

shearith korakh series - alef

rozele made this

galut תולדות exile golus

zine project #one

for a vibrant jewish anarchist rebel culture & the embrace of love and resistance

written in tjkocin, 'poland' summer 2002/5762 rewritten in new york city, 'u.s.a.' spring & summer 2003/5763
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fueled by coffee potatos obsession chocolate garlic rye
nomy lamm jewlia eisenberg the syndicate the long lost godco

dedicated to the comrades on both sides of the green line who won't settle for less than freedom

in memory of rachel corrie tom humdall edward said and thousands more

shearith korakh

tradition tells us after the slave revolt in egypt, the former slaves and their allies wound up adrift in the desert east of the Red Sea. as mooses and aaron consolidated their power as 'leaders' of the revolt and escape, a group challenged their self-appointed rulership. the speaker for the rebellious group, korakh, used the religious/political language of the day to make the anti-authoritarian case: "you have gone too far! for all the community are holy, all of them, and the holy one is in their midst. why then do you raise yourselves above the holy one's congregation?" [numbers 16:3]. it took murderous divine interventions, killing thousands in earthquakes, fire, and plague, to crush the anti-hierarchical revolt.

'shearith korakh' translates as 'the remnant or survivors of korakh':

those who follow in the tradition of that rebellion, insisting on full freedom as we struggle, revolt, and escape.

this series prints zines, pamphlets, &c dealing with political, social and cultural topics of interest to jewish anarchists and our friends.

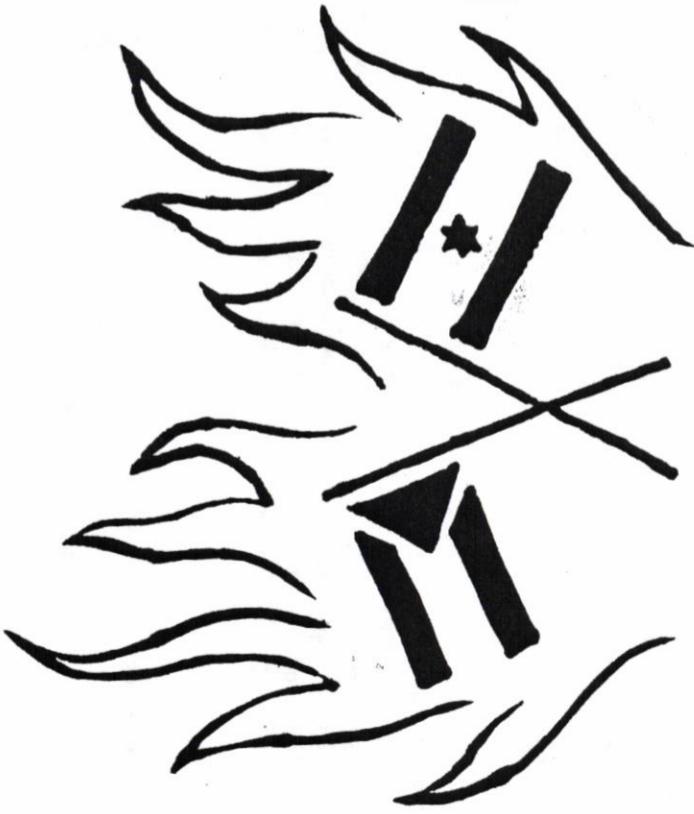
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for more copies, send stamps & a well-wrapped dollar or two (if you can)

sodomy
not
imperialism





NO STATE

SOLUTION

one state two state red state blue state

the 'moderates' (soft right-wingers and liberals who haven't thought it through) call for a "two-state" solution the 'extremists' (leftists and thoughtful liberals) call for a "one-state" solution. but states are no solution to the war at the eastern end of the Mediterranean.

to anarchists, states never look like a solution, of course, but the situation between the Jordan river and the sea shows some of the problems of states even more blatantly than usual. so here's a bit of an opinionated history, a more analytical look at the current situation, and some thoughts about anarchist participation in palestinian solidarity work. and also a note nudging jewish anarchists in particular to come out of the woodwork and get visible. all in hopes that it'll help folks more informed, and everyone more active.

this isn't any kind of news update - there are websites listed at the end that do that better than i ever could - and it's not an exhaustively detailed piece. it's a rough-and-ready history taking an anarchist perspective on the larger picture, with my ideas as one anarchist active in this work about what we're doing.

ABZ

Arab nationalism began in the mid 19th century as a movement for the autonomy of the arabic-speaking part of the ottoman empire (from syria to egypt to iraq to yemen on today's map). the goal was one nation-state on that land: it was a secular movement (with arabic-speaking christians as well as muslims participating) that grew out of a mixture of european 'enlightenment' ideas of nations and states; longstanding muslim ideas of the arabic-speaking region as a single entity; local resistance to ottoman imperial rule; and the ambitions of various rulers and elites in the area. arab nationalism took on various forms, meeting with repression from the empire, and by the early 20th century was strong enough to pose a serious threat to ottoman rule.

during world war I, after long negotiations, the 'arab revolt' lined up with the british and their allies against the ottoman and german side. the revolt, with minimal help from outside, drove the ottoman and german armies out of the arabic-speaking region (except for egypt, which was already under british rule - whole nother story there). in exchange, the arab nationalist leaders expected the british to fulfill their agreement and let the nationalists rule the lands the revolt had taken out of ottoman control. didn't happen.

