

Appendix D -- Session 2: Israeli and Palestinian Narratives

MATRIX

Showing the range of voices assigned to each break-out group.

GROUPS A & B (9 voices)

Israeli Voices

- 1) Type: Israeli settler in Occupied Territories
Example: Avraham Binyamin (Reuters) p.4
- 2) Type: Israeli who has suffered bombing.
Ex: Dr. Avraham Bauer, from article in *Jewish Action*, Winter, 2007, p. 5
- 3) Type: Israeli who has embraced non-violence
Ex: Robi Damelin (from The Parents Circle web site) p. 6
- 4) Type: Former IDF soldier
Ex: Lazar Berman, *Huffington Post*, p. 8

Palestinian Voices

- 1) Type: Experience of being dispossessed
Ex: Woman in Jerusalem being denied a resident's permit (*Not included*)
- 2) Type: Experience of occupation
Ex: Mira Rizek (home demolition) p. 9
(EAPPI and *Way of the Cross*, p. 27)
- 3) Type: Person who is promoting peace
Group A: Dr. Izzeldin Abuelaish, Gaza (from *NY Times* and *Guardian*) p.10
Group B: Ali Abu Awwad (*Enc. Pt.*) p. 13
- 4) Type: Palestinian militant
Ex: Quotes from 2003 study, p. 14
- 5) Type: Students
Ex: Birzeit University PR Director and two female students (film *Occupation 101*) p.16

GROUPS C & D (8 voices)

Israeli Voices

- 1) Type: Proponent of Greater Israel
Ex: "Drora's response to the Arab" woman" from *Think Israel* web site, p. 17
- 2) Type: Israeli suffering Gaza missiles
Ex: Nomika Zion's Letter from Sderot on the *Huffington Post*, 1/13/09, p. 19
- 3) Type: Israeli who has embraced non-violence
Ex: Testimony from Louise Dalum, Machsom Watch (*Contemp. Way...*p. 30) p. 21
- 4) Type: Former IDF soldier
Ex: Inbar Michelzon (*The Guardian*), p. 22

- 1) Type: Experience of being dispossessed
Ex: Story of the Al Kurd family, from *Contemp. Way of the Cross* (Station 4, p.17), p. 23
- 2) Type: Experience of occupation
Ex: Naheel Abd al-Rahim (checkpoint) (*Contemp. Way of...Cross*, p. 33), p. 24
- 3) Type: Person who is promoting peace
Group C: Sami Al Jundi (*Encounter Pt.*), p. 25
Group D: Ashraf Tannous, Lutheran Pastor (Source: EAPPI web site), p. 25
- 4) Type: Palestinian militant
Ex: Khalid Al-Mish'al, head of Hamas, p. 27

SOURCES

Israeli Voices

Avraham Binyamin, Yitzhar Settlement, West Bank

Source: *Jewish Settlers Claim Biblical Birthright to Land*, by Maayan Lubell, REUTERS, 9/26/10

<http://blogs.reuters.com/faithworld/2010/09/27/jewish-settlers-claim-biblical-birthright-to-occupied-west-bank-land/>

“Drora, an Israeli citizen, responds to Samar, an Arab woman from Haifa”

Source: A posting by Daisy Stern on the web site Think Israel, December 31, 2008.

The post is entitled Arab: "Lieberman, we shall yet step on you", and the answer from the Israeli
<http://www.think-israel.org/dec08bloged.html>

Dr. Avraham Bauer, Jerusalem

Source: *Feeling the Hand of God*, by Sarah Shapiro

Jewish Action online, the magazine of the Orthodox Union, Volume 68, No. 2, Winter 2007/5768
http://www.ou.org/index.php/jewish_action/article/33245/

Nomika Zion, resident of Sderot, Israel

Source: Post entitled *War Diary from Sderot* from the *Huffington Post*, January 13, 2009

Robi Damelin, Tel Aviv

Source: The Parents Circle web site, <http://www.theparentscircle.com/Story.aspx?ID=201>

Louise Dalum, member of Machsom Watch -- Women for Human Rights, www.machsomwatch.org

Source: *Contemporary Way of the Cross*, Sabeel Ecumenical Liberation Theology Center, Jerusalem, 2010

Lazar Berman, former IDF officer

Berman served as an IDF infantry officer in Gaza from 2004-2007 and currently studies military operations at Georgetown University's Graduate School of Foreign Service.

Source: Posted on the *Huffington Post*, January 15, 2009

Inbar Michelzon, former soldier in the Israeli Defence Force

Source: Quoted in *The Guardian*, August 22, 2010.

Article title: *Israeli army's female recruits denounce treatment of Palestinians*

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/aug/22/israel-female-soldiers-gaza-occupation>

Palestinian Voices

Unnamed Palestinian woman, Jerusalem

Source: *Voices Speak to Us*, an unpublished play by David L. McWellan

(Note: Not included in the set of narratives posted on the course web page.)

The Al Kurd family, East Jerusalem

Source: *Contemporary Way of the Cross*, Station 4, pp. 17-18

Mira Rizek, Beit Hanina

Source: Eye witness account of a home demolition that took place in Beit Hanina, West Bank, on July 29, 2008. The testimony was recorded 8/1/08 by a volunteer with the Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme in Palestine and Israel (www.eappi.org) See News/Eyewitness Reports; search for Beit Hanina.

Naheel Awni Abd al-Rahim, West Bank

Source: Testimony reported by B'tselem, September 17, 2008; quoted in *Contemporary Way of the Cross*

Dr. Izzeldin Abuelaish, Jabaliya refugee camp, Gaza

Sources: This narrative is drawn from two articles:

Gazan Doctor and Peace Advocate Loses 3 Daughters to Israeli Fire and Asks Why

Dina Kraft, *New York Times*, January 17, 2009

www.nytimes.com/2009/01/18/world/middleeast/18doctor.html

Gaza Doctor Writes Book of Hope despite Death of Three Daughters

Harriet Sherwood, *The Guardian*, August 15, 2010

www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/aug/15/palestinian-doctor-izzeldin-abuelaish-gaza-war

Ali Abu Awwad, who works with the Parents Circle/Bereaved Families Forum in the West Bank

Source: Transcribed from several scenes in the documentary film *Encounter Point* (2006).

Sami Al Jundi, Jerusalem

Source: Transcribed from several scenes in the documentary film *Encounter Point* (2006).

Ashraf Tannous, Ramallah

Tannous, age 24, lives in Ramallah and works in Jerusalem. He is preparing to be ordained as a Lutheran pastor. The profile from which this narrative is taken was written by "Oliver W.," a volunteer working in Yanoun with the Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme in Palestine and Israel. Entitled *Meeting God at the Checkpoint*, the profile was posted September 15, 2010. (www.eappi.org) See News/Eyewitness Reports; search for Tannous.

Palestinian militant(s)

Source: These quotations are attributed to unnamed, incarcerated Palestinians who were interviewed by the authors of the following study: Jerrold M. Post, Ehud Sprinzak, and Laurita Denny, *The Terrorists in their own Words: Interviews with 35 Incarcerated Middle Eastern Terrorists*, in *The Journal of Terrorism and Political Violence*, 15, no.1 (2003), 171-184

Khalid Al-Mish'al, Hamas leader based in Damascus

Source: *The New Leadership of Hamas: A Profile of Khalid Al-Mish'al*, by Yehudit Barsky

Posted in May, 2004, on the web site of the American Jewish Council:

<http://www.ajc.org/site/apps/nl/content3.asp?c=ijIT12PHKoG&b=846739&ct=1052665>

Voices from Birzeit University

Source: Transcribed from the documentary film *Occupation 101*

Birzeit University is located the outskirts of the town of Birzeit, just north of Ramallah. This excerpt from the film features Dr. Albert Aghazarian, Director of Public Relations at the university, and (in a separate interview) two female university students who are not named.

INSTRUCTIONS

Each participant in the class was given one of the narratives listed above to read prior to the second class. Most of the narratives were 1-2 pages in length. Accompanying each one were the following instructions:

The attached narrative reflects the experience and perspective of one Israeli or one Palestinian. Drawn from a news story, documentary, or another reliable source, it is the voice of a real person, not a fictitious one.

At the beginning of our next class, we will break into four small groups (A, B, C, and D). Please come prepared to summarize this narrative for others in your group. You do not need to agree with the sentiments this person expresses. Nor will you be asked to impersonate this individual in a role-play. We simply ask that you faithfully represent the person's experience and attitude as stated here. Thank you!

GROUP _____

Avraham Binyamin, Yitzhar Settlement, West Bank

Source: *Jewish Settlers Claim Biblical Birthright to Land*, by Maayan Lubell, REUTERS, 9/26/10
<http://blogs.reuters.com/faithworld/2010/09/27/jewish-settlers-claim-biblical-birthright-to-occupied-west-bank-land/>

YITZHAR, West Bank

(Reuters) - Jewish settler Avraham Binyamin says any Israeli withdrawal from occupied land would be like severing a limb from his body.

As one of some 300,000 Israelis living in enclaves built on West Bank land that Palestinians seek for a state, Binyamin expresses a view held by many that the area is a Jewish biblical birthright and must never be relinquished, not even for peace.

Though not all settlers object to the U.S.-sponsored peace talks that began on September 2, many are fiercely opposed and say they will do whatever is needed to keep their homes and prevent an accord.

"The national being of any people, particularly the Jewish people, is like a body, you cannot give up parts of your body," said Binyamin, 25, a teacher from Yitzhar, a settlement known for its tense relations with neighboring Palestinian villages.

