt they were pushing touched the activists’ feet. On one occasion a U.S. activist was rolled over into barbed wire; on another, a British activist was pinned against a wall. In both instances, the bulldozer stopped in time. But on this run, with Rachel in its path, the bulldozer did not stop. The ISM activists screamed and waved frantically, but the machine continued ahead. Witnesses state that as the D-9 pushed earth forward,

Rachel managed to climb up the mound to avoid being engulfed by it. They report that she was up high enough to see directly into the cab; but as it continued to advance, she lost her footing and was pulled under the blade. The bulldozer continued forward until its cab was over Rachel, then backed up, revealing her crushed body. Rachel was alive when her friends rushed to her. She told them, 'I think my back is broken.' But the Palestinian ambulance driver later told us there was no sign of life when he arrived. She was pronounced dead a short while later in the local hospital.

On March 17, 2003 according to U.S. Department of State press briefings, Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon promised President Bush a 'thorough, credible, and transparent,' investigation into Rachel's killing. Months later, the Israeli military stated in conclusion to their investigative report that the Israel Defense Forces did not see her, that no charges would be brought, and that the case was closed. The official position of the U.S. Department of State is that the Israeli report does not reflect an investigation that was 'thorough, credible, and transparent.'"

On Rachel's Work:

"In her work, Rachel joined Palestinians, Israelis, and internationals from many countries—Jews, Muslims, Christians, and others—who seek to end the Israeli Occupation by nonviolent means. She consulted both with municipal water employees and Israeli peace activists to better understand the destruction of the Palestinian water supply. Danny, a reservist in the Israeli military, taught her Hebrew phrases to shout through her megaphone when she encountered bulldozer and tank operators, while Palestinians helped her to safely navigate the streets of Rafah. When she caught a flu bug, Rachel was cared for by Muslim mothers; and as she died, she was held by Alice, a Jewish activist from the UK.

On March 16, Rachel stood with seven other internationals from the United States and United Kingdom nonviolently resisting the demolition of Palestinian homes—mass clearing demolitions that the Israeli Human Rights organization B'tselem said were in most cases a flagrant breach of international humanitarian law and that Human Rights Watch reported were generally carried out in the absence of military necessity. Rachel and other activists stood in their belief that both Palestinian and Israeli families have the right to be secure in their homes, in their restaurants, and on their buses—and with the conviction that an end to the oppressive, decades-old Israeli Occupation is the best way to achieve that. They stood in their belief that the nonviolent direct action they were supporting, if effective, could make Palestinians, as well as Israelis, Americans, and the entire world, more secure."

On Rachel's Writing

"The world knows of Rachel from how she died, but [her family members] know her from how she lived. She was, first and last, a writer and an artist. Compelled to create, she was left only with the choice to become good at it. Rachel worked hard at her craft from an early age. When she was ten, a friend of mine asked her what she wanted to be when she grew up. "I *am* a poet!" she declared. Words were sacred to Rachel, and her words have become treasures to us.

When Rachel arrived in Rafah, she entered a world of tanks, bulldozers, sniper towers, and checkpoints—a world of smashed greenhouses, crumbled homes, and a giant steel wall being constructed on the rubble near the border with Egypt. But she also entered a world of families—people resisting oppression simply by maintaining their own humanity as they struggled through the day-to-day activities of their lives under occupation. And as she entered this world, Rachel brought us with her through her phone calls and e-mail."

Words from Rachel Corrie:

January 19, 2003

Hey Mom,

I'll call you tonight, but could you e-mail to me with anyone you know who it would be good to contact if I get in trouble—though I'm not planning on it—friends or family who would call their congresspeople, etc.—also, friends who might be interested in getting info or at least knowing that I'm going...

I'm going to give *The Olympian* your number. Please think about your language when you talk to them. For instance, if you talk about the “cycle of violence,” or “an eye for an eye,” or “no side is right,” you could be perpetuating the idea that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is a balanced conflict, instead of the national liberation struggle of a largely unarmed people against the fourth largest military power in the world.

I think it's smart that you are wary of the word *terrorism*. It's important to realize that state policies that lead to deaths by malnutrition, destruction of housing, “accidental shootings,” assassinations, economic strangulation, and imprisonment without trial (“administrative detention”) are all acts of terrorism—if we define terrorism as acts of violence directed at civilians for political purposes.

The scariest thing for non-Jewish Americans in talking about Palestinian self-determination is the fear of being or sounding anti-Semitic. Reading Chomsky's book and talking to my non-Zionist Jewish friends has helped me think about this. Mostly, I just think we all have the right to be critical of government policies...any government policies...particularly government policies which we are funding.

It is important to recognize that the people of Israel are suffering and that Jewish people have a long history of oppression. I also think it is extraordinarily important to draw a firm distinction between the policies of Israel as a state, and the Jewish people. That's kind of a no-brainer, but there is very strong pressure to conflate the two. Thus, the pro-Israel lobby becomes the “Jewish Lobby,” and criticism of Israel becomes anti-Semitic. This kind of stuff I just think about all the time and my ideas evolve. I'm really new to talking about Israel-Palestine, so I don't always know the political implications of my words.

Rachel

January 25, 2003

My introduction to curfew is gentle: a rush out into the street in the midst of our training to buy lunch before the shops close in Beit Sahour. When we enter the street to buy shawarma and falafel there is music—singing in Arabic—pouring into the street from somewhere. A hidden loudspeaker. By the time the whole group of us have food, the noise is the bleat of military jeep horns and a voice shouting through a bullhorn—the squeal of a car pulling backward down the narrow streets after it comes face to face with the first jeep—border police or IOF—I don't remember which. The jeep backs them down and I think they might crash—with people still in the streets and walking fast and shops closing and the voice in the jeep yelling.

January 27, 2003

Travel to Rafah. Pass soldiers at bus stations—bombed market in Gaza City. Jehan greets cab. Children grab my butt, throw garbage at my head, scream, “What’s your name?” Sleep in tent. Gunshot through tent. Start smoking.

February 7, 2003

Hi friends and family, and others,

I have been in Palestine for two weeks and one hour now, and I still have very few words to describe what I see. It is most difficult for me to think about what’s going on here when I sit down to write back to the United States. Something about the virtual portal into luxury. I don’t know if many of the children here have ever existed without tank-shell holes in their walls and the towers of an occupying army surveying them constantly from the near horizons. I think, although I’m not entirely sure, that even the smallest of these children understand that life is not like this everywhere. An eight-year-old was shot and killed by an Israeli tank two days before I got here, and many of the children murmur his name to me - Ali - or point at the posters of him on the walls.

No amount of reading, attendance at conferences, documentary viewing and word of mouth could have prepared me for the reality of the situation here. You just can’t imagine it unless you see it - and even then you are always well aware that your experience of it is not at all the reality: what with the difficulties the Israeli army would face if they shot an unarmed US citizen, and with the fact that I have money to buy water when the army destroys wells, and the fact, of course, that I have the option of leaving. Nobody in my family has been shot, driving in their car, by a rocket launcher from a tower at the end of a major street in my hometown. I have a home. I am allowed to go see the ocean. When I leave for school or work I can be relatively certain that there will not be a heavily armed soldier waiting halfway between Mud Bay and downtown Olympia at a checkpoint with the power to decide whether I can go about my business, and whether I can get home again when I’m done.

Today, as I walked on top of the rubble where homes once stood, Egyptian soldiers called to me from the other side of the border, “Go! Go!” because a tank was coming. And then waving and “What’s your name?”. Something disturbing about this friendly curiosity. It reminded me of how much, to some degree, we are all kids curious about other kids. Egyptian kids shouting at strange women wandering into the path of tanks. Palestinian kids shot from the tanks when they peak out from behind walls to see what’s going on. International kids standing in front of tanks with banners. Israeli kids in the tanks anonymously - occasionally shouting and also occasionally waving - many forced to be here, many just aggressive - shooting into the houses as we wander away. My love to everyone. My love to my mom. My love to smooch. My love to fg and barnhair and sesamees and Lincoln School. My love to Olympia.

Rachel

February 14, 2003

**PRESS REPORT/ARTICLE:
THE SITUATION IN RAFAH**

Rafah is a city and a refugee camp of about 140,000 people in the southern Gaza strip immediately adjacent to the Egyptian border. Currently, the Israeli Military (IDF) is constructing a wall approximately ten meters high paralleling the border.

The Rafah Popular Refugee Committee estimates that over six hundred houses have been destroyed on the Rafah side of the wall. Seventy-nine houses were destroyed in Rafah in January alone, according to the United Nations Relief Works Agency (UNRWA) press release Tuesday. UNRWA Commissioner General Peter Hansen urged the international community not to ignore the situation in the West Bank and Gaza as focus intensifies on Iraq.

Internationals engaged in human rights work in Rafah report daily demolitions of civilian homes and "ceaseless shelling" from tanks stationed along the outskirts of Rafah. Palestinians living on the "front line"—those homes immediately facing the now-open area where other homes once stood—refer to the shelling and larger bomb blasts as "music."

An international from the United States pointed out that the children here rarely have direct contact with the outside world. "They have never seen Israelis except inside of tanks and sniper towers."

February 20 2003

Mama,

Now the Israeli army has actually dug up the road to Gaza, and both of the major checkpoints are closed. This means that Palestinians who want to go and register for their next quarter at university can't. People can't get to their jobs and those who are trapped on the other side can't get home; and internationals, who have a meeting tomorrow in the West Bank, won't make it. We could probably make it through if we made serious use of our international white person privilege, but that would also mean some risk of arrest and deportation, even though none of us has done anything illegal. The Gaza Strip is divided in thirds now. There is some talk about the "reoccupation of Gaza", but I seriously doubt this will happen, because I think it would be a geopolitically stupid move for Israel right now. I think the more likely thing is an increase in smaller below-the-international-outcry-radar incursions and possibly the oft-hinted "population transfer".

I am staying put in Rafah for now, no plans to head north. I still feel like I'm relatively safe and think that my most likely risk in case of a larger-scale incursion is arrest. A move to reoccupy Gaza would generate a much larger outcry than Sharon's assassination-during-peace-negotiations/land grab strategy, which is working very well now to create settlements all over, slowly but surely eliminating any meaningful possibility for Palestinian self-determination. Know that I have a lot of very nice Palestinians looking after me. I have a small flu bug, and got some very nice lemony drinks to cure me. Also, the woman who keeps the key for the well where we still sleep keeps asking me about you. She doesn't speak a bit of English, but she asks about my mom pretty frequently - wants to make sure I'm calling you.

Love to you and Dad and Sarah and Chris and everybody.

Rachel

February 27, 2003

(To her mother)

Love you. Really miss you. I have bad nightmares about tanks and bulldozers outside our house and you and me inside. Sometimes the adrenaline acts as an anesthetic for weeks and then in the evening or at night it just hits me again - a little bit of the reality of the situation. I am really scared for the people here. Yesterday, I watched a father lead

his two tiny children, holding his hands, out into the sight of tanks and a sniper tower and bulldozers and Jeeps because he thought his house was going to be exploded. Jenny and I stayed in the house with several women and two small babies. It was our mistake in translation that caused him to think it was his house that was being exploded. In fact, the Israeli army was in the process of detonating an explosive in the ground nearby - one that appears to have been planted by Palestinian resistance.

This is in the area where Sunday about 150 men were rounded up and contained outside the settlement with gunfire over their heads and around them, while tanks and bulldozers destroyed 25 greenhouses - the livelihoods for 300 people. The explosive was right in front of the greenhouses - right in the point of entry for tanks that might come back again. I was terrified to think that this man felt it was less of a risk to walk out in view of the tanks with his kids than to stay in his house. I was really scared that they were all going to be shot and I tried to stand between them and the tank. This happens every day, but just this father walking out with his two little kids just looking very sad, just happened to get my attention more at this particular moment, probably because I felt it was our translation problems that made him leave.

I thought a lot about what you said on the phone about Palestinian violence not helping the situation. Sixty thousand workers from Rafah worked in Israel two years ago. Now only 600 can go to Israel for jobs. Of these 600, many have moved, because the three checkpoints between here and Ashkelon (the closest city in Israel) make what used to be a 40-minute drive, now a 12-hour or impassible journey. In addition, what Rafah identified in 1999 as sources of economic growth are all completely destroyed - the Gaza international airport (runways demolished, totally closed); the border for trade with Egypt (now with a giant Israeli sniper tower in the middle of the crossing); access to the ocean (completely cut off in the last two years by a checkpoint and the Gush Katif settlement). The count of homes destroyed in Rafah since the beginning of this intifada is up around 600, by and large people with no connection to the resistance but who happen to live along the border. I think it is maybe official now that Rafah is the poorest place in the world. There used to be a middle class here - recently. We also get reports that in the past, Gazan flower shipments to Europe were delayed for two weeks at the Erez crossing for security inspections. You can imagine the value of two-week-old cut flowers in the European market, so that market dried up. And then the bulldozers come and take out people's vegetable farms and gardens. What is left for people? Tell me if you can think of anything. I can't.

So when someone says that any act of Palestinian violence justifies Israel's actions—not only do I question that logic in light of international law, which recognizes the right of people to legitimate armed struggle in defense of their land and their families; not only do I question that logic in light of the Fourth Geneva Convention, which prohibits collective punishment, prohibits the expropriation of water resources and the destruction of civilian infrastructure such as farms, I also question that logic on the basis of common sense.

If any of us had our lives and welfare completely strangled, lived with children in a shrinking place where we knew, because of previous experience, that soldiers and tanks and bulldozers could come for us at any moment and destroy all the greenhouses that we had been cultivating for however long, and did this while some of us were beaten and held captive with 149 other people for several hours - do you think we might try to use somewhat violent means to protect whatever fragments remained? I think about this especially when I see orchards and greenhouses and fruit trees destroyed - just years of care and cultivation. I think about you and how long it takes to make things grow and what a labour of love it is. I really think, in a similar situation, most people would defend themselves as best they could. I think Uncle Craig would. I think probably Grandma would. I think I would.

You asked me about non-violent resistance and I mentioned the first Intifada. Much of the leadership of more moderate resistance during the first Intifada has been

assassinated, deported, or held indefinitely. But anyway, yes, there was Gandhian nonviolent resistance during the first Intifada. And, of course, there still is staunch nonviolent resistance. The vast majority of Palestinians right now, as far as I can tell, are engaging in Gandhian nonviolent resistance. Who do you think I'm staying with, in houses that are going to be demolished amid gunfire, which often happens with absolutely no response whatsoever from Kalashnikovs—resistance weapons? Who do you think are staffing the human rights centers? Who do you think are still trying to maintain their farms every day directly in sight of sniper towers? Who do you think engage in protest with us? What do you think this Palestinian-led movement is that I joined—that engages in nonviolent direct action? Who do you think these families are that I tell you about, who won't take any money from us even though they are very, very poor—and who say to us, "We are not a hotel. We help you because we think maybe you will go and tell people in your country that you lived with Muslims. We think they will know that we are good people. We are quiet people. We just want peace"? Do you think I am hanging out with Hamas fighters? These people are being shot at every day—that, on top of the complete strangulation I described above—and they continue to go about their business as best they can in the sights of machine guns and rocket launchers. Isn't that basically the epitome of nonviolent resistance—doing what you need to do even though you are shot at?

When that explosive detonated yesterday it broke all the windows in the family's house. I was in the process of being served tea and playing with the two small babies. I'm having a hard time right now. Just feel sick to my stomach a lot from being doted on all the time, very sweetly, by people who are facing doom. I know that from the United States, it all sounds like hyperbole. Honestly, a lot of the time the sheer kindness of the people here, coupled with the overwhelming evidence of the willful destruction of their lives, makes it seem unreal to me. I really can't believe that something like this can happen in the world without a bigger outcry about it. It really hurts me, again, like it has hurt me in the past, to witness how awful we can allow the world to be. I felt after talking to you that maybe you didn't completely believe me. I think it's actually good if you don't, because I do believe pretty much above all else in the importance of independent critical thinking. And I also realize that with you I'm much less careful than usual about trying to source every assertion that I make. A lot of the reason for that is I know that you actually do go and do your own research. But it makes me worry about the job I'm doing. All of the situations that I tried to enumerate above - and a lot of other things - constitute a somewhat gradual - often hidden, but nevertheless massive - removal and destruction of the ability of a particular group of people to survive. This is what I am seeing here.

Anyway, I'm rambling. Just want to write to my Mom and tell her that and I'm really scared, and questioning my fundamental belief in the goodness of human nature. This has to stop. I think it is a good idea for us all to drop everything and devote our lives to making this stop. I don't think it's an extremist thing to do anymore. I still really want to dance around to Pat Benatar and have boyfriends and make comics for my coworkers. But I also want this to stop. Disbelief and horror is what I feel. Disappointment. I am disappointed that this is the base reality of our world and that we, in fact, participate in it. More big explosions somewhere in the distance outside.

When I come back from Palestine, I probably will have nightmares and constantly feel guilty for not being here, but I can channel that into more work. Coming here is one of the better things I've ever done. So when I sound crazy, or if the Israeli military should break with their racist tendency not to injure white people, please pin the reason squarely on the fact that I am in the midst of a genocide which I am also indirectly supporting, and for which my government is largely responsible.

I love you and Dad. Sorry for the diatribe. OK, some strange men next to me just gave me some peas, so I need to eat and thank them.

Rachel

February 28, 2003

(To her mother)

Thanks, Mom, for your response to my email. It really helps me to get word from you, and from other people who care about me.

After I wrote to you I went incommunicado from the affinity group for about 10 hours which I spent with a family on the front line in Hi Salam - who fixed me dinner - and have cable TV. The two front rooms of their house are unusable because gunshots have been fired through the walls, so the whole family - three kids and two parents - sleep in the parent's bedroom. I sleep on the floor next to the youngest daughter, Iman, and we all shared blankets. I helped the son with his English homework a little, and we all watched *Pet Semetary*, which is a horrifying movie. I think they all thought it was pretty funny how much trouble I had watching it. Friday is the holiday, and when I woke up they were watching *Gummy Bears* dubbed into Arabic. So I ate breakfast with them and sat there for a while and just enjoyed being in this big puddle of blankets with this family watching what for me seemed like Saturday morning cartoons. Then I walked some way to B'razil, which is where Nidal and Mansur and Grandmother and Rafat and all the rest of the big family that has really wholeheartedly adopted me live. (The other day, by the way, Grandmother gave me a pantomimed lecture in Arabic that involved a lot of blowing and pointing to her black shawl. I got Nidal to tell her that my mother would appreciate knowing that someone here was giving me a lecture about smoking turning my lungs black.) I met their sister-in-law, who is visiting from Nusserat camp, and played with her small baby.

Nidal's English gets better every day. He's the one who calls me, "My sister". He started teaching Grandmother how to say, "Hello. How are you?" In English. You can always hear the tanks and bulldozers passing by, but all of these people are genuinely cheerful with each other, and with me. When I am with Palestinian friends I tend to be somewhat less horrified than when I am trying to act in a role of human rights observer, documenter, or direct-action resister. They are a good example of how to be in it for the long haul. I know that the situation gets to them - and may ultimately get them - on all kinds of levels, but I am nevertheless amazed at their strength in being able to defend such a large degree of their humanity - laughter, generosity, family-time - against the incredible horror occurring in their lives and against the constant presence of death. I felt much better after this morning. I spent a lot of time writing about the disappointment of discovering, somewhat first-hand, the degree of evil of which we are still capable. I should at least mention that I am also discovering a degree of strength and of basic ability for humans to remain human in the direst of circumstances - which I also haven't seen before. I think the word is dignity. I wish you could meet these people. Maybe, hopefully, someday you will.

THE INDEPENDENT

General 'tried to cover up truth about death of Rachel Corrie'

Israeli war hero accused of suppressing testimony that could reveal what really happened to Gaza activist

By Ben Lynfield

Friday, 7 May 2010



AP

The peace activist Rachel Corrie died on 16 March 2003

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Seven years after the American activist Rachel Corrie was killed by an Israeli army bulldozer in Gaza, evidence has emerged which appears to implicate Israel's Gaza commander at the time, in an attempt to obstruct the official investigation into her death.

The alleged intervention of Major-General Doron Almog, then head of Israel's southern command, is documented in testimony taken by Israeli military police a day after Ms Corrie was killed on March 16, 2003. The hand written affidavit, seen by *The Independent*, was submitted as evidence during a civil law suit being pursued by the Corrie family against the state of Israel.

Ms Corrie, who was 23 when she died, was critically wounded when a bulldozer buried her with sandy soil near the border between Gaza and Egypt. The American, wearing a fluorescent orange jacket and carrying a megaphone, was among a group of volunteers from the anti-occupation International Solidarity Movement who over a period of three hours on that day had sought to block the demolition by Israel of Palestinian homes.

The Israeli military has maintained that its troops were not to blame for the killing of Ms Corrie and that the driver of the bulldozer had not seen her. It accused Ms Corrie and the ISM of behaviour that was "illegal, irresponsible and dangerous". Three days after Ms Corrie's death, the US state department announced that the Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon had promised the US President George Bush that the Israeli government would undertake a "thorough, credible and transparent investigation".

But according to a military police investigator's report which has now emerged, the "commander" of the D-9 bulldozer was giving testimony when an army colonel dispatched by Major-General Almog interrupted proceedings and cut short his evidence. The military police investigator wrote: "At 18:12 reserve Colonel Baruch Kirhatu entered the room and informed the witness that he should not convey anything and should not write anything and this at the order of the general of southern command."

The commander was a reservist named Edward Valermov. He was in the bulldozer with its driver. In his testimony before he was ordered to stop, he told military police investigators that he had not seen Ms Corrie before she was wounded. Alice Coy, a former ISM volunteer activist who was near Ms Corrie during the incident said in an affidavit to the court that "to the best of my knowledge the bulldozer driver could see Rachel while pushing earth over her body."

Hussein Abu Hussein, a lawyer for the Corrie family, said Major-General Almog's alleged intervention blocked the possible emergence of evidence that could have determined whether Mr Valermov's assertion that he did not see Ms Corrie was reasonable. "Do I believe him? Of course not. There is no doubt this was manslaughter," Mr Abu Hussein said. "First of all we claim the state is responsible for

the death of Rachel. And secondly we claim that the investigation was not professional."

"When you, the state of Israel, fail as an authority to perform your function of having a credible investigation, when your standard falls from reasonable, objective standards then you have caused evidentiary damage," Mr Abu Hussein said.

Contacted by *The Independent*, Major-General Almog, a hero in Israel for his role in the 1976 raid to rescue hostages in Entebbe, Uganda, denied ordering the bulldozer commander to desist from testifying. In 2005, the General narrowly escaped arrest in Britain on a war crimes charge for allegedly ordering the destruction in 2002 of 50 civilian homes in Rafah, where Ms Corrie was later killed. Major-General Almog was tipped off about the warrant and did not disembark at Heathrow, returning instead to Israel on the El Al flight.

Mr Valermov said in his testimony that the bulldozers, manned by two people, were ordered to continue their work despite the presence of the ISM protesters. He said that troops in an armoured personnel carrier threw stun grenades, used tear gas and fired shots towards the ground to scare the protesters away. "It didn't help and therefore we decided to continue the work with all possible delicateness on the orders of the company commander" he said.

The testimony was interrupted after Mr Valermov said the driver of the bulldozer, named only as Yevgeny, said he did not know if Ms Corrie had been harmed by the shovel of the D-9. "It was only when we moved the D-9 backwards that I saw her. The woman was lying in a place where the instrument had not reached. As soon as we saw the harmed woman we returned to the central corridor, stood and waited for orders." The soldier's last statement before the order to stop speaking was: "My job was to guide. The driver cannot guide himself because his field of vision is not large."

Another army document strongly suggests that Major-General Almog opposed the military police investigation. Dated 18 March 2003, a military police investigator petitioning a judge for permission to conduct an autopsy on Ms Corrie's body said that "we arrived only today because there was an argument between the general of southern command and the military advocate general about whether to open an investigation and under what circumstances." The judge granted the request provided the autopsy would be done in the presence of a US diplomat as the Corrie family requested. But the inquest was carried out by Israel's chief pathologist without any US official being there, in apparent violation of the judge's ruling.

Major-General Almog denied halting Mr Valermov's testimony. "I never gave such an order, I don't know such a document. I conducted my own investigation, I don't remember what I found. There were 12,000 terrorist incidents when I was general in charge of southern command. I finished seven years ago, if they want to invite me [to

testify] they know the address. I certainly didn't disrupt an investigation, this is nonsense. In all of my service I never told anyone not to testify."

Asked if he gave an order to harm foreign activists interfering with the army's work, Major-General Almog responded: "What are you talking about? You don't know what a general in charge of command is. The general in charge of command has 100,000 soldiers. What are you talking about?"

Moshe Negbi, legal commentator for the state-run Voice of Israel radio, said of Major-General Almog's interdiction: "If a commander prevents a witness from testifying then it is disruption of an investigation, a criminal offence whose penalty is three years imprisonment."

Craig Corrie, Rachel Corrie's father, said the alleged intervention in Valermov's testimony was "outrageous."

"When you see someone in that position taking those steps you not only have to be outraged, you have to ask why is he covering up, what has he done that he needs to take these steps to cover it up?"

An Israel Defense Forces spokesman said: "Any military police investigations are completely independent and cannot be influenced by outside sources." The Israeli state attorneys handling the case declined to be interviewed. The trial is due to resume in September.

Rachel's nightmare scenario

Before she became a political symbol, Rachel Corrie was an American student on a study-abroad programme. A member of a middle-class family from Olympia, Washington, she was attending college locally when she travelled to Gaza with the intention of initiating a twin-city project between Olympia and Rafah.

Arriving in Gaza in January 2003, she linked up with the International Solidarity Movement, and spent the next two months as an activist. In the weeks before her death she wrote a series of emails home to her friends and family that detailed her impressions of life in Gaza. "I have bad nightmares about tanks and bulldozers," she told her mother. "I'm witnessing this chronic, insidious genocide and I'm really scared... This has to stop. I think it is a good idea for us all to drop everything and devote our lives to making this stop."

The emails, which later inspired a play that appeared in London but was cancelled in New York and Toronto, end with an exchange with her father. "I am afraid for you, and I think I have reason to be," he wrote. "But I'm also proud of you - very proud... But I'd just as soon be proud of somebody else's daughter."

Corrie died on 16 March 2003. Like the death of the British activist Tom Hurndall in similar circumstances a year later, it prompted an international outcry about Israel's deeds in the Palestinian territories.

Israeli solidarity with resistance to occupation

From http://www.awalls.org/about_aatw "Anarchists Against the Wall" homepage

About AATW

Who We Are

Anarchists Against the Wall (AATW) is a direct action group that was established in 2003 in response to the construction of the wall Israel is building on Palestinian land in the Occupied West Bank. The group works in cooperation with Palestinians in a joint popular struggle against the occupation.

Since its formation, the group has participated in hundreds of demonstrations and direct actions against the wall specifically, and the occupation generally, all over the West Bank. All of AATW's work in Palestine is coordinated through villages' local popular committees and is essentially Palestinian led.

Why We Resist

It is the duty of Israeli citizens to resist immoral policies and actions carried out in our name. We believe that it is possible to do more than demonstrate inside Israel or participate in humanitarian relief actions. Israeli apartheid and occupation isn't going to end by itself - it will end when it becomes ungovernable and unmanageable. It is time to physically oppose the bulldozers, the army and the occupation.

A Brief History

In April 2003, three years into the Second Intifada, a small group of mostly anarchist Israeli activists, already doing various political work in the Occupied Territories formed Anarchists Against the Wall. The group was established around the formation of a protest tent in the village of Mas'ha, where the wall was nearing and would leave 96% of the village's land on the "Israeli" side.

The camp, formed by Palestinian, Israeli and international activists was composed of two tents on the village's land which was slated for confiscation. A constant presence of Palestinian, Israelis and internationals remained for four months. During which, the camp became a center for information dissemination and a base for direct-democracy decision-making. A number of wall related direct actions were planned and prepared

at the camp - such as the July 28, 2003 direct action in the Village of Anin. In that action Palestinians, international and Israeli activists managed to force open a gate in the wall in spite of being attacked by the army ([See Haaretz article](#)).

Late in August of 2003, with the wall around Mas'ha nearly completed, the camp moved to the yard of a house in which was slated for demolition. Following two days of blocking the bulldozers and mass arrests, the yard was demolished and the camp ended, but the spirit of resistance it symbolized was not demolished.

In 2004, the village of Budrus began its struggles against the wall and AATW joined their daily demonstrations. Through its persistence in community mobilization, struggle and popular resistance, the village of Budrus was able to achieve significant victories.

Without appealing to the Israeli courts, utilizing only popular resistance, the village succeeded to push the path of wall almost completely off its land.

Budrus' success inspired many other villages to build a popular resistance, which is perhaps an even greater success. For a good part of the year, almost every village to which the construction of the wall reached rose up against it. AATW joined every village that called for its participation.

More recently our actions have been centered in and around the village of Bil'in, northwest of Ramallah, where most of the village's agricultural land is to be effectively confiscated by the wall and an expanding settlement.

Our Role in the Struggle

The mere presence of Israelis at Palestinian civilian actions offers some degree of protection for or against army violence.

The Israeli army's code of conduct is significantly different when Israelis are present and violence, while still severe, is significantly lower. Even though many Israeli activists have been wounded at the demonstrations, some of them seriously, it is the Palestinians who have paid the highest toll. To date, 18 Palestinian demonstrators

have been killed in demonstrations against the wall and thousands have been wounded.

The army and the Israeli government try to put an end to Palestinian popular resistance using every form of repression, and to prevent Israeli activists from joining this struggle. Under the occupation's law it is possible to indict people for simply participating in a demonstration. In the course of the last several years, AATW activists have been arrested hundreds of times and dozens of indictments were filed against them.

The legal repression by the Israeli authorities is just another front for the Israeli authorities to try and crack down on resistance.

In order to keep activists out of jail and continue the struggle, AATW is now faced with mounting legal expenses for its defense in the Israeli court. The cost for legal representation has exceeded US\$60,000 and is constantly rising.

Funding

AATW does not receive funding from any state, government or association. We rely on donations from people all over the world that would like to see us continue to support the Palestinian struggle for freedom.

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In Israel, a rabbi who argues that anti-Arab measures are un-Jewish - CSMonitor.com
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The Christian Science Monitor - CSMonitor.com

In Israel, a rabbi who argues that anti-Arab measures are un-Jewish
Arik Ascherman, a Harvard grad who helped found Rabbis for Human Rights, is
struggling to present an alternative voice amid rising
anti-Arab and anti-foreigner sentiment in Israel.

In this October 2001 photo, Israeli human rights activist Rabbi Arik Ascherman joins a
small group providing the Palestinian villagers of
Haris a Jewish human shield and helps them harvest the new olive crop.
(Nasser Ishtayeh/AP)

By Ben Lynfield, Correspondent
posted December 17, 2010 at 5:11 pm EST
Jerusalem —

At first glance, Arik Ascherman seems more like a soft-spoken university lecturer than a combative crusader for the rights of the “other,” be they Palestinian or African refugee. Yet the American-born rabbi is embroiled in two of Israel’s main conflicts today: the struggle with Palestinians over the West Bank and, within Israel, a rising tide of anti-Arab and anti-foreigner sentiment. The latter is starkly illustrated by an unprecedented rabbinical edict calling on Jews not to rent or sell property to non-Jews. Both conflicts are at the heart of a debate over whether Israel can live up to its ideal of being democratic as well as Jewish.

Q&A: Why only 51 percent of Israelis support equal rights for Arab minority

Israel is at a particularly sensitive, even dangerous point in its history, argues Rabbi Ascherman, a liberal voice struggling to be heard among Israel’s more prevalent Orthodox strain. In the face of “huge warning signs,” such as the recent rabbinical edict, he sees an urgent need to temper xenophobic fears with education about human rights. “Things always go in waves, but they have reached a height I don’t ever recall seeing before,” says the Harvard grad, who helped found Rabbis for Human Rights (RHR) in Israel more than 20 years ago. “Your average Israeli does not want bad things for non-Jews,” he says, “but they think: (a) our self-defense comes first, and (b) we are a small country and must take care of ourselves first. The demagogues play on these fears - the danger of an Arab living next to you or the danger of allowing refugees in our society, diluting Jewish culture, [the danger] that our children will intermarry. All of these play on fears so that even decent people who are not racist are overcome by these fears.”

Rabbi rulings against Arabs, Africans

Indeed, the religious edicts banning rentals to non-Jews seem to be based as much on xenophobia as religious beliefs. Seven rabbis in the Tel Aviv suburb of Bnei Brak published a ruling last month calling on landlords to refrain from letting to “illegal residents and their ilk.” The rabbis wrote that an influx of African asylum seekers had reached “horrific proportions,” accusing the refugees of being idle and harassing

others. Then there were the statements of rabbi Shmuel Eliyahu of Safed, a northern town, who spearheaded an edict to ban Arabs from living there. According to the rabbi, this was self-defense - otherwise Arabs would gradually take over Safed, considered a holy Jewish city. "I have great compassion for human beings, even for animals. I have no compassion for enemies," he told Maariv newspaper last month. "The moment a person comes and tells me in my house that I am a guest and not the owner, the moment a person distorts history, the moment a person acts in my city as if its his village, I have no obligation to be merciful towards him." Rabbi Eliyahu's approach was adopted on a national scale last week, when some 50 rabbis from across the country issued an edict banning the rental of apartments to Arabs. "The land of Israel is intended for the people of Israel," Yosef Shainin, chief rabbi of the coastal town of Ashdod, explained to Army Radio. All of this is anathema to Ascherman and his group, which draws on the humanistic teachings of the late American rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel, who marched along with Martin Luther King in the civil rights movement and opposed the Vietnam war.

