I just spent the months of January and February 2002 in Israel and Palestine. The exact day that I left, the situation rapidly deteriorated. I hope this zine will provide insight about the daily lives of Palestinians, living under a brutal occupation. We say apartheid, colonialism, zionism or whatever you want to call the oppression that plagues all Palestinians. We took part in direct actions, did undercover reporting, international observing, drank a whole lot of tea and ate a whole lot of falafel. We even got the Israeli government to pay for our trip by going on a free zionist propaganda trip and then extending our flights to experience the occupation firsthand. Obviously we could never know what it feels like to live in the occupied territories. We were able to see the tanks and soldiers stationed right in the middle of towns and cities. In the following pages you will find information about Ramallah, Hebron, Bethlehem, Gaza, Border crossings, checkpoints, home demolitions, Jerusalem/Al-Quds, settlements, Israeli peace groups, Zionism, Birthright, Intl groups, army refusal, U.S. aid to Israel, apartheid in S. Africa and Israel, book reviews, olive trees, collective punishment, holocaust parallels, the right of return, basic arabic, basic history of the conflict, corporations in Israel, settler violence and more.

Unless otherwise noted I wrote everything in here. I did most of the drawings and took many of the photos. The other photos like the cover come from Arab newspapers or the internet. Unfortunately most of our film is in Israel at the time but when we get it back we are making a multimedia slide show about the occupation. If you like this zine please contact me and I'll tell you what's up with our other projects.

Ma Salam,
And A. Lusia

Hello,

so this is the third update of this zine. I was copying it recently and felt that I couldn't publish a zine about Palestine without talking about the apartheid wall. So I included stories from my friend Jonas who worked with ISM in areas affected by the wall. I also added a few more websites, updated history and included awesome stencils done by Erik Ruin. Since making this zine three years ago I have raised a bunch of money that I donated to the international womens peace service that worked in the village of Hares in the west bank. All proceeds will continue to be donated to various Palestinian projects. If you like this zine please photocopy and spread far and wide. Please contact me if you would like a flat copy that would be easier to copy.

Shalom,
Andalusia
Battle of the Rock

BEGINNER'S ARABIC

Contact us with the following words and phrases. We were able to get by (kind of) and extend friendships beyond the usual conversation which went like this:

HELLO - marhaba
GOODBYE - a'ma salem
GOOD MORNING - khaasik allhei
HOW ARE YOU? - kif halak?
GOOD MORNING - goodway - allat in hijri
ABOUT GOOD - wish - goodway - ALLAH
SO DON'T - nos - 100% - mulla malla
WHERE ARE YOU FROM? - min wenna?
HOW OLD ARE YOU? - kam ninnah?
WHAT IS YOUR NAME? - shu - shu
MY NAME IS - naam - naam - naam
YOU NICE? - bi - berti
WE LIKE YOU - inayat - inayat - inayat
TEESH HOH-KHAM
THANK YOU - shukran
YOUR WELCOME - afwan
SORRY - mel-hellume - DELICIOUS - zik-you
I AM A JOURNALIST
I AM A PHOTOGRAPHER
I AM A STUDENT
I AM A FATHER
I AM A MOTHER
I AM A SISTER
I AM A BROTHER
I AM A FRIEND
I AM A BLACK
I AM A RED
I AM A GREEN
I AM A RED-CHAMP
I AM A GREEN-CHAMP
POLITICAL WORDS:
INTIFADA - to shake off
AL QAEDA - the tragedy
SHIELD - one who is in struggle
SHAME - forbidden can be used to describe a tragedy
INSANITY - all willing
WE'LL SEE DOESO TANK FOOD:
TEA - shay
COFFEE - ava
BREAD - bread
BREAD BY THE FIRE - tawm taboon
MEAT - bedoon
MACRO FOOD - chool
LEFTOVERS - fadalat

I DON'T UNDERSTAND - nish faheem
I DON'T KNOW - marashti
I AM GOING TO NEW YORK TODAY - ana reja NY bukra

TRUTH - hekika
DUKE - muckta

DISCLAIMER: this is mostly palestinian arabic with some words in an egyptian accent and things are probably spelled wrong but hey that's how we learned it. don't worry if people don't understand you they'll still find it endearing that you are trying to speak arabic.

HEBREW:
LEFTOVERS - sheeriot (very useful word at closing time at the market)
I AM A BAG LADY - ani ga'aret shekhot
DUMPSTER DIVING - tserfot
I GAVE A FIST - to same Zam (also mea's don't pick a fight)
NOW WE WEAR YOUR GOOD MORNING, BERKETOS, GOOD NIGHT, CHAIOT
Vegan - taimim
History of Palestine/Israel

1918: The British take over what we know now as Israel, Palestine, and Jordan from the Turkish Empire. Britain promises both Palestinians and Jews a state in the land of Israel/Palestine (One Land, Two Peoples: Germer). For the next 30 years, there are significant migrations of both Jews and Arabs (these terms are not mutually exclusive) into the region and there are many violent clashes between them as well as examples of peaceful coexistence.

The Jewish migrations are mainly from European Zionists, people who believe that Jews should have a Jewish state. Zionists eagerly called for Jews to immigrate to Israel, "a land without a people, for a people without a land." However, even though Zionists claimed there were no people in Israel there were. In 1948, there were 1,360,000 Arabs/Palestinians (Question of Palestine 14-15), and like the pre-48 Jews, Palestinians have never had a state.

1948: (see map on next page) Britain pulls out. The UN devises a Partition plan that divides what we now know as Israel into two states: a Jewish state and a Palestinian state. Jerusalem is an international city. Immediately a war breaks out, Syria, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, and Lebanon, attack arguing that Israel has no right to exist. Israeli purges the Arabs within its borders, burning villages and attacking civilians. At the end of the war, Israel controls 70% of the land of Israel/Palestine, Jordan and Egypt control the rest. 1 million Palestinian refugees spread throughout the Middle East (Nasser Ibrahim and Dr. Mag'ed Nasser, "Theses on Globalisation and the Palestinian Resistant," News from Within vol xix, No. 8, January 2002) and 120,000-150,000 Palestinian Arabs remain in Israel (Germer).

1956: Egypt nationalizes the Suez Canal. Israel, France, and Britain attack. The UN with US support calls for a ceasefire and sends in peacekeepers.

1967: After high tensions between Israel and its neighbors, Israel attacks Egypt and Syria and Jordan joins. This is referred to as the Six Day War. Israel has a resounding victory and takes over Golan Heights from Syria in the North, the West Bank from Jordan in the East, and the Gaza Strip from Egypt in the South. Right wing Israelis take over land in the Occupied Territories, in what is known as settlements or colonies, with Israel's economic and military support.

1973: Egypt and Syria attack Israel on Yom Kippur, the Jewish High Holiday. After significant Egyptian and Syrian gains, Israeli fight back and restores pre-73 borders, US Aid to Israel is increased. Arab nations in OPEC implement refuse to sell to the US and US goes through oil crisis.

1979: the political leaders of Egypt, Israel, and the US meet at Camp David. Egypt and Israel sign a peace plan. Israel pulls out of the Sinai and makes vague promises of Palestinian "autonomy."

1970: Jordan attacks Palestinians in an effort to quell anti-Jordanian as well as anti-Israeli resistance.

Written by a political science prof at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, this book analyzes Israeli culture in the 90s to identify the cultural devices (myths, contradictions, fantasies, hysterias, etc.) that allow Israelis to ruthlessly oppress Palestinians while feeling OK with themselves. Specific examples include the device of rubber bullets they really hurt and kill, but Zionists can feel they are being humane and so Israelis are doing the "civilized" thing by using them.


A very comprehensive bibliography of books on the Middle East compiled by the Christian Peacemakers. Tel. http://www.paxchristi.net/ctp/links/palestine.html

Lots of information can also be found on the internet:

Alternative Media:
Al Jazeera - www.ajalzazeera.com
Alternative Information Center - www.alternativemedia.org
Electronic Intifada (media criticism amazing articles and links): www.electronicintifada.org
If Americans Knew (www.ifamericansknew.org documents media bias
IndyMedia Palestine Jerusalem: www.indymedia.org
IndyMedia Israel: https://www.indymedia.org
Haaretz (Israel's quasi-liberal news) - www.haaretzdaily.com
Human Rights Groups: B'Tselem (human rights reports) - b'tselem.org
LAW (reports on West Bank) - http://www.howard.org.uk/
Palestinian Center for Human Rights (reports and maps on Gaza) - http://www.pcrgaza.org

Israeli Groups: Gush Shalom (Israeli peace group) - www.gush-shalom.org
Israeli Committee Against House demolitions www.wafa.org
Kav l'oved (workers' rights) - http://www.kavloved.org/he
Ta-ayush (Arab-Jewish partnership, humanitarian convoys) - http://www.taayush.org
Re'ut-Sadaka (Arab-Jewish youth group) - http://www.israelpeace.com/meet.html
Re'ut-Sadaka (Arab-Jewish youth group) - http://www.israelpeace.com/meet.html
Things to get involved with:
Palestine right to return coalition - http://www.al-awd.org
Jews Against the Occupation are radical jew group www.jao.org

Random: Birzeit university in Ramallah Guide to Palestine - www.birzeit.ac.il/links
Foundation for Middle East Peace (good maps) - www.fimep.org/maps
Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of Int'l Affairs Awesome maps - www.passia.org
Army refusal - www.corageousrefuse.org
Tom Hurndall site - http://www.tomhurndall.co.uk
Stop The Wall - www.stopthewall.org great fact sheets and posters
MORE INFORMATION PLEASE!!!
HOW 'BOUT SOME BOOKS? Reviews by various people


"Drinking the Sea at Gaza - Days and Nights in a Land Under Siege"
I usually don't trust books about Palestine, no matter where their from, as no matter how good the material they're usually founded on some confused premise (either accepting Zionism as a legitimate ideology or in taking up a racist/ fascist argument under the guise of bringing justice to Palestinians by setting up a Nationalist or fundamentalist State). But this is the only book I've read that not only has clear politics I agree with (against capitalism, racism, imperialism, for freeing oppressed people from oppressive conditions) but whose politics come from the everyday experiences of the victims of Zionism and go the distance to indict the whole system, including problems on the Palestinian side. Amira Hass is an Israeli journalist (writes for Haaretz) who was born to left-wing Eastern European parents. Amira went to live side by side with Palestinians in the Gaza strip, and was very quickly accepted by them. She gives a very readable account of their everyday experiences with occupation, as well as their ideas about themselves, their leaders, Israel, and the so-called Peace Process. Palestinians are really talked about as human beings, not as the two-dimensional characters painted in the mainstream media and leadership of both Israel and the Palestinian Authority (as well as the rest of the West and Arab/Muslim World).