The religiously devout father of two says the 2.5 million Palestinians living in the West Bank should be relocated to neighboring Arab lands.

"I can sometimes very much understand their pain and their need," he says. "But from the national perspective, it's either me or them -- and I prefer it to be me."

Yitzhar, a small hilltop enclave housing 180 families, was built on the site of a military outpost in 1985 and overlooks six Palestinian villages, 45 km (30 miles) north of Jerusalem.

The houses have the trademark red-tiled roofs that adorn so many settlements, setting them apart from the flat roofs of the Arab villages and making them highly visible from afar.

Some of the settlers carry guns strapped to their backs as they walk down the neat streets, providing security for their tight-knit community.

MORATORIUM

The question of settlements has immediately come to the fore at the peace negotiations, with a partial freeze on Jewish building in the West Bank ending on Sunday.

The Palestinians have threatened to quit the talks unless the moratorium is extended.

They say the settlements, along with building in East Jerusalem, which Israel has annexed without international recognition, will make it impossible for them to create a viable state. Israel has so far refused to countenance any extension.

"We, as Jews, believe that the land of Israel belongs to the people of Israel because a divine promise was given to us. The Bible is our legal document," says Binyamin, who serves as a spokesman for Yitzhar, which rarely opens up for the media.

To underline the point, most settlers balk at the term "West Bank" for the territory Israel captured in 1967, instead using the region's biblical names, Judea and Samaria

Such beliefs underscore how hard it will be to reach a peace deal; the Palestinians take for granted that, at a minimum, dozens of smaller settlements, including Yitzhar, must go as part of an accord.

Tensions between Yitzhar and its neighbors remain high. Palestinians accuse settlers of destroying olive trees and setting fields ablaze. Settlers accuse Palestinians of torching crops and tractors.

Yitzhar's settlers are among some 100,000 that Israel is seen as likely to remove as part of any agreement to establish a Palestinian state. Most live in enclaves built beyond a barrier of fences and walls that Israel put up across West Bank land following a wave of Palestinian suicide attacks from 2000-2007.

Binyamin said any move to evacuate West Bank settlers would meet with stronger resistance than a pullout from the Gaza Strip in 2005, when 8,000 Jews put up spirited but ultimately futile protests.

But not everyone in Yitzhar objects to a deal with the Palestinians.

Michal Avraham, a German-born bookkeeper and mother of eight, says it would make her "very happy one day to see a real peace, real fair coexistence," even if the chances are slim.

"I would be very happy to wander around in my car in any village or place peacefully, as I do when I visit my family in Europe," she said.

For an update on the tensions between settlers in Yitzhar and surrounding Palestinians, see the article, *The War of the Olive Harvest: Palestinians vs. Settlers*, posted on TIME magazine's web site, November 15, 2010: <http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2028009,00.html>

The article concludes with the following comments by Avraham Binyamin:

"There are clashes here between Palestinians and Israelis, no doubt about it," says Avraham Binyamin, a soft-spoken social worker who acts as spokesman for the 200 families in Yizhar. "There is a conflict here over to whom this land belongs. It's mutual and sometimes it goes to violence." He does not deny attacks on olive groves but prefers to talk about earlier attacks on settlers: the most recent was two years ago, when a 9-year-old boy survived a stabbing.

The view from the hilltop is stunning; Binyamin's smile is knowing. "I'd love to sit in the valley," he says. "We're caught up in a conflict of people against people. I hope the guy from Bureen will have a good future. But all my efforts will be to assure that his future won't be here. Because this land belongs to the Jewish people."

#####

GROUP _____

Dr. Avraham Bauer, Jerusalem

Source: *Feeling the Hand of God*, by Sarah Shapiro

Jewish Action online, the magazine of the Orthodox Union, Volume 68, No. 2, Winter 2007/5768

http://www.ou.org/index.php/jewish_action/article/33245/

It was a cold, miserable winter day, the week before Pesach, and Yehonathon hadn't been feeling well. It turned out he had a strep throat. He could hardly speak. I'd just taken him to the doctor and had a prescription in my pocket -- I was going to stop off at the pharmacy to have it filled -- and the two of us were on our way home, walking hand-in-hand along King George Street.

The guy blew up three feet behind us. I didn't see Yehonathon fall down. I was pushed forward by the shock wave. Picture someone pushing you powerfully from behind and you have no control. I was thrown like a sack of potatoes about five meters forward and the next thing I knew, my arm was bleeding.

I knew what had happened; it didn't take much to figure it out. The initial experience was of a complete, total silence. And perfect stillness. Everything was in smoke, like a fog, and I couldn't see anything. Nothing was moving. It was surreal.

I looked for Yehonathon and couldn't find him. Then I saw him, lying face down on the sidewalk. I lifted him under the arms and held him up high in front of me, his legs dangling, to look at him. He was moaning. That was the first sign of life.....He was the first one to be put in an ambulance. I started to climb in but they closed the door and started pulling out -- they didn't know who I was. I screamed, "Ani ha' abba!" [I'm the father.]

...It was a lifetime, that ride in the ambulance. All of Jerusalem passed by me through the window. I remember how the glass was speckled with rain....At Hadassah Hospital, the CT-scans showed that Yehonathon had suffered a severe brain wound. A piece of shrapnel had passed through the right occipital lobe of the brain and had lodged itself in the front cranial bone. They determined that Yehonathon was paralyzed on the left side and that he was blind.

...The morning after the bombing, when I saw Yehonathon for the first time after his first surgery, his eyes were completely gray. His head was terrifying to see. I sat next to him and said Shema. Then I went outside and cried.

...When the doctors decided to bring him out of the sedative, the entire staff came in to watch. They wanted to see how he'd react to questions, and to some general commands -- to see what he could and couldn't do. First they asked me to interact with him. Then they asked Revital [his mother] to say something, and at the sound of her voice, Yehonathon opened his eyes and said, 'Ima sheli. Ani ohev otah.' [My Ima. I love you.] Everyone in the room started crying. That was the beginning of the recovery.

From the article:

Dr. Avraham Bauer, originally from Chicago, graduated Harvard University in 1987 and earned his PhD in biochemistry from the University of Wisconsin. He moved to Israel in 1992, married in 1994, and four years later founded the Israeli biotech company BSD, whose research lab he directs in downtown Jerusalem. The Bauers have four sons; Yehonathon is the eldest.

#####

GROUP _____

Robi Damelin, Tel Aviv

Source: The Parents Circle web site, <http://www.theparentscircle.com/Story.aspx?ID=201>

In March 2002 Robi Damelin's son, David, was shot by a sniper while serving in the Israeli army. He was 28 years old. Robi now works for The Parents Circle/Bereaved Families Forum, a group of Israeli and Palestinian families supporting reconciliation and peace. The following narrative is excerpted from her testimony on the organization's web site.

David was killed by a sniper, along with nine other people. They were at a checkpoint, a political checkpoint, near Ofra. Two days after he was killed it was pulled down; they removed the checkpoint.

...It is impossible to describe what it is to lose a child. Your whole life is totally changed forever. It's not that I'm not the same person I was. I'm the same person with a lot of pain. Wherever I go, I carry this with me. You try to run away at the beginning, but you can't.

...Yitzhak Frankenthal had come to speak to me; he was the founder of the Bereaved Families Forum. I wasn't sure that was the path I wanted to take, but I went to a seminar. There were a lot of Israelis and Palestinians from the group there and I didn't really feel convinced yet. But the more time went by, the more I wanted to work somewhere to make a difference.

...David was killed on March 3rd 2002. On October 2004 the sniper who killed David was caught, which for me was a huge step. That was really the test. Do I actually mean what I'm saying or am I just saying it because... that's the test of whether I really have integrity in the work I'm doing? Do I really mean what I'm saying when I talk about reconciliation? I wrote a letter to the family. 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.

[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 do 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 cannot describe to you the pain I feel since his death and the pain of his brother and girlfriend, and of all who knew and loved him.

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.

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.

#####

GROUP _____

Lazar Berman, former IDF officer

Berman served as an IDF infantry officer in Gaza from 2004-2007 and currently studies military operations at Georgetown University's Graduate School of Foreign Service.

Source: Posted on the *Huffington Post*, January 15, 2009

Gaza. For many, the word conjures images of crowded neighborhoods caught in perpetual strife - between Hamas and Fatah, between Hamas and Israel. For the myopic European media, Gaza is another example of Israeli heavy-handedness. Israelis, especially those living in the expanding range of Hamas rockets, see Gaza as proof that unilateral concessions compromise Israel's safety while bringing peace no closer.

To me, Gaza is far more personal. As an Israeli infantry officer, I served in Gaza before, during, and after the 2005 Disengagement. While the character and content of the mission changed drastically during my years in the Strip, a striking feature of my service was the time and effort spent trying to find ways to live in peace with the people and rulers of Gaza.

This was no doubt complicated by the presence of Israeli communities in Gaza, since withdrawn. Even so, every morning I secured the entry of 500 Palestinian workers into the Ganei Tal farms, providing them access to good jobs and support for their families. The Israeli farmers insisted on continuing the employment of these workers even as Hamas attempted to destroy any manifestation of coexistence, regularly attacking the Gazans' entry point into the farms. Then, as now, Gazans were given medical treatment in Israel when their needs were beyond the capabilities of local hospitals.