British 'interest' in the east end of the Mediterranean goes way back; to the crusades if not before. but by the end of the 19th century it looked more interesting than ever: the region was the gateway to the british colonies in south asia and east africa, and it was starting to look like mining in those colonies might be lucrative: so when the ottoman empire started to look rickety, the british jumped at the chance to grab a piece.

the settlement at the end of world war I was simple: the winners gave 'friendly' local leaders like the ibn saud family control of the Arabian peninsula (no oil discovered there yet); the french took control of what's now syria and lebanon (and separated them for the first time); and the british controlled everything else.

once they'd gotten exclusive contracts for oil and other mineral resources, the british let iraq go 'independent': they also gave a certain amount of local control to trans-jordan (now simply jordan). but their long-term foothold was their third slice, along the sea: like the rest, they'd promised this piece of land to the arab nationalists, but they'd also promised it to another nationalist movement.

electd officials in the u.s. have many chances every year to reaffirm their support for the occupation, or to withhold it: many have also recently taken to making more individual gestures of support - buying bullet-proof vests for settlers, for instance, as several new york officials did in 2002. learn where your so-called representatives stand, and visit their local offices to let them know what you think of it.

the bureau of immigration and citizenship enforcement (BICE - formerly the INS) has disappeared and detained many palestinians since september 11, 2001, as part of their overall assault on arab, muslim and south asian immigrants: they've particularly targeted politically active palestinians, including farouk abdel muhiti, who has been in their custody for over a year (see www.freefarouk.org). recently, they've begun mass deportations of palestinians for the first time in decades - airlifting stateless refugees to jordan, which then shoves them over the river into the occupied west bank (which is not where they are from, for the most part). consult your local detainees support group about effective tactics to help with specific cases... **BICE** has offices everywhere.

right-wing christians are the strongest ideological supporters of zionism in the current u.s. administration (and they share the strategic support for israel as regional proxy, too). going after these alliances between the christian and jewish religious right can make clear the ways in which the war in palestine is not a religious or ethnic conflict, but a political one about land, water, and regional control. you know who your local bible-thumpers are...



Meretz – secular left party. anti-occupation, but kinda soft. based in ashkenazi (european) jewish communities. yossi sarid is one of the major figures.

Gush Emunim – religious-right movement of the west bank “settlers”. virulently pro-occupation, with genocidal overtones. influential despite small size. strong ties to the National Religious Party, which is the largest religious-right party.

Shinui – secularist party. young, but right now one of the largest. based in ashkenazi (european) jewish communities. anti-religious (with a racist anti-Shas spin), very pro-military and pro-occupation. led by yosef ‘tommy’ lapid.

Kach/Kahane Chai – religious-right (jewish) organizations, currently banned by the israeli government for terrorist activity and active under other names. founded by brooklyn rabbi meir kahane in the 1980s. anti-arab racists with guns. unfortunately, their symbol is a fist in a star of david. parallel to the Jewish Defense League/Jewish Defense Organization in the u.s.a.

(targets worth considering)

Caterpillar makes the bulldozers that the israeli army uses to destroy palestinian homes. SUSTAIN-DC and many other chapters are focusing its efforts on them. their products are everywhere... you know what to do.

Boeing/McDonnell Douglas makes the Apache helicopter, a favorite weapon of the israeli military in the occupied territories. as if you needed another reason to go after them. most other major arms manufacturers also do a big business with the state of israel (with the money coming ultimately from u.s. taxes, for the most part).

Bank Leumi, Israel Discount Bank, and other israeli banks have offices in major u.s. cities. they are, like any major financial institutions that handle states' and corporations' money, deeply imbedded in the funding that enables the occupation to continue. they've been targeted with symbolic actions in new york city (and possibly elsewhere).

“settlement”-grown crops (and manufactures) are under boycott by a wide range of israeli and palestinian groups. there are all kinds of possibilities for creative (and messy) actions wherever you shop (or don't shop). there's a list of brands and info at www.gush-shalom.org. some palestinian and palestine solidarity groups have also called for a boycott of all israeli products. i can't quite tell whether this has gotten off the ground much so far.

divestment campaigns are cropping up all over. there's no reason why your union pension fund, college or university, city government, or whatever shouldn't get some heavy pressure if it's invested in israeli government bonds or corporations.