How RHR responded

At the first sign of trouble last month, when rabbis in Tel Aviv called on landlords not to rent to African asylum seekers, RHR put together its own religious opinion, signed by 50 liberal rabbis. RHR rabbis wrote that banning rentals - a movement that has gathered steam, with 50 rabbis around Israel endorsing it - contradicted biblical values and was reminiscent of Jewish persecution, including that by Nazi Germany. "The tradition of Israel comes out against the natural human tendency to hate the stranger and those who are different," the rabbis wrote. They quoted Leviticus 19:34 in the Old Testament: "The stranger that sojourneth with you shall be unto you as the homeborn among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself, for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt. I am the Lord your God."

Over the years, Ascherman has applied that injunction to the Palestinians. Every autumn, he organizes RHR volunteers to protect Palestinians from Israeli settler violence during the olive harvest. And six years ago he had to perform 120 hours of community service after being convicted of interfering with the Jerusalem municipality's attempt to destroy an unlicensed Palestinian home by blocking a bulldozer. His reasoning: It was unjust and un-Jewish to demolish the homes when Palestinians did not have a fair chance to obtain a building license.

Why RHR struggles to be heard

RHR is not popular with West Bank settlers, and has struggled to gain traction even with average Israelis. "Ascherman instigates Palestinians against the Jewish residents, I'm sorry the organization exists, it is very unproductive," says David Halvri, spokesman for the Samaria Council in the northern West Bank. "It is definitely not concerned with the human rights of Jews or assisting in a peaceful solution. Its agenda is to show how evil settlers are." Ascherman says the organization is now having an internal discussion on whether to go further and to issue a call on the government for the dismissal from their posts of the rabbis - most of them on state payroll - who called for halting rentals to Arabs.

But RHR has limited impact on Israeli public opinion, partly because most of its rabbis come from non-Orthodox streams of Judaism, including conservative, reform, and reconstructionist traditions. In Israel, where only Orthodox rabbis are officially recognized, such streams have small followings and are widely viewed as foreign imports. “Ascherman is saying clear things but in the confused Israeli agenda they are hard to swallow,” says Uri Dromi, once a spokesman for former Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. “People say, ‘What kind of rabbis are these?’ Most of the population does not connect with reform or conservative Judaism.” “Neither the public nor the religious community are receptive to their messages,” agrees Menachem Klein, a political scientist at Bar Ilan University near Tel Aviv. Ascherman is more optimistic, but admits RHR’s task is a tough one. “There’s been a lot of progress on people understanding there is another authentic Jewish voice. But many know more about the 50 rabbis [who issued the edict] than they do about our rabbis and we clearly have a lot of work to do.”

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The Boycott Divestment and Sanctions Movement

I. Introduction:

Tell students they will be studying a Boycott Divestment and Sanctions Movement. Ask students if they have ever heard of any of those key words. Help them reach the following definitions:

Boycott: an activity in which consumers do not buy or use or deal with a product or a person or an organization or a country for political reasons, usually to pressure it to change.

Divestment: an activity where people/shareholders withdraw their monetary investments from companies or countries. This is called disinvestment or divestment.

Sanctions: an activity in which one country or group of countries adopts certain measures to pressure another country or individual to change. Often this involves not selling certain items to the targeted country or individual.

II. Brainstorm Examples of BDS:

Tell students that, since 2004, Palestinians have been calling for BDS against Israel in order to help end the occupation. Ask if students know of other historical BDS movements and help them recall:

- The **Civil Rights Movement** in the US used bus boycotts to press for equal rights for blacks and whites on buses. Martin Luther King and Rosa Parks were famous members of that movement.

- Gandhi** organized an Indian boycott of British goods when the Indians were pressuring Britain to end its colonial rule of India

- Americans **boycotted grapes and lettuce** until workers who picked these products received better wages and working conditions. (see Cesar Chavez & United Farmworkers)

- American college students pressed their universities to divest funds from South Africa while it was engaging in **Apartheid**. There was an academic boycott of South Africans in the 1980s. At the same time, many countries sanctioned South Africa, refusing to trade with it or engage in cultural or sports exchanges. (For more discussion of Apartheid, see lesson II. B. 5 on Israel: Democracy or Apartheid State?)

- Americans boycotted British goods during the time of the **American Revolution** (Boston Tea Party).

III. Have students read the Palestinian statements calling for a Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions movement and calling for an academic and cultural boycott. Also included is an article about Israeli supporters of the BDS movement and a report on the impact of BDS on the settlements. Have half the class read Article 1 and 3, and have the other half read Articles 2 and 4. This can be homework. Notice the long list of endorsers after the BDS statement. We suggest

that you show the students the list to see the diverse groups from Palestinian civil society who signed the statement. But we suggest you omit the pages of endorsers in the copies that you make for students--in order to save trees. Ask students to answer the following questions as they read. Then put them in groups with students who read the other pair of articles to discuss their answers after reading:

According to the BDS Statements and the articles:

- 1. What are the problems that Palestinians face?**
 - 2. What kinds of pressure on Israel have been tried and have failed in the past?**
 - 3. What actions will this BDS movement consist of?**
 - 4. Why is this an appropriate action to take, according to Palestinians?**
 - 5. What is the ultimate goal?**
 - 6. What different positions do Israelis take on the issue of boycott?**
 - 7. What boycott results have been achieved so far?**
- IV. Following this introductory lesson is a series of articles for and against BDS. Have each student read one of the articles, then the class can generate a list of arguments for and against BDS.
- V. Cultural Boycott: Show students a youtube video made by artists in the 1980s boycotting South Africa. Next, there is a funny youtube video and articles about specific artists who have supported or rejected the cultural boycott against Israel. Finally, there is a suggestion for a project where students choose a favorite artist and write him/her a letter urging support or rejection of the boycott.

According to the BDS Statements and the articles:

1. What are the problems that Palestinians face?
2. What kinds of pressure on Israeli have been tried and have failed in the past?
3. What actions will this BDS movement consist of?
4. Why is this an appropriate action to take, according to Palestinians?
5. What is the ultimate goal?
6. What different positions do Israelis take on the issue of boycott?
7. What boycott results have been achieved so far?

Article 1

Palestinian Civil Society

Calls for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions against Israel

Until it Complies with International Law and Universal Principles of Human Rights

9 July 2005

One year after the historic Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) which found Israel's Wall built on occupied Palestinian territory to be illegal, Israel continues its construction of the colonial Wall with total disregard to the Court's decision. Thirty eight years into Israel's occupation of the Palestinian West Bank (including East Jerusalem), Gaza Strip and the Syrian Golan Heights, Israel continues to expand Jewish colonies. It has unilaterally annexed occupied East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights and is now de facto annexing large parts of the West Bank by means of the Wall. Israel is also preparing - in the shadow of its planned redeployment from the Gaza Strip - to build and expand colonies in the West Bank. Fifty seven years after the state of Israel was built mainly on land ethnically cleansed of its Palestinian owners, a majority of Palestinians are refugees, most of whom are stateless. Moreover, Israel's entrenched system of racial discrimination against its own Arab-Palestinian citizens remains intact.

In light of Israel's persistent violations of international law; and

Given that, since 1948, hundreds of UN resolutions have condemned Israel's colonial and discriminatory policies as illegal and called for immediate, adequate and effective remedies; and

Given that all forms of international intervention and peace-making have until now failed to convince or force Israel to comply with humanitarian law, to respect fundamental human rights and to end its occupation and oppression of the people of Palestine; and

In view of the fact that people of conscience in the international community have historically shouldered the moral responsibility to fight injustice, as exemplified in the struggle to abolish apartheid in South Africa through diverse forms of boycott, divestment and sanctions; and

Inspired by the struggle of South Africans against apartheid and in the spirit of international solidarity, moral consistency and resistance to injustice and oppression;

We, representatives of Palestinian civil society, call upon international civil society organizations and people of conscience all over the world to impose broad boycotts and implement divestment initiatives against Israel similar to those applied to South Africa in the apartheid era. We appeal to you to pressure your respective states to impose embargoes and sanctions against Israel. We also invite conscientious Israelis to support this Call, for the sake of justice and genuine peace.

These non-violent punitive measures should be maintained until Israel meets its obligation to recognize the Palestinian people's inalienable right to self-determination and fully complies with the precepts of international law by:

1. Ending its occupation and colonization of all Arab lands and dismantling the Wall;
2. Recognizing the fundamental rights of the Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel to full equality; and
3. Respecting, protecting and promoting the rights of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes and properties as stipulated in UN resolution 194.

Endorsed by:

The Palestinian political parties, unions, associations, coalitions and organizations below represent the three integral parts of the people of Palestine: Palestinian refugees, Palestinians under occupation and Palestinian citizens of Israel.

Unions, Associations, Campaigns

- Council of National and Islamic Forces in Palestine (Coordinating body for the major political parties in the Occupied Palestinian Territory)
- Palestinian Independent Commission for Citizen's Rights (PICCR)
- Union of Arab Community Based Associations (ITTIJAH), Haifa
- Forum of Palestinian NGOs in Lebanon
- Palestinian General Federation of Trade Unions (PGFTU)
- General Union of Palestinian Women (GUPW)
- General Union of Palestinian Teachers (GUPT)
- Federation of Unions of Palestinian Universities' Professors and Employees
- Consortium of Professional Associations
- Union of Palestinian Medical Relief Committees (UPMRC)
- Health Work Committees - West Bank
- Union of Agricultural Work Committees (UAWC)
- Union of Palestinian Agricultural Relief Committees (PARC)
- Union of Health Work Committees - Gaza (UHCW)
- Union of Palestinian Farmers
- Occupied Palestine and Syrian Golan Heights Advocacy Initiative (OPGAI)
- General Union of Disabled Palestinians
- Palestinian Federation of Women's Action Committees (PFWAC)
- Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI)
- Palestinian Grassroots Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign
- Union of Teachers of Private Schools
- Union of Women's Work Committees, Tulkarem (UWWC)
- Dentists' Association - Jerusalem Center

- Palestinian Engineers Association
- Lawyers' Association
- Network for the Eradication of Illiteracy and Adult Education, Ramallah
- Coordinating Committee of Rehabilitation Centers - West Bank
- Coalition of Lebanese Civil Society Organizations (150 organizations)
- Solidarity for Palestinian Human Rights (SPHR), Network of Student-based Canadian University Associations

Refugee Rights Associations/Organizations

1. Al-Ard Committees for the Defense of the Right of Return, Syria
 2. Al-Awda Charitable Society, Beit Jala
 3. Al Awda - Palestine Right-to-Return Coalition, U.S.A
 4. Al-Awda Toronto
 5. Aidun Group - Lebanon
 6. Aidun Group - Syria
 7. Alrowwad Cultural and Theatre Training Center, Aida refugee camp
 8. Association for the Defense of the Rights of the Internally Displaced (ADRID), Nazareth
 9. BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights, Bethlehem
 10. Committee for Definite Return, Syria
 11. Committee for the Defense of Palestinian Refugee Rights, Nablus
 12. Consortium of the Displaced Inhabitants of Destroyed Palestinian Villages and Towns
 13. Filastinuna - Commission for the Defense of the Right of Return, Syria
 14. Handala Center, 'Azza (Beit Jibreen) refugee camp, Bethlehem
 15. High Committee for the Defense of the Right of Return, Jordan
- (including personal endorsement of 71 members of parliament, political parties and unions in Jordan)
1. High National Committee for the Defense of the Right of Return , Ramallah
 2. International Right of Return Congress (RORC)

3. Jermana Youth Forum for the Defense of the Right of Return, Syria
4. Laji Center, Aida camp, Bethlehem
5. Local Committee for Rehabilitation, Qalandia refugee camp, Jerusalem
6. Local Committee for Rehabilitation of the Disabled, Deheishe refugee camp, Bethlehem
7. Palestinian National Committee for the Defense of the Right of Return, Syria
8. Palestinian Return Association, Syria
9. Palestinian Return Forum, Syria
10. Palestine Right-of-Return Coalition (Palestine, Arab host countries, Europe, North America)
11. Palestine Right-of-Return Confederation-Europe (Austria, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Sweden)
12. Palestinian Youth Forum for the Right of Return, Syria
13. PLO Popular Committees - West Bank refugee camps
14. PLO Popular Committees - Gaza Strip refugee camps
15. Popular Committee - al-'Azza (Beit Jibreen) refugee camp, Bethlehem
16. Popular Committee - Deheishe refugee camp, Bethlehem
17. Shaml - Palestinian Diaspora and Refugee Center, Ramallah
18. Union of Women's Activity Centers - West Bank Refugee Camps
19. Union of Youth Activity Centers - Palestine Refugee Camps, West Bank and Gaza
20. Women's Activity Center - Deheishe refugee camp, Bethlehem
21. Yafa Cultural Center, Balata refugee camp, Nablus

Organizations

1. Abna' al-Balad Society, Nablus
2. Addameer Center for Human Rights, Gaza
3. Addameer Prisoners' Support and Human Rights Association, Ramallah
4. Alanqa' Cultural Association, Hebron
5. Al-Awda Palestinian Folklore Society, Hebron

6. Al-Doha Children's Cultural Center, Bethlehem
7. Al-Huda Islamic Center, Bethlehem
8. Al-Jeel al-Jadid Society, Haifa
9. Al-Karameh Cultural Society, Um al-Fahm
10. Al-Maghazi Cultural Center, Gaza
11. Al-Marsad Al-Arabi, occupied Syrian Golan Heights
12. Al-Mezan Center for Human Rights, Gaza
13. Al-Nahda Cultural Forum, Hebron
14. Al-Taghrid Society for Culture and Arts, Gaza
15. Alternative Tourism Group, Beit Sahour (ATG)
16. Al-Wafa' Charitable Society, Gaza
17. Applied Research Institute Jerusalem (ARIJ)
18. Arab Association for Human Rights, Nazareth (HRA)
19. Arab Center for Agricultural Development (ACAD)
20. Arab Center for Agricultural Development-Gaza
21. Arab Educational Institute - Open Windows (affiliated with Pax Christie International)
22. Arab Orthodox Charitable Society - Beit Sahour
23. Arab Orthodox Charity - Beit Jala
24. Arab Orthodox Club - Beit Jala
25. Arab Orthodox Club - Beit Sahour
26. Arab Students' Collective, University of Toronto
27. Arab Thought Forum, Jerusalem (AFT)
28. Association for Cultural Exchange Hebron - France
29. Association Najdeh, Lebanon
30. Authority for Environmental Quality, Jenin
31. Bader Society for Development and Reconstruction, Gaza
32. Canadian Palestine Foundation of Quebec, Montreal
33. Center for the Defense of Freedoms, Ramallah
34. Center for Science and Culture, Gaza

35. Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Ramallah- Al-Bireh District
36. Child Development and Entertainment Center, Tulkarem
37. Committee for Popular Participation, Tulkarem
38. Defense for Children International-Palestine Section, Ramallah (DCI/PS)
39. El-Funoun Palestinian Popular Dance Troupe
40. Ensan Center for Democracy and Human Rights, Bethlehem
41. Environmental Education Center, Bethlehem
42. FARAH - Palestinian Center for Children, Syria
43. Ghassan Kanafani Society for Development, Gaza
44. Ghassan Kanafani Forum, Syria
45. Gaza Community Mental Health Program, Gaza (GCMHP)
46. Golan for Development, occupied Syrian Golan Heights
47. Halhoul Cultural Forum, Hebron
48. Himayeh Society for Human Rights, Um al-Fahm
49. Holy Land Trust - Bethlehem
50. Home of Saint Nicholas for Old Ages - Beit Jala
51. Human Rights Protection Center, Lebanon
52. In'ash al-Usrah Society, Ramallah
53. International Center of Bethlehem (Dar An-Nadweh)
54. Islah Charitable Society-Bethlehem
55. Jafra Youth Center, Syria
56. Jander Center, al-Azza (Beit Jibreen) refugee camp, Bethlehem
57. Jerusalem Center for Women, Jerusalem (JCW)
58. Jerusalem Legal Aid and Human Rights Center (JLAC)
59. Khalil Al Sakakini Cultural Center, Ramallah
60. Land Research Center, Jerusalem (LRC)
61. Liberated Prisoners' Society, Palestine
62. Local Committee for Social Development, Nablus
63. Local Committee for the Rehabilitation of the Disabled, Nablus

64. MA'AN TV Network, Bethlehem
65. Medical Aid for Palestine, Canada
66. MIFTAH-Palestinian Initiative for the Promotion of Global Dialogue and Democracy, Ramallah
67. Muwatin-The Palestinian Institute for the Study of Democracy
68. National Forum of Martyr's Families, Palestine
69. Near East Council of Churches Committee for Refugee Work - Gaza Area
70. Network of Christian Organizations - Bethlehem (NCOB)
71. Palestinian Council for Justice and Peace, Jerusalem
72. Palestinian Counseling Center, Jerusalem (PCC)
73. Palestinian Democratic Youth Union, Lebanon
74. Palestinian Farmers' Society, Gaza
75. Palestinian Hydrology Group for Water and Environment Resources Development-Gaza
76. Palestinian Prisoners' Society-West Bank
77. Palestinian Society for Consumer Protection, Gaza
78. Palestinian University Students' Forum for Peace and Democracy, Hebron
79. Palestinian Women's Struggle Committees
80. Palestinian Working Women Society for Development (PWWSD)
81. Popular Art Centre, Al-Bireh
82. Prisoner's Friends Association - Ansar Al-Sajeen, Majd al-Krum
83. Public Aid Association, Gaza
84. Ramallah Center for Human Rights Studies
85. Saint Afram Association - Bethlehem
86. Saint Vincent De Paule - Beit Jala
87. Senior Citizen Society - Beit Jala
88. Social Development Center, Nablus
89. Society for Self-Development, Hebron
90. Society for Social Work, Tulkarem
91. Society for Voluntary Work and Culture, Um al-Fahm

92. Society of Friends of Prisoners and Detainees, Um al-Fahm
93. Sumoud-Political Prisoners Solidarity Group, Toronto
94. Tamer Institute for Community Education, Ramallah
95. TCC - Teacher's Creativity Center, Ramallah
96. Wi'am Center, Bethlehem
97. Women's Affairs Technical Committee, Ramallah and Gaza (WATC)
98. Women's Studies Center, Jerusalem (WSC)
99. Women's Center for Legal Aid and Counseling, Jerusalem (WCLAC)
100. Yafa for Education and Culture, Nablus
101. Yazour Charitable Society, Nablus
102. YMCA-East Jerusalem
103. Youth Cooperation Forum, Hebron
104. YWCA-Palestine
105. Zakat Committee-al-Khader, Bethlehem
106. Zakat Committee-Deheishe camp, Bethlehem

Article 2

Source: <http://pacbi.org/printnews.php?id=869>

Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI) | 6 July 2004

CALL FOR ACADEMIC AND CULTURAL BOYCOTT OF ISRAEL

Whereas Israel's colonial oppression of the Palestinian people, which is based on Zionist ideology, comprises the following:

Denial of its responsibility for the Nakba -- in particular the waves of ethnic cleansing and dispossession that created the Palestinian refugee problem -- and therefore refusal to accept the inalienable rights of the refugees and displaced stipulated in and protected by international law;

Military occupation and colonization of the West Bank (including East Jerusalem) and Gaza since 1967, in violation of international law and UN resolutions;

The entrenched system of racial discrimination and segregation against the Palestinian citizens of Israel, which resembles the defunct apartheid system in South Africa;

Since Israeli academic institutions (mostly state controlled) and the vast majority of Israeli intellectuals and academics have either contributed directly to maintaining, defending or otherwise justifying the above forms of oppression, or have been complicit in them through their silence,

Given that all forms of international intervention have until now failed to force Israel to comply with international law or to end its repression of the Palestinians, which has manifested itself in many forms, including siege, indiscriminate killing, wanton destruction and the racist colonial wall,

In view of the fact that people of conscience in the international community of scholars and intellectuals have historically shouldered the moral responsibility to fight injustice, as exemplified in their struggle to abolish apartheid in South Africa through diverse forms of boycott,

Recognizing that the growing international boycott movement against Israel has expressed the need for a Palestinian frame of reference outlining guiding principles, In the spirit of international solidarity, moral consistency and resistance to injustice and oppression,

We, Palestinian academics and intellectuals, call upon our colleagues in the international community to ***comprehensively and consistently boycott all Israeli academic and cultural institutions*** as a contribution to the struggle to end Israel's occupation, colonization and system of apartheid, by applying the following:

1. Refrain from participation in any form of academic and cultural cooperation, collaboration or joint projects with Israeli institutions;
2. Advocate a comprehensive boycott of Israeli institutions at the national and international levels, including suspension of all forms of funding and subsidies to these institutions;

3. Promote divestment and disinvestment from Israel by international academic institutions;
4. Work toward the condemnation of Israeli policies by pressing for resolutions to be adopted by academic, professional and cultural associations and organizations;
5. Support Palestinian academic and cultural institutions directly without requiring them to partner with Israeli counterparts as an explicit or implicit condition for such support.

<http://pacbi.org/printnews.php?id=869>

Endorsed by:

Palestinian Federation of Unions of University Professors and Employees; Palestinian General Federation of Trade Unions; Palestinian NGO Network, West Bank; Teachers' Federation; Palestinian Writers' Federation; Palestinian League of Artists; Palestinian Journalists' Federation; General Union of Palestinian Women; Palestinian Lawyers' Association; and tens of other Palestinian federations, associations, and civil society organizations.

6 July 2004

PACBI, P.O. Box 1701, Ramallah, Palestine; info@BoycottIsrael.ps; <http://www.PACBI.org>

Download statement (PDF)

Posted on 21-12-2008

Article 3

Press Release May 11, 2010

Former MK Uri Avnery intends to attend the Knesset debate on the boycott of settlement products, due tomorrow (Wednesday). "I'm one of the initiators of the Gush Shalom boycott campaign against products of the settlements, which is maintained for more than ten years already, with the participation of tens of thousands of Israelis"

Former Knesset member Uri Avnery, Gush Shalom activist, is going to be present tomorrow (Wednesday, May 12) at the Knesset gallery during the debate due to be held on the call to boycott products of the settlements.

"The Gush Shalom movement is calling, already for more than ten years, for a complete boycott on products of the settlements. We call upon the public not to purchase these products, and we maintain a detailed list of these products, which we publish on our website and distribute at public gatherings and the doors of supermarkets. Tens of thousands of Israelis already participate in our boycott campaign, and we welcome all people and groups who join in - as recently did public figures of the Arab sector in Israel.

We are opposed to the establishment of settlements and to their continued existence. The *raison d'être* of the settlements is to prevent the end of the occupation and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state, which makes them the main obstacle to achieving peace and the main cause for continued conflict, hatred and bloodshed. Establishment of settlements is a clear violation of International Law, which specifically prohibits an occupying power from transferring its civilian population to the occupied territory. Establishment of settlements is also an act of theft: settlements built on private land constitute theft from private landowners, the establishment of settlements on state land is theft from the entire Palestinian people, as all state land in the occupied territories is the property of the future state of Palestine. There is a large section of the Israeli public which opposes the settlements, and there is no reason why they should support the settlement project from their own pocket even by a single penny.

Most of the industrialists who moved their plants over to the settlements did not do so for ideological reasons, but because of generous government subsidies. When they find out that location in a settlement causes them to be exposed to boycott and causes damage to their business, they will go away from there - there are actually more and more such cases. Anyone who boycotts the products of the settlements takes a completely legitimate and democratic action, which undermines the occupation and promotes peace.

The Netanyahu Government's protest against the boycott proclaimed by the Palestinian Authority against settlements products is the epitome ofchutzpah which deserves to be registered in the Guinness Book of Records. The settlements are located

on land stolen from the Palestinians by main force, for the express purpose of the denying to the Palestinians the achievement of their basic national aspirations. What can be more natural, as well as justified, than that the Palestinians would boycott these settlements and their products? "

For:

Uri Avnery 0505-306440

Adam Keller, Gush Shalom spokesperson 054-2340749

Article 4

Source: <http://usacbi.wordpress.com/2010/05/15/palestinians-turn-to-boycott-in-west-bank/>

EXCERPT:

MAALEH ADUMIM, WEST BANK — In Mishor Adumim, a bougainvillea-lined industrial zone inside this West Bank Jewish settlement, at least 17 businesses have closed since Palestinians began boycotting its products several months ago.

For the Israelis, it's "an insufferable situation," according to Avi Elkayam, who represents the settlement's 300 factory owners. But for Palestinians, it might be the strategy they have been looking for.

For more than 40 years, Palestinians have sought to end Israeli occupation and gain statehood. International terrorism, nearly two decades of negotiations and two major waves of mass revolt have all failed to bring measurable progress toward those goals.

Now Palestinians are looking at the success of their boycott as evidence that a campaign focused on peaceful protest, rather than violent struggle, could finally yield results.

The strategy originated at the grass-roots level but has increasingly been embraced by the Palestinian leadership. Top officials have shown up at anti-settlement demonstrations led by local activists trying to isolate Israel globally in a campaign roughly modeled on the South African anti-apartheid struggle.

"We are definitely committed to a path of nonviolent resistance and defiance in the face of the settlement enterprise, and we are defiantly expressing our right to boycott those products and I believe it is working," Palestinian Prime Minister Salam Fayyad, who has attended bonfires of settlement products, said in an interview last week. "We will continue to do more."

But Fayyad represents only a portion of the Palestinian political spectrum. Members of the Islamist Hamas movement, which seized control of the Gaza Strip in 2007, have continued to advocate violence even as they rhetorically embrace the idea of boycotts and other forms of peaceful protest.

That has led some observers to wonder whether the experiment will eventually deteriorate into another armed uprising, especially if new U.S.-mediated peace talks lead nowhere.

A Western diplomat who spoke on the condition of anonymity said the nonviolent-resistance campaign could backfire, hurting prospects for a breakthrough in negotiations. "All of these efforts are seen by the Israelis as an effort by the

Palestinians to isolate Israel,” the diplomat said. “One has to question whether this will be effective or whether it will push the Israeli government into a more reluctant mood.”

Motives in question

The boycott, along with a forthcoming ban on Palestinian employment in the settlements, has already led Israeli officials to publicly question the motives of their Palestinian counterparts.

“Are they for partnership or struggle?” Israeli Deputy Prime Minister Dan Meridor said at a news conference Monday. While Israel tries to ensure Palestinians have jobs, he added, Palestinian officials “try to raise unemployment by stopping them from working.”

Dealing in settlement goods has technically been illegal under Palestinian law since 2005, but Fayyad has pushed for enforcement only since the start of the year. The hope is that the boycott will encourage the international community to adopt a stronger stance against settlements while helping end the Palestinian economy’s dependence on Israel.

A dispute over settlement construction paralyzed peacemaking efforts for the first year of the Obama administration, which views such activity as illegitimate. Israel, under U.S. pressure, has agreed to a 10-month freeze on construction in the West Bank — but not East Jerusalem — that expires in September.

Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas signed a law last month making it a crime, punishable by up to two years in prison and a \$14,000 fine, to sell settlement products. For Israel, the value of settlement products sold in Palestinian markets constitutes a small fraction of its \$200 billion annual gross domestic product. Still, officials worry about the campaign morphing into a broader boycott of all Israeli goods.

In addition to forcing factories in West Bank settlements to shut down or relocate inside Israel, the campaign is deterring other Israeli businesses from moving to the West Bank industrial zones, which were originally set up to be closer to Palestinian laborers, many of whom are denied permits to work in Israel proper.

IV. Directions: Read these opposing articles about boycotting Israel. How does each article answer the other's concerns? Which arguments are stronger in your opinion? Why? What unanswered questions do you still have after reading these articles? Make a list of questions to discuss.

I. Pro-BDS (2 articles)

A. An American group.

Source: <http://www.palestineinformation.org/boycott.htm>

The Palestine Solidarity Committee/Seattle calls on the consumers of Washington State to boycott Israel and to avoid purchasing Israeli products sold in local stores.

We are boycotting specific products including all goods produced in Israel or by Israeli-owned companies. We will also boycott products sold by companies that conduct business with Israel or supply goods or services to the Israeli armed forces. We will not boycott products simply because they are kosher or associated with Jewish cultural practices. Our boycott is directed at the State of Israel, not at the Jewish people of the world.

For over sixty years, the State of Israel has imposed apartheid, occupation, and ethnic cleansing on Palestinians, violating their human rights, ignoring international law, and disregarding criticism. The UN General Assembly regularly passes resolutions condemning Israel's violations, and in 2004 the International Court of Justice ruled against Israel's construction of a separation barrier.

The State of Israel was formed by expelling almost 800,000 Palestinians and destroying over 500 Palestinian villages. These people and their descendents have never been allowed to return to their homes, nor have they received restitution. Since the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza in 1967, several million Palestinians have lived under Israeli military dictatorship. Israel has continuously displaced Palestinians in order to make space for illegal Jewish-only settlements, and has regularly demolished Palestinian homes and orchards and taken over their farmlands.

In 2002 Israel began to build a "separation barrier" that is really an Annexation Wall, taking large amounts of Palestinian land, and cutting off many farming villages from their own lands. The Israeli occupying army maintains around 700 checkpoints in the West Bank, cutting off all freedom of movement to Palestinians -- while constructing "bypass highways" for Israeli settlers only. The Israeli army routinely arrests and imprisons Palestinians without charge or trial. South African Archbishop Desmond Tutu has compared Israeli mistreatment of the Palestinians to the apartheid of South Africa.

The US government uncritically supports Israeli policies year after year to the tune of

\$3 to \$6 billion annually in aid. This support is continuing even after the recent Israeli offensive against the Gaza Strip, which resulted in over 1400 Palestinian deaths (mostly non-combatants), well over 5,000 injuries, and massive destruction of housing and infrastructure. Because of the US government's unquestioning support of Israel regardless of its atrocious behavior, we US citizens have an urgent responsibility to work to change Israeli policies.

We have seen that Israel's successive governments refuse to listen to criticism by the United Nations, human rights activists, and the World Court alike, and that Israel's behavior is becoming more extreme and brutal year by year. An economic boycott is a legitimate, moral, and non-violent form of political action. Boycotts are taking place in dozens of countries around the world. From New York and Toronto to Durban and Qatar, ordinary citizens are organizing to refuse to buy Israeli products.

It worked in South Africa; it can work in Israel/Palestine. Palestinians have the right to self-determination, and it is time for us to support this right through economic pressure.

We are aware that a boycott against the State of Israel will raise concerns among some allies and antagonists alike, and challenging questions will arise. This document is designed to address some of those thorny and complex questions. This is meant as a tool for activists, not as a handbill for the public; though segments and passages might prove useful for shorter leaflets.

Q: "Why should we boycott Israel but not Hamas for attacking civilians?"

A: Israel is not only targeting civilians in far greater numbers than Hamas, but it is also committing crimes against humanity in the form of ethnic cleansing and apartheid. Israel's ongoing policies of military occupation, displacement, land expropriation, and wide-scale mistreatment of the Palestinian population are the root of the conflict, and Israel commits war crimes in order to implement these policies. Israel is by far the richer and stronger power in the conflict, and it holds nearly all the leverage available to change policy, end the siege, end apartheid, end ethnic cleansing, end the occupation, and establish equal rights for Israelis and Palestinians. We are trying to pressure the Israeli government, as the principal instigator of the conflict, to cease its illegal and immoral practices and to abide by international legal and moral standards. Hamas should also be held accountable for targeting civilians; but these actions by the undermined leadership of a captive population (and by independent factions) are not the root of the conflict.

Q: "Why is it okay for us to boycott Israel but not okay for US/Israel to impose boycott on Hamas?"

A: There is an enormous difference between a state-imposed economic blockade and a consumer boycott. The European Union and the United States, together with Israel, have leveled massive sanctions against the Palestinians resulting in the withholding of

critical supplies necessary for the daily survival of the population.

Since Hamas won a plurality in the Palestinian elections of January, 2006, Israel, with the encouragement of the United States, has withheld millions of dollars in taxes due to the Palestinian government. This economic blockade -- especially of Gaza -- has caused massive suffering for ordinary Palestinians. Israel has cut off entry to Gaza of fuel, food, medicines, electricity, and other urgent necessities, resulting in skyrocketing unemployment, increased deaths from injuries and curable disease, and malnutrition.

The Israeli government exerts full control over Palestinian movement and commerce. Because of this, international law requires Israel to ensure an acceptable level of well-being for the Palestinians. The Israeli and international sanctions against the Palestinians flout this responsibility. But consumers around the world are in no sense obligated to purchase Israeli products. In fact, we have a moral responsibility to boycott those products in order to avoid supporting criminal actions with our dollars.

Israel is punishing the entire Palestinian population, not because of terrorism perpetrated by Hamas, but because Hamas refuses to act as a puppet government, a proxy for the Israeli occupation.

Rather than starving and persecuting the Palestinian population, Israel must negotiate with Hamas. Hamas has at numerous points over the past few years clearly expressed a willingness to engage in negotiations, and has in fact initiated unilateral ceasefires over extended periods. Negotiation with Hamas will be necessary for any progress toward peace with justice.

Q: "Doesn't a boycott hurt those whom it is meant to help?"

A: In the last fifteen years the Palestinian economy has been so efficiently divorced from the Israeli economy that very few Israeli products are produced by Palestinian labor or materials. With most Palestinian labor in Israel prohibited, Palestinians have widely returned to agriculture where possible, and they are quite often living at a subsistence level. If we boycott Israeli-processed diamonds, fruit grown on a kibbutz, or facial cream created on an illegal Israeli settlement in the West Bank, the economic impact of our actions will most directly affect the Israeli producers.

Palestinians themselves have called on the world to boycott Israeli goods. [link to Palestine BDS Campaign <http://www.bdsmovement.net/>]

Our boycott not only targets Israeli-produced goods, but also US companies that profit from Israel's illegal and immoral policies. For example, Motorola, an American company, produces technology for the Israeli army that is crucial to Israeli war operations. This technology includes radar, radio, and cellular telephone systems [<http://boycottisraelnyc.org/>]. If we send Motorola a strong enough message that we disapprove of the company's practical support of Israeli war crimes -- and there is

already a Motorola boycott campaign being promoted around the country [<http://www.hanguponmotorola.org/>] -- we can induce them to reconsider this behavior and ultimately end their complicity.