Hebron Journal Stories of Nonviolent Peacemaking by Arthur G. Gish records a moving story of the turmoil and suffering of the Palestinian people, the agony experienced by Israelis, and a vision of hope and new possibilities of reconciliation between Jews, Muslims, and Christians. From 1995 to 2001, Gish, a member of the Christian Peacemaker Team, experiences living with Muslim families, engaging in nonviolent actions with Israelis and Palestinians, and struggling to find creative responses to situations of injustice.

Palestine: A Nation Occupied. Sacco, Joe. Seattle, WA: Fantagraphics Books, 1994. A-mazing!!! When I read this comic book it gives me the chills because it is so accurate in recreating what it is like to be an American in Palestine learning about the occupation. It focuses a lot on the use of moderate pressure (aka torture) on administrative detainees. Some cartoons in this zine are from this book.

Rubber Bullets - Power and Conscience in Modern Israel
Yaron Ezrati (Published by Farrar, Straus, and Giroux in the US, HarperCollins in Canada, 1997 - 299 pages)
Target businesses, Zionist organizations, and governments that support the Occupation.

COMPANY LIST
for more info check out:
http://www.inminds.com/boycott-israel.html
http://al-awda.org/intel_update.htm

Apax Partners & Co Ltd
Sunglass Hut mall chain and Johnny Rockets Restaurant Chain
Delta Galil
Caterpillar marked by sweat shop watch for abuse of Arab workers
linked to the Gap, J-Crew, Calvin Klein, JCPenney
News Corporation
includes fox, new york post, and national geographic
AOL Time Warner/CNN
Coca-Cola
Danone
Disney
Estée Lauder
IBM
Johnson & Johnson
Kimberly-Clark
kleenex, kotex, luggage
Lewis Trust Group Ltd
L'Oréal
Marks & Spencer
Nestlé
Nokia
Revlon
Sara Lee
Selfridges

bring the intifada home.

This is a real advertisement. Coca-Cola has given the Dome of the Rock — the holiest Muslim site in Israel/Palestine — a makeover.
### NAZIS IN Germany

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Belief in the superiority of the Aryan race</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Displaced Jews, LGBTQ radicals, &amp; disabled people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concentration Camps (Death Camps)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being detained for being Jewish or non-Aryan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Militarization of young men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denial of the existence of Jews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jews were killed in gas chambers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thousands of Jews imprisoned in Warsaw Ghetto</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compiled by Neo Havok

### ZIONISTS in Israel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Belief in the &quot;Jewish State&quot; to which Jews have a &quot;biblical&quot; right</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Displaced Palestinians &amp; Arabs of other nations (Lebanese, i.e.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refugee Camps (Prison Camps)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being detained for being Palestinian, Arab, or Muslim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compulsory military service for all Israeli Jewish young adults</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Palestinians don't exist
2. Palestinian prisoners get gassed in their cells
3. Israeli General Calls for looking to Warsaw Ghetto as a model for containing Palestinians

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**1993: Oslo Peace Accords**

Israel agrees to withdraw from almost all of the Gaza Strip, parts of the West Bank, and hold Palestinian elections. (Lonely Planet) Israel does not follow through. From 1993-1999, settlements increased by 60%. (Edward Said, NYU Medical Center, 12/17), Israeli troops did not decrease. (Edward Said, 12/17), Israel deports democratically elected mayors and dissolved city councils and Jewish terrorists kill other elected officials (Intifada 108-109).

This period also begins a new political structure in the Occupied Territories. Israel sets up and arms the Palestinian Authority (PA). Arafat is "democratically elected"—although many argue that the election was a sham— to head the PA. Many Palestinians say the Israeli government is their biggest enemy and the PA is their second. The West Bank is divided into Areas A, B, and C. Areas A are controlled by the PA although Israel often invades these parts. Area B is under joint Palestinian and Israeli control, and Area C is controlled by Israel.

**The Second Intifada.** On September 20, 2000, in what many people see as a purposefully provocative act, Right-Winger Ariel Sharon entered the West Bank with an entourage of military and security personnel and visited the Jewish holy site, The Temple Mount. This is also the location of the Muslim Al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock. A riot broke out with several Palestinians killed. Riots continued for months and there was a sharp rise in Palestinian bombings and, recently, shootings. The Israeli Government has responded with violent attacks on Palestinians at large. In addition to the increasing of settlements, a surge in home demolitions, and an intensification of closures has occurred. Over 1200 Palestinians and 200 Israelis have been killed during this recent wave of resistance that is known as the Al-Aqsa intifada.

In March 2002, Israel severely increased attacks and set off attacks on the West Bank and thousands in most places declared an Intifada.

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Faris was killed on 11 November 2000, one week after this photo was taken.

They say rubber bullets don't kill. They lie. When shot at close range to kids' heads, they do.
The "Generous" Offer

What About That Peace Treaty?
In 2000, Barak of Israel, Arafat of the PA, and Clinton of the US sat down for peace talks that were never resolved. The PA, with wide support from Palestinians, has been calling for an autonomous Palestinian state.

80% Palestinian Control

80% Palestinian Control

We asked an Israeli teen what she thought of the peace plan. She compared it to a Prisoner where "the Prisoners compose 99% of the population yet they are still controlled by the guards who are only 1% of the population. This is how life would be for Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza strip if the plan was passed.

April, 2002 Israeli Minister Israeli launched military operation in the west Bank town of Jenin. Media is from a cemetery and therefore no official body counts were declared although some estimate it to be about 200 people.

June, 2002: Israel begins construction of its 730 km "separation barrier," apartheid wall smack-among Palestinian land and resources in the West Bank. It's projected budget is 3.4 billion and expected completion date is 2005.

July, 2002: International Court of Justice at the Hague declares the construction of the wall is occupied Palestinian territory illegal.

March 16, 2003: An Israeli soldier and his commander ran over American citizen Rachel Corrie in a Caterpillar bulldozer while she stood unarmored, clearly visible in her orange fluorescent jacket - protecting a Palestinian house in Rafah slated for demolition by the Israeli army.

April 18th, 2003 Tom Jeni, 23, was shot in the head in Rafah on 19 April 2001 by Israeli forces when he attempted to protect Palestinian children from Israeli gunfire. He died 9 months later in an Egyptian hospital.

Nov 11, 2004 Yasir Arafat dies

Last year the world conference on Racism was held in Durban, South Africa. Both Israel and the U.S. did not attend because the UN considers Zionism a form of racism. Ironically though Israel used to love to have dealings with South Africa. Two apartheid regimes, hand in hand until apartheid in one of the counties ended.

The similarities between the two countries are striking:

South Africa

1948: National Party comes to power and starts passing racist laws which pave the way for apartheid.

Blacks are forced to live in bantustans—little patches are completely surrounded by white areas.

Settlers in Gaza are even though they are only 14% of the population.

Blacks could only leave the bantustans to work in white areas.

Most of the world condemned apartheid, but not Israel.

When most of the world refused to have dealings with South Africa, Israel and S. A. were best friends. They even tested nuclear weapons together on a tiny island where the Atlantic and Indian oceans meet in 1979. South Africa gave Israel enriched uranium and steel for the famous Merkava tank. Israel provided S. Africa with military technology.

Israel-Palestine

1948: State of Israel is formed. Zionists came to power and expel Palestinians.

Many Palestinian towns are completely surrounded by Israeli settlements or Israeli military S.

Whites have 87% of the land. Settlers in Gaza are 85% of the population and they control 940 of the land.

Palestinians could only enter Israel to be a cheap labor force. Now they can't enter Israel at all.

Most of the world supports Israeli apartheid.