Zionism, in its modern political form, began in the late 19th century in the most assimilated segment of the german jewish elite. following the lead of german romantic nationalists, the early zionists saw national/racial fulfillment as the only goal worth pursuing, and saw it as attainable only through the establishment of an ethnically defined, centralized nation-state (the kind germany was then becoming for the first time). they said that european anti-jewish prejudice and oppression was not only understandable but correct, because a people without a state would inevitably be degenerate. the only solution, since their racial theories didn't allow true absorption into other nations, was to find somewhere to set up a nation-state. after exploring other options (at one point negotiating with the british for uganda), they settled on the jewish mythic homeland around Jerusalem as their site.

all of this was a huge break with jewish tradition. zionism was a secular movement based on racial ideas of a nation that were rooted in christian western europe, and it proposed the idea of a jewish state – a notion so alien as to be an oxymoron. the jewish religious tradition had a longstanding 'zionist' element: when the messiah comes, he's supposed to set up a kingdom in Jerusalem. but there's a very strong prohibition on doing anything to hurry that day along (except for living a just & righteous life).

so, predictably, the political zionists found a lukewarm response when they began to propagandize. most traditional religious jews (the vast majority) considered them heretics; most secular jews in eastern europe (socialists and anarchists) thought they were crazy nationalists. and they didn't bother at all with the many jewish communities who weren't in europe (including the arabic-speaking communities in and near Jerusalem) the only part of the jewish world where they had any success was among the assimilated jewish elites in western europe – who had no intention of moving to the other end of the Mediterranean.

but those elites would fund propaganda and programs for victims of pogroms in eastern europe. so by world war I there was a scattering of ideological hard-core zionists and desperate jewish refugees from the russian empire living in the ottoman province between the Jordan and the sea, amounting to 8% of the population. during the war, back-door negotiations with the british (who hoped to turn jews and other minority populations in germany and austro-hungary toward their side in the war) got a commitment in 1917 to support some kind of “jewish national home” in the area.

so in 1920, the british had promised the same strip of land under their colonial control to one local nationalist movement and one foreign nationalist movement. and things got predictably ugly.

all through the 1920s and 30s the zionist movement fought two kinds of war in the territory everyone called palestine. one was a war of attrition against the local population, bringing in as many settlers as possible and buying up as much land as possible - reaching 30% of the population and owning 6% of the land in 1939. the other was a guerrilla war against the british colonial government, mainly through bombings and armed attacks - ending up with near-autonomy for the settlers under the zionist organizations' rule. it was never a democratic framework; it was never socialist in any meaningful way - it was the private fiefdom of the self-appointed zionist leadership.

the indigenous palestinian population, of course, resisted both the zionist land-grab and the british colonial rule imposed after the war. arab nationalists were very publicly willing to welcome jewish refugees from pogroms into the (arab) nation-state they aimed to establish. they refused, however, to recognize any validity to the zionist claim of exclusive rights to the region. open violence broke out at several times, with the british standing by trying to play both sides into their own hands.

the nazis ended this stage of the game. the british colonies in the eastern Mediterranean became key strategic spots in world war II, with arab nationalists and zionists caught in the middle. the zionists, for their part, did next to nothing to rescue european jews before or during the war except as far as the effort fit into their long-term plans. david ben gurion, the dominant figure among the zionist settlers, said in december 1938 (just after kristallnacht): "if i knew it was possible to save all the [jewish] children of germany by their transfer to england and only half of them by transferring them to cret-z-jisrael ['the land of israel'], i would choose the latter".

the nazi's genocidal anti-jewish campaign killed off the best organized anti-zionist and non-zionist jewish populations - the traditional religious communities and anarchist/socialist jews who between them made up the vast majority of european jews. few of the survivors were allowed to immigrate to desirable destinations like the u.s.a., argentina, and australia. the zionist movement milked the situation for all it could get from 1945 on, forcing confrontations that made the british look bad whenever possible.

Hamas - acronym for Islamic Resistance Movement. religious-right nationalist group led by sheikh ahmad yassin. founded 1987, concentrated in the Gaza strip. does social-service work as well as armed struggle. opposed the oslo accords.

Hezbollah - 'Party of God'. religious-right nationalist group. founded early 1980s, involved in armed struggle since 1983, active mainly in Lebanon. a key factor in the end of Israel's occupation of southern Lebanon.

Islamic Jihad - religious-right nationalist group. founded mid-1980s. involved in armed struggle.

P.F.L.P. - acronym for Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. marxist nationalist group. engaged in armed struggle since its founding in 1967. active in the 1987 intifada. opposed the oslo accords, but remains within the PLO.

Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades - armed group connected to Fatah; founded 2000.

Salahadin Brigade - armed wing of the Popular Resistance Committees, which include members of Hamas and Fatah.

Tanzim - quasi-military militia associated with Fatah. active throughout the west bank and Gaza strip. conduct first aid and civil defense courses as well as resistance activities. they see themselves as graduates of the 1987 intifada.

Knesset - Israel's parliament (120 members). votes are cast for parties, not individual candidates; then a prime minister is elected separately. the main parties have separate listings below. when, as at present, no party has a majority, some of the numerous small, special interest parties - though never the palestinian ones - are invited to form a coalition government, which gives them a disproportionate influence.