The most well-known international social-justice boycott in recent years was the widespread boycott of South Africa in protest of its racist apartheid system. At that time a blow to the South African economy could arguably damage the living standard of the victims of apartheid. But anti-apartheid activists in South Africa still called for a boycott, which in the long run played a significant role in changing the system.

Q: "How is a boycott of Israeli goods different from collective punishment which we elsewhere deplore?"

A: Collective punishment is a legal term described in the Fourth Geneva Convention (Article 33). It refers to an occupying force's punishment of a group for offenses that an individual committed. This describes the common practices of the Israeli occupying forces against whole Palestinian communities, neighborhoods, and families.

The collective punishments that Israeli forces practice include house demolitions, curfews, checkpoints, control of imports and exports, mass arrests, and military attacks such as tear gassing, sniping, and bombing residential neighborhoods and civilian institutions. Our boycott is a non-violent tactic. As a form of economic pressure it is not punishment, but simply a grassroots refusal to participate in consumption that supports the Israeli economy. Our aim in calling this boycott is to make the Israeli government and its citizens realize that the people of the world do not accept the policies of apartheid and ethnic cleansing. Using our purchasing power strategically is one of the few ways available to send that message. An economic boycott may cause slight repercussions to be felt by the Israeli population, but unlike collective punishment, a boycott leaves ample room for Israel to change its policies. The Palestinians have no such options.

We are aware that many Israelis, both Jews and non-Jews, object to the actions and policies of their government. Members of Israeli society benefit from the occupation and abuse of Palestinian rights in varying measure depending on their socio-economic status. The privilege afforded by living in a relatively affluent society -- where some of that affluence is gained through the oppression and exploitation of others -- accrues to different members of that society in different degrees. Given this, Israelis of all ethnicities and stations will be affected, to one degree or another, by any successful boycott results.

To the extent that a citizen profits from the actions of a government, he or she has responsibility for those actions. There must be limits to such responsibility and limits to punishment; so we do not support collective punishment in the form of mass bombing, for example. A consumer boycott seems to us a reasonable and proportional response, precisely because it is non-violent and does not threaten a community's survival. A boycott against Israel only threatens the economic well-being of members

of one of the richest countries in the world -- and its primary target is the most affluent: the owners and managers of companies that are enriching themselves through occupation and exploitation. In doing so, a boycott of Israel sends a clear and concrete political message with plenty of opportunity for compliance.

An economic boycott against Israel pressures the Israeli government to cease its illegal and immoral policies, and it calls on those who object to those policies to resist them more urgently and aggressively. Our boycott is part of a larger ongoing campaign which includes support and collaboration with many Israelis who are already resisting the Israeli government's self-destructive actions.

Many Israeli companies that produce and export the goods we buy are benefiting directly from the occupation of Palestinian land. Their factories are in many cases located on land stolen from the Palestinians, and much Israeli produce is grown for export on settlement farms that are located on land taken from Palestinians.

In the long run, when Israel moves towards peace instead of permanent war with its neighbors, both physical and economic security will increase for the Israelis as well as for the Palestinians.

We do not wish to ignore the fact that there are strong parallels between the oppression practiced by Israel, and the privilege enjoyed by some members of that society, and a similar dynamic in the United States. The large number of us in this country who object to our government's actions and policies continue to profit, in varying degrees, from our government's actions, and we must grapple with the consequences of our real if limited responsibility.

Q: "Why we are boycotting products from Israel and not just from the Israeli settlements in the Occupied Territories or US companies that deal with Israel?"

A: We are calling for a boycott of all Israeli products because it is the State of Israel that acts as the principal generator of the extensive catalogue of grave crimes against the Palestinian population. The State of Israel, and not just some factions or currents in Israeli society, stands behind the war crimes and crimes against humanity, including ethnic cleansing, illegal military occupation, and maintenance of an apartheid regime.

Furthermore, Israel's policies of apartheid and ethnic cleansing are also applied to Palestinian citizens inside Israel. Our pursuit of justice cannot be confined to the military occupation or the settlements.

We are targeting the entire Israeli economy because the Israeli State, wherever it wields power, consistently privileges one part of the population while discriminating against the other. This system of apartheid has been imposed both within Israel and in the Occupied Territories.

We do not single out the settlements in the Occupied Territories for boycott because the economy of the settlements is closely interlinked with that of Israel. In many instances, raw materials come from one side and labor from the other. We cannot really affect the Israeli economy without targeting both sectors. In any case, the settlements do not exist independently of the Israeli state, but with direct support from that government.

We have worked and continue to work to persuade US companies that supply war materials to Israel to discontinue this practice, but this is a long-term effort. The shocking Israeli assault of December 2008 and January 2009 has removed all doubt that Israel must be regarded as a rogue state and made to change its illegal and immoral policies.

Q: "Why not boycott China or other countries that violate human rights?"

The magnitude and intensity of US government support for Israel and its policies of apartheid have no parallel. If the US were giving equivalent support to China or Sudan or the Congo or Indonesia, we would have equivalent responsibility to address the grave human rights issues with those countries. As it stands, Israel's policies of ethnic cleansing and apartheid are fairly regarded by the world as extensions of US policy, and so we as US citizens have unusual responsibility to change those policies. At the same time, we support non-violent citizen action in favor of human rights for all peoples of the world, and we express solidarity with all struggles for human rights, and we would support nonviolent actions to address human rights violations anywhere in the world.

Q: "Would you support international legal sanctions against Israel? If so, how is that different from US/EU/Israeli sanctions against Hamas?"

A: The actions and policies of the State of Israel are the root of the conflict. We have long called for sanctions against Israel for the same reasons that we are conducting a boycott campaign. Likewise, the argument against sanctioning Hamas is similar to the argument against boycotting Hamas (see above). The State of Israel is the actor that holds most of the leverage in this conflict. Israel is the occupying power, not Hamas. Israel has one of the most advanced, well-equipped military machines in the world. Israel's policies from the beginning of its existence have progressively corralled the Palestinians into ever more desperate circumstances. While we do not express blanket support for all of Hamas' policies, it is only direct economic pressure on Israel that will open the way for a just solution. Sanctions against Hamas will only increase the misery of the Palestinian population.

B. An Israeli group:

Source: Boycott! Israel: <http://www.boycottisrael.info/>

For Boycott Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) on behalf of Palestinian rights

We, Palestinians, Jews, citizens of Israel, join the Palestinian call for a BDS campaign against Israel, inspired by the struggle of South Africans against apartheid.¹ We also call on others to do the same.

As people devoted to the promotion of just peace and true democracy in this region, we are especially opposed to the international community's decision to boycott the Palestinians in the Occupied Palestinian Territories. This is particularly outrageous given the international community's prolonged support of Israel's apartheid and other daily violations of international law.

We are deeply concerned about the potentially irreversible damage inflicted on Palestinians by both Israeli brutal occupation and international policies and have come to the conclusion that the occupation will end only when its cost for Israelis, its elites in particular, outweighs the benefits.

In light of attacks on boycott supporters, we emphasize that a critical stance against the occupation, including explicit BDS actions taken by individuals and organizations, are not Anti-Semitic. On the contrary, only resistance of this kind as part of the struggle for peace based on justice and equality will enable a common future for Arabs and Jews in the region.

We endorse the Palestinian call as is. We stand against all forms of racism and oppression and support and encourage BDS actions as a legitimate political activity and a necessary means of non-violent resistance. We will act inside and outside Israel to promote awareness and support of BDS.

¹ <http://bdsmovement.net/?q=node/52>

List of signatories boycottisrael.info/node/2/signatures

II. Anti-BDS (3 articles)

A. Pro-Israeli-Government Website

Source: <http://israelnjudaism.blogspot.com/2010/08/israel-boycott.html>

Israel Boycott

Why boycott Israel? Israel has a better human rights record than any other country in the Middle East - It is a fact (see [Human rights in Iran and Israel](#) [Human Rights in Israel and Elsewhere](#)) . Homosexuals are not hanged in Israel, adulteresses are not stoned, women are not forced to wear veils. There are real elections with more than one candidate. Arabs and Jews compete for office in these elections. Arabs and Jews serve as cabinet officers and diplomats. The widest variety of opposition views are published in Israeli newspapers. Israeli Arabs have more rights than Arabs in Saudi Arabia, Egypt or Syria. They can vote, they have the right to judicial redress. Israeli Arab women have more rights than Arab women in any Muslim country. Boycotting Israel singles out one country for punishment - a country that does not deserve it. [Boycotting Israel hurts Israeli and Palestinian students and faculty in Israeli universities.](#)

Boycott Israel?

The boycott Israel campaign is a vicious crusade against peaceful conflict resolution initiated by racist ideologues to promote their own peculiar ideas. [They freely admit that they do not want to end the occupation. They want to end the Jewish state,](#) This is the boycott Israel plan in their own words: :

- The legitimacy of Israel's regime must be challenged...
- There is no chance to change Israeli society from within, we are at a dead end and Israeli society is becoming increasingly fascist.
- We are dealing with the dismantling of power, and the question is how to convince this power to voluntarily dismantle....

Targets of boycott and sanction should be the state of Israel, but also Zionist organizations and corporations:

- There is corporate responsibility related to sanctions, divestment, boycott. For example, Caterpillar and Intel (on Iraq al-Manshiyya.). Campaigns should also target the Zionist organization ('National Institutions'), such as WZO, JA, JNF, which are major perpetrators and maintain discrimination inside Israel.

The [Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel](#) preaches humanitarian ideals to foreigners, but it tells Palestinians that "Seeds of Peace" is a "most dangerous" organization and that Palestinians who engage in dialogue are "traitors" who take crumbs from Americans and Europeans. Though the spokesman for this group is Omar Barghouti, most of the founders are Hamas-supporting Bir Zeit University lecturers.

The boycott of Israel was originated by the Arab League and smacks of the Nazi campaign to boycott Jews in the 1930s...

B. Zionist Website

Source: http://www.zionism-israel.com/Israel_boycott.htm

Boycott Israel?

...Do they really want to boycott Israel?

Academic Israel boycotts violate academic freedom and stop the free exchange of information. This article adapted from [Israel21c](#) highlights some Israeli achievements. That is what would be lost if universities really did boycott Israel..

The decision by a British academics' union to urge its members to boycott Israel by boycotting their Israeli counterparts has generated outrage and concern among academics and supporters of Israel. The stunningly illogical decision to shun Israeli academic institutions threatens some of the organizations most involved in promoting peace and human rights in Gaza and the West Bank and could impede progress Israeli universities enable in scores of fields.

As a service to those who want to stop the boycott Israel campaign, and argue Israel's case in this matter, ISRAEL21c has created this special bulletin. One need only glance at the following achievements to understand what Israel's universities have contributed to human progress and peace and why it would be wrong to boycott Israel. .

- Two of the world's most widely used FDA-approved multiple-sclerosis drugs, [Copaxone](#) and [Rebif](#), were developed from research carried out at Weizmann Institute of Science.
- A revolutionary drug developed by researchers at Bar-Ilan University holds out hope for tens of millions of people around the world who suffer from schizophrenia. Researchers from Tel Aviv University have also invented a drug candidate which holds out promise in this field.
- [An award-winning scientist](#) at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev developed a biological control for mosquitoes and black flies that cause malaria and river blindness, saving the sight and lives of millions of people in Africa and China.
- Scientists at Hebrew University of Jerusalem have developed the FDA-approved drug [Exelon](#) for the treatment of Alzheimer's disease and dementia, and are now working on a new anti-Alzheimer's drug also suitable for treating strokes and traumatic brain injuries.
- [Velcade](#), an effective new cancer drug that treats multiple myeloma, is based on research by two Technion-Israel Institute of Technology professors. The pair won the [2004 Nobel Prize for Chemistry](#) for their groundbreaking work.

- Scientists at Tel Aviv University developed [BioPetroClean](#), a safe environmentally-friendly technology for cleaning oil spills in seas around the globe.
- University of Haifa researchers working as part of an international cooperative team, identified the gene capable of increasing the [protein content of wheat](#)- a giant step towards combating world hunger.
- Research by a professor at the [Weizmann Institute](#) has led to the development of promising new therapies for acute spinal cord injuries. The late actor [Christopher Reeve](#) described Israel as the 'world-center' for research on paralysis treatment. [Proneuron Biotechnologies](#), the company founded to commercialize this research is also developing a therapy for [Parkinson's](#) with support from the Michael J. Fox Foundation.
- A team from the [Weizmann Institute](#) has demonstrated for the first time how tissues transplanted from pig embryos might, in the future, be able to induce the human body to produce blood-clotting proteins for hemophilia patients.
- An Israeli scientific team from the Technion has succeeded in [creating in the laboratory beating heart tissue](#) from human embryonic stem cells.
- Researchers at the [Hebrew University](#) and the Medical Research Council Laboratory of Molecular Biology in Cambridge have isolated the protein that triggers stress in order to try to treat post-traumatic stress syndrome.
- A team of Jewish and Arab Israeli genetic researchers from [Ben-Gurion University](#) and [Soroka Medical Center](#) has identified a genetic defect that causes a severe neurodegenerative disease in Bedouin children, resulting in premature death.
- A researcher at Ben Gurion University has succeeded in creating human monoclonal antibodies which can neutralize the highly contagious [small-pox virus](#) without inducing the dangerous side effects of the existing vaccine.
- A [Hebrew University doctoral student](#) has developed an innovative drug that gives people the feeling of satiety, an important development in treatment of the obese.

The achievements do not stop there, but that doesn't stop those who want to boycott Israel. Israel is the 100th smallest country in the world, but many of the world's best technologies were invented here, much of the groundwork laid by whiz-kids from Israel's universities.

- The Pentium NMX Chip was designed at [Intel in Israel](#). Both the Pentium 4 microprocessor and the Centrino processor were designed, developed and

produced in Israel, as was voice mail.

- Most of Windows operating systems was developed by [Microsoft-Israel](#), as was voice mail technology.
- Both Microsoft and Cisco built their only R&D facilities outside the US in Israel, attracted by the high quality of engineers.
- Much of the world's security in the fields of [computers, banking, and homeland security](#) rests on Israeli inventiveness - a necessary by-product of the years spent defending the country from terrorism and war. [An Israeli company](#), for example, is now working on software that would prevent the kind of repeat bombings seen on the [London Underground](#). The company wishes to complete its research in the UK, but will be unable to because of the boycott.

ISRAEL ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE

Israel's universities are worldwide centers of excellence with students from all over the globe - Arab, Jewish, and Christian alike. There are no ethnic or religious qualifications for entry, and the universities are not controlled by the government.

A recent survey by the Milken Institute showed that of over 400 universities examined worldwide, Hebrew University (HU) and Tel Aviv University (TAU) were ranked 12th and 21st respectively for registering biotech patents. Only one British establishment, London University, could beat those placings. The Weizmann Institute of Science, one of the most important research centers in the world for brain studies, was voted the [best university in the world for life scientists to conduct research](#).

Israel has the highest ratio of university degrees to the population in the world. Twenty-four percent of the workforce holds university degrees, ranking third in the industrialized world, after the US and Holland; and 12 percent hold advanced degrees. As a result, Israel leads the world in the number of scientists and technicians in the workforce - 145 per 10,000, compared to 85 in the US, 70 in Japan, and less than 60 in Germany. Israel also produces more scientific papers per capita than any other nation, 109 per 10,000 people, as well as one of the highest per capita rates of patents filed.

In proportion to its population, Israel has the largest number of startup companies in the world (3,500, mostly in high tech). In absolute terms, Israel has the largest number of startup companies than any other country, except the US. Israel also has the highest concentration of high-tech companies outside of Silicon Valley, and is ranked number two in the world for venture capital funding, behind the US.

ISRAELI ACADEMIC COEXISTENCE

Israel's universities are at the forefront of work with Arabs and Palestinians to try to improve their quality of life and education. They are a main forum for liberal discussion between Jews and Arabs. Arab students and Palestinians study at most of the institutions. At the University of Haifa, for example, 20 percent of undergraduates are Arab Israelis.

Haifa University has a Jewish-Arab Center which advances dialogue on Arab-Jewish coexistence. It also runs an Arab Student Leadership Program, and researchers at the university work jointly with Al-Quds University in east Jerusalem, to develop and implement diagnostic and prognostic tests for learning disabilities in Palestinian and Israeli youth.

Hebrew University, which was targeted in a terror attack that killed both Jews and Arabs, was co-founded by Albert Einstein. It has always espoused the values of pluralism and tolerance and has a large number of Arab-Israeli programs, including training courses for dentists from the PA and Middle East countries, and a variety of joint Israeli-Palestinian research projects.

The university's first international symposium was jointly organized by the dental schools of the Hebrew University and Al-Quds University in November last year despite political tension. The Braun School of Public Health and Community Medicine has 35 graduates from Gaza and the West Bank. Some of the school's graduates founded the School of Public Health at Al Quds University and continue to teach there. The school has a trilateral agreement with Al Quds and a US university for research, training and development of public health programs and a trilateral workshop on development of software for smoking cessation programs is planned.

In October last year, the rectors of HU, TAU, the University of Haifa, Ben Gurion University, the Weizmann Institute, and the Technion wrote a letter to Israel's Minister of Defense to cancel a ban imposed by the IDF on Palestinian students entering Israel to study.

ISRAELI ACADEMIC IMPERATIVE

Israel's universities are a breeding ground for innovation, excellence and liberal dialogue. They make a massive contribution to the world in science, medicine, environment, communications and security. Israel may be a tiny country, but it is making one of the greatest contributions of any country on the planet, improving and transforming the lives of millions.

Israel's researchers do not deserve to be shunned, and the world should not risk losing their research.

BOYCOTT ISRAEL CAMPAIGN HURTS PALESTINIANS

In the words of Dr. Sari Nusseibeh, president of the Palestinian Al-Quds University:
"The free flow of science and information... constitutes a powerful force against war... Of all possible bridges to burn as a form of 'well-intentioned' political pressure, the boycott of academic cooperation between Israelis and Palestinians should be excluded.

C. American Group

Source: <http://www.adl.org/NR/exeres/693CEA41-3F5E-41C7-AEF5-41AF320D0F9F.htm>

Green Party's Boycott Israel Strategy: Unfair, Biased And Ill-Timed

New York, NY, December 5, 2005 ... The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) called the Green Party's endorsement of a statement supporting a comprehensive strategy of boycott and divestment to pressure Israel, "inappropriate and absurdly out of step with the realities on the ground."

"It is absurd and inappropriate that at this time, following Israel's disengagement from Gaza and the opening of the Rafah crossing between Gaza and Egypt, when many church groups and campuses are calling off efforts to divest from Israel, the Green Party would embrace such action," said Abraham H. Foxman, ADL National Director. "Intent on punishing Israel, the Green Party takes no position on Palestinian terrorist groups continuing to operate under the nose of the Palestinian Authority, and continuing to target Israeli cities."

"Rather than work to encourage peace between Israelis and Palestinians, the Green Party continues its history of biased, one-sided criticism of Israel. This initiative for divestment and outrageous comparison of Israel to apartheid South Africa is just the latest demonstration of the Green Party's agenda to delegitimize Israel," added Mr. Foxman.

The resolution, introduced by the Wisconsin Green Party and passed in the Green Party's National Committee on November 21, calls for "divestment from and boycott of the State of Israel until such time as the full individual and collective rights of the Palestinian people are realized."

The Anti-Defamation League, founded in 1913, is the world's leading organization fighting anti-Semitism through programs and services that counteract hatred, prejudice and bigotry.

V. The Cultural Boycott

I. Show students the 7-minute youtube video made by artists in the 1980s about boycotting South Africa: Ain't Gonna Play Sun City <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aopKk56jM-I>. Explain that art and music can play an important role in a BDS movement. Show students the funny **BDS youtube video** asking Justin Bieber, Canadian pop star sensation, to boycott Israel. The video is about 3:40 minutes long and does contain one swear word ("bullshit"). It can be found at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5RasbjkyNI>

II. Have each student read one of the following articles for or against a cultural boycott. (Note also that the article in the previous BDS section of this lesson gave many arguments against a cultural boycott.)

III. As a class, brainstorm a list of reasons for and against such a boycott.

IV. Have them pick a favorite artist and research whether that artist is participating in the boycott. A possible culminating project would be to have each student write their favorite artist about the boycott. In their letter, each student should 1) set out the best arguments for and against the cultural boycott before 2) trying to persuade the artist to either follow or not follow the boycott.

Cultural Boycott Reading #1

Source: <http://www.inminds.com/article.php?id=10407>

Pixies, Klaxons, Gorillaz Join Growing Boycott of Israel

Howard Wyman,
8 June 2010



Klaxons

Three of this year's biggest draws to Tel Aviv's Pic.Nic music festival have withdrawn at the last minute in response to the Israeli military attack on a foreign aid flotilla that occurred last week. The attack left nine pro-Palestinian activists dead and has drawn a storm of criticism from around the world, though it is only the most recent offense to turn a growing list of high-profile artists against the idea of performing within the rogue nation's borders. As we reported last month, Elvis Costello has recently cancelled gigs in Israel due to the "complexities of the continuing Israeli-Palestinian conflict," and as AFP has recently reported, Gil Scott Heron and Carlos Santana share those sentiments.

We can now add Pixies, Klaxons, and Gorillaz to that list. Through the Israeli promoter Shuki Weiss, Pixies issued a statement that "the decision was not reached easily." They cited "events beyond all our control" as the reason for the cancellation, although later reports clarified that it was the Israeli naval attack on the flotilla that tipped the scale. British bands Editors and Placebo and the Brooklyn band Hank & Cupcakes are among those that remain on the bill, which, frankly, doesn't leave

Israelis much to be excited about. Apparently, no one is more disappointed than Shuki Weiss, however, who later issued statements of his own, going so far as to describe the artists' decisions as "a form of cultural terrorism which is targeting Israel and the arts worldwide," and insists that the show must go on, "in the name of pluralism, camaraderie, and mutual respect."

Meanwhile, Pixies has just announced 11 new U.S. dates at which they'll continue to play nothing but Doolittle in its entirety. That's all well and good, but come on already. Isn't it time to start celebrating the 20th anniversary of Bossanova?

Interestingly, a show at Arizona's Mesa Amphitheater is among those scheduled, with presale tickets currently available through the band's website. Joey Santiago, buddy, you better watch your ass down there. And when it comes time for an encore, I recommend anything other than "Vamos."



Cultural Boycott Reading #2

<http://maxblumenthal.com/2011/02/whos-afraid-of-the-cultural-boycott/>

Who's afraid of the cultural boycott?

On 02.06.11, By Max

This piece was co-authored by Joseph Dana.

The day after the American pop star Macy Gray announced controversial plans to perform in Tel Aviv in March, we sat down for a drink at Pua, a bar nestled in the heart of one of Jaffa's most gentrified neighborhoods. When the waitress, a sociable 20-something resident of the city's burgeoning young Jewish community informed us of a new brand of beer the restaurant was carrying, we wondered based on rumors we had heard if it was brewed in a settlement in the Golan Heights. The waitress, who was clearly offended, vehemently denied that it was "a settlement beer." She reassured us that the owner of the restaurant was "a real Tel Aviv type guy," and as such, "would not carry such a product."

We were confused. "What exactly is a Tel Aviv type guy?" we asked her. When she returned to our table with two European beers, we asked for more information about the owner and a conversation began. She informed us that the owner of the bar 'just keeps to himself and his friends in Tel Aviv'. She told us that he was not interested in politics and just wanted to live his life. We asked about her ideas on politics and the occupation. "I am a photographer. I used to go to Bil'in but it is violent." She continued, "Now I just spend time with my friends and try to be a good person. I can't take trying to change anything anymore."

When asked for her opinion on BDS, her response was short and quick: "You can't fight evil with evil." She insisted that every boycott in history was wrong. We pressed her gently on the issue of boycotts (what about MLK's Montgomery Bus Boycott, or the boycott of apartheid South Africa?) but it was clear that she was unwilling to go deep into the issue. She knew about the Occupation, the settlements, the racism that was rising like a tidal wave all around her, but she had deliberately cloistered herself inside a quaint European-style bar and Tel Aviv's cosmopolitan lifestyle. Perhaps she could have contributed to the fight for a real democracy in Israel and justice for Palestinians living under occupation, but she had surrendered to the culture of apathy sanctioned by an entitled elite.

We began to understand the power of the cultural boycott in disrupting the apathy that pervades middle class, urban Israeli society. Apathy allows Israelis to live in comfort behind iron walls while remaining immune to the occupation and inoculated from its horrors. The culture of apathy allows them to watch the news and let out a groan of concern without thinking seriously about political engagement. In the case of the waitress at Pua, her apathy enabled her to witness the brutal military repression

of legitimate political protest in the West Bank, only to return home to Tel Aviv and ignore her culpability.

The cultural boycott forces Israelis to deal with Israel's behavior towards Palestinians by targeting them where it counts most: in the heart of their affluent comfort zones. The extreme right of Lieberman and the settlement movement must be confronted and exposed, but they are only the most extreme representation of an official ideology of racism towards Palestinians and the Arab world. They have grown and metastasized through fervent political activity, charisma and demagoguery, while the "Good Israel" of Tel Aviv sits by impassively, and even cynically, watching the waves roll in while their society goes over the brink. It is the culture of apathy that supplies oil to the Occupation Machine.

Many Ashkenazi citizens of Israel have a second passport, allowing them to travel to and receive benefits from Western countries. They have developed an easy escape valve from the oppressive and violent manifestations of Jewish nationalism. Meanwhile, Palestinians live under a matrix of control devised inside US and European-funded Israeli universities and high tech research centers. An elaborate network of walls, electrified fences, biometric scanning devices, predator drones and collaborator networks ensures that each aspect of their lives is dominated by the Occupation. Because Palestinian residents of Jerusalem are forbidden from living where they choose with West Bank spouses, even their love lives are occupied. How would our waitress at Pua react if her life was subject to such crushing limitations?

We have often heard the argument that Macy Gray and other artists thinking about boycotting should perform in Tel Aviv and Ramallah. This commonly held idea not only reinforces concepts of segregation between Jews and Palestinians, it misses the point of the Palestinian boycott call entirely. The cultural boycott is designed to undermine the normalization of Israeli society. Palestinians do not necessarily want to see rock shows in Ramallah, they want to bring an end to the occupation. The 170 Palestinian civil society organizations who crafted the BDS call concluded that the most realistic non-violent means for ending the occupation was to force Israelis to live with the full responsibility of their actions. This was one of the ideas behind the boycott of Apartheid South Africa and one of the reasons why organizations like the South African Artists Against Apartheid now work to achieve the same goals in Israel.

My colleague and peer, Noam Shiezf, published a thoughtful piece on this site arguing that Macy Gray should request that a certain number of tickets be sold to Palestinians in the West Bank for her Tel Aviv performance. The Palestinians would buy the tickets and then Israel would refuse their entrance to Tel Aviv. This would then provide a suitable subtext for Macy Gray to cancel her show.

The idea is clever but raises an important question: why would Macy Gray need to create a subtext to cancel? Doesn't the longest military occupation in history provide a suitable enough reason to boycott? Furthermore, Israel would be able to correctly point out that Palestinians from the West Bank, by and large, are not allowed to enter

Tel Aviv due to the sovereign laws of entry and exit to the State of Israel. Thus, the stunt would accomplish little more than reinforcing the notion that a militarized and radicalized Israeli society is perfectly kosher. And by circumventing the substance of the Palestinian BDS call, it allows critics to paint the cultural boycott as a form of collective punishment.

Too much of the commentary about BDS addresses the movement in a vacuum. The fact is, BDS is an integral part of Palestinian non-violent tactics. Quite simply, BDS is the globalization of Palestinian non-violent action against Israel's occupation. So why do certain Jewish organizations from the United States and Israeli liberal Zionists lend rhetorical support to the joint nonviolent struggle in Sheikh Jarrah and elsewhere, while demonizing the call for BDS as borderline anti-Semitic and beyond the pale of reasonable people? Would the leaders of these organizations sit with the Palestinian families forcibly evicted from their homes in Sheikh Jarrah and tell them that their tactics are illegitimate?

It is easy to wash your hands of moral responsibility by participating in noble but ultimately doomed battles against the Occupation Machine. Confronting your own personal responsibility in allowing the crisis to reach such a terrible juncture is much harder, if not impossible, for too many. Perhaps the hardest step for the left-wing of the Jewish Establishment is ceding control of the debate while Palestinians assume the lead in their own struggle for freedom.

If the international community and especially the American Jewish community is unwilling to allow Palestinians a global form of nonviolent resistance against Israel's occupation, what is left for the Palestinians to do? If violence is out of the question - it is certainly a terrible option for everyone - should Palestinians simply allow the Occupation to sweep them away like dust?

This is the question posed by the Palestinian national poet Mahmoud Darwish in his famous poem, "The Earth Presses Against Us." "Where should we go after the last border? Where should birds fly after the last sky?" he asked. BDS may not be a panacea, but it at least ensures that for the Palestinians a horizon darkened by occupation can be extended until a just solution comes into view.

Earth Presses against Us by Mahmoud Darwish (Palestinian Poet)

Earth is pressing against us, trapping us in the final passage.
To pass through, we pull off our limbs.
Earth is squeezing us. If only we were its wheat, we might die and yet live.
If only it were our mother so that she might temper us with mercy.
If only we were pictures of rocks held in our dreams like mirrors.
We glimpse faces in their final battle for the soul, of those who will be killed
by the last living among us. We mourn their children's feast.
We saw the faces of those who would throw our children out of the windows
of this last space. A star to burnish our mirrors.
Where should we go after the last border? Where should birds fly after the last sky?
Where should plants sleep after the last breath of air?
We write our names with crimson mist!
We end the hymn with our flesh.
Here we will die. Here, in the final passage.
Here or there, our blood will plant olive trees.

translated by Munir Akash and Carolyn Forché

Cultural Boycott Reading # 3

Summary Explanation of Academic and Cultural Boycott

by Nada Elia on Saturday, January 23, 2010 at 11:32am (Professor Elia teaches in Seattle)

So many people ask me to explain the cultural and academic boycott of Israel, I decided to write a note about it. Of course, I'll also try and answer any questions, to the best of my ability.

In 2005, over 170 Palestinian civil society organizations, representing the three integral parts of the Palestinian people (refugees in the global diaspora, Palestinians living under Israeli occupation, and Palestinian citizens of Israel) issued the call for comprehensive Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions against Israel, until it abides by international law and universal principles of human rights. That was the launch of the BDS movement, whose website is www.bdsmovement.net

PACBI, the Palestinian campaign for an Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel, www.pacbi.org focuses specifically on the academic and cultural boycott aspects, because they are considered somewhat different, more "complex" than simply boycotting consumer products like Ahava (beauty products manufactured on an illegal settlement), or Sabra Hummus (50% owned by a company that has adopted an "elite" brigade known for a history of severe human rights abuses).

With an academic boycott, there's always the accusation of "you're shutting down academic and intellectual exchange." This is easily countered by "the freedom you're protecting is only the freedom of Israeli academics, the Palestinian right to education is severely jeopardized, in fact, Palestinians do not have academic freedom, so what you're protecting in the name of 'academic freedom' is the oppressor's privilege".

With the cultural boycott, it's somewhat similar, with accusations like "but art is non-political," or "art transcends boundaries, and brings us together." These accusations can be countered by the response that art has historically been put to political use, and art is being used by Israel, very intentionally, as part of their propaganda campaign, to show Israel as a "haven of multicultural creative tolerance," an "oasis of open-minded, modern, cool artists," etc. This is done intentionally, as you can see from the two links below.

Israel is trying its very best to improve its image through this cultural facade, rather than improving its politics. So the cultural boycott is very important: if you participate in something Israel has officially endorsed or organized (such an international film festival, or concert), then you are consuming Israel's propaganda.

Here are links to two essays, the first as far back as 2005, the other from 2009, immediately after Operation Cast Lead, both about Israel's push for a cultural whitewashing of its crimes:

<http://www.forward.com/articles/2070/>

[http://www.nytimes.com/2009/03/19/world/middleeast/19israel.html?
_r=3&ref=middleeast](http://www.nytimes.com/2009/03/19/world/middleeast/19israel.html?_r=3&ref=middleeast)

Additionally, the accusation that we do not want dialogue can only stem from a deep misunderstanding, or intentional misrepresentation of, boycott as a tactic. The best response to this accusation is a historical parallel: Why did African-Americans boycott the Montgomery bus system? Did they boycott because they did not want public transportation, or did they boycott precisely because they wanted to ride the buses, but they wanted to do so in dignity, as equals? Once the buses were desegregated, African-Americans were happy to start riding them again. Similarly, once Israel abides by international law and respects the universal human rights of Palestinians, we, too, will stop BDS, as it will have achieved its goal.

USACBI is the US-based sister organization of PACBI, we take our leadership from PACBI, and focus on US-based academic and cultural boycotts, as well the BDS movement more broadly. Here's our website
www.usacbi.wordpress.com

Hope that helps!

Cultural Boycott Reading # 4

The Dan David Prize Speech, and the Context

DAN DAVID SPEECH, MAY 9

By Amitav Ghosh and Margaret Atwood.

AMITAV: Because we are sharing this generous prize, we have decided to give a shared speech. We both thank you very much for the kind words you have said about us and our writing.

MARGARET: This prize honours, not just individuals, but areas of achievement. This year you've chosen to invite two novelists, thus adding the art of the novel to a very distinguished list of many other disciplines, from astrophysics to medicine to music to statesmanship.

AMITAV: One of us comes from India, the other from Canada. Neither country is lacking in historical bloodshed and in present-day inequities.

MARGARET: Neither of us can afford to be self-righteous.