In 2005, the Israeli government under Ariel Sharon decided to forcibly evacuate Israeli families from their homes in Gaza. At great cost, and at the risk of damaging the fabric of Israeli society and the cohesion of its armed forces, the IDF spent months training for and performing the removal of Israeli citizens from their homes. As a participant in the painful episode, I have vivid memories of the anger and confusion caused by this drastic step taken in the hope that Israel's sacrifice would lead to something better for all peoples of the region. Israeli farmers left valuable greenhouses intact for Palestinians to begin building a vibrant economy on the ruins of the Jewish communities, but Hamas tore them down the night Israel left.

After we evacuated every last inch of Gaza, Hamas refused to let Israel's gesture open a window for peace. Immediately, Hamas began smuggling anti-tank missiles, mines, and rockets into the territory in preparation for attacks on Israel instead of using that money to build a civil society. In June 2007, Hamas took over the Gaza Strip in stunningly violent fashion, throwing handcuffed Fatah members from buildings and executing rivals in the street. Human Rights Watch called these actions "war crimes, pure and simple." Hundreds of Gazan civilians allied with Fatah fled to Erez crossing, hoping Israel would arrange for their safe transport to the West Bank, and knowing that, at the very least, Israel would protect their lives.

Hamas made it clear that anyone who ventured back into Gaza would be arrested or shot, and it barred the delivery of food and water. I commanded the force overseeing Erez that week, and we delivered water and sandwiches to the civilians three times a day. Hamas managed to sneak two operatives into the Gazan side of Erez, who lobbed grenades and fired their AK-47s into the crowd of Palestinian civilians. I immediately understood that any return fire from our position risked striking the civilians cowering from the Hamas attack. I gave only my sharpshooter permission to fire, and we managed to chase off the Hamas attackers without hitting any civilians. Unfortunately, the terrorists did manage to kill a middle-aged Palestinian man and wound almost twenty civilians, including a young girl. The wounded were brought to Israel for treatment. The rest of the threatened civilians in Erez were transported by Israel to the West Bank, away from the grim future of Hamas-ruled Gaza.

After the consolidation of Hamas power, Israel exercised great restraint in Gaza, offering 'quiet for quiet' even as Hamas built up its arsenal and fired on southern Israel. Israeli citizens wondered aloud why the IDF was not defending its citizens from Hamas attacks. Our rules of engagement, always strict, were especially tight, as Israel was determined to make even imperfect cease-fires work. On multiple occasions, I was surprised to hear Gazan farmers tell me they would rather return to pre-Disengagement

Gaza, when there was work, a reasonable ruling authority, and no armed Hamas squads terrorizing civilians who did not ally with the movement.

It has become painfully clear to Israelis that Hamas' demands on Israel are endless because they seek destruction, not peace. Despite Hamas' bluntness regarding its aims, the Western media continues to assume the organization is motivated by defensive goals, such as the end of the blockade or an Israeli withdrawal to the June 1967 lines.

World opinion has tremendous strategic importance, as Israel learned in the 2006 war in Lebanon, where international pressure forced Israel to end the war prematurely. While international pressure is beginning to close Israel's operational window, thus far it seems Israel's military and political leaders have internalized the lessons of 2006. The public relations effort was ready before the campaign. The reserves were called up early and have had time to train and equip for a potential third phase of the operation. Israeli ground forces are using tactics that play to their strengths, such as avoiding built-up city centers unless absolutely necessary and reducing the threat to armor by leading with special forces and infantry.

Israel's strategic challenge is frustrating for its people, who know the sacrifices they have made to give peace a chance in Gaza. But Israel's military options are limited by an international community indifferent to those efforts and to Hamas' aims. If, as the operation indicates, Israel has learned the lessons from 2006, it may well come out of Cast Lead with its deterrence strengthened, a robust international force combating smuggling from Egypt, and its citizens free from Hamas rockets.

#####

GROUP _____

Mira Rizek, Beit Hanina

Source: Eye witness account of a home demolition that took place in Beit Hanina, West Bank, on July 29, 2008. The testimony was recorded 8/1/08 by a volunteer with the Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme in Palestine and Israel (www.eappi.org) See News/Eyewitness Reports; search for Beit Hanina.

“This morning our family woke up at screaming voices at 4:00 a.m. and we started looking around and wondering what was happening, but we could not see anything. So we went up to the roof of the house (our house is 3 stories), and we saw tens of Israeli army, special troops, border police, ambulances, fire department cars, police cars, surrounding Abu Eishah’s house, who is our neighbour, ordering the family to leave the house because they wanted to demolish it,” says Mira Rizek, the National General Secretary of YWCA of Palestine.

Abu Eishah’s apartment building consisted of four floors housing eight families in an up market area of Beit Hanina. It is described as having been the very best equipped building in the area. In the morning of the demolition, Abu Eishah was in court trying to obtain permit for the top storey.

After having refused to leave for almost two hours, the families were pulled out by force. Some were beaten and had to be taken to hospital. The families were prohibited from removing any of their furniture, personal belongings, and cars from the building.

The press and UN observers soon came to neighbouring houses, and the roof tops were filled with people taking pictures, filming, and watching. At 9:00 a.m., the Israeli army ordered everyone to leave the roofs and they closed off a part of the main road leading to Ramallah.

Usually, when Palestinian owners receive demolition orders, they are given the option of demolishing their own homes. This was something the Abu Eishah family refused to do. If the Israeli authorities complete the demolition, however, they send the bill to the owners, who have to cover the cost of

demolishing, patrolling of police, and all other related expenses. “So on top of becoming homeless, people have to cover the cost of the injustice,” says Mira.

At 5:30 pm, the police and soldiers became very active and aggressive, pushing the crowds to clear the area. EA [Ecumenical Accompanier] Audrey Gray was pushed and punched quite unnecessarily by a small angry soldier. She asked him firmly but politely to stop, but he punched her in the back as soon as she turned around to go down the steps.

One of the locals informed Audrey that there would be an explosion at 6:30 pm, which indeed happened with military precision. The house collapsed in a pile of rubbish, while helicopters flew overhead. “It was an utterly sickening and pointless exercise in the abuse of power,” Audrey states.

When Audrey returned to the site a couple of days later, she found that a community tent had been erected in the back garden. A family member explained that they were trying to cope by using an old house nearby and staying with relatives.

(Photos of the demolition accompany the testimony on the EAPPI web site.)

#####

GROUP _____

Dr. Izzeldin Abuelaish, Jabaliya refugee camp, Gaza

Sources: The following narrative is drawn from two articles (see footnotes).

January, 17, 2009, *The New York Times**

Dr. Izzeldin Abuelaish is a Gazan and a doctor who has devoted his life to medicine and reconciliation between Israelis and Palestinians. But on Saturday, the day after three of his daughters and a niece were killed by Israeli fire in Gaza, Dr. Abuelaish, 53, struggled to hold on to the humane philosophy that has guided his life and work. As he sat in a waiting room of the Israeli hospital where he works part time, he asked over and over, “Why did they do this?”

Elsewhere in the hospital another daughter and a niece were being treated for their wounds. “I dedicated my life really for peace, for medicine,” said Dr. Abuelaish, who does joint research projects with Israeli physicians and for years has worked as something of a one-man force to bring injured and ailing Gazans for treatment in Israel.

“This is the path I believed in and what I raised and educated my children to believe,” he said.

..... At the Chaim Sheba Medical Center at Tel Hashomer on Saturday, Dr. Abuelaish was surrounded by Israeli colleagues. Several were crying. Tammie Ronen, a professor of social work at Tel Aviv University, knelt beside the doctor. “You cannot let yourself collapse, you have your living children to take care of,” said Dr. Ronen. Dr. Ronen had worked with him in researching the effects of conflict-related stress on Palestinian children in Gaza and Israeli children in Sderot, a border town that has been the main target of Gazan rocket fire in recent years.

“Tell them who my children were,” said Dr. Abuelaish, spotting Anael Harpaz, an Israeli woman who runs a peace camp in New Mexico for Israeli and Palestinian girls that three of his daughters attended, including his eldest, Bisan, 20, who was killed Friday. The other two daughters who were killed were Mayar, 15, and Aya, 13. The doctor’s niece who died, Nur Abuelaish, was 17. Dr. Abuelaish recalled that

it was Bisan who, after her mother died of leukemia, urged him to continue his work in Israel, saying she would look after the younger children.

.... Outside the room, Ms. Harpaz crumpled into a chair, sobbing. "I hope this is a wake-up call," she said. "This is such a peace-loving family." Dr. Abuelaish is a rarity: a Gazan at home among Israelis. He describes himself as a bridge between the two worlds, one of the few Gazans with a permit to enter Israel because of his work. "I wanted every Palestinian treated in Israel to go back and say how well the Israelis treated them," he said. "That is the message I wanted to spread all the time. And this is what I get in return?"

Later, sitting on a plastic chair near his daughter's hospital room, Dr. Abuelaish spoke with the prayer of so many parents who have buried their children as part of Israeli-Palestinian conflict. "I hope that my children will be the last price."

August 15, 2010, *The Guardian* **

On a cool but sunny December day in Gaza, Dr Izzeldin Abuelaish took his eight children to the beach for the simple pleasures of paddling in the Mediterranean and playing in the sand.

Two months earlier, the children's mother had died from acute leukaemia, and Abuelaish was comforted to see his older daughters laughing and chatting as they wrote their names in the damp grains close to the water's edge: Bessan, Maya, Aya. "It was as close to heaven and as far from hell as I could get that day," he later wrote.