Likud - secular right-wing party, generally one of the 2 or 3 largest. based in ashkenazi (european) jewish communities. very pro-occupation - lots of 'security' and 'terrorism' rhetoric. led by ariel sharon, with binyamin netanyahu another major figure.

Labor - secular moderate party, generally one of the 2 or 3 largest. based in ashkenazi (european) jewish communities. pro-occupation, but open to negotiations. current figures include shimon peres, ehud barak, and amram mitzna.

Shas - religious party, generally one of the 2 or 3 largest. based in sefardi/mizrachi (arab/north african, iranian, etc.) jewish communities. quite pro-occupation, but it's not a high priority for them. economically kinda progressive, socially reactionary.

www.palestinercs.org

Refuser Solidarity Network (israeli refusniks/military resisters umbrella group)
www.refusersolidarity.net

Alternative Information Center (excellent. based in israel)
www.alternativenews.org

PASSIA: Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs (comprehensive facts)
www.passia.org/index.htm

Indymedia
palestine: www.jerusalem.indymedia.org
israel: www.indymedia.org.il/english

(who's who)

most of these are adapted from a much larger (and quite excellent) lexicon at www.ameu.org/lexicon.asp with additional info from a second fabulous glossary at www.passia.org/diary/Palestinian-Dictionary-Terms.htm

P.A, P.N.A. - acronym for Palestinian Authority or Palestinian National Authority, the elected government officials and agencies set up by the oslo accords. yasir arafat (aka abu amar) has been president since 1996.

P.L.C. - acronym for Palestinian Legislative Council, parliament (88 members) set up by the oslo accords to deal with Palestinian internal affairs. has no authority over foreign affairs or agreements with foreign governments.

P.L.O. - acronym for Palestine Liberation Organization, nationalist umbrella group, led by yasir arafat since 1969. founded 1964; recognized by the UN in 1974 as the representative of the palestinian people; recognized by israel in 1993. signed the oslo accords, after several groups withdrew in protest.

P.N.C. - acronym for Palestine National Council, the legislative body of the PLO (669 members), led by an executive committee of 18.

Fatah - acronym (reversed) for Palestinian Liberation Movement, secular nationalist group led by yasir arafat. historically, the leading group within the PLO. founded 1959, involved in armed struggle from 1965 on. active in the 1987 intifada, main group involved in the oslo "peace process", and now ruling party in the P.A.

in 1947, the british, with the help of the u.s.a. (which was rapidly taking over the british colonial role in the eastern Mediterranean), decided to use the newborn united nations to impose a partition which would have given 56% of the land to the 32% of the population living in the zionist settlements, and the remnant to the palestinian 68% majority. the colonial powers wanted to keep the zionist presence in the area as a permanent foothold - a state that would inevitably be dependent on them for support against its justifiably hostile neighbors, and thus the most reliable of allies. they hoped the partition plan would allow that to happen, while still keeping the arab nationalists in palestine and elsewhere somewhat happy. the first half of the plan worked better than the second.

as the partition went into effect, the arab post-colonial governments of the region, with the support of the palestinian nationalist movement, tried to revive the arab nationalist dream by capturing the whole of palestine. during the war that followed, the zionist settlers expelled palestinians (combatants or not) from as much of the land they won as possible - using massacres, destruction of villages, threats, and all the other tools of war. the result was the creation of a state called israel, bounded by a 1949 cease-fire line (known as the "green line"). and alongside it, the creation of a huge palestinian refugee population, and a large disenfranchised palestinian population within the state of israel.

(books)

some of my favorites & things i've found most useful

Ammiel Alcalay, *After Jews and Arabs; Memories of Our Future* - great, especially on the ties between arab jews and the rest of the arab world.

George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening* - arab nationalism through the 1930s. he was there and talked to everyone involved.

Nasser Aruri (ed.), *Palestinian Refugees and the Right of Return* - everything you need to know. written in 1999.

Daniel Boyarin, *Unheroic Conduct* - the bizarre roots of zionism, and its relationship to heterosexism, patriarchy, and gender deviance...wow.

Roane Carey (ed.), *The New Intifada; The Other Israel* (with Jonathan Shainin & Tom Segev) - the first full-length anthology on the september 2000 uprising & an anthology on Israeli resistance. both quite good.

Ilan Halevi, *History of the Jews* - amazing. revisionist, non-zionist, focused away from european jews. he makes it all make sense.

David Massey (ed.), *It's All Lies* - collection of israeli anarchist writing, fliers, punk rock, etc. fabulous.

Rela Mazali, *Maps of Women's Comings and Goings* - amazing. more relevant than it looks at first sight, though you shouldn't read it expecting information, exactly.

Shaul Mishal & Avraham Sela, *The Palestinian Hamas* - informative, but not as good as it should be.

Don Peretz, *Intifada* - a good rundown on 1987-1992, not the most exciting read.

Tanya Reinhardt, *Israel/Palestine* - why the also accords were a bad joke; why 1948 is still the key, by a radical israeli academic.