AMITAV: Both of us were urged by some people and groups not to come to Israel on this occasion. We were told that no artist should attend any cultural event here - no matter how hopeful and moderate such an event might be - considering the unequal, unjust, and harsh and dangerous conditions of the Palestinian people in the Occupied Territories.

MARGARET: When we said that we were very sympathetic but we felt the urgent necessity of keeping doors open — as do several organizations we work with - we were informed that we were deluded, and worse.

AMITAV: But novelists are stubborn: when young, they refused to give up novel-writing, despite the worried advice of their families. The more we were told to turn our backs, the more we wanted to see — and to speak — for ourselves.

MARGARET: Propaganda deals in absolutes: in Yes and No. But the novel is a creature of nuance: of perhaps, of maybe. It concerns itself, not with gods and demons, but with mortal people, with their flawed characters, their unsatisfactory bodies, their sufferings, their limited and often wrong choices; with the dubiousness of their own actions and the unfairness of their fates.

AMITAV: Writing a novel often requires you to see life through the eyes of those you may not agree with. It is a polyphonic form. It pleads for the complex humanity of all human beings.

MARGARET: The public territory the novelist defends is very small, even in a democracy. It's the space of free invention, of possibility. It's a space that allows the remembrance of what has been forgotten, the digging up of what has been buried.

AMITAV: Worldwide, novel-writing is under constant pressure, both from political groups who want to co-opt it, and from powerful governments who'd like to silence it. Around the world, novelists have been shot, imprisoned, and exiled for their failure to toe somebody else's line. But they continue to write stories.

MARGARET: Perhaps this vocation of ours will soon be obsolete. For coming towards us is a frightening change in our planet. Floods and droughts, deserts and famines and epidemics -will they draw the world into ever more destructive conflicts?

AMITAV: Or will we band together freely in order to help one another, as so many organizations and religious groups and environmentalists and scientists and artists are now doing?

MARGARET: We are both here as an act of good faith, because we believe that there are many people here and around the world who think as we do.

AMITAV: Hope is not out there, apart from us. Like the stories people tell, it comes from within. Like these stories, hope too must be passed on to others. Give up hope, and we are lost indeed.

THE CONTEXT

It's a crucial time in the Middle East. Proximity talks between Palestine and Israel are resuming right now, brokered by George Mitchell of the U.S.

<http://www.jpost.com/Headlines/Article.aspx?id=175079>

All who truly want a chance for Palestinian people to be able to live a decent life, to be compensated for what they have wrongfully lost, and for the destruction of their infrastructures - and all those who hope Israelis will be able to live without rocket fire, bombings, and worse - can only wish these talks well, trust that those engaging in them are doing so seriously and in good faith, and hope that a fair and secure two-state solution will finally result.

Meanwhile, we two fiction writers find ourselves in Israel, having been awarded half each of the "Present" section of the Dan David Prize. You may read about the prize here:

<http://www.dandavidprize.org/>

It is a prize founded by a private individual, and administered by its own office located at Tel Aviv University. Despite what we have been told by its attackers, it is not one and the same as the State of Israel. This year is the first time this prize has

gone to two novelists. It's worth pointing out here that neither of us is a member of any of the three religious groups that claim this part of the globe as their Holy Land.

We two fiction writers are very small potatoes indeed in the context of the momentous political events now unfolding. But writers everywhere are soft targets. It's easy to attack them. They don't have armies, they can't retaliate. We have both received a number of letters urging and indeed ordering us not to attend, on the grounds that anything connected with Israel is tabu. (Oddly enough, neither the President of Italy, Giorgio Napolitano - winner of the "Past" category for reason and moderation in political affairs - nor the three computer scientists - Leonrad Kleinrock, Gordon Moore, and Michael Rabin - who were awarded in the "Future" category - were targeted by these correspondents.) We have both sent letters to many but not all of the urgers and orderers. (Not all, because in some cases the petitions etc. have appeared online without having been sent to us first.) The letters we have received have ranged from courteous and sad to factual and practical to accusatory, outrageous, and untrue in their claims and statements; some have been frankly libelous, and even threatening. Some have been willing to listen to us, others have not: they want our supposedly valuable "names," but not our actual voices.

In other words, the all-or-nothings want to bully us into being their wholly owned puppets. The result of such a decision on our part would be - among other things - to turn us into sticks with which to beat other artists into submission, and that we refuse to do. We are familiar with what other artists of many countries have been put through in similar circumstances.

Having read perhaps too many spy thrillers, we have even wondered if some of these hyperbolic correspondents have been agents provocateurs, bent on turning us against the Palestinian people. (As is often pointed out, on the Internet nobody knows who you really are.) Others have styled themselves our friends and admirers, whereas in

fact they have never been any such thing. Some have urged us not touch Israelis and their institutions, while themselves continuing to deal with them. Others, once we have stated our positions, have been understanding and helpful, and ready to facilitate meaningful exchanges. Some have let us know that although they endorse parts of the boycott, they do not endorse the cultural part, considering it a form of censorship. Some have signed public petitions—not shown to us — for which they later -in private letters to us- apologized. Some have ordered us to give the prize money to various parties, including their friends, or else to various Palestinian organizations who would in fact not accept any such gift from us. Some have asked nothing more from us than our understanding and remembrance.

To all we say: We are not against fairness and the creation of a long-overdue Palestinian state. We are not “defying” or “rejecting” anyone just because we cannot endorse a particular tactical formulation, although we understand the pressures that give rise to such formulations. And we do not automatically consider you bad, ignorant, stupid, hypocritical, or vicious because your views of means and ends is not the same as ours.

What then is our position? It may be summarized by this excerpt from a speech made by Anthony Appiah, President of PEN American Centre, on April 27.

“What you may not know is that both Margaret Atwood and Amitav Ghosh have been subjected to an ...offensive urging them to reject the award as part of a campaign of cultural isolation against Israel. The literary community in this country does not speak with one voice on the question of Palestine. But I want to be clear about where the PEN American Center stands on one aspect of this vexed issue. We have to stand, as we have stood from the very beginning, against the very idea of a cultural boycott. We have to continue to say: Only connect.

We have to stick with our founding conviction that writers must reach out across nations. To stand anywhere else would be to betray our history and our mission.”

Both of us are PEN members. Margaret was a co-founder of PEN Canada, and is now an International Vice President. To do as our correspondents demand would be to destroy our part in the work we have been doing with PEN for decades - work that involves thousands of writers around the world- jailed, exiled, censored, and murdered. Writers have no armies. They have no militant wings. The list of persecuted writers is long, ancient, and international. We feel we must defend the diminishing open space in which dialogue, exchange, and relatively free expression are still possible.

3. Two Narratives of Violence & Aftermaths: Israeli Targeted Assassinations, Palestinian Suicide Bombings, Bereaved Parents Circle of Israeli & Palestinian Parents (3-day lesson)

Give students the lecture below on violence from the two perspectives. Ask them to respond to at least some of the questions. Then have them read the article about Israeli targeted assassination of a Palestinian alleged to belong to Hamas' military wing. Read about the Bereaved Parents Circle formed by Israeli parents and Palestinian parents of children who have been killed in the conflict. Their narratives contain details of the impact of war, shootings, and suicide bombings. Have students discuss in small or large groups

Violence: Palestinian Narrative

Israel has maintained a violent occupation since 1967: killings, torture, house demolitions, land confiscations,

Israeli soldiers have "open fire regulations" that allow killing even when their lives are not in danger

targeted assassinations = the death penalty without a trial

checkpoints, curfews, closures, loss of education = economic violence

occupation should end: in international law, occupations should only be temporary during and shortly after a war -- it's illegal to acquire territory by force; also, UN Security Council Regulation 242 says Israel should withdraw

in international law, people under occupation have a right to resist by all means necessary

Palestinians have often used nonviolence, but have right to use violence too, to end occupation

all Israelis are legitimate targets -- all help maintain occupation, serve in army, etc. settlers and soldiers are especially closely tied to maintaining the occupation & are legitimate

first suicide bombing did not occur until after a massacre by Israeli settler

Israelis are doing majority of violence: way more Palestinians killed than Israelis killed

Violence: Israeli Narrative

Occupation has been humane: territories are in dispute, must solve dispute before ending occupation

Israel needs to maintain its security; no Holocaust ever again

Soldiers kill only when they have to

Targeted killings prevent terrorists from killing others

Suicide bombings kill innocent civilians

Questions for Response:

- A. Is all violence equally wrong or right? What about self-defense? What about violence to prevent a worse/greater violence? is all violence physical? what about preventing someone from being able to earn a living? is there economic violence?
- B. When would you use violence? What would you try before using violence? Have you ever been in a violent fight? What happened? Have your thoughts on the incident changed?
- C. What is causing the violence in Israel and Palestine? What could be done to end the violence?

Directions: Read the article and answer the question.

Under American and International law 1) everyone is innocent until proven guilty, and 2) civilians killed for a political purpose is “terrorism”. After reading this article, what criticisms can you make of Hamas? what criticisms can you make of the man who was shot? What criticisms can you make of Israel?

9/17/10 7:37 AM BBC News - Israeli forces kill West Bank Hamas commander <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-11340558?print=true>

MIDDLE EAST

17 September 2010 Last updated at 04:47 ET

Israeli forces kill West Bank Hamas commander

Israeli forces have shot dead a local Hamas military commander in the north of the occupied West Bank.

Iyad Shilbaya, a commander of the Ezzedine al-Qassam Brigades, was killed during a raid to arrest him, the Israeli military said. Hamas's military wing said it was responsible for the killing at the end of August of four Jewish settlers in the West Bank. It is not clear whether Shilbaya was a suspect in these killings. Since the killing of the four Jewish settlers, Palestinian and Israeli security forces have arrested scores of Hamas supporters across the West Bank. Twelve other Palestinians were arrested in the overnight operation. Palestinian Prime Minister Salam Fayyad criticised the killing of Shilbaya as a "dangerous escalation".

Surge in violence

Recent weeks have seen an increase in rocket fire from Gaza into Israel and a series of Israeli air raids on the territory. Hamas is opposed to the US-sponsored talks, launched in Washington on 2 September, between Israel and the Palestinian Authority, led by Mahmoud Abbas. Differing accounts of the shooting at the Nur Shams refugee camp in Tulkarm are emerging. According to Palestinian reports, the brother of the Hamas militant was forced to lead the Israeli soldiers to the house Shilbaya was staying in. The brother is reported to have said that the militant was shot three times while asleep and his body taken away by the soldiers. An Israeli military spokesperson said Shilbaya was shot "during a routine arrest raid". Soldiers opened fire after Shilbaya came towards them despite being told to halt, the military official said.

Israel has occupied the West Bank since 1967, settling close to 500,000 Jews in more than 100 settlements. There are about 2.5 million Palestinians living in the West Bank.

Readings from Bereaved Parents

Source: <http://www.theparentscircle.com/stories.asp>, “Parents Circle-Families Forum”

Directions: Read the narratives by Israelis and Palestinians who have lost an immediate family member to violence in the conflict. As you read, try to answer these questions:

What is the Bereaved Parents Circle?

Which of the actions taken by the parents/relatives would be most difficult for you?

Which of the actions taken by the parents/relatives do you agree with the most?

Be prepared to discuss or write a response after your readings.

Robi Damelin

I came to Israel from South Africa in 1967; I came as a volunteer after the Six Day War, thinking I'd be here for about six months. I really wanted to leave South Africa because I'd been active in the anti-apartheid movement and it was getting very pressured and ugly. I actually wanted to live in the States, then I came here and I've had this sort of love-hate relationship with this country ever since. I went to a Hebrew language program, got married and had two kids, worked for the Jerusalem Post, and then with immigrants to help them find employment. After I got divorced I came to live in Tel Aviv.



Africa in 1967; I came as a volunteer after the Six Day War, thinking I'd be here for about six months. I really wanted to leave South Africa because I'd been active in the anti-apartheid movement and it was getting very pressured and ugly. I actually wanted to live in the States, then I came here and I've had this sort of love-hate relationship with this country ever since. I went to a Hebrew language program, got married and had two kids, worked for the Jerusalem Post, and then with immigrants to help them find employment. After I got divorced I came to live in Tel Aviv.

I brought up my children in a liberal way; David and Eran, the three of us. David went to the Arts because he was a very talented child. From his whole class he was the only one who went to the army. I was really surprised when he chose that, but I think you can't take responsibility for somebody else's life, even if it is your child. Even in his regular army service David was torn because he didn't want to serve in the Occupied Territories. He became an officer and was called to go to Hebron. He was in a terrible quandary and came to me and said, "What the hell am I going to do? I don't want to be there." I said, "If you want to go to jail I'll support you, but are you going to make a difference if you go to jail?" Because basically, if he were sent to jail, when he got out they'd put him somewhere else [in the Occupied Territories]. It's a never-ending story. If it would have created a huge noise then maybe that would have been the right choice; but you can also go [to your military post] and lead by example, by treating people around you with respect.



very tolerant and loving it was kind of like a triangle-- the Thelma Yellin School of very gifted musician. Out of probably the only one who surprised when he chose that, responsibility for somebody child. Even in his regular army because he didn't want to

I saw the scars in both of my children after serving the military, from having to be in the first intifada. They grew up in a home that never made any fuss over one's creed or that was what happened all through this army service. that was what happened all the time [debating whether to serve in the Occupied Territories] and then this group was formed of officers that did not want to and went to all the demonstrations; he was also part of the peace movement. After the army David went to



children after serving the the first intifada. They grew any fuss over one's creed or All through this army service the time [debating whether to then this group was formed of serve in the Occupied and went to all the part of the peace movement.

Tel Aviv University and studied

philosophy and psychology and then started to do his Masters in Philosophy of Education. He was teaching philosophy at a pre-military program for potential social leaders and he was also teaching at Tel Aviv University.

Then he got called up for came up again: he doesn't doesn't want to serve in the doesn't go he's letting his example is it for these kids into the army in two months,



miluim and the whole issue want to go, if he goes he Occupied Territories. If he soldiers down, what kind of who are going to be inducted if he goes he would treat

anybody, any Palestinian, with respect, and so would his soldiers by his example. I said, "Maybe you are setting a good example [by refusing to go]" and he said, "I can't let my soldiers down and if I don't go someone else will and will do terrible things." I keep telling everybody that there isn't really black and white.

David went to his reserve service and I was filled with a terrible premonition, of fear I suppose. He called me on that Saturday and said, "I have done everything to protect us. You know I love my life, but this is a terrible place, I feel like a sitting duck." He never shared that kind of stuff with me, ever. My kids never told me what they were doing in the army. They always told me ridiculous stories thinking that I was going believe them. The next morning I got up very early and ran to work hours before I had to be there. I didn't want to be at home, I had a very restless feeling.

David was killed by a sniper, people. They were at a checkpoint, near Ofra. Two was pulled down; they suppose all of my life I spoke tolerance. That must be of the first things I said is, "You may not kill anybody in the name of my child." I suppose that's quite unusual, an unexpected reaction to that kind of news.



along with nine other checkpoint, a political days after he was killed it removed the checkpoint. I about coexistence and ingrained in me because one

It is impossible to describe Your whole life is totally I'm not the same person I with a lot of pain. Wherever You try to run away at the went overseas. I went to it just goes with you



what it is to lose a child. changed forever. It's not that was. I'm the same person I go, I carry this with me. beginning, but you can't. I India, I came back again, but wherever you go. I had a PR

office and I was working with National Geographic and the History Channel and food and wine and all the good things in life, as well as with coexistence projects with Palestinian-Israeli citizens. I wasn't particularly politically involved, it was much more on a social level: animal welfare, children,

coexistence projects. I always did a lot of volunteer work; I put a lot into those kinds of things, it's always been a part of who I am. But my work began to lose all joy for me. My priorities changed completely. To sit in a meeting and decide whether a wine should be marketed in one way or another became totally irrelevant to me; I couldn't bear it. I was just very lucky, I had wonderful girls working with me in the office and they really ran the office for me for a year until I decided I couldn't bear it anymore, and I closed the office.

Yitzhak Frankenthal had come founder of the Bereaved That was the path I wanted to There were a lot of Israelis group there and I didn't really more time went by the more I make a difference. It was the how not to be patronizing; into in this kind of work-- "I Palestinians, let me tell them to understand, to look at the



in culture, in all these things, to be much less judgmental than I'd always been. I think David was a much more tolerant person than I am, or a less judgmental person. I learned a lot of lessons from him, and the pain created a space in me that was less egocentric-- that I know what's best for everybody.

David was killed on March the sniper who killed David was a huge step. That was mean what I'm saying or am that's the test of whether I work I'm doing. Do I really talk about reconciliation. I



It took me about four months to make the decision, many sleepless nights and a lot of searching inside myself about whether this is what I really mean. I wrote them a letter, which two of the Palestinians from our group delivered to the family. They promised to write me a letter. It will take time; these things take time, I'm waiting. It could take five years for them to do that. They will deliver the letter that I wrote to their son who is in jail. So in my own personal development, this was the big milestone for me.

When he was caught I didn't feel anything; not satisfaction, except maybe satisfaction that he can't do it to anybody else. There is no sense of revenge and I have never looked for that.

These past years have been an incredible experience for me. I've learned such a lot for my own personal growth, apart from the work I'm doing, which is almost the reason I get up in the morning, actually. It's something I feel almost duty-bound to be doing; it's not a favor that I'm doing for anyone else but a personal mission almost. I know this works. I believe removing the stigma from each side

to speak to me; he was the Families Forum. I wasn't sure take, but I went to a seminar. and Palestinians from the feel convinced yet. But the wanted to work somewhere to beginning of understanding that's a really easy trap to fall know what's best for the what to do." It took me time differences in temperament,

3rd 2002, on October 2004 was caught, which for me really the test. Do I actually I just saying it because... really have integrity in the mean what I'm saying when I wrote a letter to the family.

and getting to know the person on the other side allows for a removal of fear, and a way to understand that a long-term reconciliation process is possible. That's also based on my background as a South African person, seeing the miracle of South Africa and how that all happened and that it was actually possible.

On David's grave there is a quotation by Khalil Gibran that says, "The whole earth is my birthplace and all humans are my brothers."

The letter:

This for me is one of the most difficult letters I will ever have to write. My name is Robi Damelin, I am the mother of David who was killed by your son. I know he did not kill David because he was David, if he had known him he could never have done such a thing. David was 28 years old, he was a student at Tel-Aviv University doing his masters in the Philosophy of Education, David was part of the peace movement and did not want to serve in the occupied territories. He had a compassion for all people and understood the suffering of the Palestinians, he treated all around him with dignity. David was part of the movement of the Officers who did not want to serve in the occupied territories but nevertheless for many reasons he went to serve when he was called to the reserves.

What makes our children do what they do, they not understand the pain they are causing your son by now having to be in jail for many years and mine who I will never be able to hold and see again or see him married , or have a grandchild from him. I can not describe to you the pain I feel since his death and the pain of his brother and girl-friend, and all who knew and loved him.

All my life I have spent working for causes of co-existence, both in South Africa and here. After David was killed I started to look for a way to prevent other families both Israeli and Palestinian from suffering this dreadful loss. I was looking for a way to stop the cycle of violence, nothing for me is more sacred than human life, no revenge or hatred can ever bring my child back. After a year, I closed my office and joined the Parents Circle - Families Forum. We are a group of Israeli and Palestinian families who have all lost an immediate family member in the conflict. We are looking for ways to create a dialogue with a long term vision of reconciliation.

After your son was captured, I spent many sleepless nights thinking about what to do, should I ignore the whole thing, or will I be true to my integrity and to the work that I am doing and try to find a way for closure and reconciliation. This is not easy for anyone and I am just an ordinary person not a saint. I have now come to the conclusion that I would like to try to find a way to reconcile. Maybe this is difficult for you to understand or believe, but I know that in my

heart it is the only path that I can choose, for if what I say is what I mean it is the only way.

I understand that your son is considered a hero by many of the Palestinian people, he is considered to be a freedom fighter, fighting for justice and for an independent viable Palestinian state, but I also feel that if he understood that taking the life of another may not be the way and that if he understood the consequences of his act, he could see that a non-violent solution is the only way for both nations to live together in peace.

Our lives as two nations are so intertwined, each of us will have to give up on our dreams for the future of the children who are our responsibility.

I give this letter to people I love and trust to deliver, they will tell you of the work we are doing, and perhaps create in your hearts some hope for the future. I do not know what your reaction will be, it is a risk for me, but I believe that you will understand, as it comes from the most honest part of me. I hope that you will show the letter to your son, and that maybe in the future we can meet.

Let us put an end to the killing and look for a way through mutual understanding and empathy to live a normal life, free of violence.

Robi Damelin.

- Robi's interview was edited from a long interview she gave Just Vision. Robi's photo and interview are courtesy of Just Vision.
[Read the full interview.](#)

Osama Abu Ayash

To all who are interested, my name is Osama Taleb Abed El Magid Abu Ayash. I was born and live in the village Beit Omar - Hebron. I was born on 11/02/1966, had a usual school in the village. I learned to read and write and many other things about life. I got to know my relatives and my mother's family who come from Nablus (Shechem). I came to know my country, my national home Palestine.



name is Osama Taleb Abed El live in the village Beit Omar - 11/02/1966, had a usual school in the village. I learned to things about life. I got to know family who come from Nablus country, my national home

When I was eight years old I light work as he had a heart lost his father in the war on 12/05/1948 on our land in Etzion together with two of his uncle's children and six fighters from the village.

learned that my father did only condition as a result of having

My father told me of the pain and bitterness he felt after his father had fallen and the land was occupied by the Jews. He told me about the occupation of all of Palestine, about the '48 war and the '67 war. I was then one year old and he carried me and walked with my mother, my grandmother, and me to the cave, which existed on the land owned by us in the name of Abu Ayash. The cave exists till today. My father was sickly and I was always worried that I would lose him. I loved him very much and could not imagine a situation that I would have to live without him.

I was 9 years old in 1975 when which left him partially unbearable and my father's than ever according to the and worked after school with had many different fruit trees livelihood. My mother began to weaving machine and the



family was hers alone. The burden was heavy. Our family consisted of our father and mother, 5 sons and 3 daughters. I am the eldest. Our standard of living went from bad to worse until we barely had bread to eat due to the expenses on treatments that my father needed. He died in 1982. He was born in 1922. I was seventeen in the eleventh grade so I left school and started to work in difficult jobs such as driving a tractor and such like. With my salary we bought a new electric weaving machine and then I went back to school and continued working. I continued to study and worked as a plasterer. I obtained a diploma in psychology but did not work in that profession.

my father had a second stroke, paralyzed. Life became imminent death was closer doctors. I remained at school my mother on the land. We and we sold the fruit for our work at home on a manual-burden of upkeep of our large

Life was not easy. Everything was difficult because the occupation did not leave me in peace. I was arrested three times, the last time in 1990, an event I remember well and will never forget because the investigators invented all sorts of ways and means to hurt me mentally and physically. The methods used were: to leave me naked, put me into a small cupboard, they used electricity, hot and freezing water, tied my hands

and feet whilst I was standing, not letting me go to the bathroom so I dirtied myself. The suspected me of having taken part in shots that were fired on a settlers' bus on the way to Hebron. The perpetrators were apprehended and I was released and the investigator apologized to me for the torture I had been through. I did not belong to any political organization and did not participate in resistance to the occupation. I was investigated simply because I was busy trying to feed my large family. I started to take an interest in the Fatah movement after they chose the path of Oslo and peace.

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I got married in 1992. My wife is from a simple and good family from Nablus consisting of 6 sons and 4 daughters. One brother, Louis, was wounded by a dumddum which burst in his breast when he and his sister, my wife, were watching the soldiers from the window of their house. He was 10 when he was wounded in 1988. My wife's eldest brother was not present at our wedding as he was imprisoned for four years. He was released a year later. A second brother, Kamal, was 20 years old when he fell on 6.4.2002.

Kamal's story and his joining when he was 18 and worked for He used to walk to work and Israeli soldiers stopped him and They asked for his I.D.' asked what his destination was and asked: "why are you laughing? And he answered: I am not laughing. I just have a smiling face. He soldier insisted, you are laughing at me and besides what is all the black stuff on your hands, were you preparing a bomb or a belt? No, Kamal answered, it is dirt caused by my work at the garage. You can come to the garage and see. The soldiers starting beating him with their hands and feet and their guns until he fell on the road. They left him bleeding and went on their way.



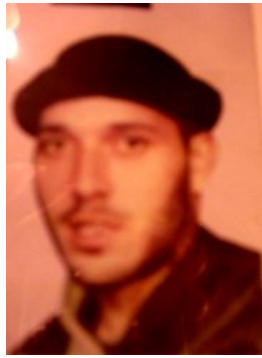
the resistance in Nablus began a garage not far from his home. one day on the way home checked and interrogated him. where he had come from and he answered. One soldier

Kamal did not die but he was blood from his ear. Eyewitnesses hospital in Nablus where he told happened and what he thought revenge on these soldiers even if to his friends that he has a job, will buy a gun, that he will revenge. He felt that he would faces.



badly wounded and lost a lot of and passers by took him to the his family and friends what had about it. He decided to take his it would cost him his life. He said and he has money with which he search for the soldiers and take never forget their villainous

Kamal was released from threatened to do. He bought a soldiers. Everyone knows that Kamal did not find the same other soldiers even after a year because he was armed he Israeli forces who had heard that collaborators. Kamal was wanted when he was 20. He was killed disarming him. Tayseer, his gun and he decided to revenge year later for the same reason and by the same method.



hospital and did what he gun and started looking for the the soldiers are rotated and soldiers. He did not shoot at of carrying a gun. However, became a wanted man by the he was armed from until he was slain on 6/4/2002 but they did not succeed in brother aged 19 inherited the his brother, Kamal. Tayseer fell a

The importance of the above wife after she lost her brother day I was working on a wife's brother, called me and to Tayseer and requested me to tell her that Tayseer was he was killed for fear that she bad news. I immediately



crying because someone had told her that Tayseer was wounded. I took our four daughters to my mother's house and we left for Nablus. The journey was difficult because of the curfew, the checkpoints and the obstructions. It took us 10 hours to get to Nablus as opposed to 2 hours normally. We transferred from vehicle to vehicle and walked until we reached the family home. We saw lots of people milling around the house and my wife felt at once that Tayseer was not wounded but was dead. Tayasir's body was still in cold storage in the hospital. My wife broke down completely and we called a doctor who gave her a tranquilizer and other pills but she insisted on seeing her brother. In the hospital she saw her dearest and best loved brother for the last time. On the following day we took the body from the cold storage to be buried. We stayed one more day and returned, with the same difficulties, to Beit Omar.

story is what happened to my Tayseer on 1/5/2003. On that cement truck. Shaab, also my told me what had happened to bring my wife to Nablus but badly wounded and not that will collapse on hearing the returned home and found her

At home the real problem began. The tranquilizers had lost their effect and Antisar, became befuddled, screamed, cried and called for Kamal and Tayseer. She began to act wildly. Our little girls saw their mother's behavior and also started shouting and crying. We again called a doctor to give her more tranquilizers. I left my job and stayed with her because she was in a very bad state. The social worker was no help. As I had stopped working and we had no money our lives became very difficult since here in Palestine there is no one to help the numerous victims.

A few months later, improved and I out in the car for a an Israeli car parked my sister and her asked who the heard that they Razi: how can you who killed your told me that his attack. Please, he



If they don't find favor in your eyes you can leave. I said that I will not leave and it is they who will go and not return. However, when I entered I met someone by the name of Rami Elchanan who respectfully stood to greet me. He shook my hand. I felt as though he was about to kiss me. I asked: what he is you doing here? Aren't you afraid? He said: aren't we all human beings? He started to tell me how he had lost his beloved daughter and how much he missed her. He encouraged me to speak about our pain .He told me that he recognizes the Palestinian pain and feels that it is imperative that a Palestinian state be established. It is necessary to put a stop to the occupation. He told me that he is working to that end with the Forum of bereaved families both Palestinian and Israeli. Rami spoke about the Forum, its members, objectives and activities. His words were strong and convincing. I also told him about our loss. He invited us to join the Forum, to become members. I said I would join but that my wife is in a bad state. I agreed to become a member of the Forum at that moment. Later I told my wife about the meeting with Rami and told her that there are Israeli families who suffer and cry when they lose their dear ones. She did not believe me and said they are murderers and don't cry but let the Palestinians cry.

my wife's condition wanted to take her drive. Outside I saw nearby the house of husband Razi. I visitors were. When I were Jews I said to bring home Jews

brother, have you forgotten his blood? He visitors had lost dear ones in a terrorist said, they are here, enter and speak to them.

In time I got to know about the Forum more thoroughly and believed in their message. I was invited to participate in a conference under the heading: Conciliation. The participants were from Israel and Jordan, people who had chosen the path of Peace. I persuaded my wife to join me and my sister and her husband, Razi, also accompanied us. There we met additional bereaved families. My wife was amazed to see Salma the Israeli Druze who lost her brother and two sons who were serving in Zahal and were killed in Lebanon.

On the second day of the conference, my wife Antisar wandered amongst the participants chatting to them in English. When we met at the end of the day, she told me she had spoken to bereaved Israeli families and heard their stories. She felt, for sure, that the pain was the same pain, the suffering the same suffering, and the tears the same tears with the same salty taste. I couldn't believe that this was my wife talking in this vein. She asked how could she become a member of the Forum. She did not know that I had become a member from the first meeting in Raz'i's house and I explained that I was unable to tell her at the time because of the difficult state she was in. Thus we both became members of the Bereaved Families' Forum.

My wife succeeded in enlisting her parents, brothers and sisters as well as tens of bereaved families in Nablus as members of the Forum.

This is my personal story and I pray to God that we will be able to pass on the message of the Forum, to prevent bereavement that the nations of the area are suffering from, and to solve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the manner which we believe in and will reach an agreement which honors the national rights of both sides.

Your brother,
With high hopes,
Osama Abu Ayash

DISASTERS OF THE WAR

Jalal Khudiari

Jalal Shuhial Khudiari: In 1967 my parents, my five sisters (Leila, Khawla, my two brothers (Jamal lived in Jenin. We had to ongoing war and the massacre, gave us more leave for Amman. We left rented for us. He stayed important things. It was accompany us.



1967 my parents, my five Salwa, Asma and Sana) and and little Hisham) and I flee to Amman. The painful memories of the '48 than enough reason to in a car that my father had at home to finish some god's will that he didn't

In a small village on other the pain hit us. I was 5 each second is still My mother carried my little sisters were at her sides. I approaching, it flew very with an alarming noise. my skin started to burn attack. It returned in less bomb. After the explosion there were bodies everywhere, hell's doors opened at that moment. I looked at my mother and my little brother, whose face was cut into two. The explosive went through my brother and touched my mother. My sister Salwa's leg was cut in two she had also lost some of her fingers. Many metal splinters penetrated her body in different places. Metal splinters also penetrated my leg which I have to say, denied me a normal childhood. My sister Asma was killed.



side of the Jordan River, years old. Each moment, registered in my memory. brother in her arms; my saw an Israeli plane low and very close to us, When it came close to us because of the plane than one minute and sent a

A few minutes later, a the bodies from the wounded were taken to left a Jordanian soldier three sisters, Khawla, Leila called my mother and my nobody to answer. We wanted to go to Amman as mama had planned for us. The suffering grew when we found my brother Jamil. He was thrown from the car and a Bedouin found him. His hair was singed and it was flaring. My sister Leila, although very small, succeeded in stopping a car and we found ourselves at the door of a hospital. My father was there; much weakened, and could not speak to us. I never thought to see him in this state; for me he was Superman, the one man who could protect us from any danger, the



Jordanian soldier removed remains of the vehicle. The the hospital. Before they bandaged my leg. Only my and Sana and I remained. I father, but there was

smart captain who sails his ship through the waves to a safe shore. I never thought that I would see what I saw that day in the hospital.

Since then, not a day, not a moment passed, that I thought I would ever speak to an Israeli. I was convinced that whoever spoke Hebrew was an assassin. There was in me only blood, pain, and violence.

One day, a very significant event occurred. One of my friends died in the Intifada. I returned home filled with hatred of the Jews, blood, and the war. My father heard me, and saw how much I was shaken, and he did not speak to me. He is a religious man. Some time later, Jordan television presented a program on Hitler and the Holocaust, and my father invited me to watch it, without saying anything. I watched and saw. After the showing, he said to me: "I want that you learn a thing. When you hate somebody, you cannot reflect, when you cannot reflect, you cannot make a good decision. Hatred can only cause you to make errors, and life cannot continue like that. It is necessary that you have a positive role in your own life."

I was a principal, in Turkey. I was surprised to discover that there were meetings between Israeli and Palestinian principals. I had reservations. A man told of the death of his son in the explosion of a bus. I did not need many explanations because I had internalized what was pain. The fact of seeing an Israeli feeling pain and loss led me to speak with him, to tell him what had happened to my family. While I was there, I also met Mr. Boaz Kitain who today, is the Israeli General Manager of the PCFF and he spoke to me about an association which was comprised of Jewish and Palestinian families. He invited me to come to see them, to listen, to remain if I wanted to. I did not pursue the invitation. After four months, I received a call from Dr. Adel Misk, the Palestinian representative of this association. He invited me to a meeting in Jerusalem. I answered that I would see, Inshalla. It was not an easy decision to make; I spoke about it to my father and to my sister Salwa, the two most significant people in my life. Salwa, despite everything that occurred, does not have the least trace of hatred or spite in her heart. She told me to go there.

I went to Jerusalem. There were Israeli and Palestinian families. All spoke about pain, and of what we had not gained with violence. That influenced me a great deal. I saw that there was a human aspect, which I was to discover more of. As of this moment, I felt that I had a mission, a national duty. The release of land is not done only with rifles. The Israeli community must be able to see in me somebody who holds tightly onto the hand of peace.

Rami Elchanan

Replacing Pain with Hope

My name is Rami Elchanan. I am fifty-seven years old, a graphic designer and a 7th generation Jerusalemite. I am a Jew, I am an Israeli and before everything else - I am a human being.