The main difference between the two situations is that the Jews have a history of oppression and South African Afikeners (the whites) did not people around the world waged a huge campaign against apartheid in South Africa. They were successful. We need a huge campaign to end apartheid in Israel/Palestine.
Poverty is a mainstay of living in the Occupied Territories. Israel has destroyed thousands of trees that the Palestinians use for income and food. Since September 2000, Israel has destroyed 8% of the farmland in Gaza. (Fact Sheet: Crimes Against Housing and Agriculture, Palestinian Center for Human Rights) Israel restricts Palestinian businesses that compete with Israeli companies. Work permits are difficult to get. Checkpoints, roadblocks, and curfews make going to work difficult. When one is lucky enough to get work, Palestinians have to face the typical problems of the underclass: few benefits, a low salary, and sometimes it's a struggle to even get paid. Moreover, in the last ten years, Israel has begun to import thousands of foreign workers to replace Palestinians. (*Newsletters: 1990-2000* "Kav La'Dev")

At this point we should take a step back and look at what's happening. Israel is destroying sustainable and independent living. Crops are uprooted; businesses banned and destroyed. Self-employed Palestinians are forced to go into an exploitative wage labor system that Israel controls. And as you read this, Israel is constructing cheap labor "industrial parks." These capitalist playgrounds are situated outside Arab towns, this way Palestinian labor can be used without the risk of Jewish-Palestinian interaction. When the Palestinian workers become too expensive to employ, Israel can turn to exploiting foreign workers from Eastern Europe and Asia. Chinese building workers pay $2,800 - $10,000 to manpower agencies who promise the workers they will be able to pay it off in a year. The workers borrow money from friends and mortgage everything they own. Once they get to Israel, their employers confiscate their passports and rarely honor the contract the workers signed. Like the Palestinians, they are left destitute - a mere tool of the industrialists. Pick your word: this is globalization, capitalism, imperialism, and fucked-up.

Given these conditions, it should come as no surprise that 50% of Palestinians are unemployed and 70% live under $2/day (Edward Said, Speech at NYU Medical Center, 12/17).
"we still have the keys to our home"

Many Palestinians will tell you that they still have their keys to the house they lived in before "Al Naqba" - the tragedy of 1948 when 1 million people became refugees. Currently there are 3.7 million refugees registered by the UN and 2 million unregistered.

Al-Awd-The Right of Return Coalition says that 78% of Israeli's lived on 14 percent of the land. The remaining 86% is mostly land that belongs to the refugees and only 22% of Israeli's live on it. People always say that there's no room for all these refugees and that if they returned the state of Israel would be dissolved. Maybe they just mean that the racist Zionist exclusively Jewish state of Israel would cease to exist.

The right of return for Palestinians is such a contentious issue yet "right of return" for Jewish people who never lived in Israel is fully encouraged. You Jews can even get cash money a house and car for making "aliyah" (immigration) to Israel.

PM Ariel Sharon says "we have had 1 million Jews move here in the last 10 yrs and we should have 1 million more in the next ten years."

We went to Cairo and when we were returning to Israel we had a bit of an incident at the border crossing. In our bags we had souvenirs from the tanks in Ramallah (i.e. empty tear gas canisters and rubber coated bullets). After a baggage check they emptied our bags and took away the tear gas canister. A man brought the canister over to someone else and then a different man came over and grabbed my hands. Immediately thought they were arresting me but really they were just evacuating the building. I had caused a bomb scare! How comical they make these weapons and fire them constantly at Palestinian children and then when you bring it back to them they think it is a bomb. Sadly they took away my rubber bullet necklace made out of rubber tire wires and bullets. Interestingly they interrogated my male traveling partner a lot more than me even though he was not carrying the "contraband". Every single piece of paper with Arabic or the words Palestine or Gaza they asked about. One woman insisted that he had an operation with Gaza since we had been there and had information in it. They thought he was someone in Gaza had given us these weapons to carry for them. They couldn't understand what we could possibly have done in Gaza and how we weren't scared. We didn't tell them that we were scared when we were there but only because we're living in the air and refugee camps near us were being bombed.

The border crosses clearly thought all Palestinians were terrorists. I wanted to tell them that terrorism is an act of desperation that can be a result of 1 million people living in the outdoor prison called the Gaza Strip. We were in Jerusalem right after the last female suicide bombing. There was an article about her which told how she was a medic who was usually dressed as a school girl, a youth whose brain was spilled by bullets and one day she decided she'd had enough.
Israel justifies home demolitions by saying that no one lives in the houses and that they are only used as terrorist outposts.

Funny this photo shows the remains of people's lives...

FREE TRIP TO ISRAEL!!! ITS YOUR BIRTHRIGHT!!!

We went on a ten day all expense paid trip to Israel!!! This meant a free trip to Palestine for us because after the ten days were up we extended our tickets. We then make a big switchover from listening to Zionist propaganda to hearing stories, seeing and partaking in the Palestinian resistance to Zionism.

You can too go on this trip and we strongly encourage that you do and join the club of Birthright Israel traitors. Just have to consider yourself a member of the Jewish community and be between the ages of 18 and 26. 28,000 of people have already gone on this trip and many more will go on it. So it's important that anti-zionists go on the trip to buck shit up (but not too much because you do make a $250 deposit or at least present a different perspective). So many people on our trip knew very little about Israel before they went on Birthright and now all they know about Israel is how wonderful it is. There are trips every winter and summer just check the website for more info.

We went on a bike trip. It was cool when we got to rock out on bikes but not so cool when we had to visit places like the first Jewish settlements and our "educators" would continually ask us "can you do this? Can you show the right view of the Int'l Solidarity Movement Action going on in Palestine this summer. There are also summer trips. Check the website for more info about dates and all the specific trips. If you really want you could probably even go on the "singles trip where you can find your soulmate." Yuck!! We do recommend that you go with at least one friend so you'll have someone to fume with about the racism, sexist, classist tours that you'll be given.

So you are probably wondering why they have this free trip. It's because it is your birthright as young Jews to visit this land. The Israeli government and wealthy philanthropists will spend $2500 (an amount 3 times the average Palestinian) just for you to visit the Jewish holy land. They are encouraging your "right of return.

This is the right of return for all Jews to move to a land that they never lived in, yet the 6 million Palestinian refugees who formally lived there or have direct family members who lived there 50 years ago cannot return.

Youths who go on this trip are not merely tourists but instead tools in their Zionist agenda, which encourages the expulsion of all Palestinians and the triumph of an exclusive Jewish state of Israel.

On the trip you stay at fancy hotels, eat good food, and get carried around in a big bus so you can see all the wonderful tourist sights. For the entire duration of the trip you are enclosed in a Zionist bubble where you are only spoken to by Israeli or American Jews. You are told that you will hear all different perspectives, but somehow they forget to include the perspective of these 3 million people that live under a brutal military occupation. You also get to have two gunmen who are there to ensure your safety throughout the duration of the trip. When we went to Jerusalem our group only visited the Jewish quarter out of "safety concerns." As we stood by the western wall, which is right next to the dome of the rock and the Al Aqsa mosque, we were told that Muslims don't need...
Jerusalem because "they have all those other holy cities." Also, we were told that it's dangerous to be in Jerusalem on Friday afternoons because "in all the mosques, Muslims are told to go and kill all Jews." Our tour guide, who made this sweeping statement, was insinuating that it was safe for Jews to ever be around Muslims because their religion teaches hatred. As we entered a kibbutz later, our tour guide reassured us that there was "no need to worry for there were only Israelis at the kibbutz, not Palestinians."

Throughout our trip the notion that all Palestinians were terrorists was continually reinforced.

Whenever we tried to bring up the Palestinian perspective on our trip, we were told that either "all Arabs hate Jews," or reminded about the holocaust and anti-Semitism. It was as if the perception that Jews have suffered in the past somehow justifies their switch in perspective from the role of oppressed to the role of oppressor. It seems so incredible that people could make sweeping statements about an entire race of people without ever speaking to them. On our trip we were offered no opportunities to meet with Palestinians and therefore could not hear their opinions on anything, and certainly not their opinions of all Jewish people.

In the words of Propagandhi "F**K ZIONISM"

"They always say "What about the suicide bombers" instead of "What does everyone else care?"

This talk took place at the Shuhada neighborhood in Hebron, which has been shelled multiple times. The people have been made to feel unsafe and unwelcome. One day, we entered a mosque during open hours and a man started to lecture us. We left. When we returned, he was still talking. He was not being disruptive, but he was persistent. When we asked him to stop, he continued. He was trying to explain his perspective. He said that he was just trying to make our community feel safe. He wanted us to understand that he is a good person and a good Muslim. He was not trying to start a fight. He just wanted to be heard.

The strip is only 60km long and 6000 settlers control 40% of the land while 1,200,000 Palestinians have access to 60% of the land. Settlers fill big swimming pools with water while Palestinians don't even have enough water to drink.

Talking about maldistribution of wealth!

The Gaza Strip, 2000

Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs (PASSIA)
So they all said don't go to Gaza but we didn't listen.
When we got to the Gaza border crossing it was clear that many other people had taken this advice. The area was completely abandoned except for soldiers and lots of barbed wire fences and a couple of signs that say "safe passage to Gaza strip." This safe passage is referring to the road that was supposed to be a passageway between the Gaza strip and the west bank but is completely Israeli-controlled and Palestinians are denied access to it. We stayed in Gaza city and toured Palestinian authority (PA) compounds and Arafat's compound, which he can't go to since he is under house arrest in ramallah. We were shown many of the different buildings that had been bombed in the past week and then when we heard that there were f-16 flying overhead we decided that it was time to get out of the target areas.