But within five weeks the Abuelaishs were to suffer a second tragedy: those three girls, aged 13, 15 and 20, were killed, and another daughter, Noor, 17, seriously injured, when an Israeli shell was fired at the family home during the brief but bloody war in Gaza in 2008-9. One of Abuelaish's nieces also died; a fifth girl, another niece, suffered terrible injuries.

Many in his situation would have descended into a dark, lonely pit of grief and bitterness. But Abuelaish not only rebuilt a life for himself and his surviving five children, he has written a moving and powerful book about his experiences with a central message of hope and reconciliation.

I Shall Not Hate – published in Canada in April, and out in Britain in January – has had an extraordinary impact. Sitting in the home of his extended family in Jabalia, northern Gaza, Abuelaish – back on a month-long visit from Canada where he now lives and works – reads out emails on his BlackBerry from strangers expressing their sympathy, gratitude and support.

The book has been translated into 13 languages, from Finnish to Turkish – but most importantly copies will soon be available in Hebrew or Arabic. A book tour in the US is scheduled for January; proceeds from sales and appearances will go to Daughters for Life, the charitable foundation Abuelaish set up.

He explains his choice of title. "I'm against any violence. Violence and the military approach proved its failings decades ago and that will never, ever change. No one evaluates; we just continue blindly.

"As Palestinians and Israelis we have failed to change course. We just continue with the same approach which aggravates, escalates and widens the gap of hatred and bloodshed. It's easy to destroy life but very difficult to build it."

Would it not be understandable to feel hate after what has happened to him? "There is a difference between anger and hate. Anger is acute but transient; hate is a poison, a fire which burns you from the inside. We need to be angry, but direct it in a positive way."

Abuelaish, an obstetrician and gynaecologist specialising in infertility, spent years working in Israeli hospitals where, he says, patients were surprised to find a Palestinian doctor delivering Jewish babies. After his wife, Nadia, died in September 2008 he went back to work following encouragement from his elder daughters, returning to his family in Gaza at weekends.

He was at home when the onslaught on Gaza began on 27 December that year. There was a "symphony of weapons, shelling" around the extended family's home in northern Gaza, where much of the action was concentrated. Everyone's nerves and emotions were constantly on edge, he says.

Throughout the conflict, Abuelaish was in regular contact by phone with Israeli friends, including journalists. His accounts, in fluent Hebrew, of what was happening inside Gaza – closed at the time to foreign journalists – were broadcast in Israel and beyond.

On 16 January 2009, at 4.30pm, a shell struck the house. He ran to the room that had been hit. "I saw my girls drowning in a pool of blood," he says, tears in his eyes. "I saw their body parts, a decapitated head, brains on the ceiling." A second shell followed.

Desperate for medical assistance, he called his friend Shlomi Eldar, a presenter on Channel 10 in Israel. His cries for help in a mixture of Hebrew and Arabic were broadcast live.*** Within an hour, with the help of his Israeli friends, Abuelaish's injured daughter and niece were evacuated from Gaza.

At the time, he could only think of the catastrophe that had befallen his family. Later he realised the impact of that live phone call. "It opened the eyes of the Israeli public. The secret about the war in Gaza was disclosed," he says.

The then Israeli prime minister, Ehud Olmert, watched the broadcast. "I read that he said: 'Who can see Izzeldin and not cry?'" says Abuelaish. "Two days later he announced the ceasefire. I hope that at least the blood of my daughters was not in vain, that it saved others."

The doctor was already considering a job offer in Toronto and within six months he had begun a new life as a professor in global health at the city's university. Back home for the summer holidays, Abuelaish says Gaza is "getting worse and worse".

"People are frustrated and hopeless. Wellbeing is not just dependent on having food. We are hungry for freedom, a brighter future, a secure life, for feeling our humanity."

But, he says, Gazans must not simply blame others, but take responsibility themselves. "Everything is possible in life, even peace. The only thing that is impossible is to bring my wife and daughters back. You have to keep moving. Tragedy does not define my life, but these tragedies have made me move faster."

Abuelaish's book and the foundation are his monument to his dead daughters. "I swore to God that one day I will meet my daughters and tell them their blood was not wasted," he says. The foundation is dedicated to promoting health and education among girls and women in the Middle East. "My life is in debt to my mother, my wife, my daughters," he says. "All change starts first with the mother. If we want to change, we must start with women."

Abuelaish thinks back to the day on the beach, a picture from which graces the cover of his book. "Two weeks before the war came, [the girls] wrote their names in the sand. Where are their names now? Written in stone on their tombs. But I tell you one day their names will be written in metal and stone at schools and medical institutions dedicated to their memory. Words are stronger than bullets. We have to offer a message of hope to those who believe in hate and revenge."

* *Gazan Doctor and Peace Advocate Loses 3 Daughters to Israeli Fire and Asks Why*

Dina Kraft, *New York Times*, January 17, 2009
www.nytimes.com/2009/01/18/world/middleeast/18doctor.html

** *Gaza Doctor Writes Book of Hope despite Death of Three Daughters*
 Harriet Sherwood, *The Guardian*, August 15, 2010
www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/aug/15/palestinian-doctor-izzeldin-abuelaish-gaza-war

*** <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OnEe2N-kxJk>

#####

GROUP _____

Ali Abu Awwad, who works with the Parents Circle/Bereaved Families Forum in the West Bank
 Source: Transcribed from several scenes in the documentary film *Encounter Point* (2006).

My name is Ali Abu Awwad...I was involved in the first Palestinian uprising, the Intifada, at age 16. I threw a ton of stones. I was very active in the first Intifada. I grew up in a political household. My mother was in jail. My brother was in jail. Another brother was in jail.

...I was in Saudi Arabia when I heard that my brother Youssef had been killed by an Israeli soldier. The soldier stopped him at the entrance to his village and just killed him in cold blood. For the first time, Palestinians and Israelis are meeting to share their pain. We're meeting about issues that politicians use to justify killing. No! Don't use us as an excuse! We're united!

...My brother Youssef was killed when I was 30 years old. I was shot in the leg by a settler. My mother was imprisoned. I was also in prison for four years. Sometimes I am faced with questions like: "How can you still do this after all you've been through? You could have great status in your society. You have the right to hate."

But I tell them, "I don't have to love the Israelis to make peace with them. And I'm not asked to forgive the soldier who killed my brother. I'll never forgive him."

(Meeting with wounded Palestinians in a rehab hospital.)

Ali: Have you heard of India's non-violent movement? Did it liberate India or not? Why don't we act like the Indian people? For 56 years we have been talking about slaughtering the Jews and we've only gone backwards. For once, let's try changing our tactic. Maybe it will work.

A young man: We don't want peace. We Arabs don't want peace. We must have resistance and war.

Ali: I don't differ from you. I am resisting too. I have to resist. But the form of my resistance is different because I think about it. A just cause like ours is now being called terrorism. We've never been terrorists. But today you must convince the world that you are not.

(In his car.)

People are not really free to say what they think. That's another big problem. For example, any meeting with Israelis calling for non-violence is immediately labeled as "normalization." This refers to someone who sells his principles, who gives in to his enemies and killers. So he's accused of "normalization."

...I could be considered a hero by my people, given what I've been through. I was shot, imprisoned, my brother was killed. All of this gives me credibility in my society since I've suffered. I could be spreading

hate and that would be seen as justified. But that's no longer a personal issue for me. It is a collective issue.

...I am ready to talk to anyone whether the person believes in peace or not. If anyone opposes me, whether among my people, among Israelis, or anywhere in the world, I am ready to have an open and clear dialogue with that person.

...To be a Palestinian and work for peace – not just believe in it, but work for it – you have to be like a mountain.

#####

GROUP _____

Palestinian militant(s)

Source: The following quotations are attributed to unnamed, incarcerated Palestinians who were interviewed by the authors of a 2003 study entitled *The Terrorists in their own Words* (see footnote).

You Israelis are Nazis in your souls and in your conduct. In your occupation, you never distinguish between men and women, or between old people and children. You adopted methods of collective punishment. You uprooted people from their homeland and from their homes and chased them into exile. You fired live ammunition at women and children. You smashed the skulls of defenseless civilians. You set up detention camps for thousands of people in subhuman conditions. You destroyed homes and turned children into orphans. You prevented people from making a living, you stole their property, you trampled on their honor. Given that kind of conduct, there is no choice but to strike at you without mercy in every possible way. (p. 178)

You have to understand that armed attacks are an integral part of the organization's struggle against the Zionist occupier. There is no other way to redeem the land of Palestine and expel the occupier. Our goals can only be achieved through force, but force is the means, not the end. History shows that without force it will be impossible to achieve independence. Those who carry out the attacks are doing Allah's work...

The more an attack hurts the enemy, the more important it is. That's the measure. The mass killings, especially the martyrdom operations, were the biggest threat to the Israeli public and so most effort was devoted to these. The extent of the damage and the number of casualties are of primary importance. (p. 179)

I am not a murderer. A murderer is someone with a psychological problem. Armed actions have a goal, even if civilians are killed, it is not because we like it or are bloodthirsty. It is a fact of life in a people's struggle. The group doesn't do it because it wants to kill civilians, but because the jihad must go on. (p. 179)

The organization has no moral red lines. We must do everything to force the enemy to retreat from our lands. Nothing is illegitimate in achieving this. As for the organization's moral red lines, there were none. We considered every attack on the occupier legitimate. The more you hurt the enemy, the more he understands. In a Jihad, there are no red lines. (p. 181)

I belong to the generation of the occupation. My family are refugees from the 1967 war. The war and my refugee status were the seminal events that formed my political consciousness and provided the incentive for doing all I could to help regain our legitimate rights in our occupied country.