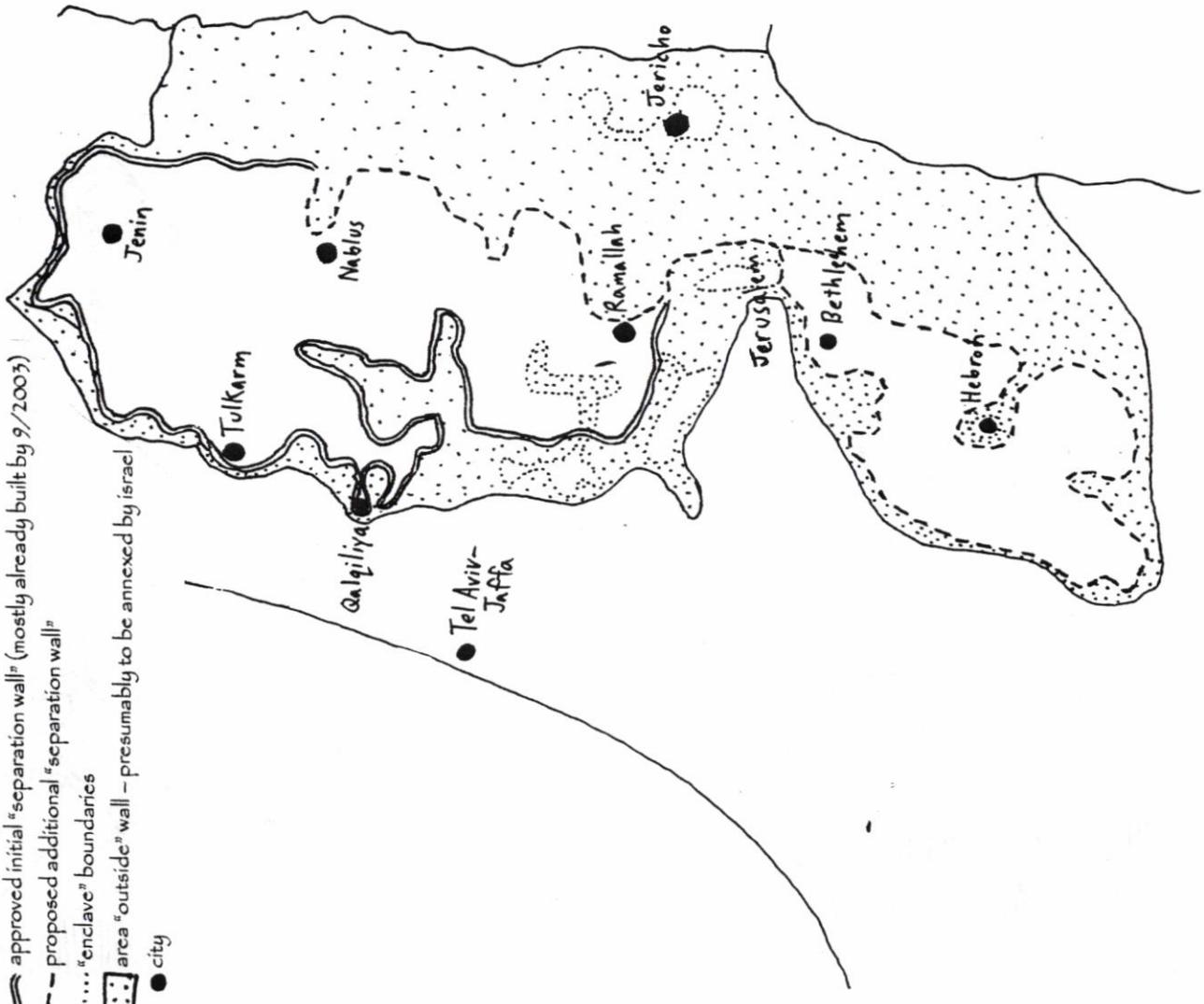
Edward Said - overexposed, but usually insightful. died in exile during the editing of this zine; he'll be missed.

Tom Segev, *One Palestine, Complete; The Seventh Million* - the grand old revisionist historian of zionism. exhaustive, but often worth it.