In Gaza City we met a man who lived in Rafah and said that we could come stay with him. The ride there is supposed to take 45 minutes but sometimes takes 3 hours because there are two or three settler bypass roads. These settler roads enable the settlers' passage in and out of the settlements without ever seeing Palestinians. At the intersections, Palestinian cars are halted when settler cars are near. Even if there are 100 Palestinian cars and one settler car, the Palestinians must wait and the settlers cruise. Also, each of these roads serve as a checkpoint which can be closed at any time further restricting peoples movement and preventing them from commuting between their home and work. As we drove from Gaza City to Rafah it was shocking to see how beautiful the area is. As you look to the right there are beaches and palm trees and then as you look to the left you see the crowded refugee camps. There used to be a Palestinian road that went all along the coast but then settlements were built along the southern part of the coast thus preventing Palestinians from traveling there. As we looked out to the sea our host talked about how he has not been able to leave the Gaza Strip, which is only 36 miles long, in 20 years. He told a story of a Palestinian couple getting married in the West Bank and how their relatives from New York were able to attend the wedding but their relatives from Gaza were unable to make it. He was a student at Birzeit University in Ramallah but because of the closure he was never able to go to Birzeit and instead had to take his courses with the few professors who live in Gaza. This made me think of a cartoon I read in Joe Sacco's Palestine where a professor and his students had been arrested and put in the same tent in prison so they just continued classes.
ZIONIST TRAITOR

By Basil Moscovitz

After interrupting a speech by Ariel Sharon - Israel's war hawk prime minister and former massacre-leading Defense Minister - with the phrase "you're a murderer," dozens of Jews who had been sitting around me cheering for Sharon turned on me. Immediately, and continuing for hours, I was harrassed, threatened, and spit on. So goes Jewish solidarity.

The scene was the Birthright Israel "Mega-Event." Birthright Israel is a Zionist program supported by philanthropists and the Israeli government that sends thousands of young Jews from around the world on 10-day all expense paid tours of Israel. (Zionism is the philosophy that Israel belongs to the Jews) The Mega-Event is the gathering for all the groups; the event had several thousand in attendance.

Sharon was the big attraction of the event and was greeted by a standing ovation lasting several minutes. He began his Palestinian/Israeli analysis with "Jews have suffered from 120 years of Palestinian terror."

At this point, I interrupted. People on the other side of the balcony report that after the interruption the crowd turned en masse to look at me. From my side, I had a similar experience, only more aggressive. People immediately started making threats, one person yelling "You deserve to die," punctuated a general sense of yelling, shaking fists, and pointing.

The most violent person attempted to choke me then left the auditorium and reappeared, pointing me out to other people, and remained at the exit for a long time. Later in the evening, he attempted to attack me but was held off by his friends. He had to content himself by spitting on me and making vague threats of future run-ins in dark alleys.

ZIONIST TRAITOR

For the rest of the event, which was several hours, I was terrified. However, with the hindsight that I survived unscathed, I regret nothing. My motivation was to break the Zionist consensus. Along similar lines of Noel Ignatiev's Race Traitor, I was attempting to break the assumed connection between Jewish identity and a racist analysis/complexity of the Jewish/Palestinian conflict. My Jewish identity does not mean I will holistically support the state of Israel and holistically criticize Palestinians. Race Traitor takes this a few steps further. It views whiteness as a social club that parcels out benefits to the members (benefits are synonymous with "white privilege"). The club operates on the assumption that one can tell who is in the club just by looking at the color of one's skin. Race Traitor advocates a "new abolitionism" that destroys whiteness. This happens when it is impossible for self-identified whites to tell who is in the club, i.e. people perceived as white will actively reject the system of white supremacy and thereby disrupt the basic operation of the white club.
I don't think the category "Jewish" needs to be abolished. While whiteness is constructed through the negation of being marked (i.e., not Black, not Native American, not Latino, not Arab, not Other), Judaism is constructed on a history of being oppressed. We are the people of exodus, the survivors of the Holocaust and the Progroms (state and right-wing attacks on Jews in Eastern Europe), and depending on location - modern day anti-Semitism.

Yet there is some things that need to be abolished. We need to destroy the idea that Jews deserve more than Palestinians. We need to destroy Jewish solidarity that ends with Jews and where there is no concern for non-Jews. We need to destroy the collapsing of Jewish identity and Israeli nationalism, being a Jew is not the same thing as being an Israeli nationalist.

It is these thoughts that motivated me to commit what Berkman calls "the deed." Amid, the thousands of cheers for Sharon there was no discretion. While some refused to clap and others quietly slept in protest, the overall impression of the event was that Jews from around the world support Sharon. The deed was intended to break the consensus. It is clear that Sharon was widely enthusiastically supported, but after the interruption, the thousands of people in the balcony knew that one cannot essentialize and universalize the connection between Jews and Israel’s acting prime minister. There are some Jews who are willing to reject the holiness of the prime minister along with the sanctity of the keystone Birthright event.

REATIONS
Judging from people's reactions, the message was effective. In addition to threats, pointing, and attacks, many people argued with me. I am breaking up criticisms into three categories: I failed to grasp my inner Jewishness, I am pro-Palestinian and anti-Jew, and that the act was inappropriate. I will look at each response individually.

A. Real Jewishness
The first response came from a person who told me that I need to look inside myself and find the Jewishness deep down inside. A few days earlier, two Birthright participants told me the same thing when I criticized Israel's former prime minister, Barak. The arguments imply an essential nature of being Jewish that requires me to be supportive of the Israeli prime minister. A psychological problem is the cause of my politics and the solution is to "look deep down inside." If I were Palestinian, this plea for introspection would not have been made.

Many internationals become observers at the checkpoints that Palestinians have to cross every day when going between Israel and Palestinian towns and sometimes from Palestinian to Palestinian town. Often at checkpoints you will see lines of men waiting because the soldiers took their id's away. We stood by taking photos and notes while they detained these men to make sure that they were not mistreating them. We would ask the soldiers why they were holding the men up and they would say they have to "check them." They would also search all their bags and bodies. This whole ordeal seemed very humiliating for all the men involved especially since they may go through this everyday. The soldiers were not very nice and when we asked how long they were going to keep the men they told us "however long we want." The difficult part of doing checkpoint watch is that you don't know if you are helping the Palestinians because you may just be annoying the soldiers who then detain people longer. After a few hours they were released.
B. Criticizing Israel = Supporting the Enemy
The most common argument rests on the idea that Palestinians and Arabs do bad things too. People have criticized everything from suicide bombers, to Saudi Arabia’s classist society, to Arab culture. These criticisms are used to justify Sharon. The criticisms of Arabs are supplemented with accusatory questions: “Why don’t you go live in Palestine?” and “Whose side are you on?” These comments imply that there is a dualism, an us/them perspective. If you criticize one side, you must support the totality of the other side. In a democracy, this dualism is absurd. Voters in Israel are legally sanctioned to disagree with Sharon everyday an election comes around. Critiquing public figures is an essential part of democracy and criticizing Sharon does not necessitate supporting the faults of the “other side.” Yet, the criticisms people were giving me were not rooted in a love for democracy. Rather, they are borne out of loyalty to a club. In a club, this dualism makes sense. You pick sides, cheer for one — jeer at the other.

C. Inappropriate
Many of the Birthright program organizers said that they disagreed with Sharon but the deed was inappropriate. I ask, inappropriate to who? I think it’s inappropriate to have a one-sided political discussion with no space for questions or dissent. It’s offensive to have someone like Sharon speak, punctuated by both his history and speech presenting the conflict as if there are only Palestinian terrorists and Jewish victims. His narrative works to support the increase in Jewish settlements in the Occupied Territories, taking of political prisoners, demolition of Palestinian homes, shooting of non-combatants, and the rest of the terror caused by the Occupation.

In this context, it is an offense to not speak up. But it comes down to a choice. The sanctity of the event or the sanctity of critiquing Sharon. The event serves to foster Jewish support of Israel’s prime minister. This purpose has no sanctity to me.

THE ZIONIST CLUB vs DEMOCRACY
All of these critiques rely on an allegiance to the Club. A club that reserves Israel and free tours of Israel only to Jews while forcing Palestinians into exile. A club that supports Jews around the world while oppressing Palestinians in Israel’s backyard.

Many Zionists took offense because the deed was an offensive. There are Jews willing to dissent with the club, even if the prime minister of Israel is speaking, even if he is speaking at the Birthright Mega-Event, even if one is attending due to the “generous gift” of Zionists and the Israeli government, and even if one sitting among thousands of screaming pro-Sharon fans.

From another vantage point, this deed was an act of democracy. Engaging in political debate, adding a dissenting voice in a space where there was none. It was enriching a biased narrative of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict with another perspective. Yet, The narrative of democracy does not compliment the club; it competes with it.

A RACIAL OR POLITICAL CONFLICT?
Zionists, as well as dominant US media, project the conflict as Jews vs. Palestinians. But what does it mean when Jews turn on Jews? The conflict is not merely racial, but political.

The International Solidarity Movement is a Palestinian-led movement of Palestinian and international activists working to raise awareness of the struggle for Palestinian freedom and an end to Israeli occupation. We utilize nonviolent, direct-action methods of resistance to confront and challenge illegal Israeli occupation forces and policies.

As enshrined in international law and UN resolutions, we recognize the Palestinian right to resist Israeli violence and occupation via legitimate armed struggle. However, we believe that nonviolence can be a powerful weapon in fighting oppression and we are committed to the principles of nonviolent resistance.