Enlistment was for me the natural and done thing...in a way, it can be compared to a young Israeli from a nationalist Zionist family who wants to fulfill himself through army service. My motivation in joining Fatah was both ideological and personal. It was a question of self-fulfillment, of honor and a feeling of independence...the goal of every young Palestinian was to be a fighter. After recruitment, my social status was greatly enhanced. I got a lot of respect from my acquaintances and from the young people in the village. (p. 182)

I regarded armed actions to be essential. It is the very basis of my organization and I am sure that was the case in the other Palestinian organizations. An armed action proclaims that I am here. I exist. I am strong, I am in control, I am in the field, I am on the map. An armed action against soldiers was the most admired...The armed actions and their results were a major tool for penetrating the public consciousness.

The various armed actions (stabbing, collaborators, martyrdom operations, attacks on Israeli soldiers) all had different ratings. An armed action that caused casualties was rated highly and seen to be of great importance. An armed action without casualties was not rated. No distinction was made between armed actions on soldiers or on civilians: the main thing was the amount of blood. The aim was to cause as much carnage as possible. (p. 183)

The authors conclude this summary with two observations:

Before closing, we should distinguish between the Palestinian “suicide bombers” and the Al-Qaeda suicidal hijackers. The profile of a typical Palestinian is: age, 17-22, uneducated, unemployed, unmarried. Unformed youth. Once in the hands of Hamas and Islamic jihad, they are never let out of sight before an attack, lest they backslide.

This is in vivid contrast to the hijackers of Al-Qaeda. The latter were older: many had higher education....The majority of the September 11 hijackers were from comfortable middle-class families in Saudi Arabia and Egypt. (p. 183-84)

These interviews have resulted in information not previously elicited from terrorists. We have gained invaluable insight that takes us further along the path of understanding the social context, mindset, motivations, and recruitment of these individuals, a unique and invaluable insight into the tragedy unfolding before our eyes. (p. 184)

SOURCE:

Jerrold M. Post, Ehud Sprinzak, and Laurita Denny, “The Terrorists in their own Words: Interviews with 35 Incarcerated Middle Eastern Terrorists,” in *The Journal of Terrorism and Political Violence*, 15, no.1 (2003), 171-184

#####

GROUP _____

Voices from Birzeit University

Source: Transcribed from the film *Occupation 101*

Birzeit University is located on the outskirts of Birzeit, a town just north of Ramallah (see footnote). This excerpt from the film features Dr. Albert Aghazarian, Director of Public Relations at the university, and (in a separate interview) two female university students who are not named.

Dr. Aghazarian:

Birzeit University was subject to Army closures for something like 18 times. The longest closure was during the first Intifada. For five years we could not set foot on campus. During this period, we organized what the Israeli Army called “cells of illegal education.” We were teaching in apartments and rented flats, in churches, in mosques, in gardens, in cars. We kept our infrastructure. Even this attempt to minimize the damage and keep the university going, they attempted to crush it.

1st student:

I went to a college in the States and I found it very different. Your biggest, like, worry in the States is “Am I going to pass my class...or, oh, I hope I have a lot of friends.” Over here it is totally different. You have to worry: “Oh my God, am I going to be able to get to school? Is there going to be a checkpoint? Is there going to be a demonstration? Am I going to get shot at? Is there going to be tear gas?” So it’s, like, completely different.

2nd student:

Here, it’s just like, you don’t know if you are going to live or die, you know? You’re going to school as if you are going to fight a war. You’ll find a tank in the middle of the road on your way to college.

1st student:

Yeah, just the other day there were two tanks and an Army jeep and they’re standing there checking your passport and, you know, your student visa, and all this stuff. And it’s like “We just want to get to school. We want an education. We’re human beings and we have a right to our education.”

Dr. Aghazarian:

In places like the United States, people cannot understand what is going on because, simply, the experience is beyond their frame of reference.

1st student:

I can’t study because my bedroom light will be on. I’m across the street from a settlement. They shot at me as I was reading my biology book! I was studying for my mid-term. And my mother said “Oh, you need to get out of your room. They’ve started shooting.”

I was, like, “No, Mom, I want to get an A in the class, so let me study!” And then all of a sudden, I heard something outside my bedroom window and, it’s like, “Ok, maybe I’ll go downstairs.” I couldn’t study for my test. It’s like I tell my American friends, “Do you understand what I am going through?”

Dr. Aghazarian:

The amazing thing is not that you have cases of suicide by students. The amazing thing is that the bulk of them try to carry on in the middle of this mess as if life is normal and they want to celebrate their graduation, they want to build their lives, they want to carry on.

That’s the other part of the coin. The root cause is the occupation. Everything else emanates from there.

Birzeit University traces its roots back to an elementary school established in 1924 in the town of Birzeit. Initially enrollment was restricted to Palestinian girls in the area. By 1930, a high school had been added,

servicing both boys and girls. By 1961, Birzeit also offered two years of post-secondary education as a junior college.

Under the restrictions of the occupation following the 1967 war, it became increasingly difficult for Palestinians to study abroad, so Birzeit's founders committed to expanding it to a comprehensive, four-year university. It achieved that status by 1975. From the late 1970's through the 1990's, it also established graduate programs in a number of academic and professional fields. The university now has a 200-acre hilltop campus and consists of over 880 faculty members, 7,400 undergraduates, and 1,300 graduate students. For more information, see www.birzeit.edu/about.

#####

GROUP _____

Drora, an Israeli citizen, responds to Samar, an Arab woman from Haifa

Source: A posting by Daisy Stern on the web site *Think Israel*, December 31, 2008.

The post is entitled *Arab: "Lieberman, we shall yet step on you", and the answer from the Israeli*
<http://www.think-israel.org/dec08bloged.html>

Introductory note by Stern: The facts Drora is bringing forth in this mail are essential, and worth bringing to the knowledge of so many people as possible. I have translated the mail to English, and am sending it to you, asking you to distribute it to as many people as possible.

This is what Samar (the Arab woman from Haifa) wrote:

We are not Israeli Arabs we are Palestinians with Israeli citizenship. And our citizenship is a technical thing that includes Israeli passport and identity card, which we have to present on demand from Israeli institutions. We have a nationality, and according to it we are Palestinian Arabs. We are not Arabs of this country, and we do not agree to be ascribed as such at all. Y-o-u have no nationality. Y-o-u have a religion called Judaism!! And you belong to it, and nothing more!!! Your only creation is the Hebrew language. Except of this, there is nothing that you succeeded to create during the 58 years that you are here as conquerors of the land of another nation!!

You are simply a nation without culture, and without any past that justifies taking pride of. You are simply individuals that got together from the Exile, you came with impudence, in order to fulfill your right for self materialization, on the account of the right of another people. The peace according to Rabin you have killed for ever!

Then, be ashamed, because we have nothing more to talk with you. And I refrain here from any sweeping generalization. I have Jewish friends that are like brothers to me, and I appreciate them very much, but there are people that in order to exist deny the existence of other people.

And this is the answer of Drora:

#270. Answer to #84 Samar from Haifa.

Samar from Haifa,

There aren't in the State of Israel or in the areas of Eretz Israel even one single Arab who hasn't an Arabic native country -- and that's why you are Arabs.

You invaded/you flowed in/you intruded — to Eretz Israel under the protection, encouragement and back up of the Ottoman conqueror and of the British conqueror, but just because of that you didn't turn into the owners or the sovereigns. Open a world map, Arab woman from Israel. You will find that the area of the

Arab countries (22) is as big as the area of the European continent, and the area of all the Moslem countries (56) covers almost one third of the Earth.

A mighty area, hard to describe. Oil resources and wealth beyond any description. Then, it looks like being alright, that the Jewish people shall have a very little country of its own, without having to share it with another Arab Moslem nation, doesn't it ? And let me tell you a few words about the Palestinian "people".

You are not a nation. You are a Moslem fiction, whose aim is only one — to conquer The Land of Israel.

Let us start with your name: The Romans who conquered Israel called it as part of their occupation "Provincia Palestina" — in accordance with the name of the Pilishtim that settled in the Israeli towns along the coast. The Palestinians were red-haired, and came to the coast of Israel from Europe. They disappeared from our region about 1600 years before the birth of Mohammed. There is no connection at all between the Arabs, who originate from the Arabic Peninsula, with the Pilishtim — not genetic, not religious, not cultural, not historic and not geographic. You are Arabs and not Pilishtim. In the same way, the Romans could have called Israel as Provincia Switzerland. Would this have turned you into Swiss?

And with concern to Eretz Israel, Samar from Haifa:

Choose whatever historical document you want, any historical map, any expert in History accepted by the International Academy, that will show us where is Palestine, when in the history of mankind existed a State or a country called Palestine, when in the history of mankind existed a nation that was called the Palestinian nation, who are you, from where did you come, and what is your relationship with the land of Eretz Israel. I cannot find even a single detail at any place in the world, even not at Moslem and Arab researchers (including the Koran, in which Eretz Israel is called "Eretz Israel, the land of the Israeli people"), that will testify your claims.

There is British documentation from the time of the British Mandate, Turkish documentation from the Ottoman period, documentation from all the occupations of the Eretz Israel — there is not the least reminder of a Palestinian people, and not of a Palestinian State.

So, let us conclude, that if you will find any documentation whatsoever (and which is not part of the Palestinian propaganda, that changes post factum historical facts) — as to your existing and being in the Land of Israel — then we shall have something to start with.