My personal story begins and also ends on one particular day of the Jewish calendar - Yom Kippur (Day of Atonement): On Yom Kippur 33 years ago, in October 1973, I was a young reserve soldier finding myself all of a sudden in the midst of a terrible war. We set out in a company with 11 tanks and ended with only 3 tanks. There, in the Sinai sands, I lost some of my very best friends. I came out of this war a beaten and battered young man - An angry and embittered, cynical and furious young man. I was determined to cut myself off from any sort of involvement - political, social or anything else.

I was released from the army and built me a life: studies, family, career...

23 years ago, Yom Kippur evening, 1983 a sweet new babygirl was born in Hadassah Hospital, in Jerusalem. We named her Smadar. (It's from the Bible the Song of Solomon, meaning "The Grape of Vine") She was a very vivid, smiling, happy, full of life and active young girl who joined our calm, happy family...and so we lived complacently, my wife Nurit, my three sons and this princess, in a bubble that we built around ourselves...

Until about 9 years ago, when, on the 4th September 1997, this bubble of ours was smashed to smithereens... (Thousands of pieces?)

On the first day of the school year, a few days before Yom Kippur, Smadar and her friends went to the Ben Yehuda St. in Jerusalem to buy books for the new school year. There, they met their death, killed by two Palestinian suicide bombers who murdered 5 people that day, among them three little girls aged 14.

It was a Thursday at three in the afternoon—and the beginning of a long night, cold and dark....

At first in the depths of your heart you hope that the terrible finger won't point at you this time. You find yourself running crazily

through the streets, going from one police station to the next, one hospital to the next, until eventually, much later in that long accursed night, you find yourself in the morgue and this terrible finger is right between your eyes and you see a sight that you will never, ever, be able to blot out...

And on Sunday the funeral is held in Kibbutz Nachshon, on the green hill on the way to Jerusalem. Smadari were buried next to her late grandfather General (ret.) Prof. and MK (ret.) Matti Peled, the Peace Fighter. The fact that the enemies of peace murdered his granddaughter drew huge attention in Israel and abroad. And as at his funeral, so at hers the mourners represented all the nuances that make up the wonderful mosaic of this unbelievable country - Jews and Arabs, left- and right- wingers, religious and secular people, from the representatives of the settlers in the Occupied Territories to the personal representatives of chairman Yasser Arafat.

After the funeral we return to the empty house that slowly filled with people. For the next seven days we are wrapped in the consoling embrace of thousands of people who filled the narrow street, day after night, night after day till the end of the Shiva [Jewish period of mourning].

On the eighth day suddenly everyone disappears and you remain alone, now you must marshal your strength, get up, face yourself in the mirror and decide: what's next? Where do you go from here? Where do you direct this new and terrible pain, this unknown and intolerable ache? What do you do with the rest of your life when suddenly you have become a completely different person, and all your previous priorities have dissipated in a trance and it's as though they never existed?

And really there are only two options to choose from, only one of two paths to tread: the first is the obvious one, the automatic, and the immediate. When someone murders your 14 years old little daughter, the one and only thing you have in your head is unlimited anger and an urge for revenge that is stronger than death. This is a natural feeling, it's only human. Most people feel that way, it's understandable, it's clear and predictable.... However, we are human beings and not animals. We have a head on our shoulders and inside that head we have a brain and when the first madness of anger passes, you begin to ask yourself penetrating questions: if I kill someone in revenge, will that bring my baby back to me? And if I cause someone pain, will that ease my own pain? And the answer

is absolutely “No”. Then, during a long and slow, difficult and painful process you gradually reach the other road, and you try to understand: what occurred here? What can drive someone to such anger and despair as to be willing to blow himself up together with little girls? And most important: what can you, personally, do to prevent this intolerable suffering from others....

Yes, it is indeed not easy and indeed not simple and it took almost a year. In the beginning I enough thought to myself that I could behave as though nothing had happened, that I could return to work and on the face of things lead a normal life. But I was no longer the same person, and under the surface a change had started in me so deep I was unconscious of it.

And then, one day I met a big, impressive man with a crocheted skullcap on his head. (You know how we immediately stigmatize people, put them into drawers and catalogue stereotypes, so I immediately thought to myself that this man, with the skullcap, is a terrible fascist and eats Arabs for breakfast). The man’s name was Yitzchak Frankenthal. He told me about his son Arik, kidnapped and murdered by Hamas in 1994 and that he has established this organization of people who lost children in the conflict but nevertheless want Peace... I then remembered that this man was one of the thousands who had been to my home during Shiva and I was really cross with him. I asked: How could you?! How dare you enter the home of people who have just lost a child and talk to them about Peace? He was not offended and with great calm and patience, invited me to attend one of the meetings of this group of crazy people and see for myself. I agreed, both because I did not want to insult the man and partly because I was a bit curious.....

I stood aloof when they arrived. I was detached, completely cut off and cynical and reluctant, as usual. People began to descend from the buses and for me, a deeply rooted Israeli these people were living legends: I used to read about them in the newspapers, I used to look up to them and I never ever dreamt that one day I will be one of them. I remember seeing Yaakov Guterman from Kibbutz Ha-ogen. He is a holocaust survivor who lost his son, Raz, on the 1st Lebanon War and was one of the first of bereaved parents who dared to demonstrate against this war. I also remember seeing Roni Hirshenson, a close friend, wonderful person and a determined peace seeker. He lost both his sons, Amir and Elad, on this accursed conflict, and yet remained a wonderful person and determined peace warier....

And then I saw an amazing spectacle! Something that was completely new to me. I saw Arabs getting off the buses, bereaved Palestinian families: men, women and children, coming towards me, greeting me for peace, hugging me and crying with me... And I distinctly remember, a respectable elderly woman dressed in black from tip to toe and on her breast a locket with a picture of a kid, about six years old ...

I am not religious -- quite the opposite-- and so I am at a loss to explain the change I underwent at that moment. , But one thing became as clear to me as the sun at noon: from that day on - 8 years ago - I got a reason to get out of bed in the morning. Since that day on I have dedicated my life to one thing only: to go from ear to ear and from person to person and to shout in a loud voice, to all who are prepared to listen, and also to those whose ears are blocked: This is not our destiny! It is not a decree of fate that cannot be changed!!! Nowhere is it written that we must continue dying and sacrificing our children forever and forever in this difficult horrible holy land. We can and once and for all must stop this crazy vicious circle of violence, murder and retaliation revenge and punishment. This never-ending cycle, with no purpose. With no winners and only with losers

This is the message that, together, my Palestinian brother here beside me and myself are putting across. (With this one of a kind rare cooperation we are brothers in pain. And you will not find many examples in history where bereaved people, from both sides of the cancerous bloody conflict, holding out hands to one another). And we, the bereaved families, together from the depth of our mutual pain, are saying to you today: Our blood is the same red color, our suffering is identical, and all of us have the exact same bitter tears. So, if we, who have paid the highest price possible, can carry on a dialog, then everyone can!

And that, if you like, is the entire rationale in a capsule. Our strength derives from the intolerable pain and this intolerable pain has the power of nuclear energy. This power can be directed to good usage or bad. It can cause destruction and ruin which will produce more pain in this vicious cycle, but the opposite is also a possibility! This energy can be used to produce new hope! It is possible, and necessary, to use this bereavement to try and prevent further bereavement.

Today, high walls of fear and hatred separate the two nations. We, in our activities in the forum of the bereaved families, with the

little remainder of our meager strength are trying to batter this wall, open and widen cracks until it falls.

So, how does one produce hope out of bereavement and loss? There is lots to be done and we are attempting to do as much as possible, for instance:

In August 2000 during the Camp David peace talks we demonstrated in Rabin square in Tel Aviv to support the peace talks. Concurrently our Palestinian brothers did the same in Palestine Square in Gaza and we visited each other back and forth. Three months later there were already 300 dead and we returned to the square and set up 300 image-targets to illustrate the meaning of this number - 300 dead! No one joined this second demonstration and we all felt that we were again in mourning....

Another year passed, and in October 2001, the number of victims grew to one thousand two hundred, 1200! We sent a delegation of bereaved fathers and mothers, Palestinians and Israelis, to the USA. In front of the UN building in New York, we placed one thousand two hundred coffins wrapped in Israeli and Palestinian flags, again to illustrate to the public the full significance of this terrible number - 1200!! (Today, sadly, there are already over five thousand dead from both nations. Many amongst the dead were completely innocent, many were children...and the numbers still grow - every day!...

Two years ago, after one of the worst days, which were especially bloody, we decided to use an unusual tactic to touch peoples' hearts. We invited our brothers and sisters, members of Palestinian bereaved families, to Magen David Adom (Israeli Red Cross) in Jerusalem to donate blood for Israeli victims. We, on the other hand, slipped across the enemy lines and reached the hospital in Ramallah where we donated blood for Palestinian victims. On the same evening, whilst in the studio of the Israeli television, an interviewer asked, in a voice both wondrous and shocked: How could you donate blood to the enemy?! We answered that it is far less painful to donate blood to the needy than to spill it unnecessarily as though it was water....

During the past two years we have initiated and executed an especially outstanding communication project: you dial *4643 and reach an answering service. If you are Palestinian you can speak with an Israeli. If you are Israeli you can speak to a Palestinian. Since launching the project there have been over half-a-million conversations between Jews and Arabs! This means that Jews and

Arabs have spoken to one another for over a million minutes!!! Imagine what could have happened if the leaders of these two crazy nations would speak to one another, even for one minute, on any subject under the sun...

However, in my opinion the highlight of our activities and the most significant for me are the lectures given in the schools; last year over one thousand lectures were held in Israeli and Palestinian schools! Only we, for instance, can enter an Israeli classroom of 30-40 pupils aged 17-18 and tell them that next year, when they will be soldiers, there will be a direct connection between their behavior at the checkpoints and the victims of the next terrorist attack. This of course raises a heated and bitter argument, but it is a vital argument, required and necessary. For my part, if I succeed in influencing even only one kid, I have saved one drop of blood! And that's a great deal! It is a miracle!!!

In this manner, we begin to breach the wall of hatred and cruelty. In this manner, we bring the message of peace and reconciliation and the necessity for dialog to thousands of pupils. We attempt to shatter the terrible myth that there is no one to talk to and nothing to talk about and therefore we must not surrender anything just continue fighting for ever, till the end of time...

But since so many rivers of blood have flown, one thing is now clear to everyone: the Palestinians will not be able to topple the Israeli nuclear power, and will not succeed in throwing all the Jews into the sea, and the Israelis will not succeed in suppressing the Palestinians' desire for freedom and will not be able to banish millions of Palestinians to the desert. It has been decreed that we must all live here together on this wasteful land and the sooner we understand that in this war there are only losers it will be better for all of us.

I wish to end on a personal note, with a request and a thank you:

I am the son of a holocaust survivor. My father is an Auschwitz graduate... .

Sixty years ago when my (grandparents?) forefathers were sent to the crematoriums in Europe, the free and civilized world stood aloof and did not lift a finger to save them. Today, too, sixty years later while these two mad nations are mercilessly butchering one another, the world again looks the other way and does nothing to put a stop to the killing and this is a shame! And this is a crime!!! All I have left is to beseech you not to behave that way. Do not

stand aloof. Be involved and concerned because we are talking about your future and ours. Not everyone must think the same. It is possible and necessary to argue, but to turn your backs on reality, to stick your heads in the sand and to live in a bubble is wrong, because you know: bubbles tend to burst in your face sometimes...

And I thank you all, from the bottom of my heart, for listening. For me that is the most important thing of them all. To have the ability to listen and the ability to talk to each other. We must be prepared to listen to 'the other'. Because if we will not know how to listen to the other's story we won't be able to understand the source of his pain and we should not expect the other to understand our own pain.

Here is where it begins and here it will end

Thank you

Rami Elhanan

4. The Cast of Characters (Political Parties in Israel and Palestine)

Have your students divide into groups and read about either Hamas, Fatah, Likud, or Labor.

Each group should summarize their political party on the paper provided and present their findings to the class. You may have several groups summarizing each party; the additional groups can add anything the first group forgets.

The Who Am I? Game:

When all the groups have summarized the parties, tape a name of a party to the back of each person. Students circulate and give clues to help everyone guess which party is taped on. Students can give clues but not tell the answer. Each student can only give one clue to another classmate; this way, students circulate more. For instance, if a student is Likud, classmates can tell him/her: "You are a center-right party in Israel." OR "You don't believe in withdrawal from the Golan Heights."

To play the Who Am I? Game, copy the names on this sheet and tape them to your students' backs:

FATAH

HAMAS

LIKUD

LABOR

FATAH

HAMAS

LIKUD

LABOR

FATAH

HAMAS

LIKUD

LABOR

FATAH

HAMAS

LIKUD

LABOR

The Cast of Characters
(Political Parties in Israel and Palestine)

Fatah, Hamas, Labor, Likud... You hear about these parties, but... what do they want? Who are they?

Directions: Read about the political party your teacher assigns you. As a group, summarize the main points about your political party for the class. Design a slogan for them. Pay attention to how the other parties are described because soon you'll be guessing who's who.

Political Party's Name: _____

Palestinian or Israeli?

Brief History:

Current beliefs/major planks in party's platform:

We think a realistic slogan for this party could be:

Palestinian rivals: Fatah & Hamas

Two parties dominate Palestinian politics: Fatah which has been at the head of the Palestinian national movement since the 1950s, and the Islamist movement, Hamas, which won the parliamentary elections in January 2006.

FATAH

Full name: Reverse acronym of Harakat al-Tahrir al-Filistiniya (Palestinian Liberation Movement) meaning "conquest" in Arabic.

Origins and development: Founded by Yasser Arafat in the 1950s to promote the armed struggle to liberate all Palestine from Israeli control.

It developed into the largest Palestinian political faction and, after recognising Israel's right to exist, led efforts towards a two-state solution with Israel under the 1990s Oslo peace accords.

Fatah members formed the backbone of the Oslo-inspired administration, the Palestinian Authority (PA), especially its bureaucrats and security forces.

The party lost power in the 2006 parliamentary elections to Hamas, after Fatah officials came to be perceived as corrupt and incompetent. The shift in power heralded a period of violence on the streets of Gaza.

Attitude to Israel: PA President Mahmoud Abbas advocates restarting the peace process and is a strong critic of armed "resistance" and attacks on Israeli civilians. His goal is to establish a Palestinian state in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, with East Jerusalem as capital.

The Fatah-affiliated al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades has participated, along with Hamas, in an informal militant ceasefire since 2005, but conducts what it calls retaliatory attacks against Israel.

Current status: The 2006 election defeat put Fatah on the defensive and subsequent events raised fears it would try using its political influence and military power to maintain predominance. The PA's 70,000 police and security forces are mainly Fatah loyalists.

After months of factional street fighting in which hundreds of Palestinians were killed, Fatah struck a deal with Hamas to join a unity government as a junior partner.

Palestinian Authority President and Fatah leader Mahmoud Abbas dismissed the Hamas-led government in June 2007 in the wake of some of the worst fighting that resulted in the Gaza Strip being seized by the Hamas armed forces in what the movement described as a "liberation".

A new emergency cabinet has been sworn in in the West Bank, led by Prime Minister Salam Fayyad.

Palestinian rivals: Fatah & Hamas

Two parties dominate Palestinian politics: Fatah which has been at the head of the Palestinian national movement since the 1950s, and the Islamist movement, Hamas, which won the parliamentary elections in January 2006.

HAMAS

Full name: Acronym for Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamiya (Islamic Resistance Movement) and means "zeal" in Arabic.

Origins and development: Palestinian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood, committed to establishing an Islamic state in the whole of what it terms Palestine (post-1948 Israel, the West Bank and Gaza).

Since its formation 1987 it has pursued a dual function: social welfare and what it calls armed resistance. This earned respect and gratitude among Palestinians suffering under Israeli occupation, but a string of suicide bombings against Israeli civilians meant it was designated a terrorist organisation by Israel, the US and the European Union.

Its 2006 landslide win thrust on Hamas the responsibility of power and international scrutiny for the first time, but the government was not recognised by Israel or the main international mediators.

Attitude to Israel: Hamas's charter uncompromisingly seeks Israel's destruction. However, Hamas's Ismail Haniya, the prime minister of the unity government until it was dissolved in June 2007, has spoken of a long-term truce with Israel if Israel withdraws from territory occupied in 1967.

The Hamas armed wing, the Izzedine al-Qassam brigades, has participated in an informal ceasefire since 2005, but claims the right to retaliate against what it calls Israeli attacks.

Current status: Designated a terrorist group by PA donors, outside funds to the Hamas-led Palestinian Authority dried up. Banks refused to handle emergency donations fearing US penalties.

After months of wrangling with Fatah, Hamas became the senior partner in a national unity government in March 2007.

But separately, it deployed a 3,000-strong shadow security force including its supporters to tackle lawlessness in Gaza. The move exacerbated tensions with pro-Fatah security agencies sparking a major show-down with Fatah.

Mr Haniya appears to be in charge in Gaza - Mr Abbas in the West Bank. The ousted prime minister insists his sacking is illegal - as is the Fayyad cabinet, which cannot get

approval in the Hamas-dominated Palestinian parliament but which is to rule by decree.

Story from BBC NEWS:

http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/middle_east/5016012.stm

Published: 2007/06/17 11:32:58 GMT

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A Guide to Israel's Political Parties

March 12, 2006

by Joel M. Hoffman; <http://www.lashon.net/JMH/Resources/Israel2006-1.html>

Labor-Meimad (Avoda)

- Center-left.
- Led by Amir Peretz.
- Predicted to win approx. 19 seats in 17th Knesset. (Sources: Maagar Mochot / Israel Radio; March 8, 2006; Dialog / HaAretz, March 8, 2006.)
- Historically the leader of the left.
- Important Issues: ``The State of Israel is a Jewish state, the national home [or ``a national home"] for any and all Jews. The challenge standing before Israeli society is to accelerate the processes of economic growth and blossoming while dividing their fruit fairly among the entire population. A government led by Labor will work for renewing national negotiations that will take place amid a determined struggle against violence and terror, completion of the security fence within one year. The Labor party will lead the way in moving from narrowing [educational and societal] gaps to eliminating the gaps. [We] will work toward fair relations between the religious and the secular." (Source: Avoda2006.org.il; trans. JMH.)
- ``A parliamentary group formed in the course of the Fifteenth Knesset, after Gesher left One Israel (2) and included the Labor Party and Meimad (a moderate religious party, that never ran independently in Knesset elections). Labor-Meimad ran by this name in the elections for the Sixteenth Knesset." (Source: Knesset.gov.il)

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by Joel M. Hoffman; <http://www.lashon.net/JMH/Resources/Israel2006-1.html>

Likud

- Center-right party.
- Currently in control of government.
- Traces its roots to Ariel Sharon. Prime Minister Sharon left the party, largely over disagreements regarding Sharon's disengagement program.
- Currently led by Benjamin Netanyahu, former Prime Minister.
- Predicted to win 17 seats in 17th Knesset. (Sources: Maagar Mochot / Israel Radio, March 8, 2006; Dialog / HaAretz, March 8, 2006.)
- Historically the leader of the right.
- Summary of Likud Policies: ``No unilateral withdrawals. No strengthening of the terror organizations. No negotiating with the Palestinians until they fully acknowledge Israel's right to exist and there is a full cessation of terror and incitement; any future negotiations will be on a reciprocal basis only. No withdrawal from the Golan Heights. Completion of the security fence.... A united Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. A more active and centralized international Hasbara [JMH: public relations] campaign. Reduce the V.A.T. [JMH: ``value added tax," or sales tax] from 16.5% to 14%. Reduce corporate tax to 20% [JMH: from 31%, reduced in January 2006 from 34%]. Reduce the marginal rate of tax per individual to 40% [JMH: from 49%]. (Source: English section of likud.org.il.)
- ``A list established toward the elections for the Eighth Knesset, which was made up at its inception by the Herut Movement, the Liberal Party, the Free Center, the National List, and Greater Israel Activists. After the Herut Movement had, for many years, constituted the Right-wing marker of the Israeli political spectrum, the orientation of the new list was that of moderate Right in the political arena, and free market in the economic sphere. Over the years, the makeup of the Likud list changed, but its two central components remained the Herut Movement and the Liberal Party. In 1988, the Herut Movement and Liberal Party merged into a single party called the Likud. Menachem Begin was the leader of the Likud until 1983, in the years 1983-93 Yitzhak Shamir, 1993-99 Binyamin Netanyahu, and since 1999 Ariel Sharon." (Source: knesset.gov.il)

Likud Party 1999 Platform Excerpt [although this is an old excerpt, there is no indication that it is out of date]

http://www.knesset.gov.il/elections/knesset15/elikud_m.htm

Self-Rule

The Government of Israel flatly rejects the establishment of a Palestinian Arab state west of the Jordan river.

The Palestinians can run their lives freely in the framework of self-rule, but not as an independent and sovereign state. Thus, for example, in matters of foreign affairs, security, immigration and ecology, their activity shall be limited in accordance with imperatives of Israel's existence, security and national needs.

The Jordan River as a Permanent Border

The Jordan Valley and the territories that dominate it shall be under Israeli sovereignty. The Jordan river will be the permanent eastern border of the State of Israel. The Kingdom of Jordan is a desirable partner in the permanent status arrangement between Israel and the Palestinians in matters that will be agreed upon.

Jerusalem

Jerusalem is the eternal, united capital of the State of Israel and only of Israel. The government will flatly reject Palestinian proposals to divide Jerusalem, including the plan to divide the city presented to the Knesset by the Arab factions and supported by many members of Labor and Meretz. The government firmly rejects attempts of various sources in the world, some anti-Semitic in origin, to question Jerusalem's status as Israel's capital, and the 3,000-year-old special connection between the Jewish people and its capital. To ensure this, the government will continue the firm policies it has adopted until now:

No diplomatic activity will be permitted at Orient House [the name of the Palestinian Authority's house in East Jerusalem]. The government stopped the stream of visits by heads of state and ministers at Orient House, begun under the left-wing government.

The presence of the Israeli police in eastern Jerusalem will be increased. This in addition to the new police posts and reinforcements in the neighborhoods.

The Likud government will act with vigor to continue Jewish habitation and strengthen Israeli sovereignty in the eastern parts of the city, while emphasizing improvements in the welfare and security of the Arab residents. Despite protests from the left, the Likud government consistently approved the continuation of Jewish living within the Old City and in 'City of David'.

5. FEARS

Some of the deepest fears on each side of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict center on whether the “other side” wants to destroy “my side.” Tell students that in the next two lessons, they will come to understand why some Israelis think that Palestinians want to destroy them and why some Palestinians think that Israelis want to destroy them. Students will get a chance to practice understanding and articulating the arguments on each side through a “switching sides debate.”

I. DOES THE PLO CALL FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF ISRAEL? a switching sides debate

a. Give the students the following background:

Palestine Liberation Organization -- PLO

Palestinian group organized in 1964 during the first Palestinian Congress

Gave a voice to the large number of Palestinians living in Lebanese refugee camps.

Founded by Ahmed Shukeiri; Most famous leader: Yasser Arafat

Influenced by Nasser (Egyptian president who advocated Pan-Arabism)

Palestine National Charter/Covenant is like their Constitution

Groups originally under the umbrella of PLO.

Fatah (dominates PLO)

Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine

Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine

Popular front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command

Marxist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine

b. Students should pair up. Each pair will join with one other pair to form a group of 4. In these groups of 4:

I. Each pair of students will read an article -- either 1) PLO Charter calls for destruction or 2) PLO doesn't call for destruction. The pair will pick 8 points from the article to make the strongest argument they can for the position of the article. Each student will prepare to express 4 of the points. Students should make one of the strongest arguments be their 1st point and another one of the strongest arguments be their last point.

II. Each pair will then express the 8 points to the other pair who has read the other article. Students should take notes while listening.

III. Now the pairs switch. Using the notes they took while listening, the students should make the other side's arguments.

IV. If any arguments have been misunderstood, the pairs can help each other clarify.

V. Students will write a response (at home or at school) that sets out the strongest arguments for each side and what the student has concluded. Students should include any questions they still have and reflect on how this type of debate helps (or doesn't).

Article 1 Directions: Read the Palestinian National Charter and commentary and find 8 points that support the argument that the PLO calls for the destruction of Israel.

THE PALESTINIAN NATIONAL CHARTER/COVENANT:

Resolutions of the Palestine National Council, July 1-17, 1968

Text of the Charter:

Article 1: Palestine is the homeland of the Arab Palestinian people; it is an indivisible part of the Arab homeland, and the Palestinian people are an integral part of the Arab nation.

Article 2: Palestine, with the boundaries it had during the British Mandate, is an indivisible territorial unit.

Article 3: The Palestinian Arab people possess the legal right to their homeland and have the right to determine their destiny after achieving the liberation of their country in accordance with their wishes and entirely of their own accord and will.

Article 4: The Palestinian identity is a genuine, essential, and inherent characteristic; it is transmitted from parents to children. The Zionist occupation and the dispersal of the Palestinian Arab people, through the disasters which befell them, do not make them lose their Palestinian identity and their membership in the Palestinian community, nor do they negate them.

Article 5: The Palestinians are those Arab nationals who, until 1947, normally resided in Palestine regardless of whether they were evicted from it or have stayed there. Anyone born, after that date, of a Palestinian father - whether inside Palestine or outside it - is also a Palestinian.

Article 6: The Jews who had normally resided in Palestine until the beginning of the Zionist invasion will be considered Palestinians.

Article 7: That there is a Palestinian community and that it has material, spiritual, and historical connection with Palestine are indisputable facts. It is a national duty to bring up individual Palestinians in an Arab revolutionary manner. All means of information and education must be adopted in order to acquaint the Palestinian with his country in the most profound manner, both spiritual and material, that is possible. He must be prepared for the armed struggle and ready to sacrifice his wealth and his life in order to win back his homeland and bring about its liberation.

Article 8: The phase in their history, through which the Palestinian people are now living, is that of national (*watani*) struggle for the liberation of Palestine. Thus the conflicts among the Palestinian national forces are secondary, and should be ended for the sake of the basic conflict that exists between the forces of Zionism and of imperialism on the one hand, and the Palestinian Arab people on the other. On this basis the Palestinian masses, regardless of whether they are residing in the national homeland or in diaspora (*mahajir*) constitute - both their organizations and the individuals - one national front working for the retrieval of Palestine and its liberation through armed struggle.

Article 9: Armed struggle is the only way to liberate Palestine. Thus it is the overall strategy, not merely a tactical phase. The Palestinian Arab people assert their absolute determination and firm resolution to continue their armed struggle and to work for an armed popular revolution for the liberation of their country and their return to it. They also assert their right to normal life in Palestine and to exercise their right to self-determination and sovereignty over it.

Article 10: Commando action constitutes the nucleus of the Palestinian popular liberation war. This requires its escalation, comprehensiveness, and the mobilization of all the Palestinian popular and educational efforts and their organization and involvement in the armed Palestinian revolution. It also requires the achieving of unity for the national (*watani*) struggle among the different groupings of the Palestinian people, and between the Palestinian people and the Arab masses, so as to secure the continuation of the revolution, its escalation, and victory.

Article 11: The Palestinians will have three mottoes: national (*wataniyya*) unity, national (*qawmiyya*) mobilization, and liberation.

Article 12: The Palestinian people believe in Arab unity. In order to contribute their share toward the attainment of that objective, however, they must, at the present stage of their struggle, safeguard their Palestinian identity and develop their consciousness of that identity, and oppose any plan that may dissolve or impair it.

Article 13: Arab unity and the liberation of Palestine are two complementary objectives, the attainment of either of which facilitates the attainment of the other. Thus, Arab unity leads to the liberation of Palestine, the liberation of Palestine leads to Arab unity; and work toward the realization of one objective proceeds side by side with work toward the realization of the other.

Article 14: The destiny of the Arab nation, and indeed Arab existence itself, depend upon the destiny of the Palestine cause. From this interdependence springs the Arab nation's pursuit of, and striving for, the liberation of Palestine. The people of Palestine play the role of the vanguard in the realization of this sacred (*qawmi*) goal.

Article 15: The liberation of Palestine, from an Arab viewpoint, is a national (*qawmi*) duty and it attempts to repel the Zionist and imperialist aggression against the Arab homeland, and aims at the elimination of Zionism in Palestine. Absolute responsibility for this falls upon the Arab nation - peoples and governments - with the Arab people of Palestine in the vanguard. Accordingly, the Arab nation must mobilize all its military, human, moral, and spiritual capabilities to participate actively with the Palestinian people in the liberation of Palestine. It must, particularly in the phase of the armed Palestinian revolution, offer and furnish the Palestinian people with all possible help, and material and human support, and make available to them the means and opportunities that will enable them to continue to carry out their leading role in the armed revolution, until they liberate their homeland.

Article 16: The liberation of Palestine, from a spiritual point of view, will provide the Holy Land with an atmosphere of safety and tranquility, which in turn will safeguard the country's religious sanctuaries and guarantee freedom of worship and of visit to

all, without discrimination of race, color, language, or religion. Accordingly, the people of Palestine look to all spiritual forces in the world for support.

Article 17: The liberation of Palestine, from a human point of view, will restore to the Palestinian individual his dignity, pride, and freedom. Accordingly the Palestinian Arab people look forward to the support of all those who believe in the dignity of man and his freedom in the world.

Article 18: The liberation of Palestine, from an international point of view, is a defensive action necessitated by the demands of self-defense. Accordingly the Palestinian people, desirous as they are of the friendship of all people, look to freedom-loving, and peace-loving states for support in order to restore their legitimate rights in Palestine, to re-establish peace and security in the country, and to enable its people to exercise national sovereignty and freedom.

Article 19: The partition of Palestine in 1947 and the establishment of the state of Israel are entirely illegal, regardless of the passage of time, because they were contrary to the will of the Palestinian people and to their natural right in their homeland, and inconsistent with the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, particularly the right to self-determination.

Article 20: The Balfour Declaration, the Mandate for Palestine, and everything that has been based upon them, are deemed null and void. Claims of historical or religious ties of Jews with Palestine are incompatible with the facts of history and the true conception of what constitutes statehood. Judaism, being a religion, is not an independent nationality. Nor do Jews constitute a single nation with an identity of its own; they are citizens of the states to which they belong.

Article 21: The Arab Palestinian people, expressing themselves by the armed Palestinian revolution, reject all solutions which are substitutes for the total liberation of Palestine and reject all proposals aiming at the liquidation of the Palestinian problem, or its internationalization.

Article 22: Zionism is a political movement organically associated with international imperialism and antagonistic to all action for liberation and to progressive movements in the world. It is racist and fanatic in its nature, aggressive, expansionist, and colonial in its aims, and fascist in its methods. Israel is the instrument of the Zionist movement, and geographical base for world imperialism placed strategically in the midst of the Arab homeland to combat the hopes of the Arab nation for liberation, unity, and progress. Israel is a constant source of threat vis-a-vis peace in the Middle East and the whole world. Since the liberation of Palestine will destroy the Zionist and imperialist presence and will contribute to the establishment of peace in the Middle East, the Palestinian people look for the support of all the progressive and peaceful forces and urge them all, irrespective of their affiliations and beliefs, to offer the Palestinian people all aid and support in their just struggle for the liberation of their homeland.

Article 23: The demand of security and peace, as well as the demand of right and justice, require all states to consider Zionism an illegitimate movement, to outlaw its existence, and to ban its operations, in order that friendly relations among peoples

may be preserved, and the loyalty of citizens to their respective homelands safeguarded.

Article 24: The Palestinian people believe in the principles of justice, freedom, sovereignty, self-determination, human dignity, and in the right of all peoples to exercise them.

Article 25: For the realization of the goals of this Charter and its principles, the Palestine Liberation Organization will perform its role in the liberation of Palestine in accordance with the Constitution of this Organization.

Article 26: The Palestine Liberation Organization, representative of the Palestinian revolutionary forces, is responsible for the Palestinian Arab people's movement in its struggle - to retrieve its homeland, liberate and return to it and exercise the right to self-determination in it - in all military, political, and financial fields and also for whatever may be required by the Palestine case on the inter-Arab and international levels.

Article 27: The Palestine Liberation Organization shall cooperate with all Arab states, each according to its potentialities; and will adopt a neutral policy among them in the light of the requirements of the war of liberation; and on this basis it shall not interfere in the internal affairs of any Arab state.

Article 28: The Palestinian Arab people assert the genuineness and independence of their national (*wataniyya*) revolution and reject all forms of intervention, trusteeship, and subordination.

Article 29: The Palestinian people possess the fundamental and genuine legal right to liberate and retrieve their homeland. The Palestinian people determine their attitude toward all states and forces on the basis of the stands they adopt vis-a-vis to the Palestinian revolution to fulfill the aims of the Palestinian people.

Article 30: Fighters and carriers of arms in the war of liberation are the nucleus of the popular army which will be the protective force for the gains of the Palestinian Arab people.

Article 31: The Organization shall have a flag, an oath of allegiance, and an anthem. All this shall be decided upon in accordance with a special regulation.

Article 32: Regulations, which shall be known as the Constitution of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, shall be annexed to this Charter. It will lay down the manner in which the Organization, and its organs and institutions, shall be constituted; the respective competence of each; and the requirements of its obligation under the Charter.

Article 33: This Charter shall not be amended save by [vote of] a majority of two-thirds of the total membership of the National Congress of the Palestine Liberation Organization [taken] at a special session convened for that purpose.

From Wikipedia on the Palestinian National Covenant (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Palestinian_National_Covenant)

Commentary by an Israeli organization about whether or not the PLO Charter/Covenant has been changed to end its call for the destruction of Israel:

The following legal opinion by Peace Watch, an apolitical, independent Israeli organization monitoring bilateral compliance with the Israel-PLO accords, discusses the implications of the 24 April 1996 vote by the PLO's Palestine National Council. The vote was widely reported in the media as having repealed the clauses of the [PLO Charter](#) which deny Israel's right to exist and call for its destruction through violence.