» We support the Palestinian right to resist the occupation, as provided for by International Law;
» We call for an immediate end to the occupation and immediate compliance and implementation of all relevant UN resolutions;
» We call for immediate international intervention to protect the Palestinian people and ensure Israel’s compliance with International Law.

Due to the lack of respect for Palestinian human rights and human life by the Israeli government and occupation forces, an international presence is needed to support Palestinian nonviolent resistance. Palestinian activists trying to work or protest, alone face harsh punishment from Israeli forces. This has included beatings, long-term arrests, serious injury and even death. International activists are thus a resource for Palestinians, both in terms of their presence and as witnesses to the daily humiliation and injustice of the Israeli occupation.

There are different campaigns all the time ranging from helping olive farmers to escort red crescent ambulances to staying with people’s to prevent their homes from getting demolished. You can go to pulsolidarity.org for more info.
We have seen this before. The Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) was supposedly fighting in an ethnic conflict between Serbs and Kosovar Albanians, yet the KLA killed hundreds of dissenting Albanians. The Nazi's were built on a hatred and oppression of non-Aryans and particularly Jews, yet the Nazi's also killed communists and whites who protected Jews. We are told that the Cold War was a battle between the US and Russia, yet in the name of fighting the Russians the US also turned on American liberals and leftists.

Ironically, the person who told me that I deserved to die called me a fascist. This person along with others who reacted violently use the threat of physical force in attempt to quell the voicing of political dissent. I believe the accusation of "fascist" is overused, but it's important to remember what fascism and the Nazi's really stand for. The fascists in Germany used a racial scapegoat to unify a race and under the guise of a race-war slipped in a political ideology. How is this different from the conservative and reactionary elements of the Zionist movement?

We must recognize the importance of race and nationalism because many people are motivated by them. Yet, there is a politics behind race unity. The politics behind the race is the politics of the Club. The Club is strong enough to give the impression that we have a racialized, us/them problem. Yet when people within the club dissent, we see it is not racial unity but a political unity within a race unity.

People who are recognized to belong to the club will have many privileges. For example, I was invited to join the club when I yelled at Sharon. Some said, "look inside yourself. This is the right place for you." I doubt a Palestinian would have gotten such an invitation if she had committed the same act.

On the other hand, traitors to the club may be treated like the enemy. I got a glimpse of this when people threatened to kill me and attempted to assault me based on four words that I yelled: Palestinians feel the effects of living outside the Club everyday.

I am sure that many Jews will take offense to this article. I am not intending to bash all Jews, but call attention to the problems of a Zionist politics and practice. There are many ways to be Jewish and even Zionist, without assuming racial and ethnic superiority. As an anti-fascist, as an Anarchist, and as a Jew, I will not participate in the Zionist club.
While in Jaffa (a mainly Arab city that is connected to Tel Aviv) we stayed at a 1/2 Arab Israeli 1/2 Jewish Israel commune called Reut Sadaka which means friendship in both Hebrew and Arabic. They organise trips for Jewish & Arab youths to counteract the segregation that exists in Israeli society. People on the trip told us how they lived 2 minutes from a village of the 'other' yet they never talked to anyone from their. It was really awesome to see this kind of anti-racist organizing... where kids just get together and hang out and visit places like unrecognized bedouin villages or talk about ways to overcome racist stereotypes. I could never imagine a trip like that happening in the U.S. with white youths and youths of color. Racism is so similar here and there.

So many Palestinians told us that they would always get harassed by police or soldiers just for being Arab. In Israel you can get arrested for WRP (walking while Palestinian and here you can get arrested for DWB (driving while black).

When you enter the occupied territories you are entering a war zone. There is an occupying army that likes to fuck with civilians and use violence against them. Almost everyone you talk to has either been injured or spent time in prison or a good friend or relative has. Palestinians don't get fair trials usually and can spend long time in jail for crimes they didn't commit. Funny how much it sounds like the U.S. when you enter communities of color there is an occupying army - the police. People get beaten by them and get locked up for long time periods.

So many people in Palestine thought that the U.S. was bad for giving so much money to Israel but they the U.S. was good because everyone was free there. Sadly, we had to tell them RACISM IS GLOBAL.

Often the Israeli/Palestinian struggle is simplified with the tank vs. the stone and we get to see the reality. Every afternoon the Shebab (literally meaning a group of boys) would come with homemade slings and and throw pebbles at the tanks. The kids would stand so far from the tanks that their little stones would not come anywhere near the tanks and even if they did what is a one inch pebble gonna do to a huge armored tank. However the Israeli soldiers seemed to act as if they were threatened and everytime a pebble was tossed they would respond with tear gas, rubber bullets, and sound grenades. From what we hear, live ammunition is often used when there is no international presence. It was extremely intense to see these 10 year old kids getting shot at and often injured and still continuing to throw stones. It becomes a game for them but unfortunately a deadly one. Often Palestinian casualties are children. At first we were really excited to see the youth resistance but as days went on it was sad to see their futile efforts at ending an occupation of their lives.

TANK vs STONE

Tank Shebab

stone sling
SWIFT PUNISHMENT! So apparently someone didn't like the great work CPT was doing. CPT received an email which said:

KACH INTERNATIONAL WARNING. “It has been learned that three of your members help and assist Arab terrorists in smuggling explosives used in recent bombings of the Hebron Jewish Community in Israel.”

“For their safety, [the above-mentioned terrorists are advised to depart from the Land of Israel to their own countries in the next 96 hours,” the message concluded.

A phone call: “As a humanitarian effort to save their lives, we ask you to evacuate them from Israel before Wednesday. After Wednesday their lives will be in jeopardy. This is a warning. This is a last warning. Bye.”

CPT Responded: It would be more likely that the settlers in Hebron would start serving ham sandwiches at bar mitzvahs than it would be for anyone serving with Christian Peacemaker Teams to become involved with explosives or other objects that could bring harm to others.

Fortunately no member of the Christian Peacemaker Team was killed. However, Kach has been known to carry out their death threats. David Wilder told us that the Kach is not violent even though the Israeli Government considers them a terrorist organization.

The most famous Kach member would have been Baruch Goldstein. Most people may not know this story though because Israel likes to paint Palestinians as the only terrorists. Baruch Goldstein, like many other fanatical settlers, was born in Brooklyn and decided to move to Hebron. He constantly harassed Muslims at the Al-Ibrahimi Abraham mosque which is a holy site for both Jews and Muslims.

Then in 1994 Baruch Goldstein entered the mosque and with the torah in one hand and machine gun in the other opened fire. During this attack he killed 29 Muslim worshippers before he was killed.

In his eulogy it was said “The People of Israel were sick and Goldstein gave us the medication.” The really scary part of this is that Goldstein is still hailed as a martyr. Every Purim in Hebron, settlers have a parade and march to his grave. Little children dress as Baruch Goldstein and there is even a museum in Hebron with a whole section devoted to him. Also, many people still agree with his philosophy that all Arabs should be expelled from Israel. Just recently, a survey was conducted in which half of Jewish Israeli’s said they thought Palestinians should be kicked out.

People always say that Islam is a religion that encourages terrorism and of course they never mention that people carry out massacres in the name of Judaism.

NO BUS IS EVER SAFE!

By Liad

This past Sunday, while on a bus in Tel Aviv, I was physically attacked by the bus driver for wearing a Palestinian kofia.

I get on the bus in Jaffa which is a mixed Arab-Jewish city. I could tell the bus driver was stressed as he asked me where I was headed to, for no other reason than to hear my Hebrew and ensure I'm not Palestinian, as that seems to be the intimidating factor nowadays. I sat down. Two minutes later, the bus driver stopped the bus and went back to where I was sitting. He began yelling at me to take off my kofia. He began slapping me upside the head, while I covered it with my hands. Then he attempted to remove my kofia, and to drag me off the bus. I refused to take the kofia off! I told him that he can search my bag or check my ID, but that wearing a kofia is my right and he has no right to demand that I leave because of political reasons, or attack me physically. Furthermore, he has a right to ask for an ID. I, check me or refuse to let me on the bus when I got on it, but he chose not to do it. I wasn’t going to get off the bus, lose my bus fare and be late to where I was going. Enraged, he kept screaming at me for terrorizing the public and scaring the other passengers off the bus at such intense times. After refusing to do as he said, he called his passengers to help get me off the bus. He only stopped after I was hysterical and in tears, and two other passengers told him to stop. The other passengers ignored what was happening and removed themselves from the portion of the bus I was sitting.

About three minutes later, a police officer got on the bus, approached me and asked to see my ID. The bus driver was very aware of the fact that I am Israeli, which in today’s lingo somewhat equals to “not a terrorist”, so it was clear that both his decisions to attack me and to call the police were not based on a motive of safety. Apparently he assumed that wearing a kofia is a crime for which cops will force me off the bus, and punish me accordingly. The officer gave me a tough time though I attempted to abstain from political discussions with her. I was badly shaken up. I told her the driver had attacked me, and she suggested that I go to the police station and file a complaint.