You are an occasional accumulation of factions and phalanges from all over the Moslem world, which hate one another almost . . . almost as you hate us.

This is in fact the only thing that unites you — your hate towards the Zionists.

This is in fact a very poor basis to build on it a nation!

In 1948, the number of the Arabs living in Eretz Israel was identical to the number of Jews living in Arab countries. The 20th century was a century of emigration and change of population on the whole of our world. All Jews from the Arab countries emigrated to their motherland Israel. All Arabs from Israel ought to emigrate back to their native Arab countries.

Not only that you didn't so — you continued to infiltrate and intrude into Israel in every sophisticated way that one can imagine, and that the weak policy of the State of Israel enabled you to.

In fact, you have today a Palestinian State, it is Jordan. But you want for yourself three Palestines — Jordan, "the New Palestine" that will come into being in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, and of course that the Israeli Arabs, who identify themselves as Palestinians will continue to live in Israel and will bring

to them more and more Palestinian "brothers" from all over the world. So that in another 10 or 20 years will the Jews be a minority in their land, and also Israel will turn into Palestine. This does not suit us. And therefore, this is what will happen at the end, even if our leftists spread illusions that fill your hearts with great hope: you will have to turn back to your native countries. This will happen, either by good, or by sword.

In the course of time (with the Zionist settlement), you adopted the Jewish ethos, which is — the sanctity of Jerusalem, and the right of return to Zion. Indeed, you have built a mosque in the middle of the most holy place of the Jews, (a Moslem custom wide spread in our world), but your holy city is Mecca and not Jerusalem, and the right of return you have only to your native country and not to Zion.

Concluding, I want to turn you to a lovable book, full of humor. Its name is *A journey of pleasure in the Holy Land*. It was written by the author Samuel Longhorn (who is known by the nickname Mark Twain) in the year 1867.

He travelled in Israel across the whole of the country. He did not see here neither Palestinians, nor any green fruit-gardens, no Arab villages, no bustling towns. Nothing. He saw and describes loneliness, swamps, cholera, malaria, sand dunes. "Eretz Habacha" — "The Land of Crying", so he named Eretz Israel.

All what is here, this paradise called Israel — was built by the Jewish genius. No wonder that you and your brothers like it. And if you are sitting in your home connected to electricity and are typing an answer on the computer, it is thanks to the Zionists who organized here a state, that enables you to live in an entirely different standard than 99% of your brethren in the Arab countries.

A Jewish Israeli Citizen
The owner of the place.

Contact Daisy Stern by email at daisystem1@gmail.com

#####

GROUP _____

Nomika Zion, resident of Sderot, Israel

Source: Post entitled "War Diary from Sderot" from the *Huffington Post*, January 13, 2009

"I speak with the people of Sderot and the flush has returned to their cheeks" boasted Fuad [Ben Eliezer, Labour Knesset member and Israel's current Minister of Infrastructure] to Razi Barkai [presenter of a popular news programme on Israel Army Radio] on the second day of the war. "The heavier the war is, so the heart opens." But we are not all Fuad, not all of us. And I too am a lonely voice in the greater Sderot area, and I am not Fuad, and he should know about it.

Not in my name and not for me did you go into this war. The bloodbath in Gaza is not in my name nor for my security. Houses destroyed, schools blown up, thousands of new refugees - they are not in my name or for my security. In Gaza, there is no time for funerals; the dead are put in refrigerators two by two in the mortuary for lack of room. The bodies of policemen and children are laid out and the eager journalists jump between the tactics of pro -Israel advocacy and "the pictures that speak for themselves". Tell me, what is there to explain? What is there to explain?

I did not buy myself security or peace and quiet in this war. After such an essential period of calm that enabled us (the residents of Sderot) to recover psychologically and to experience sanity again, our leaders

have returned me to that same gashed and anxiety-filled place. To the same demeaning experience of running petrified to the protected space. [Since the 1980's Israeli building regulations require all new homes to have a room with thick concrete walls that will withstand bombs - called a "protected space."]

Don't misunderstand me. Hamas is a bad and terrible terror organization. Not only for us. First and foremost for their citizens. But behind this accursed leadership live human beings. Laboriously, simple people on both sides build small bridges of human gestures. So did the "Other Voice" group from Sderot and the surrounding-Gaza region (of which I am a member) when it sought to pave a human path to the hearts of its neighbours. While we took advantage of a 5-month lull, they suffered under the millstone of the siege. A young man told us that he does not intend to get married and have children, because in Gaza there is no future for children. In the brandishing of one fighter plane's wings, these gestures plunge to the depths of blood and despair.

I am afraid of the Qassam rockets. Since the current war started I have hardly dared to go beyond the bounds of our street. But I am much more afraid of the inflammatory and monolithic public and media discourse that is impossible to penetrate. It scares me when a friend from the "Other Voice" is verbally attacked by other residents of Sderot while being interviewed and expressing a critical opinion about the war, and afterwards gets anonymous phone calls and is afraid to return to his car for fear that something will happen to him. It scares me that the other voice is such a small one and that it's so hard to express it from here. I am prepared to pay the price of isolation but not the price of fear.

It frightens me to see my town lit up, as if for a festival and decked out with Israeli flags, groups of supporters distributing flowers in the street and people sounding their car horns in joy at every ton of bombs that's falling on our neighbours. I am frightened by the citizen who admitted to me, with a beaming face, that he never attended a concert in his life but that the Israel Defence Forces bombs is the sweetest music to his ears. I am frightened by the haughty interviewer who doesn't question his worlds by one iota.

I am frightened that, underneath the Orwellian smokescreen of words and the pictures of [Palestinian] children's' bodies that are especially blurred for us on TV as a public service, we are losing the human ability to see the other side, to feel, to be horrified, to show empathy. With the code word "Hamas" the media paints for us a picture of a huge and murky demon that has no face, no body, no voice, a million and a half people without a name.

A deep and gloomy current of violence seeps through the dark pores of Israeli society like a grave illness, and it gets worse from one war to the next. It has no smell and no shape but one feels it very clearly from here. It is a kind of euphoria, a joy of war, lust for revenge, drunkenness on power and burial of the Jewish command "Do not be joyful when your enemy falls." It is a morality that has become so polluted that no laundry could remove the stains. It is a fragile democracy where you have to weigh every word with care, or else.

The first time I really felt that Israel was really defending me was when a ceasefire was agreed. I have no responsibility for Hamas, and therefore I ask our leaders, "Did you leave no stone unturned in order to achieve a continuation of the period of calm? To prolong the ceasefire? To reach a longterm understanding? In order to solve the questions of the crossing points and the siege before all hell breaks loose. Did you go to the ends of the earth to find suitable mediators? And why did you wave away the French initiative for a ceasefire after the war already broke out, without batting an eyelid? And why do you continue to reject up to this moment every possible suggestion for negotiation? Have we not yet reached the quota of Qassam rockets that we are able to withstand? Have we not yet reached the quota of killed Palestinian children that the world is prepared to countenance?"

"And who guarantees us that it is even possible to destroy Hamas? Didn't we try this maneuver somewhere else? And who will take the place of Hamas? Worldwide fundamentalist organisations? Al-Qaida? And how will there spring from the ruins and the hunger and the cold and the dead the moderate

voices of peace? Where are you leading us to? What future do you promise us here in Sderot? And for how much longer will you hang on our shoulders the 'backpack of lies' laden with all the worn-out clichés? 'There is no partner,' 'A war of no choice,' 'Let the IDF (Israel Defence Forces) finish the work,' 'One good blow and we'll finish them off,' 'Destroy the Hamas' and 'Who doesn't want peace?' The lie of power and futility of even more power as the only guide to solving problems in the region."

And why is it that every instant interview with a representative of the "Other Voice" always starts and ends with the punchline question 'Don't you think you are naïve?' How does it happen that the option of dialogue and negotiation and the quest for agreements and understandings has turned into a simile for naiveté, and that the option of force and war is always the sensible rational ultimate alternative? Have not eight years of a pointless cycle of violence taught us anything about the naiveté of the use of force? The IDF mowed down and destroyed and shot and razed and shot and missed and bombarded - and what do we get in return? A rhetorical question.

It's unbelievably difficult to live in Sderot these days. During the night the IDF crushes the infrastructure and the people in Gaza, and the force of their bombing causes the walls and the houses to shake. In the morning we get hit by Qassam rockets, ever more sophisticated. Somebody who goes to work in the morning doesn't know if he'll find his house in one piece in the evening. In the afternoon we bury the best of our young who gave their lives for yet another "just" war. In the evening we succeed, with difficulty, in getting through to our desperate friends in Gaza. There's no electricity there, no water, no gas, no food, nowhere to escape to. And only the words of N., a 14 year old whose school was bombed and whose friend was killed and who writes us an email in perfect English that her mother succeeded with difficulty in sending: "Help us, we are humans after all."

No, Fuad, my cheeks are not rosy, not rosy at all. A ton of cast lead [Cast Lead is the name that the IDF has given to the "operation" in Gaza] weighs on my heart, and my heart is too small to contain it.

#####

GROUP _____

Louise Dalum, member of Machsom Watch -- Women for Human Rights, www.machsomwatch.org
Source: *Contemporary Way of the Cross*

Palestinians try to pass through the fence of soldiers. Some days are bad. Some days are good. But most of the time it has simply become daily life at the checkpoint in Qalandia, a checkpoint where a group of Israeli women come every day.