Peace Watch Press Release

Legal Opinion - April 25, 1996

PNC VOTE DOES NOT FULFILL PLO OBLIGATION TO AMEND COVENANT

The decision [by the Palestine Authority to change the Charter] fails to meet the obligations laid out in the Oslo accords in two respects. First, the actual amendment of the Covenant has been left for a future date. As of now, the old Covenant, in its original form, remains the governing document of the PLO, and will continue in this status until the amendments are actually approved... There is a sharp difference between calling for something to change and actually implementing the changes. Second, the decision does not specify which clauses will be amended.

Source: <http://www.iris.org.il/pncvote.htm>

Article 2 Directions: Read the letters and commentary and find 8 points that support the argument that the PLO no longer calls for the destruction of Israel.

Source A: Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs. <http://www.mfa.gov.il>

Israel-PLO Recognition:

Exchange of Letters between PM Rabin and Chairman Arafat

1. LETTER FROM YASSER ARAFAT TO PRIME MINISTER RABIN:

September 9, 1993

Yitzhak Rabin

Prime Minister of Israel

Mr. Prime Minister,

The signing of the Declaration of Principles [Oslo Accords/agreement between Palestinians and Israel] marks a new era in the history of the Middle East. In firm conviction thereof, I would like to confirm the following PLO commitments:

The PLO recognizes the right of the State of Israel to exist in peace and security.

The PLO accepts United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

The PLO commits itself to the Middle East peace process, and to a peaceful resolution of the conflict between the two sides and declares that all outstanding issues relating to permanent status will be resolved through negotiations.

The PLO considers that the signing of the Declaration of Principles constitutes a historic event, inaugurating a new epoch of peaceful coexistence, free from violence and all other acts which endanger peace and stability. Accordingly, the PLO renounces the use of terrorism and other acts of violence and will assume responsibility over all PLO elements and personnel in order to assure their compliance, prevent violations and discipline violators.

In view of the promise of a new era and the signing of the Declaration of Principles and based on Palestinian acceptance of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, the PLO affirms that those articles of the Palestinian Covenant which deny Israel's right to exist, and the provisions of the Covenant which are inconsistent with the commitments of this letter are now inoperative and no longer valid. Consequently, the PLO undertakes to submit to the Palestinian National Council for formal approval the necessary changes in regard to the Palestinian Covenant.

Sincerely,

Yasser Arafat

Chairman

The Palestine Liberation Organization

2. LETTER FROM YASSER ARAFAT TO NORWEGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER:

September 9, 1993

His Excellency

Johan Jorgen Holst

Foreign Minister of Norway

Dear Minister Holst,

I would like to confirm to you that, upon the signing of the Declaration of Principles, the PLO encourages and calls upon the Palestinian people in the West Bank and Gaza Strip to take part in the steps leading to the normalization of life, rejecting violence and terrorism, contributing to peace and stability and participating actively in shaping reconstruction, economic development and cooperation.

Sincerely,

Yasser Arafat
Chairman
The Palestine Liberation Organization

3. LETTER FROM PRIME MINISTER RABIN TO YASSER ARAFAT:

September 9, 1993

Yasser Arafat
Chairman
The Palestinian Liberation Organization

Mr. Chairman,

In response to your letter of September 9, 1993, I wish to confirm to you that, in light of the PLO commitments included in your letter, the Government of Israel has decided to recognize the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people and commence negotiations with the PLO within the Middle East peace process.

Yitzhak Rabin
Prime Minister of Israel

On April 24, 1996, the Palestinian National Council, convening in Gaza, voted 504 to 54, with 14 abstentions, as follows:

1. "The Palestinian National Charter is hereby amended by canceling the articles that are contrary to the letters exchanged between the P.L.O. and the Government of Israel 9-10 September 1993.
2. Assigns its legal committee with the task of redrafting the Palestinian National Charter in order to present it to the first session of the Palestinian central council." (24/04/96)

On December 14, 1998, the Palestinian National Council, in accordance with the Wye Memorandum, convened in Gaza in the presence of U.S. President Clinton and voted to reaffirm this decision.

Source B: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Palestinian_National_Covenant

Observers who had previously been skeptical of Palestinian claims that the Charter had been amended continued to voice doubts. In an attempt to end the confusion, the **Wye River Memorandum** included the following provision:

“ The Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Palestinian Central Council will reaffirm the letter of 22 January 1998 from PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat to President Clinton concerning the nullification of the Palestinian National Charter provisions that are inconsistent with the letters exchanged between the PLO and the Government of Israel on 9-10 September 1993. PLO Chairman Arafat, the Speaker of the Palestine National Council, and the Speaker of the Palestinian Council will invite the members of the PNC, as well as the members of the Central Council, the Council, and the Palestinian Heads of Ministries to a meeting to be addressed by President Clinton to reaffirm their support for the peace process and the aforementioned decisions of the Executive Committee and the Central Council.”

These commitments were kept, leading **President Clinton** to declare to the assembled Palestinian officials on 14 December 1998 at Gaza:

“I thank you for your rejection—fully, finally and forever—of the passages in the Palestinian Charter calling for the destruction of Israel. For they were the ideological underpinnings of a struggle renounced at Oslo. By revoking them once and for all, you have sent, I say again, a powerful message not to the government, but to the people of Israel. You will touch people on the street there. You will reach their hearts there.”

Like President Clinton, Israel and the Likud party now formally agreed that the objectionable clauses of the charter had been abrogated, in official statements and statements by Prime Minister Netanyahu, Foreign Minister Sharon, Defense Minister Mordechai and Trade and Industry Minister Sharansky. With official Israeli objections to the Charter disappearing henceforward from lists of Palestinian violations of agreements, the international legal controversy ended.

DOES THE PLO CALL FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF ISRAEL? NAME: _____

A productive way to understand both sides of an argument is actually to **argue both sides**. Once you have clarified the arguments of both sides, you can begin to decide what you yourself believe. In this lesson, you will argue first one side of a debate and then argue the other. Finally, you will reflect on the best arguments on each side and decide which side you find yourself agreeing with more.

Step One **Article Title:** _____

Read one of the articles and underline the main arguments. Discuss the arguments with your partner and choose the best eight points to make. **Note each point** below, putting the two strongest arguments first and last:

Thesis: The PLO calls for / does not call for the destruction of Israel.

#1 (Strongest) Argument

#2 Argument

#3 Argument

#4 Argument

#5 Argument

#6 Argument

#7 Argument

#8 (Other Strongest) Argument

Step Two

You and your partner will make this argument as convincingly as you can to two other students. Decide which of you will **speak** first. Start with the thesis. One of you will make the first four arguments; then, your partner will make the other four arguments. Speak slowly and clearly so that the other side can take notes on your argument. When the other side is giving their arguments, you should take notes on the other side of this paper.

Step Three

When the other side is speaking, **take notes** on their arguments:

Thesis: The PLO calls for / does not call for the destruction of Israel.

#1 (Strongest) Argument

#2 Argument

#3 Argument

#4 Argument

#5 Argument

#6 Argument

#7 Argument

#8 (Other Strongest) Argument

Step Four

Now that you have each heard the other side, you will **argue the opposing side**. Try to be just as convincing as you were when you argued the first side. After you have finished arguing, the other side can help you if you misstated any of the arguments. Remember, you are not debating; you are helping each other to understand all the arguments on both sides.

Step Five

Write a **Personal Response** after you have heard and argued both sides. Does the PLO call for the destruction of Israel? What are the best arguments for each side of this argument? Which side are you leaning towards? Why? What questions remain? Was it helpful to argue both sides of this debate before trying to take a side? Why/not?

II. ISRAEL: A DEMOCRATIC OR APARTHEID STATE? a switching sides debate or dueling youtubes alternative

Students may not know the meaning of “apartheid” or you may want to do something besides another switching sides debate. In either case, the suggestions on this page are relevant: below is a definition of apartheid and then directions for watching two short youtubes, each arguing a different side of the debate. The switching sides debate instructions follow on the next page.

Road Map to Israeli Apartheid -- youtube trailer for the movie

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vPvwj6t_B_Q

This 10-minute trailer comparing South African Apartheid to Israeli actions against Palestinians can help students make historical connections.

The counter argument that Israel is not an Apartheid state (*Is Israel An Apartheid State?*) can be found at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Eupkfyd1ulc&feature=fvwrel> (7 minutes) which discusses conditions inside Israel, but not in the Occupied Territories.

Apartheid (according to this movie): a system of control (1948-1994) in South Africa in which the White minority ruled over the Black majority, stole their land, and deprived them of basic rights. Eventually, apartheid ended through a combination of internal resistance and international sanctions. Today many accuse Israel of using a version of apartheid against Palestinians in the Occupied Territories.

Directions: Watch the trailer and take notes on details of apartheid in South Africa and Palestinian Territories:

South Africa

Occupied Territories

The counter argument that Israel is not an Apartheid state (*Is Israel An Apartheid State?*) can be found at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Eupkfyd1ulc&feature=fvwrel> (7 minutes) which discusses conditions inside Israel, but not in the Occupied Territories.

Directions: Note what arguments the video makes. Which ones do you find compelling?

ISRAEL: A DEMOCRATIC OR APARTHEID STATE? a switching sides debate

Students should pair up. Each pair will join with one other pair to form a group of 4. In these groups of 4:

- I. Each pair of students will read an article -- either 1) Democracy or 2) Apartheid. The pair will pick 8 points from the article to make the strongest argument they can for the position of the article. Each student will prepare to express 4 of the points. Students should make one of the strongest arguments be their 1st point and another one of the strongest arguments be their 8th point.
- II. Each pair will then express the 8 points to the other pair who has read the other article. Students should take notes while listening.
- III. Now the pairs switch. Using the notes they took while listening, the students should make the other side's arguments.
- IV. If any arguments have been misunderstood, the pairs can help each other clarify.
- V. Students will write a response (at home or at school) that sets out the strongest arguments for each side and what the student has concluded. Students should include any questions they still have and reflect on how this type of debate helps (or doesn't).

1) ISRAEL IS A DEMOCRATIC STATE

Directions: Read the following articles and find 8 points that support the argument that Israel is a democratic state that offers equality to all its citizens.

A. From *The Case for Israel* by Alan Dershowitz (2003) p. 223:

Israel is a tiny nation, with few natural resources and little natural wealth, that has had to devote an enormous percentage of its gross national product to defending itself against external and internal enemies. Yet it has not only created a good life for its Jewish citizens, it has helped its Arab citizens live better lives--as measured by income, health, longevity, and other accepted criteria--than the Arabs of any neighboring countries. It should not be surprising that a poll of the Arab-Israeli residents of Umm el-Fahm [town in Israel] conducted by the Arab-Israeli weekly paper *Kul Al-Arab* in 2000 showed a striking 83 percent opposed to including their city in a Palestinian state. The reason given by a majority of those opposed was that they wanted to remain under democratic rule and they enjoyed a good quality of life. Although there is much to be criticized, and progress to be made, in the economic inequality between Jews and Arabs living in Israel, the world should acknowledge the benefits that the democratic state of Israel brings to the Arabs living and working within its borders.

Opponents of Israel tend to emphasize the disparity between Israeli Arabs and Jews, while hardly mentioning how much better Israeli Arabs fare than their counterparts in the Arab states. In the United States and Europe newspapers routinely cite the fact that Israeli Arabs have the lowest average family income of any ethnic group in Israel, as well as the highest infant mortality rate (as do minority groups in most countries, including our own). Few point out, however, that Arab families tend to be much larger *despite* the infant mortality rate, or that women are discouraged from working in the Arab community--facts that explain some of the discrepancies. Even the very critical group Sikkay, which monitors civic equality among Jews and Palestinians, acknowledges that there have been good -faith efforts on the part of the Israeli government to improve Arab infrastructure and educational institutions.

Israel's health care system also dwarfs that of its neighbors, to the benefit of all its citizens. Israel has national health insurance, which guarantees health care to all of its citizens, regardless of race or religion. Access to such care has helped to raise the life expectancy of Israeli Arabs to well above that of Arab neighbors, and to drive their infant mortality rates to well below. Although life expectancy is somewhat lower for Israeli Palestinians than for Israeli Jews--seventy-seven years for women and seventy-four for men rather than eighty and seventy-six respectively--it is well above that of Syria, which is only in the upper sixties for both.

Syria is a resource-rich country, but like Iraq, its wealth has been to line its leaders' pockets rather than on national health. Arafat [former Palestinian leader, now dead] is now one of the richest men in the world, but little of his extorted bounty is spent on hospitals or health care. It is unfair to criticize Israel for its lack of perfect parity while not criticizing these other leaders for their complete lack of effort. In truth, Israel health care has likely saved more Palestinian lives than the care available in many of the neighboring countries combined.

The Israeli economy also creates health benefits beyond its borders. Israel has become a world leader in biotechnology, with Israeli companies leading the way in elements of cancer and autoimmune disease research. There are now over 160 biotech companies in Israel, with hundreds of millions of private dollars invested, providing thousands of jobs and hundreds of health-improving products--80 percent of which are for export. With close ties to Israel's flourishing research universities and educational system, as well as support from the government, Israeli biotech has become industry leading, providing advances in research on Parkinson's and Alzheimer's, multiple sclerosis, and other diseases that are the cause of great suffering. Now, tragically, it has become the world's leader in the medical treatment of injuries caused by terrorism. Israeli companies and Israeli government research dollars are saving lives both in Israel and abroad, and the same simply cannot be said of any other country in the region despite their much greater share of natural resources. That Israel should be so villainized for its inequalities--inequalities that plague every country--despite its disproportionately large contributions in health care, simply shows that an unfair view is taken of the real benefits that the Israeli economy and health care system provide, both in Israel and around the world.

Even aside from medicine, Israeli research on many subjects, ranging from computer technology to archeology, is among the most respected in the world.

The point that is often ignored is that Israel has become--through hard work, ingenuity, and most of all, dedication to freedom and the rule of law--a flourishing and diverse democracy with a bustling economy, a vibrant and critical media, a creative artistic culture, and a commitment to equality based on gender, sexual orientation, and race. Other countries in the region, which have more natural resources and comparable amounts of foreign aid, have failed to translate these assets into benefits to their people. Moreover, the relatively strong Israeli economy materially contributes to the well-being of *all* Israelis, regardless of their religion, ethnicity, or race, and the gap between Jewish and non-Jewish Israelis will surely close even further if peace is achieved.

B. The information below can be found on the website of Stand With Us, an American organization that provides information about Israel:

1. What are the similarities and differences between the Israeli and U.S. government systems?(Note to teachers: Both are democracies with full and equal civil and political rights for all, and both have separation of powers. But Israel has proportional representation with the whole country as one district, while the U.S. has direct representation based on elections in multiple districts. Israel has one house while the U.S. has both the House of Representatives and the Senate. Israel has a multi-party system while the U.S. has two main parties. In Israel, the executive branch is elected by the Knesset, while in the U.S., the president is elected by the people at large.)
2. How do the political rights of Israeli Arabs compare to the rights of Arabs living in the Palestinian Administration (PA) and in Arab nations in the Middle East?
Note to teachers: Arab Israeli citizens, the largest minority in Israel, are

represented in the Israeli parliament (Knesset) in many of the major political parties. In addition, they have their own political parties (such as the Arab Democratic Party). Also, Israeli Arabs are represented in government service, i.e., they serve in different ministries, such as the Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of Education.)

....

Israel is a Jewish majority state that respects pluralism. All minorities, including the 20% who are Arab Israelis, have full and equal rights, representation and protection. Arab Israelis are citizens with full voting rights and political parties and are elected members of Israel's parliament, the Knesset. [There is] [a]bsolute freedom of movement all over Israel for all citizens.

Israelis of all ethnicities and religions can legally live in any public city within Israel. Public facilities are fully integrated. Arab Israelis attend Israel's top universities and are among the most educated people in the Middle East. [There is] [n]o double standard based on race or religion. [There is] [n]o capital punishment.

Palestinian Arabs in the West Bank and Gaza: Arabs living in the West Bank and Gaza are not Israeli citizens. They elect their own government, the Palestinian Authority, which makes laws and has international recognition. Palestinian militants and the PLO Charter have sought to eliminate Israel, the world's only Jewish state, through war and terrorism.

Sources: <http://www.standwithus.com/TEACHINGTOOLS/il101lpU15.asp>; <http://www.standwithus.com/pdfs/flyers/apartheid-flyer2.pdf>

2) ISRAEL IS AN APARTHEID STATE & WILL NOT ALLOW AN INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE

Directions: Read the article and party platform below and find 8 points that support the argument that Israel will not allow equality to Palestinians within Israel, nor will it allow a Palestinian state next to it.

A. PALESTINIANS INSIDE ISRAEL: CITIZENS DENIED THE RIGHTS OF CITIZENS **Seattle Mideast Awareness Campaign**

Palestinian citizens of Israel, comprising 20% of Israel's population, are subject to various forms of legalized discrimination. In 2004, former Israeli Supreme Court Justice Theodor Or explicitly stated that, "The Arab citizens of Israel live in a reality in which they experience discrimination as Arabs. This inequality has been documented in a large number of professional surveys and studies, has been confirmed in court judgments and government resolutions, and has also found expression in reports by the state comptroller and in other official documents."

DISCRIMINATORY LAWS:

Israel's **DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE** refers to full equality for all citizens but defines Israel as a state for Jews. By this definition, Palestinians cannot have equal status.

Israel's **BASIC LAW** (Israel has no constitution) contains no guarantee of equal rights, and confirms the definition of Israel as Jewish State. **Article 7A** prevents any party from running for election if its objectives or actions negate Israel as a "Jewish and democratic" state.

THE BASIC LAW: HUMAN DIGNITY AND LIBERTY, which is considered a mini-bill of rights by Israeli legal scholars, contains no right to equality; on the contrary, emphasizes the character of the state as a Jewish state.

THE LAW OF RETURN (1950) and **THE CITIZENSHIP LAW (1952)** allow every Jew in the world to immigrate freely and become an Israeli citizen. Palestinians, including those who are forced out of their homes inside what is now Israel in 1947-52, are not only excluded from this privilege but are stripped of their former status and denied the internationally-recognized Palestinian right of return.

THE CITIZENSHIP AND ENTRY INTO ISRAEL LAW (TEMPORARY ORDER) (2003), which is still in force, denies the right to acquire Israeli residency or citizenship status to Palestinians from the Occupied Territories, even if they are married to citizens of Israel (Jewish or Arab). The ban is based solely on their nationality, not on individual security-related reasons.

THE CHIEF RABBINATE OF ISRAEL LAW (1980), THE FLAG AND EMBLEM LAW (1949)) and other laws give recognition to Jewish educational, religious, and cultural practices and institutions, and define their aims and objectives strictly in Jewish terms. No similar laws provide similar legal recognition to the religious and cultural rights of the Palestinian.

SPECIAL STATUS FOR JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS:

Israeli law confers special quasi-governmental standing on the World Zionist Organization, the Jewish Agency, the Jewish National Fund (JNF) and other Zionist bodies, which by their own charters cater only to Jews.

MILITARY SERVICE:

Many public services and economic benefits, including civil service jobs and low-interest government housing loans, are conditioned on military service. The vast majority of Palestinian citizens of Israel are exempted from military service and do not serve in the Israeli army, for political and historical reasons. Palestinian citizens are also excluded from the labor force by the use of the military-service criterion as a condition for acceptance for employment, often when there is no connection between the nature of the work and military experience.

INCOME AND EMPLOYMENT GAPS:

- Over half of Palestinian families in Israel are classified as poor, compared to an average poverty rate of one-fifth among all families in Israel. Average gross income among Palestinian citizens of Israel is around 32% lower than that of Jewish citizens. The net monthly income of Arab households is just 63% of the net monthly income of Jewish households, despite the larger average size of Arab families.
- According to the Ministry of Social Welfare, the total average government expenditure per capita on social welfare is more than 30% lower for the Palestinian sector. The budget *per child* in Palestinian local authorities is 52.1% lower than in Jewish local authorities.
- In many policy areas, including the designation of “National Priority Areas” and the use of the military-service criterion to allocate resources, the state actively preserves and perpetuates inequalities between Palestinian and Jewish citizens of Israel.
- Palestinian citizens of Israel often face discrimination in work opportunities, pay and conditions, both because of the inadequate implementation of equal-opportunity legislation and because of entrenched structural barriers. Unemployment rates remain significantly higher among Palestinian than among Jewish citizens. Palestinian citizens of Israel in general, and women in particular, continue to be sorely underrepresented in the civil service, the largest employer in Israel.

LAND USE:

Palestinian citizens of Israel continue to be deprived of access to and use of the land under long-standing and more recent land laws and policies.

THE ABSENTEES’ PROPERTY LAW (1950), THE LAND ACQUISITION LAW (1953), and a new amendment to **THE LAND ORDINANCE (ACQUISITION FOR PUBLIC PURPOSES) (1943)** enacted in February 2010, all expropriate land from Palestinians and Palestinian refugees, confirming state ownership and blocking Palestinian restitution claims. Today Palestinian citizens only own 3.5% of the land in Israel. As much as **93%** of the land in Israel is now under the direct control of the state and of the Jewish

National Fund, a quasi-state entity. Palestinian citizens of Israel are, in practice, blocked from purchasing or leasing land on around 80% of the land in Israel.

EDUCATION - SEPARATE AND UNEQUAL:

- **THE STATE EDUCATION LAW (1953)**, as amended in February 2000, sets educational objectives for state schools that emphasize Jewish history and culture.
- From elementary to high school, Arab and Jewish students learn in separate schools.
- According to official state data published in 2004, the state provides three times as much funding to Jewish students as to Palestinian pupils.

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION:

- Israeli Palestinians do have the right to vote in Israeli elections, but they have unequal access and lower levels of participation than Jewish citizens in all spheres of public life and decision-making, from the judiciary, the legislature, and government to the civil service.
- Arab parties currently hold 9% (11 seats) of the 120 seats available in the Knesset, the Israeli parliament.
- Since 1948, no Arab party has been included in a ruling government coalition. In the history of the Supreme Court, there have been only two Palestinian justices. Recent election cycles have witnessed attempts by the Attorney General (2003) and right-wing political parties and MKs to disqualify Arab parties and MKs from the Knesset, aimed at severely limiting the Palestinian political voice in the legislature.

NEW LAWS

Israel's current government coalition has proposed a flood of new racist and discriminatory bills which are at various stages in the legislative process. Two have recently passed into law: a law authorizing Admissions Committees to filter out Palestinians and other marginalized groups from some 300 rural communities; and a law to suppress Palestinian history by banning all bodies that receive state funding from spending money on any activity that commemorates the Nakba, the driving out of over 700,000 Palestinians in 1947-9.

"Israel is definitely not a democracy. A country that occupies another people for more than 40 years and disallows them the most elementary civic and human rights cannot be a democracy. A country that pursues a discriminatory policy against a fifth of its Palestinian citizens inside the borders cannot be a democracy. In fact, Israel is what we in political science call a herrenvolk democracy, democracy only for the masters. The fact that you allow people to participate in the formal side of democracy, namely to vote or to be elected, is meaningless if you don't give them any share in the common good or in the common resources of the state, or if you discriminate against them despite the fact that you allow them to participate in the elections. On almost every level - from official legislation through governmental practices to social and cultural attitudes - Israel is only a democracy for one ethnic group which, given the space that Israel now controls, is not even a majority group anymore."

-- Ilan Pappé, Israeli historian
www.newint.org/features/web-exclusive/2011/04/01/palestine-israel-interview-pappe

sources: www.adalah.org, www.mossawacenter.org

seattle mideast awareness campaign
www.stop30billion-seattle.org

B. Likud Party (Often the ruling party in Israel) 1999 Platform Excerpt
http://www.knesset.gov.il/elections/knesset15/elikud_m.htm

Self-Rule

The Government of Israel flatly rejects the establishment of a Palestinian Arab state west of the Jordan river.

The Palestinians can run their lives freely in the framework of self-rule, but not as an independent and sovereign state. Thus, for example, in matters of foreign affairs, security, immigration and ecology, their activity shall be limited in accordance with imperatives of Israel's existence, security and national needs.

The Jordan River as a Permanent Border

The Jordan Valley and the territories that dominate it shall be under Israeli sovereignty. The Jordan river will be the permanent eastern border of the State of Israel. The Kingdom of Jordan is a desirable partner in the permanent status arrangement between Israel and the Palestinians in matters that will be agreed upon.

Jerusalem

Jerusalem is the eternal, united capital of the State of Israel and only of Israel. The government will flatly reject Palestinian proposals to divide Jerusalem, including the plan to divide the city presented to the Knesset by the Arab factions and supported by many members of Labor and Meretz. The government firmly rejects attempts of various sources in the world, some anti-Semitic in origin, to question Jerusalem's status as Israel's capital, and the 3,000-year-old special connection between the Jewish people and its capital. To ensure this, the government will continue the firm policies it has adopted until now:

No diplomatic activity will be permitted at Orient House [the name of the Palestinian Authority's house in East Jerusalem]. The government stopped the stream of visits by heads of state and ministers at Orient House, begun under the left-wing government.

The presence of the Israeli police in eastern Jerusalem will be increased. This in addition to the new police posts and reinforcements in the neighborhoods.

The Likud government will act with vigor to continue Jewish habitation and strengthen Israeli sovereignty in the eastern parts of the city, while emphasizing improvements in the welfare and security of the Arab residents. Despite protests from the left, the Likud government consistently approved the continuation of Jewish living within the Old City and in 'City of David'.

ISRAEL -- DEMOCRATIC OR APARTHEID STATE?

NAME: _____

A productive way to understand both sides of an argument is actually to **argue both sides**. Once you have clarified the arguments of both sides, you can begin to decide what you yourself believe. In this lesson, you will argue first one side of a debate and then argue the other. Finally, you will reflect on the best arguments on each side and decide which side you find yourself agreeing with more.

Step One

Article Title: _____

Read one of the articles and underline the main arguments. Discuss the arguments with your partner and choose the best eight points to make. **Note each point** below, putting the two strongest arguments first and last:

Thesis: Israel is a(n) _____ state.

#1 (Strongest) Argument

#2 Argument

#3 Argument

#4 Argument

#5 Argument

#6 Argument

#7 Argument

#8 (Other Strongest) Argument

Step Two

You and your partner will make this argument as convincingly as you can to two other students. Decide which of you will **speak** first. Start with the thesis. One of you will make the first four arguments; then, your partner will make the other four arguments. Speak slowly and clearly so that the other side can take notes on your argument. When the other side is giving their arguments, you should take notes on the other side of this paper.

Step Three

When the other side is speaking, **take notes** on their arguments:

Thesis: Israel is a(n) _____ state.

#1 (Strongest) Argument

#2 Argument

#3 Argument

#4 Argument

#5 Argument

#6 Argument

#7 Argument

#8 (Other Strongest) Argument

Step Four

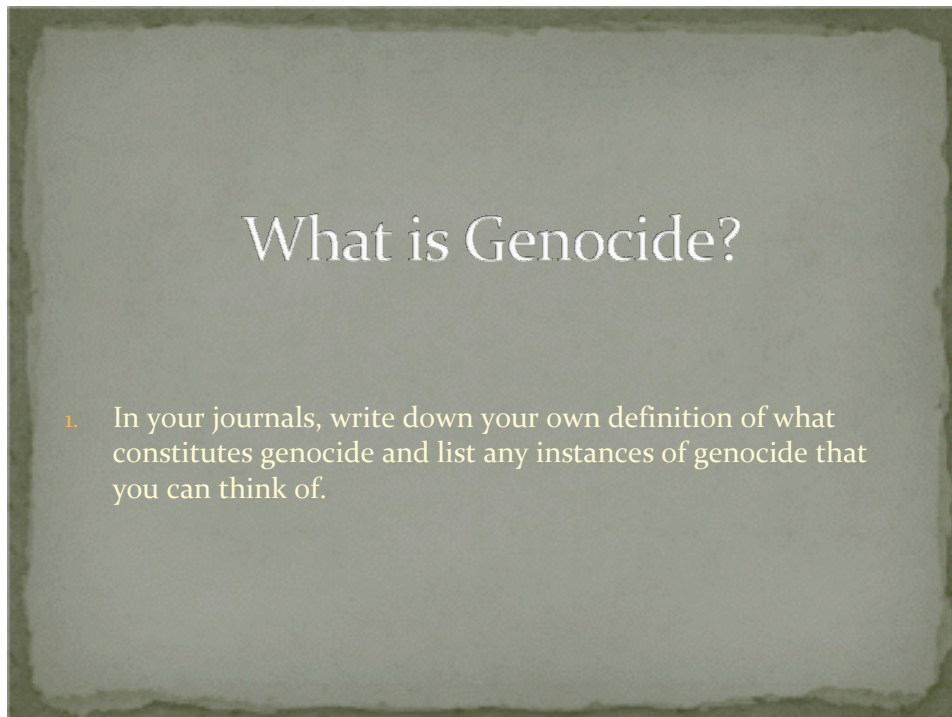
Now that you have each heard the other side, you will **argue the opposing side**. Try to be just as convincing as you were when you argued the first side. After you have finished arguing, the other side can help you if you misstated any of the arguments. Remember, you are not debating; you are helping each other to understand all the arguments on both sides.

Step Five

Write a **Personal Response** after you have heard and argued both sides. Is Israel a democracy or an apartheid state? What are the best arguments for each side of this argument? Which side are you leaning towards? Why? What questions remain? Was it helpful to argue both sides of this debate before trying to take a side? Why/not?

6. Genocide

Make a powerpoint with the following slides. When you've finished this powerpoint, ask students if they know any other examples of genocide. Tell them that while what happened to Jews in Europe was definitely genocide, some people consider that what is happening to Palestinians is also genocide. Ask why they think this might be? How is what is happening to Palestinians genocide and not genocide? Then discuss the peace processes that have been attempted.

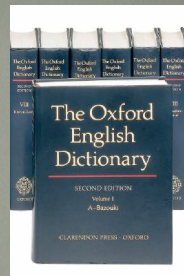




Share your definition with your table groups. Then, as a group, agree upon a workable definition of what genocide is.

What is Genocide?

- The Oxford English Dictionary defines it as “the deliberate and systematic extermination of an ethnic or national group.”
- The term was coined in 1944 in an effort to define the Nazi’s attempt at annihilating the Jewish population in Europe. A Polish-Jewish lawyer, Raphael Lemkin, who survived the Holocaust, created the word by fusing the Greek “genos-” (meaning “tribe” or “nation”) with “-cide” (meaning “to kill”).



-<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/1701562.stm>

The United Nations adopted Lemkin's definition and declared genocide an international crime in 1948 using the following, more specific legal definition:

[G]enocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.



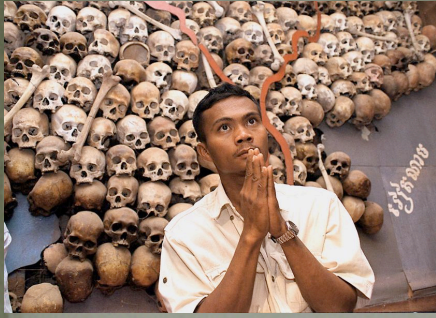
www.un.org

Examples of Genocide in the 20th Century



- The mass killing of Armenians by Ottoman Turks between 1915-1920 - an accusation that the Turks deny.
- The Holocaust, during which more than six million Jews were killed.
- Rwanda, where an estimated 800,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus died over the course of 100 days in the 1994 genocide.
- In Bosnia, the 1995 massacre at Srebrenica has been ruled to be genocide by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY).

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/3853157.stm>



Some argue that there are more cases that should be considered:

- The Soviet man-made famine of Ukraine (1932-33),
- The Indonesian invasion of East Timor (1975), and
- The Khmer Rouge killings in Cambodia in the 1970s.
- The current situation in the Darfur region of Sudan.

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/3853157.stm>

What about Palestinians? 75% of their people were displaced in 1947-48.

There are over 4 million refugees and their descendants who were forced from their land in Palestine between 1947-49. International law says they can return to their homes, or near their homes (the law says they shouldn't kick out innocent third parties from their homes, but that they can settle very nearby). Here is an account by a refugee who visits his grandparents' home inside Israel but who cannot live there. As you read, think about how this part of the conflict can be resolved justly.

**A Refugee Returns
Returning to the Khan of Safad**

By Nijim Dabbour for Miftah

September 08, 2010

We found it. The place my grandparents fled Palestine from in 1948, the largest stable in the city of Safad near the Syrian border. I found it right where my eldest uncle said it would be, in the shadow of the city's last standing mosque in the old market district. It was a special type of stable, known as a khan, with two floors designed especially to host merchant caravans on the bottom floor with the traders sleeping up above. The market district was once a bustling center of trade with Safad at a perfect location to serve as a resting place for the merchants coming from East to West on camels or donkeys. I have visited twice so far, first on my own and then with my father weeks later. It was a surreal experience to have two generations of Dabbours return to the site where our family lost everything.

The whole town, sitting at the top of the Galilee highlands, looks like a scene from a painting, a painting in which I was out of place. I had a small feeling as I walked through the streets and alleys that I was not quite welcome. The once-mixed city of mostly Palestinian Arabs had Jews making up about a sixth of the population before 1948. Today official statistics show the city to be more than 99 percent Jewish. All of the city's Palestinians fled or were forced to leave and none were allowed to return. The city is considered to be one of Judaism's four holy cities and the center of Jewish mysticism, and, as such, has a huge orthodox population.

I could envision my grandfather, whom I was named after, leading the Arabian horses, camels and mules to their stalls, locking them in for the night with troughs of water and hay. We walked through the halls in which he did business and gave the famous Palestinian hospitality to his guests. Today those halls have been transformed. On my first visit when I came alone, I spoke with the current owner for about 15 minutes and heard him tell the centuries-old story of the building. I told him my name, but I kept to myself the reason I was here. In the back of my mind though, I was thinking about how the last Dabbour to leave the place and the first one to return were both named Nijim.