For the rest of the forty-five minute drive I sat shaking by my lonesome self. I wanted to rid myself of the tension and get off the bus, but I refused to lose the bus fare I already paid and get on another bus and give the driver the satisfaction of forcing me off. Plus I was late to school. Right after the assault two guys that witnessed the whole thing started talking to me. I could tell that they didn’t want to seem like they sympathized with me after what had just happened, but they wanted to make sure that I was all right and that was the reason for the development of the conversation. They too attacked me for attempting to do such a thing at a time when the Israeli public is walking on eggshells and afraid of anything that appears to have the slightest resemblance to the Arab world. I tried to answer them diplomatically but I was emotionally distraught and trying not to shake that I’m sure my communication was...
The unfortunate part of all of this is that I got off easy because people could tell I was Israeli, not just by my complexion but by the way I was dressed, aside from the kofia, and by my native Hebrew accent. After telling what had happened to me to a few people I know I received some interesting stories. A friend of mine told me of an Arab friend of hers who was taken off a bus by police after the bus driver called them to "check on him." The officers demanded to see his I.D., and after he showed it to them, refused to believe it was his and forced him off the bus. They beat him up and brought a bomb squad to blow up his backpack. So buses are fully off-limits to anyone looking Palestinian or Arab in any way, regardless of any presence of political symbols or identification. Literally, Arabs are Israel's niggers, who require a bus system of their own because the Israeli bus system and the public of passengers refuse to see them as human beings with equal rights for all aged security reasons, with or without kofias.

I'm sure that in a situation like that, a kofia would have gotten that friend of a friend of mine shot by a passenger or by the police, if he'd been allowed on the bus in the first place.

Seems that Arabs aren't the only people having trouble taking buses these days. Another person I know who is fully Jewish-Israeli and of Eastern-Arabic descent, told me that he refuses to take the bus anymore because of the uncomfortable situation it creates on the bus. Every time he gets on the bus, thirty people get off right at the next stop, and many more glare at him. At the bus driver, giving him signs to "do something before something happens." This leads to policemen coming on the bus to conduct an I.D. check, which leads to more uncomfortable acts: as soon as the cops see the "Jewish" written on his I.D. under "nationality," they stick their tails between their legs and quietly crawl off the bus. Saying "sorry, we thought you were Arab" would just be too insulting, but it's obviously the reason they let him go.

Of course, it occurred to me that wearing a kofia on a bus was not the safest or most considerate thing to do. Buses are obviously particularly vulnerable places because the Israeli public tends to die while riding in them. Plus Sunday was a day after an attack in Jerusalem, which left eleven Israelis dead, and the Jewish-Israeli public was feeling particularly on-edge. It was also a day of widespread strike amongst the Palestinian population in Israel, due to the near-fifty casualties who lost their lives to the Israeli Army in a single weekend. I had to go to school and couldn't strike, and that's why I wore the kofia. I won't apologize for what I've done. However, in discussions I've had with other people, it was brought up that I would come out looking "more politically correct" had I decided to show respect for both sides and wear something which symbolizes the loss of both sides. It might have prevented an attack on me, or should I'd gotten attacked anyway, would come out looking more justified, at least to the Israeli public. Looking politically correct is not on my agenda. I was horrified at the large numbers of Palestinian casualties. I also have friends in the West Bank whom I spoke with the night before the event happened. I was traumatized by our mere conversation without even being in the West Bank, and my friends are people who

Christian Peacemakers Team. They have a collectively run office and home where 10 or so Americans live. Some live there for 6 years and some live for a year on the philosophy that if they are opposed to war, they must put themselves in situations of conflict and use non-violent direct action to stop the violence.

Actions have been taken to dig up roadblocks that prevent people from driving from one section of Hebron to another.

"When children want to go to school, we want to go to hospital, farmers want to go to their fields. We accompany them if they request it as int'l we have a voice and a constituency to back it up.

If you are interested in becoming a CPT volunteer, you can look at their website http://www.proscient.net.org/cpt when there are city wide curfews children are supposed to be able to attend school.
Right outside Hebron is the beautiful Ba'ka valley. We stayed with the Jaber family whose relatives have lived in the valley for over 400 years but I guess that doesn't matter because Jews may have lived there 3000 years ago. Therefore, it's ok to build a settlement right through their land and destroy 13,000 heads of cabbage. It also makes it ok for the Israeli army to demolish the Jabers home and when they rebuilt it destroy the second one a month later and also beat and detain atta-the father of the family after living in a tent for many months and an apartment they built a third home. The reason given for the home demolitions is that they are built on agricultural land yet the whole settlement Kiriat Arba across the street is built on the same agr. land. In December of 2000 settlers attacked their home and occupied it conducting prayer services, the Israeli army wouldn't kick them out because they said they couldn't interrupt their sabbath. After two days the IDF kicked them out and when the Jabers returned home, they discovered that their house was a "closed military zone" and that soldiers were going to live there during the next 3 months. During this time the settlers returned to use the house for a chanukah ceremony when the Jabers finally returned home they entered a house littered with racist graffiti and burnt clothes.

I haven't suffered a loss to property or life in their families. I do think that while both sides are suffering, the difference between the two sides is that life in Israel at this state is similar walking in a minefield outside your house, where you never know when and where things will blow up. By comparison, the Palestinian side is having its houses and streets turn into the battlefield. Nowhere is safe. I'm sorry for keeping score to such a horrendous game, but the whole world now knows that in this bloody football game, the Palestinians are winning. This is not to say that I have no empathy for the Israeli side. For some reason, it appears to the general public that a person identifying in any way with the grave loss of life to the Palestinian public—also known as "the other side", is a traitor to Israel. If you show any empathy or even sympathy to one side, you are disloyal to the other side; By these standards, a traitor like myself deserves to be beaten up at best, and murdered at worst. I know that this is war, but why must I choose sides?

The sad fact is this environment is forming a general de-legitimization of the presence of all Arabs or their supporters this side of the green line. This de-legitimization is founded on fear and inherent racism; the reason people get off the bus when they saw me wearing a keffiyeh is because of an immediate link between this symbol of the Palestinian people and terrorism. It never occurred to anyone that amongst all the violent attacks in the forms of shootings and bombings within Israel since the beginning of the Antiterror or even before then, not a single one was conducted by a person visibly displaying a Muslim or Palestinian symbol of any kind. To this public, a keffiyeh is equivalent to a swastika. By comparison, had I gotten on the bus with a fully loaded semi-automatic weapon, I would not even have been bothered, since I'm white. This society rewards the "white", or those who look furthest from the Arab population, while punishing those who even look like "the enemy", though there's nothing that these Palestinian-looking Jews can do to help it. And in the process the interchangeable labels of "terrorism" or a "necessary and legitimate force for protection", which are purely a subject of perception, get tossed around and distorted beyond recognition.

It's easy to dismiss all of this by claiming that the white is scared, so what can we expect. But not until we begin to assess our underlying values of a society, which relentlessly whines about shooting itself in the leg at every opportunity, no bus will ever be safe for no one. And so I took it as a vow to myself to continue the work of so-called "terrorizing the public", also known as simply challenging their views (this while keeping in mind that although my code of ethics tells me that I should not back down from fear of getting beaten, there's probably more effective and safer ways to relay the message, so the tactic may be slightly altered). I would seriously like to encourage the public to not allow this to happen without raising your voices that this is wrong. Israel cannot afford a new bus system for Arabs and those who may look like it is wrong.
Often when I'm riding people will ask me if I have a ride, and when I say no they'll give me a side ride. There are a few things the people are really like to pick you up if you're starting something new. That's because it means you'll be able to talk to people on the israeli side. They're Israeli citizens serving in the IDF as the appeal of IDF to women and men has grown in recent years. We've had over 300,000 Jews living in Israel today. If there were another country in the world, they wouldn't be here.

But while you are here you get to watch out where you travel. If you go to a place that is mainly Arab, they'll say you're not welcome. You can't get into many places if you're not a citizen. If you go to a place that is mainly Jewish, they'll say you're welcome. You can get into many places if you're a citizen.

Conflict Resolution with the Other:
According to Wilber, Arabs are a different kind of species. A species that "have no hesitation about killing you." If you're Jewish! They won't think twice about killing you. For Wilber, this conception of Arabs is not based on a particular time period, a geographical area, or political perspective. Daniel Pearl is kidnapped in Pakistan and Wilber feels this incident reflects on the character of all Palestinians. In his article, Wilber writes, "Don't Arabs Have Enough Country?"

The poster, like Wilber's narrative, casts Arabs as a single entity without political, cultural, or ethnic differences. The singular Arab mentality stretches through time. For Wilber, the massacre of 1929, along with other attacks on Jews, prove that peaceful coexistence is impossible. There are groups like Resh-Sadaka who are working to build understanding and friendships between Arabs and Jews, but Wilber calls that goal "noble". Wilber believes that Arabs are essentially anti-Jewish terrorists.

The standard way people think of conflict resolution is to get people who disagree to talk in hopes they can come to a common understanding and work something out that everyone can live with. Wilber proposes a different solution. Jews should not talk with Palestinians. Peace should not be shared with Arama and in fear of being killed, Jews shouldn't even walk in Arab neighborhoods. Wilber believes that peace will happen if more Jews assert that "Eretz Israel belongs to us." Wilber believes that peace will happen if more Jews move to Israel. It seems Wilber is concerned with managing the worries of Palestinians.
state which would be catastrophic to the state of Israel. You would not only have an entity as a terrorist organization, but you would have an internationally accepted state which is another terrorist state. The U.S. and George Bush have declared war on terrorist states, and here we would be assisting in the creation of another terrorist state. A contradiction of what the world should be doing today. So I certainly hope that Sharon's new policy and that thing change.

Q: What could be a solution to stop the violence?