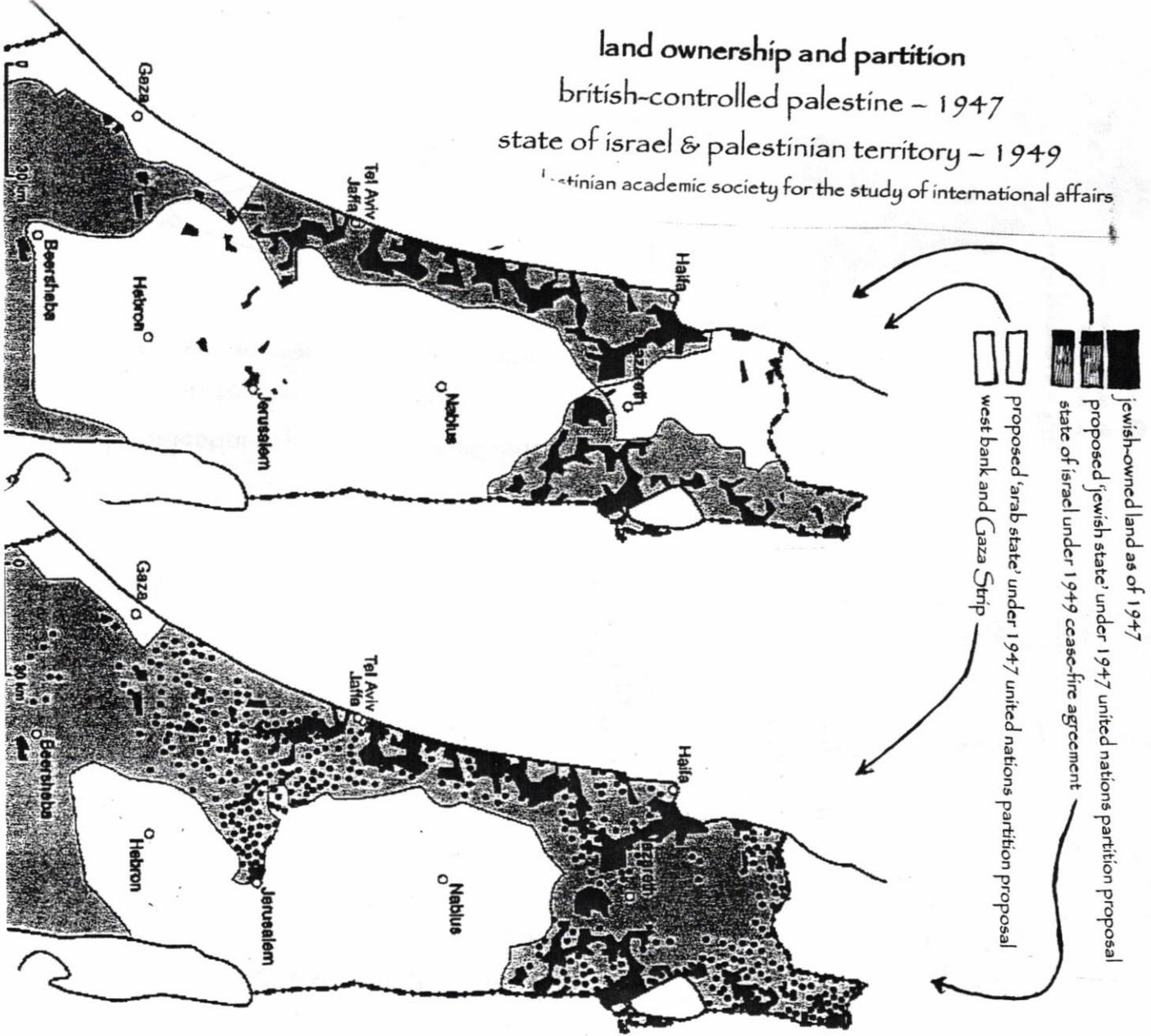
the apartheid wall
israeli-occupied west bank - 2003

source: gush shalom

- border of west bank (green line)
- approved initial "separation wall" (mostly already built by 9/2003)
- proposed additional "separation wall"
- "enclave" boundaries
- area "outside" wall - presumably to be annexed by israel
- city



land ownership and partition
 british-controlled palestine ~ 1947
 state of israel & palestinian territory ~ 1949
 palestinian academic society for the study of international affairs



• palestinian village ethnically cleansed 1948-9 or 1967
 ○ city



to my mind, what that means in practice is a careful balance of flexibility and unwillingness to compromise. declining to support state-focused demands and calls to action does not need to mean refusing to work with palestinian groups that take these positions, or working only with anarchists from the region. it means making it clear, in a practical way rather than by dictating terms, what kinds of events we feel able to participate in and why. it means choosing who we work alongside carefully – our political affinities and others' interest in working with us may or may not align easily. it means phrasing our propaganda, banners, etc. carefully enough for our specific messages to stand alongside our expressions of solidarity. it means paying attention to (and acting in solidarity with) the resistance to the occupation and to zionism, militarism and the war on palestinians that comes from jewish israelis – especially the anarchist and autonomist resistance.

and being committed in our solidarity *and* true to our beliefs means more than anything else remembering that we are not at the center of this struggle. it's not our place to lay out terms for a settlement, short- or long-term – they must be agreed on by the people directly affected (not "their" states or "representatives") if they are to be effective, much less valid. there are situations when it's appropriate and necessary for us to put forward our vision of the future, but our priority needs to be the effectiveness of our solidarity with the struggles we are trying to support.