A man looks down. Faced with the soldier's refusal, his eyes are in sorrow. On the other side of the fence his fiancé is talking to a soldier. With a begging tone she is trying to persuade the soldier to allow her to go to the other side of the fence where her fiancé is waiting. She is unsuccessful. The soldiers will not let her pass.

This is daily life at Qalandia checkpoint – a checkpoint which separates the West Bank from [that portion of] the West Bank which is now “annexed East Jerusalem,” Palestinians from Palestinians, and Ramallah from Jerusalem. Here are two long lines of people waiting for the right message from the soldiers to move forward, to move to the other side of the fence.

Three elderly women walk slowly towards the soldiers, who control the passage of Palestinians going to and from Jerusalem. The women wear a discreet white sign reading “Machsom Watch – Women for Human Rights.” They are Israeli women. One of them stops while the young man whose fiancé was refused passage tells his story. His fiancé is still trying to pass the checkpoint but the soldier waves his

hand as a sign of refusal. The Israeli woman listens carefully to one of the many daily life stories at the checkpoint.

One of the women is Maya and she is a professor at an Israeli university. In her spare time she does Machsom Watch. Every week she joins with the group of 150 women who go at different times to different checkpoints to ensure that human rights are being protected. They try to ensure that no Israeli soldier does anything unnecessary to a Palestinian. For Maya it has been a weekly occupation for the last two years. "I just had to do something," she says in explaining why she started working with Machsom Watch. "And now I have lost my innocence. It would be much easier to stay at home, as many Israelis do. But it is only easy if you don't know what is going on. And I know, so I have to do."

#####

GROUP _____

Inbar Michelzon, former soldier in the Israeli Defence Force

Source: Quoted in *The Guardian*, August 22, 2010.

Article title: "Israeli army's female recruits denounce treatment of Palestinians "

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/aug/22/israel-female-soldiers-gaza-occupation>

Facebook images of an Israeli servicewoman posing with blindfolded Palestinians have caused a storm. Now two former female conscripts have spoken out about their own experiences

It was a single word scrawled on a wall at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem that unlocked something deep inside Inbar Michelzon, two years after she had completed compulsory military service in the Israeli Defence Force.

The word was "occupation." "I really felt like someone was speaking the unspoken," she recalled last week in a Tel Aviv cafe. "It was really shocking to me. There was graffiti saying, 'end the occupation'. And I felt like, OK, now I can talk about what I saw."

Michelzon became one of a handful of former Israeli servicewomen who have spoken out about their military experiences, a move that has brought accusations of betrayal and disloyalty. It is impossible to know how representative their testimonies are, but they provide an alternative picture of the "most moral army in the world," as the IDF describes itself.

Concerns about Israeli army culture were raised last week following the publication on Facebook of photographs of a servicewoman posing alongside blindfolded and handcuffed Palestinians. The images were reminiscent of the Abu Ghraib scandal in Iraq. But the former soldier, Eden Abergil, said she didn't understand what was wrong with the pictures, which were described by the IDF as "ugly and callous."

Israel is unique in enlisting women at the age of 18 into two years of compulsory military service. The experience can be brutalising for the 10% who serve in the occupied territories, as Michelzon did.

"I left the army with a ticking bomb in my belly," she said. "I felt I saw the backyard of Israel. I saw something that people don't speak about. It's almost like I know a dirty secret of a nation and I need to speak out."

Michelzon, now 29, began her military service in September 2000, just when the second Intifada was breaking out. "I joined the army with a very idealistic point of view – I really wanted to serve my country." She was posted to Erez, the crossing between Israel and the Gaza Strip, to work in the radio control room.

#####

GROUP _____

The Al Kurd family, East Jerusalem

Source: *Contemporary Way of the Cross*, Station 4, pp. 17-18

The Al Kurd family in the East Jerusalem neighborhood of Sheikh Jarrah received an order from the Israeli Supreme Court that they would be evicted from their house. The family believes that they are about to be evicted at any moment. The house is home to a disabled man, his wife and five children, and their families.

The Al Kurd family are 1948 refugees who have been living there since the early 1950s when they were given the home by the UN Agency for Palestinian Refugees (UNRWA). The situation of the Al Kurd family is particularly difficult, since for the last seven years they have been “sharing” the house with a family of Israeli settlers.

The mother of the family, Fawzieh, explained through an interpreter that in 1999 they fixed an additional wall division in the house to make a home for their sons. In 2001, while the mother was at the hospital with her husband, who had suffered a stroke, a group of Israeli settlers broke into the sons’ part of the house and moved in there. Since then they have been living in the same house, with only a thin wall between them, and sharing the same porch.

Already after the war in 1967, two Israeli settler organizations also claimed ownership of the land in the Sheikh Jarrah area, and in the early 1980s the organizations also claimed ownership of the property of some families in the area. The legal procedures since then have been many and intricate. In 2007, the Israeli Supreme Court ordered to evict the settlers now living in the Al Kurd family’s house, but the decision has never been implemented.

Fawzieh is a distinguished looking woman who has a nightmarish “neighbors from hell” type of story to tell. The court battle has already cost the Al Kurds 120,000 shekels (\$34,000). The Israeli settlers offered her a huge sum of money to leave the house but she refused. Six armed settlers once came to frighten her when she was alone in the house. They planted a gun nearby in the hope that they could accuse the sons of possession of arms and have them put in prison. Another time, they came with three busloads of settler children and partied outside the house, leaving her to clean up the resultant mess.

The eviction of the Al Kurds would be a tragedy for the family. The people in the neighborhood also fear that if the Al Kurds are evicted, this would set a precedent to justify more Israeli settlements in the Sheikh Jarrah area, which would endanger the future of another 27 families. In February this year, a settlement investment company submitted a proposal to the Israeli municipality of Jerusalem, planning to demolish the 28 homes in the Sheikh Jarrah area and build new houses intended for Jewish immigrants.

Testimony recorded by volunteers with the Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme in Palestine and Israel on August 6 and November 7, 2008. For the full reports and photographs of the Al Kurds family and their home, see http://www.eappi.org/en/news/ea-reports.html?no_cache=1

A postscript added in the Sabeel publication, *Contemporary Way of the Cross* (2010) indicates that by the end of 2008, the family was evicted from their home and the father died.

#####

GROUP _____

Naheel Awni Abd al-Rahim, West Bank

Source: Testimony reported by B'tselem, September 17, 2008; quoted in *Contemporary Way of the Cross*, Sabeel Ecumenical Liberation Theology Center, Jerusalem, 2010

I married Muaiad Abu Rideh two years ago and had a baby girl, Shadah, a year ago. She was born in my seventh month of pregnancy but is fine now.

Seven months ago, I became pregnant again. Last Thursday [4 September], I had sharp stomach pains and I started to bleed badly. Around 7 pm I went to Dr. Fathi Odeh in Jawarish, because our village doesn't have any specialist physicians. He gave me medication and told me I'd be all right, but I didn't feel any improvement and the pains even got worse.

Around midnight, I couldn't bear the pain any more. I woke my husband and asked him to take me to the hospital. When he saw how much I was suffering, he called to get his brother Udai, who lives in the center of the village, to drive us in his car. Udai arrived, with my mother-in-law, in a couple of minutes. My husband picked me up and carried me to the car. I was in so much pain, I couldn't walk.

We started on our way to the hospital in Nablus at about 12:50 am. At the Zatarra checkpoint, we told the soldiers I was pregnant and had to get to the hospital, and they let us cross without a problem. When we got to the Huwwara checkpoint, the soldiers didn't let us pass. They said we didn't have a permit to cross by car. We told them my brother has a permit to cross the Maale Efraim checkpoint because he works at settlements in the Jordan Valley, but that didn't help.

The pain got worse. I felt as if I was going to give birth any moment. Now and then, the soldiers came over to the car and looked at me lying in the back seat. I was really worried about the fetus, and couldn't stop thinking that I'd have to give birth in the car while the soldiers watched.

I kept screaming and crying and calling for help. I don't know how much time passed, but suddenly I felt the fetus coming out. I shouted to my mother-in-law and to Udai, who were outside the car: "I think he's coming out!" I took off my clothes. I was afraid they'd see me naked and that something would happen to the fetus. My mother-in-law shouted: "Yes, here's his head; he's coming out." I asked her to pull him and she said: "Breathe! Push!" I felt as the baby moved, as if he was calling for help and asking us to help him come out. My mother-in-law covered me with my clothes. I shouted to my husband, "The baby is out!" He shouted to the soldiers something in Hebrew that I didn't understand.

I don't remember exactly what happened then, but when the medics arrived, they picked me up with the car seat and put me in the ambulance. I didn't feel the baby moving any more and realized he was dead. It hurts me a lot when I remember how the baby moved inside me and what happened to him. What did he do wrong? This poor baby died because there wasn't anybody to help me deliver him.

#####

GROUP _____

Sami Al Jundi, Jerusalem

Source: Transcribed from several scenes in the documentary film *Encounter Point* (2006).

(Walking in the Old City of Jerusalem)

We're entering the Jewish Quarter. This is where I was born. After the war of 1967, most of the Palestinians who lived here left the Jewish Quarter. Many of them were kicked out and had their homes demolished. My family was among them and we left too.

(In his mother's home.)

Mother: When my husband said we should move to Amman, I told him I'd rather die under the feet of the Jews than leave the Old City. We'd stay here no matter what.