An American Jew from California, the new owner bought the building from the state. He completely renovated it and opened last December as a community center offering lessons, childcare, concerts and recycling programs to the city's residents. The cement that covered the walls in my grandfather's day was torn down to expose the original stones, laid by the Mamluks 700 years ago. The entranceway and main hall was remodeled with stained glass, a fountain and hardwood flooring. The floors,

ceilings, walls and windows of the main hall were completely redone to give a feeling of earthiness and antiquity.

I didn't even have time to explore the downstairs fully on my own, but the current owner said there is an unfinished room behind one of the arched alcoves, untouched and in the same form it was when it was hosting caravans. This is why I didn't tell him who I was, and let him think I was just a curious tourist. I knew I wanted to return with my father and I couldn't risk him stopping us. Though, I did sign the guest book, "After 62 years, another Dabbour was able to set his feet inside the Khan of Safad."

When I returned with my father, we came during a lesson on ecological living and couldn't go through the entire building. Seeing my father walking in the place that should have been his bread and butter, the place where he should have followed his father to work every day, broke my heart. Instead, he was born in Damascus, as a refugee in a strange land with few opportunities. It was only through his resourcefulness and determination that he managed to find his way to America. He made his own opportunity and opened for me the doors that were always locked for him.

The owner was away this time. It was probably for the better because for me, talking with the man who has a "legitimate" claim was difficult enough. I can't imagine what would happen if my father, who lived the life of a refugee, ever came face to face with the current owner who now lays claim to my grandfather's property. I doubt he would have been able to even stand looking at him much less having a conversation with him.

I don't know what will come of this, but I hope to come back more than once. I want to show everyone this place, even if I can't reclaim it. This American-Jew-turned-Israeli owns it now, and all I can do is ask for permission to see it. Though my grandparents lived there more than 60 years ago, expecting to return within days or weeks, this man can tell me to leave on a whim and I would lose any chance of coming back.

Nijim Dabbour is a Writer for the Media and Information Department at the Palestinian Initiative for the Promotion of Global Dialogue and Democracy (MIFTAH). He can be contacted at mid@miftah.org.

7. Elusive Peace I (alternative to “Elusive Peace II”)

Introduction: Tell students that there have been many peace proposals since the conflict began. Some of the most famous are: Madrid (1991), Oslo (1993), Camp David II (2000), and the Arab Peace Initiative (2002). Sometimes agreements have been reached that led to Israeli soldiers changing locations, or a Palestinian National Authority being established. However, so far, nothing has changed the status of the West Bank and Gaza Strip as territories occupied (ie. controlled) by Israel. The first article below summarizes these various talks. If you have more time, you can use the readings in Elusive Peace II instead: the two articles discuss the issues facing Palestinians and Israelis. If you want more on peace processes, you can show the part of *Peace, Propaganda & the Promised Land* that deals with this subject (see the movie section of this curriculum).

9/15/10 7:36 AM

BBC News - History of failed peace talks

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<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-11103745?print=true>

MIDDLE EAST

27 August 2010 Last updated at 08:09 ET

History of failed peace talks

In the more than 40 years since the Middle East war of June 1967, there have been many peace plans and many negotiations.

Some of these have been successful, including those between Egypt and Israel and Israel and Jordan, but a settlement has still not been reached in the core conflict - the dispute between the Israelis and Palestinians. The BBC News website's Paul Reynolds looks at the main peace proposals since 1967 and what happened to them.

UN Security Council Resolution 242, 1967

Resolution 242 was passed on 22 November 1967 and embodies the principle that has guided most of the subsequent peace plans - the exchange of land for peace. The resolution called for the "withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict", and "respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every state in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognised boundaries free from threats or acts of force". The resolution is famous for the imprecision, in English, of its central phrase concerning an Israeli withdrawal - it says simply "from territories". The Israelis said this did not necessarily mean all territories, but Arab negotiators argued that it did. It was written under Chapter VI of the UN Charter, under which Security Council resolutions are recommendations, not under Chapter VII, which means they are orders. Many peace proposals refer to 242. **Resolution 338** is usually linked to it. This called for a ceasefire in the war of October 1973 and urged the implementation of 242 "in all its parts".

Camp David Accords, 1978

There were several peace plans following the 1967 war, but nothing happened until after the 1973 Yom Kippur or October War. There followed a new mood for peace, as shown by a historic visit to Jerusalem by the Egyptian President, Anwar Sadat, in November 1977. US President Jimmy Carter capitalised on the new mood and invited President Sadat and the Israeli Prime Minister, Menachem Begin, for talks at the presidential retreat at Camp David near Washington. The talks lasted for 12 days and resulted in two agreements. The first was called **A Framework for Peace in the Middle East**. It laid down principles for peace, expanding on resolution 242, set out what it hoped was a way of resolving what it called the "Palestinian problem", agreed that there should be a treaty between Egypt and Israel and called for other treaties between Israel and its neighbours. The weakness of the first agreement was the section on the Palestinians. The plan aimed to set up a "self- governing authority" in the West Bank and Gaza, leading to eventual "final status" talks, but the Palestinians were not party to the agreement. The second accord was the **The Camp David framework for the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel**. This followed in 1979,

after an Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai. This was the first recognition of Israel as a state by a major Arab country. The talks probably stand as the most successful negotiations in the whole peace process. The treaty has lasted, and it substantially strengthened Israel's position. However the peace between Egypt and Israel has not been warm. President Sadat was himself later assassinated.

The Madrid Conference, 1991

This conference, co-sponsored by the US and the Soviet Union, was designed to follow up the Egypt-Israel treaty by encouraging other Arab countries to sign their own agreements with Israel. Jordan, Lebanon and Syria were invited as well as Israel and Egypt. The Palestinians were also represented, but as part of a joint delegation with Jordan and not by Yasser Arafat or other leading figures in the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), to whom the Israelis objected. The conference eventually led to a peace treaty between Israel and Jordan in 1994, but this probably would have happened anyway. Israeli talks with Syria and Lebanon took place after Madrid but have since stalled, complicated by border disputes and, more recently, the 2006 war between Israel and Lebanese Hezbollah militants. The Palestinian track soon gave way to secret talks that led to the Oslo agreement.

Oslo Agreement, 1993

The Oslo negotiations tried to tackle the missing element of all previous talks - a direct agreement between Israelis and Palestinians, represented by the PLO. Its importance was that there was finally mutual recognition between Israel and the PLO. The talks took place in secret under Norwegian auspices and the agreement was signed on the White House lawn on 13 September 1993, witnessed by President Bill Clinton. The PLO leader, Yasser Arafat, and the Israeli Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, shook hands.

The **Oslo Agreement** stipulated that Israeli troops would withdraw in stages from the West Bank and Gaza, that a "Palestinian Interim Self-Governing Authority" would be set up for a five-year transitional period, leading to a permanent settlement based on resolutions 242 and 338. The agreement spoke of putting "an end to decades of confrontation and conflict" and of each side recognising "their mutual legitimate and political rights". Therefore, though not stated explicitly in the text, the implication was that a state of Palestine would one day be set up alongside Israel. There was an exchange of letters in which Yasser Arafat stated: "The PLO recognises the right of the State of Israel to exist in peace and security." Yitzhak Rabin said: "The Government of Israel has decided to recognise the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people." Hamas and other Palestinian rejectionist groups did not accept Oslo and launched suicide bomb attacks on Israelis. There was opposition within Israel from settler-led groups. Oslo was only partially implemented.

Camp David, 2000

Various attempts were made (including at Taba in 1995, Wye River in 1998 and Sharm el- Sheikh in 1999) to speed up the withdrawal and self-government provisions of Oslo. Then in 2000, President Bill Clinton sought to address the final status issues - including borders, Jerusalem and refugees - that Oslo had left aside for later

negotiation. The talks took place in July between Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak and PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat. There was no agreement. However, the negotiations were more detailed than ever before. The basic problem was that the maximum Israel offered was less than the minimum the Palestinians could accept. Israel offered the Gaza Strip, a large part of the West Bank, plus extra land from the Negev desert, while keeping major settlement blocks and most of East Jerusalem. It proposed Islamic guardianship of key sites in the Old City of Jerusalem and contributions to a fund for Palestinian refugees. The Palestinians wanted to start with a reversion to the lines of 1967, offered the Israelis rights over the Jewish quarter of the Old City and wanted recognition of the "right of return" of Palestinian refugees. The failure at **Camp David** was followed by a renewal of the Palestinian uprising or intifada.

Taba, 2001

Although he was about to leave office, Bill Clinton refused to give up and presented a "bridging proposal" which set up further talks in Washington and Cairo and then Taba in Egypt. These talks were not at the top level, but **differences were narrowed without being overcome**. There was more flexibility on territory and it was reported by EU observers that Israeli negotiators accepted the concept of East Jerusalem being the capital of a Palestinian state. A statement afterwards said that "it proved impossible to reach understandings on all issues". The Israeli Prime Minister, Ehud Barak, fighting an election campaign, said that "nothing is agreed upon until everything is agreed upon". He said that he could not commit a subsequent government to what he called the "ideas" coming out of the talks. With the election of Ariel Sharon in February 2001, time ran out.

Saudi peace plan, 2002

After the failure of bilateral talks and the resumption of conflict, the Saudi peace plan presented at an Arab summit in Beirut in March 2002 went back to a multi-lateral approach and in particular signalled a desire by the Arab world as a whole to put an end to this dispute. Under the plan, called **the Arab Peace Initiative**, Israel would withdraw to the lines of June 1967, a Palestinian state would be set up in the West Bank and Gaza and there would be a "just solution" of the refugee issue. In return, Arab countries would recognise Israel. The plan was re-endorsed by another Arab summit in Riyadh in 2007. Its strength is the support given by Arab countries to a two-state solution. Its weakness is that the parties have to negotiate the same issues on which they have failed so far.

Roadmap, 2003

The roadmap is a plan drawn up by the "Quartet" - the United States, Russia, the European Union and the United Nations. It does not lay down the details of a final settlement, but suggests how a settlement might be approached. It followed efforts made by US Senator George Mitchell to get the peace process back on track in 2001. The plan was preceded by an important statement in June 2002 by President George W Bush who became the first US president to call for a Palestinian state. It proposed a phased timetable, putting the establishment of security before a final settlement. It is designed to create confidence, leading to final status talks.

Phase 1: Both sides would issue statements supporting the two-state solution, the Palestinians would end violence, act against "all those engaged in terror", draw up a constitution, hold elections and the Israelis would stop settlement activities and act with military restraint

Phase 2: Would see the creation, at an international conference, of a Palestinian state with "provisional borders"

Phase 3: Final agreement talks

The road map has not been implemented. Its timetable called for the final agreement to be reached in 2005. It has largely been overtaken by events, but remains a reference point for negotiations.

Geneva Accord, 2003

While official efforts foundered, an informal agreement was announced in December 2003 by Israeli and Palestinian figures - Yossi Beilin, one of the architects of Oslo, on the Israeli side, and former Palestinian Information Minister Yasser Abed Rabbo on the other. The **Geneva Accord** reverses the concept of the roadmap, in which the growth of security and confidence precede a political agreement, and puts the agreement first, which is then designed to produce security and peace. Its main compromise is that the Palestinians effectively give up their "right of return" in exchange for almost the whole of the West Bank, though there could be a token return by a few. Israel would give up some major settlements such as Ariel, but keep others closer to the border, with swaps of land in Israel for any taken in the West Bank. Palestinians would have the right to have their capital in East Jerusalem, though with Israeli sovereignty over the Western Wall in the Old City. Another unofficial agreement was one drawn up by a former head of the Israeli Shin Bet internal security service Ami Ayalon and a former PLO representative in Jerusalem Sari Nusseibeh. This envisaged a return to the 1967 lines, an open city of Jerusalem and an end to the Palestinian claim to a right of return to former homes.

Annapolis, 2007

Late in his second presidential term, US President George W Bush hosted a conference at the US Naval Academy at Annapolis, Maryland aimed at relaunching the peace process. Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert and Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas took part in talks along with officials from the peace-making Quartet and more than a dozen Arab countries, including Saudi Arabia and Syria. This was seen as significant as they do not officially recognise Israel. However the Palestinian group Hamas, which had won parliamentary elections and taken control of the Gaza Strip, was not represented. It declared it would not be bound by anything decided. A joint understanding was issued by the Israeli and Palestinian leaders to engage in negotiations with the goal of a full peace deal by the end of 2008. They agreed that implementation would wait until confidence-building measures outlined in the "Road Map" had been met. Regular meetings took place between Mr Olmert and Mr Abbas which are said to have made good progress on border issues but these came to an abrupt halt with Israel's military offensive in Gaza in late 2008.

Elusive Peace II (alternative to “Elusive Peace I”)

Directions: Read these two articles on the 2010 peace process between Israelis and Palestinians. Notice what the **key issues** of disagreement between Palestinians and Israelis are. **Compare** the two articles and notice how the **issues can be presented differently with word choice and issue order**. One article below is by a reporter with a background studying in Israel; one is by a reporter who has no significant ties to either Israelis or Palestinians. Can you tell which is which? How can you tell? **Hint:** key points are usually placed first and last. Do some of the words used also give you a hint?

(Key for Teachers: the first article of the two is written by a reporter who has studied in Israel and tends to express the conflict more from an Israeli-government point of view. For instance, she places security for Israelis first on the list of concerns.)

Top 5 issues on the table for Israeli-Palestinian talks

These are the five most central issues that Israel and the Palestinian Authority need to address in the latest round of peace talks, which began Sept. 2.- Ariel Zirulnick, Contributor



Children play near Israel's national flag on the West Bank Jewish settlement of Kochav Hashahar August 25. (Ronen Zvulun/Reuters)

1. Security

Israel says a crucial condition for any peace agreement is a guarantee of security within its borders, something it believes Palestinian security forces are not yet capable of maintaining. Palestinians are uncomfortable with Israeli security forces maintaining a presence in a future Palestinian state.

Israeli soldiers are currently deployed throughout a majority of the West Bank, aside from the areas where Palestinians have full military and civil control. Most previous agreements had a plan for gradual withdrawal of Israeli troops from most of the future Palestinian state.

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has said that he wants to post Israeli forces along the external borders of the Gaza Strip and West Bank to ensure that weapons that could be used against Israel are not entering Palestinian territory.

Many Israeli officials also are uncomfortable with the idea of a Palestinian national army and have proposed a state with limitations on its arms capability for at least a few years.



A Palestinian Bedouin of the Al-Azzazneh family fill up a container with water for his family's livestock, on top of a mountain on the outskirts of the West Bank city of Ramallah, July 28. (Muhammed Muheisen/AP)

2. Water

Israel, the West Bank, and surrounding countries rely on the Jordan River and its tributaries for much of their water supply, and most of the underground aquifers used by Israel are underneath the West Bank.

Earlier interim agreements indicated that Israel could continue using some of these water resources as long as it continued to provide water to Palestinian areas that did not yet have the technology to access it themselves. Who controls these water sources and who can access them is something that will have to be decided.

Israel has been accused of denying Palestinians access to water resources in the West Bank and taking a disproportionate amount of water for its own citizens. An Amnesty International report found that the roughly 300,000 West Bank settlers use the same amount of water as the 2.3 million Palestinians there. Israel has responded that the problem is Palestinian infrastructure and that without Israel's help, Palestinians would have even less ability to access the water.

The Gaza Strip also faces acute water problems, such as contamination of freshwater sources with sewage and salt water.

The United Nations reports that 90 percent of the water it sampled from Gazan aquifers is undrinkable. Gazans have blamed the problem on Israel's Gaza blockade,

which - supported by Egypt - prevents many of the materials necessary for repairs from entering the territory.



With the Dome of the Rock Mosque seen in the background, a Palestinian Muslim worshiper pours cold water on her head to cool off as the temperature rises during the third Friday prayers of the holy fasting month of Ramadan in the Al-Aqsa Mosque compound in Jerusalem's Old City, Aug. 27. (Muhammed Muheisen/AP)

3. Jerusalem

The Palestinians insist on having the capital of a future Palestinian state in East Jerusalem. But many Israelis - including Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu - are opposed to any partition of the city, which includes many Jewish, Christian, and Muslim holy sites.

From 1949 to 1967, East Jerusalem was under Jordanian control. After capturing East Jerusalem in the 1967 war, Israel annexed it - expanding it significantly - and declared Jerusalem its “undivided and eternal” capital.

Since then, the Palestinian population has quadrupled, reducing the Jewish majority in Jerusalem as a whole to 65 percent. In a bid to cement Israeli sovereignty, some 2,000 Jews have moved into strategic locations around the Old City, while rapidly expanding communities elsewhere in East Jerusalem have brought the total number of Jews there to nearly 200,000.

Palestinians say such expansions threaten their plans for a capital in East Jerusalem.



Enlarge

Palestinians play billiards in the Palestinian refugee camp of Ein el-Hilweh near the southern port city of Sidon, Lebanon, in this photo taken July 15. (Grace Kassab/AP)

4. Refugees

Following the 1948 and 1967 wars, hundreds of thousands of Palestinians fled their homes in Israel, both out of fear and because of Israeli force.

In 1950, the UN Relief and Works Agency recorded almost 1 million refugees in what is now the West Bank and Gaza Strip, as well as Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria. Today, there are more than 4.5 million refugees in the region, and almost 1.5 million of those refugees remain in UN-run refugee camps.

Most Palestinians insist on the “right of return” to their homes in Israel, but few Israelis support this idea. One alternative proposed by Israel is financial compensation for Palestinian refugees instead of the right to return to their family homes.

But Arab countries aren't keen to have the burgeoning Palestinian refugee population become a permanent presence. Palestinians in Arab countries, particularly Lebanon

and Jordan, have faced discrimination and lack many of the rights given to those countries' citizens. The limitations often make it more difficult for the refugees to find work and housing.



Israelis take part in the construction of a structure on the West Bank Jewish settlement of Beit Hagai near Hebron in a show of defiance of a partial government freeze on Jewish settlement building September 2. (Baz Ratner/Reuters)

5. Borders

Palestinians seek a sovereign Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza, with a capital in East Jerusalem. They want Israel to remove the West Bank settlements housing more than 300,000 Jews and end its military presence there.

The United Nations (UN) has declared Israeli settlements illegal, but Israel expects to retain at least some of them in any final deal. Some officials have proposed land swaps that could include Israeli Arab towns going to a future Palestine in exchange for Israeli Jewish areas being incorporated into Israel's borders.

More immediately, Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas has demanded that Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu extend the Israeli settlement freeze set to expire Sept. 26. Mr. Netanyahu has given no indication that he plans to do this.



MIDDLE EAST

31 August 2010 Last updated at 09:05 ET

Middle East peace talks: Where they stand

As the Obama administration relaunches direct Israeli-Palestinian peace talks, the BBC's Paul Reynolds outlines where the three parties stand on the core issues of the conflict.

Middle East talks: Core issues

Jerusalem

Israel

The Israeli government is unwilling to divide Jerusalem, held to be the political and religious centre of the Jewish people. It stands by the 1980 basic Israeli law that "Jerusalem, complete and united, is the capital of Israel". In the past there has been room for manoeuvre on the margins. In talks in 2000 and 2007, the then Israeli governments proposed exchanging some outlying annexed districts.

Palestinians

The Palestinians want East Jerusalem, which was controlled by Jordan before being captured by the Israelis in 1967, as the capital of a Palestinian state. The Old City contains the third holiest place in Islam, the al-Aqsa mosque, and the Dome of the Rock, from where Mohammed is said to have visited heaven on his winged steed Burak.

United States

The US does not recognise the Israeli annexation of East Jerusalem and maintains its embassy in Tel Aviv. President Barack Obama has opposed the building of housing for Israelis in East Jerusalem though he said before becoming president that dividing the city would be "very difficult to execute".

Borders

Israel

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu accepts that there should be a Palestinian state and that there will have to be an Israeli withdrawal from parts at least of the West Bank (captured by Israel in 1967) to accommodate this. Israel has already withdrawn from Gaza. Israel would like the borders to include Jerusalem and the major Israeli settlements that have grown up on the West Bank.

Palestinians

They want the talks to start from the basic position that all the land occupied by Israel in 1967 belongs to a future Palestine. Any land given to the Israelis would have to be compensated for by a balanced land swap.

United States

The US agrees that the starting point but not the end point should be the 1967 lines and that a land swap will have to be the basis of any agreement. It will encourage this.

Settlements

Israel

The Israeli government insists on keeping the major Israeli settlements in East Jerusalem and the West Bank. Any departure from this would break up the coalition which forms the government. An immediate problem is that an Israeli moratorium on West Bank settlements is due to run out on 26 September.

Palestinians

Ideally, the Palestinians would like all settlements to be abandoned as they were in Gaza. However, they appear to accept that some will have to stay but they will argue for a minimum number and a land swap for any that are left. They threaten to leave the talks if the Israeli moratorium is ended on 26 September.

United States

As with the annexation of East Jerusalem, the US has not recognised the international legitimacy of the Israeli West Bank settlements. But it accepts their reality and will press for compromise. It is also trying to reach a compromise on the moratorium problem.

Refugees

Israel

Israel rejects the idea that Palestinian refugees from previous wars should be allowed any "right of return" to their former homes. They say that this is a device to destroy

the state of Israel by demography in order to re-establish a unitary state of Palestine. For that reason Mr Netanyahu has called for Israel to be recognised as a Jewish state.

Palestinians

Formally, they maintain the "right of return", arguing that without it a great injustice would not be put right. However, there has been regular talk among Palestinians that this "right" could be met by compensation. They refuse to recognise the concept of Israel as a "Jewish state", saying that this is unnecessary and that it ignores the Israeli-Arab citizens of Israel.

United States

The US understands the Israeli refusal to take back refugees and hopes that this can be resolved by compensation and development aid for those who cannot go back to their previous family homes.

Security

Israel

The Israeli government is afraid that a Palestinian state might one day fall into the hands of Hamas and will be used as a stepping-stone to turning Israel into Palestine. Therefore it is insisting that it keeps a large measure of security control, including in the Jordan Valley, and that a state of Palestine be largely demilitarised.

Palestinians

They argue that security will come from a stable two-state solution not the other way round. They want as many attributes of a normal state as possible. Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas fears that client-status would be untenable and open to a Hamas takeover.

United States

The US accepts the Israeli need for security but also the need for Palestinian statehood and reconciling these is the aim of its diplomacy. It is unlikely, however, to recognise a state of Palestine which has not emerged from negotiation.

What About One State instead of Two?

All this time, we've been talking about two states. What about one!? Directions: Read these articles and write a reaction that includes thoughts about the following: What if the one state favored Jews? or if it favored Palestinians? What if it favored neither one and treated both equally? What's the best one-state option in your opinion? What are the advantages and disadvantages of the best one-state option?

Article A.

Israel and Palestine: A true one-state solution

By George Bisharat

Friday, September 3, 2010

"Where is the Palestinian Mandela?" pundits occasionally ask. But after these [latest Israeli-Palestinian peace talks in Washington](#) fail -- as they inevitably will -- the more pressing question may be: "Where is the Israeli de Klerk?" Will an Israeli leader emerge with the former South African president's moral courage and foresight to dismantle a discriminatory regime and foster democracy based on equal rights?

For decades, the international community has assumed that historic Palestine must be divided between Jews and Palestinians. Yet no satisfactory division of the land has been reached. Israel has aggravated the problem by settling roughly 500,000 Jews in East Jerusalem and the West Bank, eliminating the land base for a viable Palestinian state.

A de facto one-state reality has emerged, with Israel effectively ruling virtually all of the former Palestine. Yet only Jews enjoy full rights in this functionally unitary political system. In contrast, Palestinian citizens of Israel endure more than 35 laws that explicitly privilege Jews as well as policies that deliberately marginalize them. West Bank Palestinians cannot drive on roads built for Israeli settlers, while Palestinians in Gaza watch as their children's intellectual and physical growth are stunted by an Israeli siege that has limited educational opportunities and deepened poverty to acute levels.

Palestinian refugees have lived in exile for 62 years, their right to return to their homes denied, while Jews from anywhere can freely immigrate to Israel. Israeli leaders Ehud Olmert and Ehud Barak have admitted that permanent Israeli rule over disenfranchised Palestinians would be tantamount to apartheid. Other observers, including former U.S. president [Jimmy Carter](#) and South African Archbishop Desmond Tutu, have said that apartheid has already taken root in the region.

Clearly, Palestinians and Israeli Jews will continue to live together. The question is: under what terms? Palestinians will no more accept permanent subordination than would any other people.

The answer is for Israelis and Palestinians to formalize their de facto one-state reality but on principles of equal rights rather than ethnic privilege. A carefully crafted multiyear transition including mechanisms for reconciliation would be mandatory. Israel/Palestine should have a secular, bilingual government elected on the basis of one person, one vote as well as strong constitutional guarantees of equality and protection of minorities, bolstered by international guarantees. Immigration should follow nondiscriminatory criteria. Civil marriage between members of different ethnic or religious groups should be permitted. Citizens should be free to reside in any part of the country, and public symbols, education and holidays should reflect the population's diversity.

Although the one-state option is sometimes dismissed as utopian, it overcomes major obstacles bedeviling the two-state solution. Borders need not be drawn, Jerusalem would remain undivided and Jewish settlers could stay in the West Bank. Moreover, a single state could better accommodate the return of Palestinian refugees. A state based on principles of equality and inclusion would be more morally compelling than two states based on narrow ethnic nationalism. Furthermore, it would be more consistent with antidiscrimination provisions of international law. Israelis would enjoy the international acceptance that has long eluded them and the associated benefits of friendship, commerce and travel in the Arab world.

The main obstacle to a single-state solution is the belief that Israel must be a Jewish state. Jim Crow laws and South African apartheid were similarly entrenched virtually until the eves of their demise. History suggests that no version of ethnic privilege can ultimately persist in a multiethnic society.

Israeli perspectives are already beginning to shift, most intriguingly among right-wing leaders. Former defense minister Moshe Arens recently proposed in the Israeli newspaper Haaretz that Israel annex the West Bank and offer its residents citizenship. Knesset speaker Reuven Rivlin and Likud parliamentarian Tzipi Hotovely have also supported citizenship for West Bank Palestinians, according to the Haaretz. In July, Hotovely said of the Israeli government's policies of separation: "The result is a solution that perpetuates the conflict and turns us from occupiers into perpetrators of massacres, to put it bluntly."

Is one of these politicians the Israeli de Klerk? That remains to be seen. Gaza is pointedly excluded from the Israeli right's annexation debate. They still envision a Jewish state, simply one with a larger Palestinian minority. But their challenge to the two-state orthodoxy, which empirical experience has proven unrealistic, is healthy. If Americans aspire to more than managing the Israeli-Palestinian conflict via perpetual and inconclusive negotiations, we should applaud this emerging discussion. Having overcome our own institutionalized racial discrimination, we can model the virtues of a vibrant, multicultural society based on equal rights. President Obama, moreover, would be a fitting emissary for this vital message.

The writer is a professor at the University of California Hastings College of the Law in San Francisco and a senior fellow at the Institute for Palestinian Studies.

Article B.

Fri., April 30, 2010 Iyyar 16, 5770

Israel official: Accepting Palestinians into Israel better than two states

By [Zvi Zrahiya](#) and Haaretz Service

Knesset Speaker Reuven Rivlin said Thursday that he would rather accept Palestinians as Israeli citizens than divide Israel and the West Bank in a future two-state peace solution.

Speaking during a meeting with Greece's ambassador to Israel Kyriakos Loukakis, Rivlin said that he did not see any point of Israel signing a peace agreement with the Palestinian Authority as he did not believe PA President Mahmoud Abbas "could deliver the goods."

Referring to the possibility that such an agreement could be reached, Rivlin said: "I would rather Palestinians as citizens of this country over dividing the land up."

Late last year, Rivlin said in a Jerusalem address that Israel's Arab population was "an inseparable part of this country. It is a group with a highly defined shared national identity, and which will forever be, as a collective, an important and integral part of Israeli society."

In a speech given in the president's residence, the Knesset speaker called for a fundamental change in relations between Jews and Arabs in Israel, urging the foundation of a "true partnership" between the two sectors, based on mutual respect, absolute equality and the addressing of "the special needs and unique character of each of the sides."

Rivlin also said that "the establishment of Israel was accompanied by much pain and suffering and a real trauma for the Palestinians," adding that "many of Israel's Arabs, which see themselves as part of the Palestinian population, feel the pain of their brothers across the green line - a pain they feel the state of Israel is responsible for."

"Many of them," Rivlin says, "encounter racism and arrogance from Israel's Jews; the inequality in the allocation of state funds also does not contribute to any extra love."

Article C.

BBC NEWS

2 September 2010 Last updated at 09:37 ET

Obama sets clock ticking on Middle East talks

By Jonathan Marcus

BBC Diplomatic Correspondent

For all the diplomatic theatre in the White House, the Middle East peace talks have by no means a full cast. Some key actors like Hamas are not present at all, preferring to mount their own bloody tableau in the West Bank. Others - like the hard-line Israeli settler movement - cast a long shadow over the deliberations. Indeed there is a clear risk that the future of Israel's partial settlement freeze, not the peace process, may dominate the early stages of these discussions.

One state or two?

So with the critics on all sides pouring cold water on the chances of success, why is President Barack Obama staking so much on a peace deal within one year? For a start there are widespread fears that time is running out for a two-state deal. This has been the preferred outcome for the wider international community for a generation. For all the divisions, for all the bloodshed, the prevailing view has been that only by ending the Israeli occupation of territory captured in 1967 and by establishing two secure states - Israel and Palestine, reflecting the national aspirations of both peoples - could a lasting peace be achieved. However, over recent years competing one-state solutions have jostled with each other and sought to undermine the two-state paradigm. Some in the Arab world have long argued for a single state between Jordan and the sea, even as a majority of Arab states have come to accept a broadly-based peace plan that would ultimately lead to the recognition of Israel. More recently, some on the Israeli political right have questioned the need to withdraw at all from the occupied territories, suggesting in a vague way that the Palestinian population could somehow be incorporated into a Jewish-run state.

However, the single-state solution for many is seen as no solution at all. Which Jews would remain in a secular Palestinian-dominated state? How many Palestinians would really be happy in a "greater" Israel whose borders rested on the Jordan river? And how would minority rights be preserved in either scenario? Indeed, within Israel there is a growing recognition among the liberal centre-left, that two states are essential if the country is to retain both its Jewish and democratic character.

A two-state solution is what is enshrined in the Saudi-sponsored Arab peace plan and if this approach were to be explicitly abandoned, crisis would ensue. So if time is running out, Mr Obama and his advisers believe, then for both peoples - Israelis and Palestinians - progress must be made.

Linkage

Conditions may not be ripe. But if one were to wait for the seemingly "right" moment you could be waiting a lifetime. A peace deal is clearly important for the protagonists themselves. But it could also be of vital importance for Washington too. The reason can be summed up in one word - "linkage". This is a controversial and

often misunderstood term. When US Gen David Petraeus described the Arab-Israel dispute as the first "cross-cutting challenge to security and stability" in the Middle East and central Asia, in Congressional testimony back in March, it created something of a stir among at least some of Israel's supporters in Washington. But Gen Petraeus was in many ways stating the obvious. President Barack Obama and his advisers do not believe that the Israeli-Palestinian dispute is the only problem in the region. Neither do they think that if it were solved all other troubles in the neighbourhood would simply evaporate. But the Israel-Palestinian dispute stands at the confluence of a set of problems which have a huge bearing on the conduct of US foreign policy:

- improving perceptions of Washington in the Arab and wider Muslim world,
- which depend heavily on America's relationship with Israel;
- securing the future of Iraq;
- isolating and containing a potentially nuclear-capable Iran;
- maintaining the stability of pro-Western Arab governments.

All might be made so much easier if the cancer of the Israeli-Palestinian struggle were removed.

That is why Middle East peace is so important for this US administration. And that is why Mr Obama is willing to raise expectations, while well aware of the potential consequences if he cannot deliver.

III. Culminating Activity Choices A-E and Writing a Causes of Conflict Individual Paper -- Choose one for your students

A. Timeline: The fastest culminating activity is making group timelines followed by individual papers.

B. DVD Discussion: Or you can show the *Promises* DVD about Israeli and Palestinian children, followed by discussion and individual papers.

C. Role-Play Peace Talks: This choice involves having students take on roles (Israeli settler, Palestinian farmer, etc.) and engage in small group peace talks, then write a paper. There are two variations of this; read them both because parts of one can support the other, based on your particular class.

D. TV Show Peace Talks: This choice brings the students together in groups to perform TV shows offering a peace plan, then students write individual papers.

E. Speakers Panel: If you can invite several speakers to your school, hold a panel and have your students prepare and ask questions, then write a paper.

Stress to students that the goal is a peace that is just enough (equal enough) that all sides will be satisfied; this is the only kind of peace that will last.

Culminating Activity:
Israel and Palestine
Part 1: Timeline

Below are significant events in the recent history of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. Break into groups of four or five people. In your group you must identify and explain the significance of each. Then, together, you must construct a one page overview of the conflict. Tomorrow you will present this history to class prior to starting your paper.

First Zionist Congress 1897
Balfour Declaration 1917
Increased Immigration 1929-1936
Palestinian Rebellion 1936-39
UN partition of Palestine 1947
Establishment of Israel 1948
The War of 1948
1956 Invasion of Egypt
The PLO formed 1964
The War of 1967
The War of 1973
Israel and Egypt 1973
Israel invades Lebanon 1982
Palestinian Intifada (I&II) 1987 & 2000
The Oslo Peace Process 1993
Israel-Jordan Treaty of Peace 1994
Camp David 2000 Summit
International Solidarity Movement formed 2001
Israeli pull-out of settlers from Gaza 2005
Palestinian call for Boycott, Divestment & Sanctions 2005
2008-09 Israeli assault on Gaza

Choice B: *Promises* DVD and Discussion

***PROMISES* by the Promises Film Project, 102 minutes, English subtitles**

Show the movie *Promises*. This movie has been cited by many as the most memorable resource for them as teenagers; it made them pay attention to the conflict. You can show it at the beginning, middle, or end of your unit of study. There are so many aspects of the conflict and the cultures in this movie that it could also be a great jumping-off point for individual research projects.