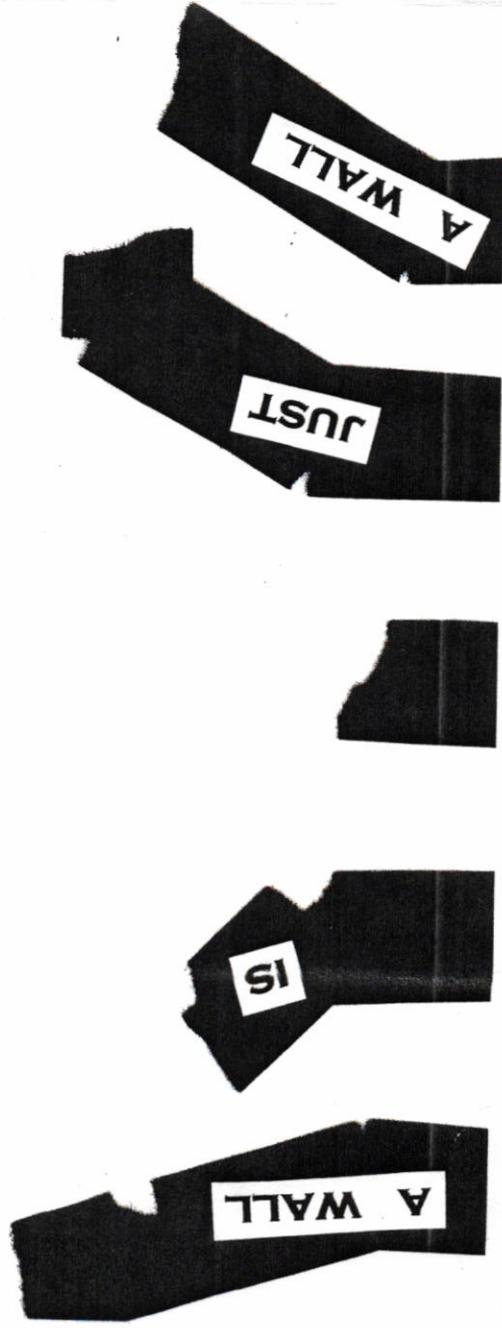
here in the u.s.a. we are in a strategically important position: at the source of israel's fundings, inside the region's colonial power. if we make the most of this position and the vulnerable points it gives us access to, in our actions we can both make a concrete difference in the situation palestinians face and build the strong relationships with palestinians that can make our ideas more easily heard. this may mean working alongside groups (and members of groups) we have serious disagreements with – and it may mean declining to do so and carrying out our own autonomous actions without these connections. it means making these decisions based on effectiveness. the stronger we hold to both our beliefs as anarchists and our solidarity with the palestinian struggle, the more we can do to carry both forward.

ASSATA SHAKUR

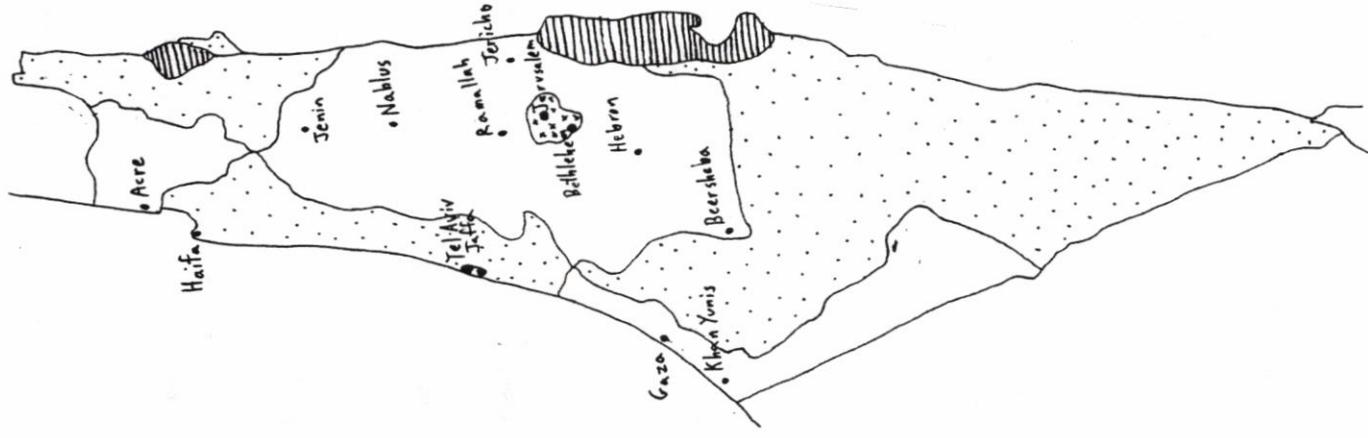
states are no solution

it's very important for anarchists getting involved in palestine solidarity work to think through very carefully who we are working in solidarity with, and towards what goals. as anti-state, anti-nationalist individuals and collectives, we stand in solidarity with palestinians as people who have lived under the most severe oppression for over fifty years. our solidarity with them must be as deep as it is with any other group of people facing similar oppression - kurds in turkey, turks in germany, zapotec@s in oaxaca, jews in argentina, oneida in new york state. but as in all these cases, it is solidarity with their struggles for liberation, not with their *national*/liberation movements. the risk, for anarchists, is in sliding from solidarity with resistance against imperialist and colonialist attacks toward support for the nationalist positions of some of those involved in that resistance.