It's difficult to explain the logic of Colin Powell [US Secretary of State] meeting with Yasser Arafat? If Shimon Peres Israel's Foreign Minister [the head of the PA]. We're doing it, why aren't they doing it? If there are Israelis that say that Hebron or Jerusalem or anywhere else doesn't belong to us, then why should the Arabs say it, why shouldn't the Americans and Europeans say it?

The problem we have today stems from education. People don't understand what it is to be Jewish. They don't understand what it means to be Jewish. They think it is a means to an end. I think that if we want to reach a solution it has to begin with ourselves. If we were united in terms of our understanding and acceptance of the importance and significance of Eretz Israel, we would be on our way to a solution.

As long as the Jewish people don't understand why we are here then it is very difficult to see how we start to bring about an end to conflict.

Q: I've seen a couple of groups who are talking about the conflict a little differently. One was a group we saw in Tel Aviv called Reut-Sadaka. They have a house that is half Arab and half Jewish and they have youth trips for people in high school. They put 25 Jews and 25 Arabs on a bus. How do you think those kinds of actions fit into?

Hebron 1929, another take.

Many people who lived in Hebron during 1929 say that the British had encouraged Arabs from the rest of the community to commit the massacre. Dozens of Muslim families within Hebron asked their lives to shelter over 400 Jews. The Jews then remained in Hebron after the massacre led to the death of British citizens. Descendants of the pre-1929 Jewish community in Hebron have rejected the charges of the current settlers and have stated that it was never the British who wanted to commit these crimes. (March 1997, Philadelphia, Jennifer Hagan, "Deserters Deny Acts of Foremost Settlers.

Getting together a group of 25 kids like this and 25 kids like that, it's a nice idea. I don't know if there's any harm in it except one has to realize that you can't live under illusions. You are dealing with a situation, not just a few people here and there, you are dealing with a mind, a way of thinking, a way of life.

RESERVISTS REFUSE TO SERVE IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

We reserve combat officers and soldiers of the Israel Defense Forces, who were raised upon the principles of Zionism, sacrifice and giving to the people of Israel and to the State of Israel, who have always served in the front lines, and who were the first to carry out any mission, light or heavy, in order to protect the State of Israel and strengthen it.

We, combat officers and soldiers who have served the State of Israel for long weeks every year, in spite of the dear cost to our personal lives, have been on reserve duty all over the Occupied Territories, and were issued commands and directives that had nothing to do with the security of our country, and that had the sole purpose of perpetuating our control over the Palestinian people. We, whose eyes see the bloody toll this Occupation exacts from both sides.

We, who understand now that the price of Occupation is the loss of IDF human character and the corruption of the entire Israeli society.

We, who know that the Territories are not Israel, and that all settlements are bound to be evacuated in the end.

We hereby declare that we shall not continue to fight this War of the Settlements.

We shall not continue to fight beyond the 1967 borders in order to dominate, expel, enslave and humiliate an entire people.

We hereby declare that we shall continue serving in the Israel Defense Force any mission that serves Israel's defense.

The missions of occupation and oppression do not serve this purpose, and we shall take no part in them.
The Ten Plagues of Occupation

A series of stencils by Erik Ruin
Used in the play "Olive on the Seder Plate"
Produced by the Liberty Cadence Theatre Review
How long have you been in the military?* Almost a year.

*Have you been in Hebron mostly?* -No. We do a routine for four months. All of the time it changes. It is our first time in Hebron.

*So tell me about some of your experiences here?*
-What? Like soldiers killing little arabic kids or something like that?

*Whatever you want to share. Stories like that or stories like not wanting to hang out with the lieutenant*
-Yeah of course we don't want to hang out with the lieutenant. He kills arabic children. We are not like him. We give them food. We give them our bread everyday.

*Do you feel like there are good guys and bad guys in the army?*
-Of course, the former brigade that was here in Hebron they were really bad guys.

*Do you have conflicts? Do people give you orders that you don't want to fill?*
-No not at this moment I don't think we want to be here. Nobody says you should and you shouldn't. It's more global, like is it immoral to be here? This is the question. I personally think it is *How come?*

-I don't think they should live with army in their streets. I don't think we should stop them on their way to work to check their id's and all. I think that it is better that soldiers like us are here instead of choice. Soldiers will be here.

*What do you think of the settlements and the settlers?*
-I think they are fucking Nazis and I hate them and I hate to be the one that make same.
-They don't like us because.
-They know we hate them.
-Because if some little kid spits on an Arab we arrest him. So what if you are a Jew? So what!
-It's amazing to see a little kid spit on a 60 year old woman. They said that the ones before us said that they didn't do nothing they didn't care if you want to spit. I heard that they used to hit the Arabs too. *The settlers?* -No the soldiers.
-I understand them, but I don't think it's right. I understand they shouldn't kill people or bomb.
-Is it true about the hit mizwa?
-Kinda crazy stuff yesterday in Bnei Brak two soldiers in a restaurant were killed it was called 'end of the way'.
-The thing is that when CPT (Christian Peacemaker Team) they see us and they think that we are the bad guys too because we guard the settlers. We don't.

*We have to be here I don't care if someone gets inside with a "shlezshkinov" and kills them all, I'd be happy if it happened but I have to be here.

*If you could say one thing to Americans what would you say?*
-We are not Nazis we are good guys but we look like it because there are thousands of them the same with them. We think they are the bad guys because there are some bad guys.
-I think that people should be more interested in the values that are in this country, the values of the army, the values of the citizens. I think they will understand more because the world is not so easy. We can not shoot with the trigger whatever you want. If you do it you will have blood and jail.

SETTLEMENTS
LACK OF ACCESS TO EDUCATION

In Hebron the occupation literally hangs over your head. When you walk in the downtown market and look up you see that a net encases the whole city. This net is supposed to prevent the Avraham Avino settlers from dropping garbage on the Palestinians down below. The nets do a good job of making people feel caged in but they don't do shit when settlers throw drop concrete blocks and large stones on people. The dage feeling is further enhanced by the large gates blocking entrance to the streets with settler caravans. These gates are always guarded by those young 18 year old kids with big machine guns - Israeli soldiers in fact. Every direction you look are those gun toting kids. On many a rooftop they are perched as snipers "keeping the peace". Sometimes they lurk in little enclaves id'ing all people walking by - their crime?? Walking while Palestinian. Sometimes they would try to Id little kids who don't even have id's. ONE afternoon we decided to observe the soldiers to make sure they weren't mistreating people beyond the already humiliating experience of being id'd. Sadly it didn't seem to help much because the soldiers would just take the Palestinians into their little enclave and search them where we couldn't see them.

Sometimes the crime of WWP is further enforced when there is curfew and Palestinians can only leave their house every few days for a few hours to get groceries. Last year there was a curfew for 10 months yet settlers still roamed the streets setting fires and cutting off Palestinians electricity.
As a rule of thumb, I avoid groups of teenage boys. I figure, why chance getting on the wrong side of some 17 year old's testosterone secret? And when I can cross the road instead? And it's always safest to give kids with this a wide berth.

**HEBRON**

Fortunes change - Israel nabbed the West Bank in 1967, war and settled biblical Judea and Samaria has been a religious imperative for fundamentalists Jews ever since - their policy's been: Settle first and Israeli government approval will follow (and eventually the honor). Such audacity got them the nearby (like one kilometer nearer) Kiryat Arba settlement in '67 - but the water has run out of town all together.

Not to bad news a settler based on his personal arsenal, understand, not that bad, arguably and not here in particular. This has been a fluid war to Jews - in the back roads of the Arab roads of 60 HEBRON, Jews got shot, stoned, in '68 the small Jewish community got run out of town all together.

**LACK OF ACCESS TO WATER**
The region of Tulkarem contains a village called Baka al-Shamah. This village has been devastated by the erection of the Separation Barrier. One farmer, who fled from genocide in 1948 ended up in this village. He and his daughter bought some land here. We went to visit this 87 year old man. As we arrived, we noticed the Israeli bulldozers flattening all of the livelihood he had left. The army had already shot off the water in his crops which died with this. Now as the huge machines wreaked through his fields, he gathered small pieces of wood in his donkey cart, attempting to salvage all he had left. His daughter, amongst all of this, made us tea in their little shack. As we sipped, listening to her story, the bulldozers whizzed on by, obliterating their life. Through her sobs, she pleaded, “How are we going to eat? Where are we going to go? We left after the soldiers threatened us with their mighty guns, watching behind as the bulldozers took all that they could from the 87 year old farmer and his daughter.

There were also 3 days of demonstrations in this region.

The first action was in a village called Harmon which is also surrounded by the wall, preventing farmers from reaching their land. The ISM helped in organizing this and the other demonstrations, providing media coverage from many different countries. In this demonstration, a Palestinian labor union worker, who was in Pittsburgh recently on the “Stop the Wall Campaign,” told my sister down the layers of razor wire that the Israeli army had placed in front of the gate. Several other locals rushed up to the gate, shook it with all their might, breaking off small pieces of the gate. The demonstrators retreated when the army of jeeps attempted to run people over with their jeeps.

The second action was a women’s demonstration against the Apartheid Wall in Tulkarem. A couple hundred women protested, in which we, including ISMers, were present. The action ended with the army throwing tear gas at the peaceful demonstrators.