Sami: I was with two friends and they were preparing explosives. I didn't know how to make such things...The explosives went off prematurely and I was there with them. I got injured and had to be taken to the hospital. And while I was in hospital, the Israeli Security Services came and took me to prison. This is a picture of me in prison in 1982 [at age 16. That was] 24 years ago. It's not recent. It's history.

...The prison sentence was 10 years. So I decided that the best way to get by in prison was by reading books. When you read, your world widens. Every book I read, I learned something new and my thoughts changed a little. I read a lot by Nelson Mandela and by his wife, how they dealt with humiliation from whites. Mandela realized he could achieve more through love than through violence.

(Sami shown with Palestinian and Israeli teens at a Seeds of Hope gathering and then in his car afterwards. After prison, he established Seeds of Hope to bring young people together.)

Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr., Badshah Khan: all initiated non-violent movements and they were right to do so for many reasons. There are aspects of their movements that suit us and some that don't. We should adopt what suits us and come up with new ideas for what does not.

I may not be a great thinker like each of them, but I do have a brain. I can think for myself. All of us are able to come up with ideas that are better and more effective than war and violence, which only cause more victims on both sides.

#####

GROUP _____

Ashraf Tannous, Ramallah

Tannous, age 24, lives in Ramallah and works in Jerusalem. He is preparing to be ordained as a Lutheran pastor. The profile from which this narrative is taken was written by "Oliver W.," a volunteer working in Yanoun with the Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme in Palestine and Israel. Entitled *Meeting God at the Checkpoint*, the profile was posted September 15, 2010. (www.eappi.org) See News/Eyewitness Reports; search for Tannous.

I found Ashraf in Jerusalem, in the quiet courtyard of the Church of the Redeemer where we could leave the traders, tourists, and busy life of the Old City behind us. He served Arabic coffee, then began to talk. His story is about his deeply held belief of belonging to his people and the experience of oppression.

"For many, Palestinian means Muslim and Muslim means the same as terrorist," says Ashraf. "But that's not true. Christianity was born in Palestine and there was always a lively Christian church. 51,000 Christians are left in the Palestinian territories today, just over one per cent of the population. However, they strive to be salt and light to the whole society."

With numerous hospitals, schools, and other institutions, Christian institutions are large service providers and employers in Israel and the occupied Palestinian territories.

Ashraf says that Christian relations with their Muslim neighbours are characterized by friendly cooperation: "We live here peacefully together and respect each other," he says.

But sadly a considerable number of Palestinian Christians have emigrated. Surveys of emigrants show that this is mainly due to the occupation, the lack of freedom and security, and the lack of economic opportunities. Very few cite Islamic fundamentalism. In any case, Ashraf says, both Christians and Muslims face the same hardships under the occupation.

Ashraf grew up in a Christian family in Ramallah, a West Bank town north of Jerusalem that has grown into a city. His father was expelled from his home town of Jaffa by Zionist militias in the 1948/49 Nakba.

I asked Ashraf when he was first aware of the political situation. “It is as if it had inspired me with the milk,” he says. The expulsion of his family, similar experiences of neighbours, the presence of the military: “The occupation is everywhere -- it affects our daily lives.”

Ashraf’s life is significantly affected by travel restrictions between the West Bank and Israel. To reach the Church of the Redeemer in Jerusalem, he must daily pass the Qalandiya checkpoint, a large terminal-style checkpoint in the concrete wall that cuts Jerusalem off from the West Bank.

“I never know how long it will take,” he says. With 1500-2000 other Palestinian commuters waiting, it can sometimes take three minutes, sometimes three hours. People are often detained, abused, or humiliated by soldiers. Ashraf says he is sometimes shouted at or humiliated for no reason.

“It is a great challenge for me to love the soldiers as Jesus told us to in the Sermon on the Mount to the heart,” he says. Yet he sees a job in this daily challenge: “At the checkpoint, I feel that God is working in me and helps me to endure the situation. He is with me and gives me the patience and strength to do my work.”

Ashraf seeks to change the situation through peaceful means. Radical forces and the use of force, he clearly rejects. “We have better weapons,” he says. He sees a role for “resist(ing) injustice with good works, with love, with education, forgiveness, and reconciliation.”

Ashraf says churches around the world have a special vocation to work for peace and justice. He calls on Christians overseas to visit not only Israel but also the West Bank, to “see our suffering.” Palestinian Christians often mention feeling abandoned or misunderstood by their brethren.

Last year, a group of Palestinian Christian theologians issued the Palestinian Kairos document, which calls on all Christians concerned with justice to call for an end to the occupation.

Ashraf is, at 24, just starting his career. For study purposes, he will live for several months in Switzerland and Germany, but has so far rejected offers to move abroad. Ashraf says he hopes that the situation changes at some point and his people find freedom. As a Palestinian Christian, he finds himself called to be a messenger of reconciliation and understanding, however adverse the conditions may be.

“Money is not ultimately important. It is my vocation to be here with my brothers and sisters and not abroad.”

To read more about the situation of Palestinian Christians, see <http://bit.ly/eappi-factsheets>.

#####

GROUP _____

Khalid Al-Mish'al, Hamas leader based in Damascus

Source: *The New Leadership of Hamas: A Profile of Khalid Al-Mish'al* by Yehudit Barsky

Posted in May, 2004, on the web site of the American Jewish Council:

<http://www.ajc.org/site/apps/nl/content3.asp?c=ijlTl2PHKoG&b=846739&ct=1052665>

If the [Islamic] nation would fight the same way [that Palestinians and Iraqis] are fighting in Rafah, Jenin and Falluja, then, by God, we will defeat both the United States and Israel.¹

Our battle is with two sides. One of them is the strongest power in the world, the United States. And the second is the strongest power in the region [Israel].²

The Arab governments have to stop the Zionist-American plan to control the Arab world. The Palestinians have done their duties and offered martyrs in Palestine and now the Arabs have to unite with the Palestinians.³

Don't wait for what Hamas will do only. Don't be content with this attitude. This battle is led by the criminal [Ariel] Sharon and with him [George W.] Bush and all of America. They are leading it against the entire Umma [Islamic nation]. Don't just wait for what Hamas or Palestinian factions will do. This is your battle.⁴

You must understand: liberation of the territories from the occupation is only one phase.... We do not distinguish between Palestine of 1948 and Palestine of 1967. Palestine is everything.⁴⁷

Statement of Hamas's Iz Al-Din Al-Qassam Martyrs Brigades, April 19, 2004:

The Qassam Brigades swear that their retaliation will be 100 martyrdom attacks in the heart of your homes. We will burn the earth under your feet.⁵

Background

Al-Mish'al was born in 1956 in the village of Silwad, then under Jordanian rule. Following the 1967 war, when Silwad came under Israeli sovereignty, Al-Mish'al and his family moved to Kuwait to join his father, who had gone there for employment several years earlier.⁸

Al-Mish'al completed his primary education at the Khalid Bin Walid School and the Al-Hariri Complementary School and his secondary education at the Abdallah Al-Salim High School in Kuwait.⁹ Like all of the Hamas founders, Al-Mish'al was initially a Muslim Brotherhood activist. He became a follower of the radical Muslim Brotherhood movement known as *Al-Ikhwan Al-Muslimin*, and officially joined the movement in 1971 at the age of fifteen.¹⁰

Continuing his involvement with the Muslim Brotherhood, he headed a student organization at Kuwait University called the "List of the Islamic Right."¹¹ He received a degree in physics from Kuwait University in 1978¹² and lived in Kuwait until 1990. Following Kuwait's expulsion of all Palestinians from that country as retribution for their support of Saddam Hussein's 1990 conquest of Kuwait, Al-Mish'al and his family left for Jordan.¹³

Khalid Al-Mish'al was appointed the new leader of Hamas on March 24, 2004. Two days after his appointment, Al-Mish'al demonstrated his movement's fealty to the vision of its founder, the late Sheikh Ahmad Yassin, by reaffirming its central tenet—the destruction of Israel via a holy war or jihad. In remarks

to a demonstration of 5,000 Palestinians in Ramallah, broadcast to the crowd via telephone, Al-Mish'al declared: " Hamas is in good health and will continue its jihad and resistance. We will continue our sacrifices until the end of the occupation."⁶ The demonstrators responded with chants of "Death to Israel! Death to Israel!"⁷

Notes

¹ " Hamas Urges Arab Muslim Alliance to Defeat Israel, U.S.," *Maktab Al-Jihad web site*, April 20, 2004; http://www.maktab-al-jihad.com/palestine/palestine_news_536.htm.

² " Jihad against America-Called by Hamas," *New York Post*, April 20, 2004.

³ " Muslims Must Unite against U.S.-Mish'al," *Jerusalem Post*, April 21, 2004.

⁴ " Arab Officials Decry Assassination of Hamas Leader as an Israeli Crime Supported by America," Associated Press, April 17, 2004.

⁵ " Hamas Designates New Leader," *Chicago Tribune*, April 19, 2004.

⁶ " Fury Builds over Yassin Killing, Thousands Denounce Israel, U.S.," Agence France Press, March 26, 2004.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ " The Khalid Mish'al Interview [1 of 7]," *Dar Al-Hayat*, December 5, 2003; <http://english.daralhayat.com/Spec/12-2003/Article-20031205-4343f65c-c0a8-01ed-0012-e4cdc62232f8/story.html>.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹² " Mish'al: Hamas Political Leader Seen as New Number One," Agence France Presse, April 18, 2004.

¹³ Ibid.

⁴⁷ " Mish'al: Hamas Political Leader Seen as New Number One," Agence France Presse, April 18, 2004.