Tell students that *Promises* is a documentary filmed in 1997-2000, which was between the two Intifadas (Uprisings) by the Palestinians against the Israeli occupation. As the opening lines say, it was a time of relative peace for Israelis, but the opening lines fail to mention that many Palestinians during that same time were being thrown out of their homes as settlement activity ramped up. Checkpoints, arbitrary detention, and the strangulation of the Palestinian economy deprived many families of their livelihood. Thus it was not a time of peace for Palestinians. The film has subtitles, so you should not ask students to take many notes. The movie sections are presented below with detailed notes for the teacher. Five general questions for the students are also included. Tell them the questions in advance and discuss them with students at the end. The last two questions can also be assigned as Homework/Response.

Problems with this film:

- The film maker starts by characterizing the Mideast as a place of war and perpetual conflict. Actually, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict dates from the 1920s when Zionist Jews began arriving in British-ruled Palestine in significant numbers with plans to displace Palestinian Arabs and create a political nation-state for Jews.
- The film does not compute settlers in E. Jerusalem when it gives numbers of settlers (the numbers are out of date anyway; tell students that there are over half a million settlers in the Occupied Territories, which include E. Jerusalem).
- Many of the people in this movie use “Arab” when they mean Palestinian, and “Jew” when they mean Israeli -- you may want to warn students about this.
- The relative poverty of the West Bank and refugee camps compared to Israel is not explained; it is actually the direct result of Israeli occupation, dedevelopment, land confiscation, and lack of funding of the Palestinian economy.
- The movie doesn’t explain that Israel illegally annexed (not just occupied) E. Jerusalem after 1967.

Teachers’ notes:

The People:

The Twins: Yarko and Daniel (Jewish Israelis)-- live in W. Jerusalem, fear terrorists on buses

Mahmoud -- (Palestinian Muslim) lives in E. Jerusalem, says Jerusalem belongs to the Palestinians

Shlomo -- lives in W. Jerusalem, observant Jew with American Rabbi father, feels safe because there are both Arabs and Jews in the city

Sanabel -- (Palestinian) brief history of 1948, maps, 1967, Deheishe Refugee Camp, dad is journalist, in PFLP (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine), and in jail (arbitrary detention = no charge, no trial, just kept in prison), nondelivery of letters

Faraj -- (Palestinian) Intifada footage, tells of his friend Bassam who was shot dead for throwing a stone, we see Faraj a year later and he justifies throwing stones against bullets and nuclear power, lives in Deheishe Refugee Camp

Moishe -- (Jewish Israeli) settlement history, encouraged by government, Moishe is part of a religious settler family living in Beit El (near Ramallah in West Bank), says land belongs to descendants of Abraham (Jews), says that settlers are people who fight Arabs,

Raheli -- (Jewish Israeli) Moishe's sister, notice the difference in girls' roles in the family, discusses what happens on Shabbat/Sabbath, the "chair girl"

The Issues:

Checkpoints-- between W. Bank & Israel, between different areas in W. Bank, need permits issued by Israeli military, humiliate Palestinians, make Israelis feel safer

Somewhere Safer-- twins' grandfather reminisces about the Holocaust and moving from Poland to Israel to become safer; he seems to be an atheist but tells the twins to decide for themselves

Al-Aqsa Mosque --in E. Jerusalem in an area holy to both Jews and Muslims, praying at the Mosque

The Western Wall -- holy to Jews, praying at the Wall, division between secular and religious Jews

The Palestinian Dance -- Sanabel in Deheishe is part of a dance troupe (Ibda'a) that celebrates culture and history and dream of Palestinian statehood; they sing that the pen and the sword are their symbols

The Jerusalem Finals -- the twins in a volleyball tournament; notice that the off-duty soldier in stands has a rifle slung around his shoulders

Faraj the Sprinter -- notice the kids in army fatigues; he cries when he comes in second; the twins say they cry too

Ashkelon Jail -- Sanabel and her family get up very early and ride on a bus to visit her father in prison, notice Santa Claus over the bed, go through checkpoint, soldiers seek translation from Hebrew to Arabic, bus goes into Israel to Ashkelon Prison, takes about 8 hours for a 30 minute visit, no visitors other than immediate family (even though he has not been charged or convicted but is an “administrative detainee”)

Our Land -- both Israeli and Palestinian kids say that the land is theirs. They have different explanations: religion, or conqueror’s rights, or land deeds (1931, 1942), or keys to houses

This is our House -- traveling to Ras Abu- Ammar, Faraj’s family’s house inside Israel (Faraj & grandmother are snuck in by filmmakers); village is completely destroyed and erased but they find stones from their house; grandmother discusses why they left: massacres in Dir Yassin (Deir Yassin), and fear of rape; says they sought refuge in Bethlehem; Faraj says that he has the right to live without checkpoints and to return to his ancestral village; parade for refugee rights against colonialism and Zionism and Israel; Faraj says he’ll pass the key to his children

All of Jerusalem -- Jerusalem schoolteacher contrasts captivity with freedom; children draw pictures of what it feels like to live as Palestinians; all the kids weigh in on how they feel about Jerusalem and why; settlers in Jerusalem march through Muslim Quarter guarded by soldiers; celebration and provocation; kids on both sides discuss how the other side should be killed

Murdered -- Moishe tells of a terrorist shooting of his Israeli friend Ephraim and his mother; Israeli memorial day for fallen soldiers and those killed by terrorists

Hadassa Hospital -- the twins visit their babysitter in the hospital: Matan has been hit by a missile while serving in the army; they are not sure they will join the army, they don’t want to shoot people; religious Jews are exempt from the army

Burping Contest -- Shlomo and Palestinian neighbor; Shlomo says he doesn’t want to make friends, but then joins in burping contest

Why Don’t We Meet Them? -- the kids continue discussing whether they could meet and befriend kids on “the other side” (notice the range of opinion on both sides)

Invitation -- the children record why they want to meet each other and talk on the phone with each other; they discuss whether they have pizza or hummus in the camp, international soccer teams; the Israeli children come to the camp because checkpoints prevent the Palestinians from going into Israel; parents worry about the meeting

The Meeting -- (notice that only the twins visit; we can wonder why the other Israelis did not visit, but it’s not explained) they meet in Deheishe, explain areas where there were clashes, ask that the twins don’t speak Hebrew, play games, eat, teach each

other martial arts, play soccer, use slingshots, learn the Dubke (traditional Palestinian dance)

Our Day Together -- then they sit down and talk about issues; Ahmed remembers his brother Bassam shot by Israelis; fear that they will forget each other when BZ, the filmmaker, leaves

Respect Will Grow -- two years later, they talk about not being able to meet again, and about the situation; movie shows babies in a hospital with both Palestinian and Israeli parents

PROMISES by the *Promises* Film Project
filmed in 1997-2000

Name: _____

1. What are the hopes and fears of the Israeli children? How do they live?

2. What are the hopes and fears of the Palestinian children? How do they live?

3. What range of opinion do the children show in discussing each other, the situation, and whether to meet?

4. What thoughts and feelings did this film evoke in you?

5. This film has been praised for showing humans on all sides of the conflict, but it has been criticized for not revealing enough about the power imbalances between Israelis and Palestinians. What are your thoughts?

Choice C: Structured Peace & Justice Talks (2 Variations, try mixing and matching)

Variation 1 of Choice C: Introduce the culminating activity, assign roles, and have students read the handout on the first day. Students take on roles of

- A. Israeli settler,
- B. Israeli inside Green Line,
- C. Palestinian Israeli,
- D. Palestinian in Gaza,
- E. Palestinian in West Bank,
- F. Palestinian Refugee living outside Israel, West Bank, and Gaza

Students read about citizens' dialogue groups as homework (see Handout below)-- answer questions in a journal.

On the second day, talk through a peaceful and just solution. Try to find a solution that will involve equal rights for all, honoring everyone's interests.

On the day of the talk, students in their small groups allot time to a process as follows:

Peace & Justice Talks

1. Agree on ground rules
2. Hear each other's interests
3. Reflecting Back: Party A reflects to Party B what Party B's interests are. Then Party B does this for Party A. Reflecting back can be a powerful tool to make each party feel heard and understood.
4. Try to come up with practical solutions that honor everyone's interests. If you can, come up with solutions to: borders, security, settlements, water, refugees. But if you can only come up with a practical solution to even one of the issues, that's okay too.
5. Present your fair, just, equal, practical, honorable solution(s) to the class. (This can be the next day)

Assign a Written Response: Just Peace Essay

After the talks, each member will turn in a five-paragraph essay. In the essay, students will give their own opinion as to what would create a lasting peace with justice. The first paragraph will contain the main idea/thesis statement. Each of the

following three paragraphs will support the main idea. The final paragraph will contain the conclusion.

Directions: Read the following description of a public peace process. Try to respond to the questions in italics with any thoughts you have:

Dr. Harold Saunders' definitive new book is now available. More about [A PUBLIC PEACE PROCESS: Sustained Dialogue to Transform Racial and Ethnic Conflicts](#), 1999, by St. Martin's Press, can be seen at <http://www.igc.org/traubman/thebook.htm>.

Jewish-Palestinian Living Room Dialogue Group

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Five Stages of the Public Peace Process

Overview

The public peace process is based on the assumption that there are things governments can do that people cannot; and there are things people can do that governments cannot.

The public dialogue process and resulting action demonstrate that citizens have the freedom to be innovative and to create new, deeper relationships. While governments are the official bodies that make peace agreements, newer ideas and sustainable implementation depend on public consent and involvement. Thus citizens have a critical role in peacemaking, sometimes called "citizen"- or "track two"-diplomacy. Our colleague Dr. Harold Saunders (HSaunders@kettering.org), former Assistant Secretary of State under President Carter, has had extensive experience in both citizen dialogue and in official diplomacy, as with the Camp David Accords. He first described citizen involvement as the "public peace process." With former Russian diplomat Gennady Chufrin, he delineated the interconnected Five Stages of a Dialogue Process leading to reconciliation and collaboration.

Stage One: *Deciding to Engage*

The decision to engage is the first requisite to the public peace process. Sensitive to political or even physical risks, citizens may be reluctant to talk with "the enemy."

The most likely participants are those who have courage, and who recognize that current methods are not working and could lead to future failure, even disaster. Potential participants will look for a trustworthy, competent convenor and a safe, neutral location. Helpful ground-rules will include participants representing themselves, not organizations; sensitive listening; and confidentiality.

An open mind and desire to expand one's thinking and worldview is required.

Question: Israel and the United States currently refuse to speak with Hamas because they declare it a terrorist organization. They say they will not speak to them until they renounce terrorism. Do you think this is reasonable? Is this in the best interest for peace? Explain why or why not.

Stage Two: ***Mapping the Relationship Together***

The dialogue opens with a period of expressing and exploring each party's interests, defining the context and scope of the relationship. The central task is to map the relationship together, and to start to understand how specific problems and underlying interests define the relationship.

In time, the nature of the discourse must be changed to unload and transform the dehumanization and demonization that has marked the past. Dealing with participants' life experiences and feelings is important. There may be feelings of gratitude for the opportunity of finally being together face to face, or fear of failure. In the relationship, the earliest feelings to emerge might be anger, resentment, and blame. Hurt, sadness, and guilt could be less forthcoming in the beginning. From the expression of strong feelings, participants can learn to probe for deeper causes or needs rather than letting blame block further discussion.

Dialogue is different from traditional negotiation, which deals with exchanging formal positions and technically defined issues. Dialogue focuses on the state of the relationship and its potential for change. It requires that participants (1) value the relationship and studying it, and (2) will ask themselves, and each other, what underlies the expressed emotions and positions evoked by an issue. They thus learn about underlying needs, and discover essential dynamics of the relationship. Too often groups skip over this critical work by looking for "solutions" before they have experienced the realities of the relationship.

*What resentments would the Israelis have to let go of before peace can be achieved?
How about the Palestinians?*

Stage Three: ***Probing the Dynamics of the Relationship Together***

The purpose of each side in Stage Three is not to present or persuade but to understand and reflect back fully how the other's mind works, the other's frame of reference. In addition to the discoveries about the relationship from Stage Two, the diversity of experiences and perceptions that make up the relationship are better understood.

The parties begin to identify with each other. As they expand their own identifications to include one another, they are laying the foundation for problem-solving together. Again, it is essential to take this time to understand the relationship, and overcome the old tendency to "not waste time."

*Why do the Palestinians insist on E. Jerusalem as their capital?
Why do they want "the right to return" to their homes in Israel?
Why do the Israelis insist on the Palestinians ending terrorism?*

Stage Four: ***Experiencing the Relationship by Thinking Together***

The fourth stage has the participants examining together how to deal with a practical problem. In this process, they further experience the relationship itself. One approach could be to divide into subgroups to create scenarios and their stepwise implementation, describing how each party's interests would be affected, and how

resolution and reconciliation would be served. The group could then choose its favorite scenario and course of action.

This collective thinking can lead the group as a whole to change systemic flaws or get around obstacles. Perhaps only one step can be taken, but in time that may make further steps possible. But now a new relationship and process is in place for further progress.

Many dialogues stop at this point, if they get this far at all. Some group participants may share their insights with policy makers; others take fresh understandings into their own constituencies; still others see their work together as establishing a model for others.

How would life for the Palestinians be affected by a wall dividing Israel and the West Bank? How would this wall help with Israel security? What can the Palestinians realistically do to stop terrorism?

Stage Five: ***Acting Together***

The ultimate group experience would be to move out from such meetings and act together to have a concrete impact - to change the relationship and effect a visible social outcome. They could carry out scenarios proposed in Stage Four; take their fresh understandings to community institutions; creatively interact with government officials; or implement the Five Step Public Peace Process with an expanded group of new citizens. The parties, to some degree, have now experienced transforming blame into responsibility, enemies into partners. They have modeled the process of dialogue and reconciliation, thus dispersing this practice into their diverse, evolving culture.

What is one thing each side can do to start the process?

Variation 2 of Choice C

Guess Who's Coming to Dinner:

A Jerusalem Dinner Party to Discuss Plans for Peace

Materials:

Handout: **"Guess Who's Coming to Dinner"**.

Student's notes from all previous classes.

Props (optional): microphone, envelopes for invitations.

Food/snacks (optional): for party.

Invitations: Invitations will state: "You are cordially invited to a dinner party. You will speak from the perspective of. . . " (see next page).

Role Play Characters:

- **You are cordially invited to a dinner party. You will speak from the perspective of:** an Israeli Palestinian Muslim whose family lost its land in 1948 but who fled to a nearby village and who has been living in that village ever since (an internal refugee)-- but the village is denied road repair or electricity by the Israeli government because it is inhabited by Palestinians.
- **You are cordially invited to a dinner party. You will speak from the perspective of:** A Palestinian refugee whose parents were attacked in 1948 but survived and fled to Lebanon. This refugee was brought up in the impoverished refugee camps of Lebanon but managed to win a scholarship to an American university. Now she is a university professor with American citizenship and two children.
- **You are cordially invited to a dinner party. You will speak from the perspective of:** A Palestinian refugee living in the West Bank refugee camp of D'heisheh near Bethlehem -- you are a carpenter and have five children.
- **You are cordially invited to a dinner party. You will speak from the perspective of:** a moderate Jewish Israeli settler in the West Bank who lives there because housing is cheap -- you have five children and commute to Tel Aviv for your job in a bank -- .
- **You are cordially invited to a dinner party. You will speak from the perspective of:** a Palestinian farmer woman in the West Bank, with three children, whose family has lost three-quarters of its land to the Israeli settlement nearby; the settlement also pollutes your remaining land and water with effluents from its chemical factory.
- **You are cordially invited to a dinner party. You will speak from the perspective of:** a Jewish Israeli doctor parent who lives in West Jerusalem and whose daughter was killed in a suicide bombing.
- **You are cordially invited to a dinner party. You will speak from the perspective of:** a West Bank Palestinian father, an accountant in his 40s, who was dragged from his home in the middle of the night and tortured and imprisoned in an Israeli jail for being suspected of belonging to a Palestinian nonviolent movement organizing against the Wall (he is part of that movement). One son is also in a different prison; one daughter was killed by Israeli soldiers while she was walking home from school.
- **You are cordially invited to a dinner party. You will speak from the perspective of:** a West Bank Palestinian university student studying electrical engineering, in his 20s, who was dragged from his home in the middle of the night and tortured and imprisoned in an Israeli jail for being suspected of belonging to a Palestinian nonviolent movement organizing against the Wall (he is not part of that movement).

- **You are cordially invited to a dinner party. You will speak from the perspective of:** a West Bank Palestinian, in his 30s, lawyer, father of a 3-year-old, who was dragged from his home in the middle of the night and tortured and imprisoned in an Israeli jail for being suspected of belonging to a Palestinian violent movement organizing against the occupation (he is part of that movement).
- **You are cordially invited to a dinner party. You will speak from the perspective of:** a West Bank Palestinian in his 50s, a labor rights organizer with three children, who was dragged from his home in the middle of the night and tortured and imprisoned in an Israeli jail for being suspected of belonging to a Palestinian violent movement organizing against the occupation (he is not part of that movement).
- **You are cordially invited to a dinner party. You will speak from the perspective of:** a West Bank Palestinian parent who doesn't like the occupation but who can only find work building Israeli settlements.
- **You are cordially invited to a dinner party. You will speak from the perspective of:** an Israeli soldier, 19, assigned to a checkpoint in the West Bank, who wants to study computers in university after getting out of the army.
- **You are cordially invited to a dinner party. You will speak from the perspective of:** an Israeli Jewish farmer whose parents survived the Holocaust.
- **You are cordially invited to a dinner party. You will speak from the perspective of:** a Jewish Israeli university professor with two children; her parents survived the Holocaust and moved to Argentina. She moved to Israel as a young adult.
- **You are cordially invited to a dinner party. You will speak from the perspective of:** a religious Jewish Israeli settler living in a settlement in the West Bank. You are a doctor and have three children.

Procedure for the Teacher

Anticipatory Set (5 minutes)

Read the following script, using the prop microphone when the U.N. representative begins to speak:

“Ok, here’s the scene. You are all living in Israel or the Occupied Territories. You are sitting at home or work watching the nightly news. The U.N. has again been trying to restart peace talks between Israelis and Palestinians. A U.N. representative comes on at that moment and makes the following announcement: ‘Hello, citizens of Israel and the Occupied territories. I am Mr. [insert your name here] with the U.N. As you know, we have had difficulties in the past in designing a lasting peace treaty for your peoples. Well, we have decided to do something radically different this time. We have invited you to come to Jerusalem to take part in a dinner party to discuss options for peace. This dinner party will resemble a Socratic Seminar, if any of you are familiar with this style. You should be receiving an invitation shortly. I hope you will help us with the process and accept our invitation. Thank you for your time.’”
At this point, pass out invitations (in optional envelopes) and the handout.

Context (1-2 minutes)

“By now, you should have a grasp of the conflict. You should have a good understanding of the significant historical events in the history of the area as well as an awareness of recent events, including the failed attempts at peace. You should also understand the difference between an Israeli Palestinian and a West Bank Palestinian, between a Zionist settler in the West Bank and a Jew whose family has lived in Palestine/Israel for 200 years. In one of our final assignments of this unit, you will pull together everything you have learned up to now to role-play someone intimately involved with the conflict and help come up with some possible solutions for peace with justice. We will have a Socratic Seminar while you role-play.”

Purpose (2 minutes).

“This lesson is important for several reasons. It will provide one more opportunity for you to practice research skills by forcing you to pull together information from a variety of sources. It will show me that you truly understand the complexity of this conflict and, most importantly, it will provide you with an opportunity to practice your social and negotiating skills.”

Instruction (35-40 minutes total)

Input (10 minutes): Pass out handout (see invitation below) and read through instructions with students. Make sure instructions and expectations are clear. Remind students that they should take notes during the dinner party and will be trying to arrive at a just and peaceful solution to the conflict.

Student Activity (Remainder of day one): Students can work independently or with other guests **who have the same perspective** (e.g. both are Israeli soldiers, etc). They are to use all resources available to them (handouts from class, their notes,

books in class and the internet) to come up with what they plan to discuss at the dinner party.

Student Activity (Day two, full period): Class will be set up for the “dinner party.” Desks will be set up in a circular formation. Teacher will then act as “host,” thanking them for coming and taking part in this momentous occasion. The “rules” of discussion will be given again: one person speaks at a time, try to allude to your role as you begin (“As a religious settler, I feel that....”), you may present new information or elaborate on something that was said by a previous student and there will be no personal attacks against another. Remind students that this is a discussion, not a debate. Ask them to try to be as informative as they can be in explaining complex ideas. Students will then be allowed to take turns offering their perspective. They should try to focus first on what they feel are obstacles to peace. Half-way through the class period, we will move to concessions that they are willing to make.

Closure: “Excellent discussion. You see now why the peace process has been so difficult over the years. Some of you thought you had excellent options for concessions but found that others didn’t agree to them. Hopefully, you also found places of agreement that you might not have expected. Remember to turn in your preparation sheet with notes from yesterday and the seminar/dinner today. Thanks and have a great day.”

INVITATION

Guess Who's Coming to Dinner

A Jerusalem Dinner Party to Discuss Plans for Peace

Introduction

By now, you should have a grasp of the conflict. You should have a good understanding of the significant historical events in the history of the area as well as an awareness of recent events, including the failed attempts at peace. You should also understand the difference between an Israeli Palestinian and a West Bank Palestinian, between a Zionist settler in the West Bank and a Jew whose family has lived in Palestine/Israel for 200 years.

A team of U.N. officials has decided to host a dinner party in Jerusalem and you have been invited to speak on behalf of your assigned perspective. All guests invited to this dinner party, including you, were chosen because you are able to speak passionately but clearly and factually about the position of your people. It will not be acceptable to rant and rave emotionally as though you are a dramatic guest on a TV talk show. It is also important that you are able to listen; no one will be allowed to dominate the conversation.

The topic of conversation for the dinner party:

What are the biggest current and historic, real and emotional obstacles to peace in Israel/Palestine? How can we reach a compromise and overcome those obstacles?

The Task

- Research and gather information on your perspective.
- Be prepared to present your perspective and defend your statements.

The Process

1. You will be given an invitation stating what perspective you are to take. You can work individually or with other guests ***who share your perspective.***
2. You are then to use all available resources (handouts from class, your notes, books in class and the internet) to come up with what you plan to discuss at the dinner party.

Use the attached handout as a guide in your preparation (you will turn this in to me after the party):

Guess Who's Coming to Dinner Preparation Sheet

Name: _____

The Central Question:

What are the biggest current and historic, real and emotional obstacles to peace in Israel and Palestine? How can we reach a compromise and overcome those obstacles?

What's your role?

In your role, what are your greatest needs and concerns? emotional and physical?

What are the obstacles to peace, as you see them?

What concessions on the occupation, settlements, borders, refugees, water, and security are you willing to make in order to achieve a lasting/just peace?

Dinner/Seminar Notes (use other side of paper if necessary):

Choice D: TV Talk Show/Groups

Peace & Justice

Most of you have formed ideas as to what has created the unrest in Palestine and Israel. Over the past few weeks we have looked at the history, population, current events and geography of this region. In thinking you know/known what has caused this unrest, you have a conscious or unconscious idea as to what would need to happen for any type of lasting peace with justice to occur. Now it is up to your group to present your case.

The Group (about 5 people)

In your group you must present a plan for peace. Aim for a peace with justice and equal rights for everyone. Even if everyone in the group agrees, you must present an alternative point of view (At least one). Each group will put on their own news/talk show. One group member will have to take the lead role as the monitor/host. The rest of the group will be split between the two sides. The monitor will present questions and maintain order in the lively debate. Every member will be given a chance to answer every question. Each member will need to have information from valid sources. Each group will be given 5-10 minutes.

What the group turns in:

Each group will turn in a list of at least 15 questions used to guide their presentation. These questions should help you cover the main points of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. You will also hand in a formal statement (one paragraph) for each point of view (at least two points of view need to be presented).

What you turn in:

You will need to hand in, at least, 10 quotes from sources. Each quote will be cited using the MLA format. The quotes will contain statistics, history, geography, current developments, etc. Each member will use these quotes to help them develop talking points in their presentation. Your presentation will be in answer to the host's questions. When answering questions/making statements you will be able to refer to your sources by name.

Written Response: Just Peace Essay

You will turn in a five-paragraph essay. In the essay, you will give your own opinion as to what would create a lasting peace with justice (you do not need to agree with your group). The first paragraph will contain the main idea/thesis statement. Each of the following three paragraphs will support the main idea. The final paragraph will contain the conclusion.

Group Worksheet

Names

Roles

Host

Israeli

Israeli

Palestinian

Palestinian

What Perspective?

QUESTIONS: Host should try to ask each panelist a similar number of questions

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

7.

8.

9.

10.

11.

12.

13.

14.

15.

Peace Plan (Choice 1)

Peace Plan (Choice 2)

Individual Worksheet

Name: _____/

Role: _____ Perspective: _____

Write 10 main points about the conflict from your perspective, covering history, geography, population, current developments, occupation, borders, security, settlements, refugees, water, etc. For each point, find a quote and cite the source (MLA format). Use extra paper as needed. Notice discrepancies in the data you are collecting.

1. Viewpoint:

Quote supporting this viewpoint:

Citation:

2. Viewpoint:

Quote supporting this viewpoint:

Citation:

3. Viewpoint:

Quote supporting this viewpoint:

Citation:

4. Viewpoint:

Quote supporting this viewpoint:

Citation:

5. Viewpoint:

Quote supporting this viewpoint:

Citation:

6. Viewpoint:

Quote supporting this viewpoint:

Citation:

7. Viewpoint:

Quote supporting this viewpoint:

Citation:

8. Viewpoint:

Quote supporting this viewpoint:

Citation:

9. Viewpoint:

Quote supporting this viewpoint:

Citation:

10. Viewpoint:

Quote supporting this viewpoint:

Citation:

E: Guest Speaker Panel Culminating Activity and Individual Paper

A Panel takes time to plan but is an excellent, real-world culmination to this intensive unit. Read through the handouts below to see how a panel could be organized. The handouts are taken from a panel discussion planned by a Seattle area high school teacher. There was a panel of four speakers (more are listed in the sample invite, just to give you a sense of some of the types of speakers available). They each gave a 5-minute introduction on who, why here, etc. Then each student got to ask a panelist a question. Students prepared their open-ended questions in advance, and had them approved by the teacher.

The teacher invites four participants: two on the “Israeli side” and two on the “Palestinian side”. Give the students their biographies several days in advance. Students decide whom their question is for; they should make it a question that they are really trying to understand. Participants get one minute to answer. Teacher should time this and cut-off if necessary (be ruthlessly fair)-- warn participants in advance. Also be prepared for emotional reactions by students to this event; if you can, have adults on hand to help students deal with anger/frustration/grief etc.

On the next page is a sample of a description of a Panel Discussion:

Name: _____ Period: _____ Date: _____

The Panel Discussion

On _____, you will be attending a panel discussion with guests from the community on several different sides of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Our speakers have been asked to focus on the following question:

What must be done to enable peace between the Israelis and Palestinians?
What can/should take place now and how will these actions impact the future?

Your assignment for _____ (two days prior to the talk) is to come up with **five to ten** appropriate questions to ask the panel. You will not be required to ask the questions, but you are required to have questions prepared ahead of time.

Appropriate questions should be:

- directly related to the topic (use what we have discussed in class to come up with questions related to future attempts at peace)
- non-judgmental

Hint: think about things that you discovered in the peace treaties that have been proposed up to now. What has worked? What hasn't? What have been the barriers to peace, in the treaties or on the ground? Think of questions that will help you further understand these issues.

A brief summary of the panelists:

- a 79 year-old Jewish woman. Organizer for Peace/Seattle. Activist for peace and justice for 60 years. Advocates to end the occupation.
- Regional Director for StandWithUs, an Israel education and advocacy organization.
- An Israeli-born community activist with StandWithUs.
- An ex-tank commander for the Israeli army. Advocates to end the occupation.
- A Palestinian woman, whose parents are from Jerusalem but became refugees in 1948. She has worked as a war journalist and currently teaches at Antioch University.
- A psychotherapist, media analyst, blogger and consultant on Middle Eastern Affairs. Spokesman who advocates for Israel.

Instructions: Write up your questions on a separate page (minimum of five, no more than ten). For each, you don't have to have the answers, but you should write a brief rationale explaining the purpose of your question & which of the panelists the question is for.

Extra Credit Opportunity!

Next _____ is our open panel where you will have the chance to discuss the Israeli-Palestinian conflict with representatives of the Israeli and Palestinian communities. You can better prepare yourself for the discussion by researching any of the topics below. To get credit for the articles you read, you need to stick within the **time period** and follow the **format**, both of which are listed below.

Due: _____

Points: .25 points per article, max 5 points

Research Topics:

- **Palestinian Authority**
- **Israeli-US relations**
- **Militant Palestinian and Israeli groups**
- **Israel Defense Forces**
- **Gaza Strip**
- **West Bank**
- **Separation Wall/Fence**
- **BDS Movement**
- **Israeli Palestinians**
- **Settlements**

Time Period: **1992-Now**

Format:

- **Name of Article** (internet articles should be .org or .net or .edu -- No wikipedia)
- **Source (MLA Format)**
- **What is the point of this article?** Provide a short, two-three sentence summary.
- **How do you see this article affecting the peace process between Israel and Palestine?**
- **Attach a printed copy of the article** (if more than two pages, just print the first two pages)

Teacher's letter to Panel participants:

Hello,

I want to thank you for offering to participate in this conversation on the Israeli/Palestinian conflict here at _____High School. This is a very important issue and students gain a great deal from participating in talks of this nature.

The focus of this discussion should be on what actions we can/should take—now. We will be looking at the present and the future. I do not want to spend a lot of time going backwards. The heart of this conversation should not examine the equity or inequity of past developments but look at what needs to be done to move forward. I understand that some history may be necessary to put your own/family's history into context; however, I would appreciate it if the crux of your presentation puts forth your ideas for what we can do now to end the conflict.

You will each be given up to five minutes to present your own background and introduce your ideas. Please use this time to do so and not to attack other speakers or dwell on the past. If you need audio, video, PowerPoint, etc, please let me know in advance and we will have everything ready.

After each speaker is given the opportunity to present, we will open the floor to the students. They may address their question to a specific speaker; however, everyone who wants to respond to the question will be afforded the opportunity to do so. Panel members will be allotted one minute to answer each question.

Prior to this talk, students will have gone over the history of the region and will have spent time looking at current events as well. We will also be looking at other aspects of the conflict including peace plans, demographics, economic viability, education, water sources/resources, settlements, political parties, etc.

If you are still willing to take part in this, I would greatly appreciate a brief biography. In the spirit of being open, I will then send out a group email that lists everyone who is participating and their biography.

Respectfully,


Teacher's Name
A Seattle High School

Writing a paper: From the Washington State requirements for a Causes of Conflict paper:


Understanding the causes of conflicts in the past may help us prevent conflicts in the future. You will choose a conflict and analyze its causes by creating a timeline and explaining these causes in an essay or presentation.

Directions to Students


In a cohesive paper or presentation, you will:

 Provide background on the conflict by describing at least three of the following:


- who was involved in the conflict,
- what the conflict was,
- when the conflict took place, and
- where the conflict took place.

 Demonstrate an understanding of the causes of the conflict by explaining relevant ideas from at least three of the four social studies perspectives:

- history,
- geography,
- civics, and
- economics.

 List two or more sources including the title, author, type of source, and date of each source.

You will also:

 Identify on a timeline of events related to the causes of the conflict using ideas from at least three of the four social studies perspectives:

- history,
- geography,
- civics, and
- economics.

For an organizer and a rubric about the Causes of Conflict paper, please see:

<http://www.k12.wa.us/SocialStudies/Assessments/Elementary/ElemHistory-CausesofConflict-SupportMaterials.pdf>

<http://www.k12.wa.us/SocialStudies/Assessments/Elementary/ScoringGuide-ESCausesofConflictCBA.pdf>

What are the causes of conflict in Israel & Palestine?

We have read and studied the Israeli/Palestinian conflict for several weeks now.

Most of you have a firm belief as to who or what is/are to blame for the perpetuation of this conflict. Now you need to write a five paragraph essay defending your opinion. There are a series of steps we need to take.

First

List of Important Terms/Events

http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/middle_east/03/v3_ip_timeline/html/default.stm

Define all of the following:

1. Zionism
2. Ottoman Empire
3. Balfour Declaration
4. Sykes/Picot Agreement
5. British Mandate
6. U.N.
7. UN partition of Palestine
8. 1948
9. Suez Crisis 1954
10. 1967 War
11. 1973 War
12. PLO
13. First Intifada
14. Second Intifada
15. Oslo Accords 1993
16. Palestinian Authority 1994
17. 2004 Gaza Settler Pullout
18. 2008-2009 Gaza Assault by Israel

Outline: What are the causes of conflict in Israel & Palestine?

Second

Your Thesis:

Point #1:

Point #2:

Point #3:

What are the causes of conflict in Israel & Palestine?
Sources

For each one of your paper's points you need to find a quote from a source. Use books and websites (.org, or .net, or .edu, not Wikipedia). Make sure you put your quotes in quotation marks and that you list where you found the quote as well as the author¹.

Thesis:

Point 1:

Quotes:

1.

2.

3.

¹ Websites may not provide an author.

Point 2:

Quotes:

1.

2.

3.

Point 3:

Quotes:

1.

2.

3.