On the third day, the demonstration was held in Baka al-Shamah. We marched to the checkpoint where we were faced by the army. Other ISMers and Israeli peace activists were on the opposite side of the checkpoint, protesting its legality and themselves forbidden to cross. This was theKristallnacht of the Palestinians everyday.

One woman we met was in Baka al-Shamah had this to say about life under occupation: “Our children have no childhood. Our father had a job for three years. I have nowhere to live, nowhere to support them. Most of the checkpoints block our way home. We don’t know our suffering will ever end. How do women suffer? We don’t know. Don’t blame me. Don’t blame the checkpoints.”
Whether they did it because of their sympathetic hearts or because several media outlets were present is unclear, the fact is that together, we helped the Palestinian farmers reach the land that was forbidden to them by the Israeli army.

As for Jayyous, what the wall is doing to this land is also appalling. (Facts taken directly from PLO: Negotiations Affairs Department http://www.nad-plo.org/)

Jayyous is located in the governorate of Qalqilia six kilometers east of the Green Line and has a population of approximately 3,100 Palestinians. Jayyous is a farming town that provides produce to 60,000 Palestinians in the Occupied Palestinian Territories. The Israeli Army has built a militarily-fortified barrier 6 kilometers east of the Green Line. The wall has been built between Jayyous homes and Jayyous farmland, thereby separating Jayyous farmers from their fields. Approximately 9,000 dunams of agricultural land are separated from their owners, of which 2,500 dunams are irrigated crop lands on the other side of the wall. These irrigated crops provide 90% of the town’s total economic revenue. The wall separate Jayyous farmers from 120 greenhouses, 15,000 olive trees and 50,000 citrus trees. All seven of the town’s water wells are behind the wall. As a result, the town receives running water only two hours every three days, with an average per capita water consumption of 20 liters per day, five times below the World Health Organization's daily per capita minimum health standard of 100 liters per day.

Due to the wall and the accompanying travel restrictions, Jayyous residents are denied basic services, such as access to medical care located outside Jayyous. 480 of 550 families (87%) have lost their sole means of livelihood. 180 families are receiving humanitarian aid. In order to farm their lands, 32 farmers are living in tents on their land, separated from their homes and families.

Many of the ISM members in Jayyous also belong to JATO (Jews Against the Occupation). Everyday we get up at the crack of dawn to document what happens at the gate. The soldiers are supposed to come at a set time, unlock the gate for the farmers to get through to their land, and return later in the day to let them back in. However, as I witnessed several times, the soldiers just don’t care. They come whenever they feel like it. And if you are not there when they unlock it, you cannot get to your land. Same goes for the night time; if the soldiers decide to unlock the gate early, and you arrive thereafter, you are stuck on the outside. The soldiers one day also decided to not let any donkey carts or vehicles through. One farmer had with him his four young children, all under the age of 10, and denied his entrance to his fields. The farmer was left with the decision to turn around knowing that convincing the soldier to let it and his children cross was infeasible, or to make his small children carry his heavy farming tools hundreds of meters to his land. He had to turn around.

One JATO member said to the soldier, “Why don’t you let them cross? They’re just kids!” “So am I,” said the rather young soldier. She responded, “Yeah, but you’re a kid with a gun. Have a heart, you know this is wrong!” At this point, he locked the gate. This happens everyday in Jayyous and other regions, and it is the ISM’s job to document such cases and negotiate with the soldiers, which sometimes does prove fruitful.
**Ras Aliya/Ras Tira**: Imagine our neighborhoods of Shadyside and Oakland. They are right next to each other. Pittsburghers can travel easily from them, from home to work, school to the market, without problem. The villages of Ras Tira and Ras Aliya are like this. The one main difference is the Separation Barrier. The fence rips through the once beautiful landscape of these villages, preventing families from traveling from one village to the next to see their relatives, and children cannot even walk what was once a simple road to school. They are now forced to crawl through septic tunnels and climb through mountains of razor wire.

The people of these villages asked the ISM’s help in the next demonstration. As we arrived, a couple security forces were already on sight. Moments later, as we stood on the Ras Tira side of the gate, other ISMers and Palestinians from Ras Aliya cornered the mountain, where we could hear them chanting and waving Palestinian flags. The two groups converged at the gate. Palestinians and ISMers spoke about the effects of the Occupation and the Apartheid Wall on the indigenous people. Shortly thereafter, the army arrived. The ISM front line blocked the road as the jeeps arrived. One soldier attempted to arrest a frontliner but the others jumped on top of him and were able to release him. Other soldiers threatened arrest and rubber bullets. It was Friday, and at this point, the Muslims decided to pray facing Mecca in the middle of the open gate, preventing soldiers from driving through. I.D.’s were confiscated and one Israeli peace activist was arrested. In the end, the army decided to close the gate—which eventually turned into 2 weeks that the gate was shut through which the Palestinians could not pass—a form of “punishment” by the IOF for demonstrating peacefully.

**Economic Devastation**: It’s obvious that the Apartheid Wall is not for security. The wall has been erected through the villages of Ayn and Tayyub, where between 75 and 80% of the Palestinians are farmers. In Ayn, for instance, the wall has prevented farmers from reaching their olive groves for harvesting in two years! The ISM was asked to participate in an action with local Palestinians and Tayyub, an Israeli peace group. Together, we tilled the land for the farmers who could not reach it, whom we could see on the other side of the fence with other members of the ISM, carrying signs and flags. For hours under the hot sun, we worked the land with the Palestinian and Israeli brothers and sisters. Eventually, after two years of waiting, the army actually let about 10 of the farmers from the other side of the fence cross over and till their rightful land.
40 DAYS AND 40 NIGHTS
IN THE HOLY LAND
JONAS MOFFAT

“All we want is peace! We’ll take the 22% of the land
—but just give us peace!”

This is the plea that I heard numerous times during my stay in the intensely disputed territory of the West Bank this summer with the International Solidarity Movement (ISM). The following will focus on many stories I had heard from both sides—Israelis and Palestinians, and will be accompanied by personal pictures I managed to sneak back here to the United States. It is a first hand account of what is actually happening in the Palestinian Occupied Territories, what has, of course, been going on for years, and unless we open our eyes and speak out against the brutal Israeli Occupation, will continue for years to come.

This article is only an excerpt and if you are interested in the full article or more photos write: jhmoffat@hotmail.com
A Radical cheer for the Intifada

A Land without a people for a people without land. Give the cries of their Zionist demand. Palestinians: Do exist and to colonialism They will resist. Oh, we're gonna shake off, shake off, shake off the racist occupation. All people deserve self-determination. Shake off, shake off, the military rule. Get the army out of the homes and schools. The kids throw stones and the soldiers have tanks. Is a huge bank in funding Israel's big banks, bankrolling curfew and checkpoint lines. When settlers attack they get off everyday. Demolishing homes. Cutting (or chopping) alive the Israeli does this in the name of peace???

Repeat cheers: shake off, shake off, etc.

Gebrilena es chingada Intifada Intifada Gebrilena es chingada Intifada Intifada (government is f***-in Spanish) (shake off in it's a trilingual cheer)

arabic

At the moment, 500 bulldozers and earthmovers are carrying out the largest national project in Israel. An immense complex - walls, patrol routes, trenches, electronic fences and sensors - is erected deep within the Palestinian territories. The Separation Wall is being built with no serious public debate on its real purpose or possible consequences.

A government that invests 2 Million Dollars in every km of a wall is building for posterity. The Sharon Government is trying to redraw the border permanently, far away from the public eye.
Jerusalem is at the heart of the conflict. Israel occupied East Jerusalem since 1967. Palestinians want a state with East Jerusalem as the capital. This is an extremely contentious issue because at the moment you are not even allowed to fly a Palestinian flag in the city. Yet Sharon just bought a house (which he doesn't live in) in the middle of the Muslim Quarter in the old city and he flies a huge Israeli flag from his house.

We took a trip to Issawiya - a Palestinian village in Jerusalem and we saw many houses that had been destroyed. Issawiya is right below Hebrew University. They want to expand their campus which probably has something to do with the demolition of homes right below.

Israel has built many settlements right around Jerusalem so it will make it easier to completely isolate Jerusalem from the West Bank. There is even one settlement that was built near Bethlehem, yet no one even lives there.

The Israel Committee against housing demolitions does direct action in Jerusalem where they try to block the bulldozers. Sometimes they are successful.

The reasoning that Israel has for demolishing homes is that people don't have permits to build, because it is near to impossible for Palestinians to even get building permits.

In the original UN plan in 1948 said that Jerusalem would be an international city surrounded by a Palestinian state. This is so far off from the current reality.
STOP ISRAEL'S
WHILE SOME PEOPLE ARE TEARING DOWN WALLS

THE WALL:

- Costs $3.4 billion (7.5 million per mile)
- Will be 453 miles long in its completed state
- Will steal 50% of the West Bank
- Leaves Palestinians with only 12% of historic Palestine
- Is 8 meters high in some areas — twice the height of the Berlin Wall
- Has armed watchtowers and a 30-100 meters "buffer zone" for electric fences, trenches, cameras, sensors, and military patrols
- Has a "buffer zone" which prevents the flow of large-scale demolitions and the eviction of nearby residents
- Is located just meters away from homes, shops, and schools
- Puts 16% of Palestinians in the West Bank "outside" the Wall and "inside" Israel

OTHERS ARE BUILDING THEM

APARTHEID WALL

- A poster seen plastering Pittsburgh street corners, often it would be torn up while many political/radical posters around it would be untouched