what we hope to see for palestinians is what we desire for ourselves and for everyone: a world in which people - as individuals or groups - make the decisions which affect their lives, free from coercion and mediation. which is to say a world in which *all* the inhabitants of the eastern end of the Mediterranean can live in just and peaceful conditions of freedom. this is not a vision in which nationalisms (zionist or palestinian) or states ("jewish", palestinian, binational, or any other kind) have a place. it is a vision which is impossible without the end of israel's occupation of the west bank, Gaza strip and east Jerusalem; without the return home of every palestinian refugee who wishes it; without the dismantling of the colonial "settlements" in the occupied territories; without an end to the militarism which clogs israeli society. and it is a vision that is not likely to come about without a number of intermediate "solutions" - most likely some kind of two-state model followed by some form of one-state model. but if it is the vision we believe in, *it is* the one we need to struggle for.

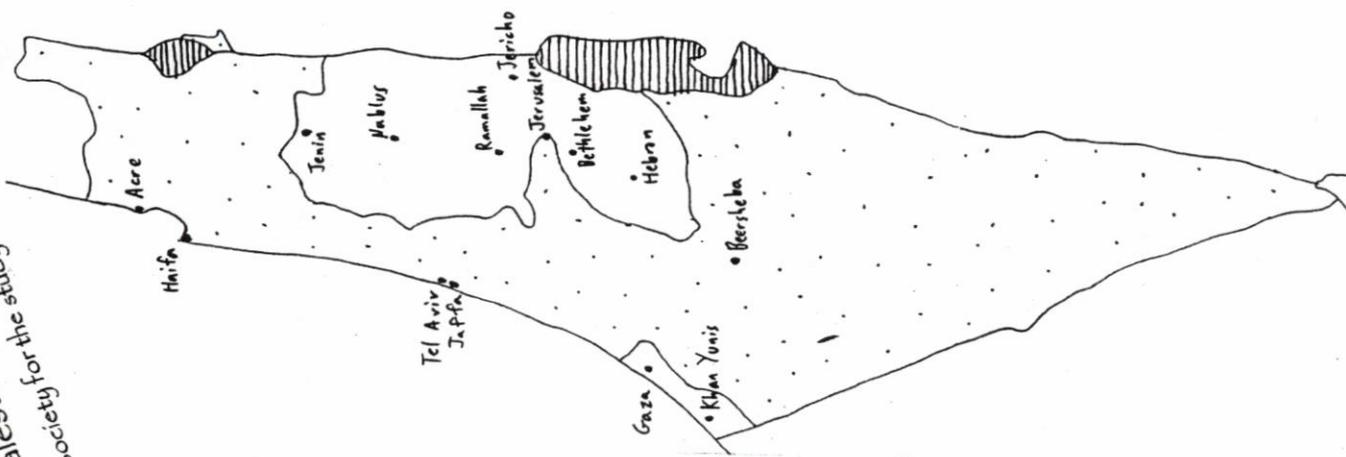


Proposed partition and ceasefire
 British-controlled palestine - 1947



Proposed 'jewish state' under 1947 united nations partition proposal
 Proposed 'arab state' under 1947 united nations partition proposal
 Proposed 'international territory' under 1947 united nations partition proposal
 city

state of israel under 1949 cease-fire agreement
 palestinian territory



source: palestinian academic society for the study of international affairs

which leaves us today...

as i said, i'm not going to talk about the political/military details or current events - it'd be out of date before you ever read it, so this is a quick look at a few of the dynamics that seem especially important for anarchists doing palestine solidarity work to think over.

all the land from the Jordan to the sea is controlled by the state of israel. it has no official borders - only the 1949 ceasefire line and the army's perimeter marking the land it controls beyond that line. it has no constitution - the 'basic law' of 1949 (intended as an interim measure) sits under a jury-rigged legal arrangement. in other words, it is a state in a very pure form - an official structure bounded by the limits of its military strength, with not much more than the laws it needs to 'preserve order'.

it differs from this pure model only as far as it is also a very pure nationalist enterprise. the 20% of israeli citizens who are palestinian are legally discriminated against. the 27% of the population under the state's control who live under military occupation or in refugee camps (who are not citizens) are of course subject to far worse than discrimination. israel is not a state of its citizens, much less its residents - it is an ethnically/racially defined "jewish state", controlling land whose population is at most 55% jewish. its structure as a nationalist project is tenuously balanced between its secular history and the religious authority recruited to back up its present position - only religious marriage is recognized, and religious school students are exempt from the draft, for instance.

israeli society is deeply molded by the militarism that is integral to these processes. new profile, an israeli group active with military resisters and rooted in the feminist movement, has developed an analysis that sees militarism as the key strand that ties together the 1967 occupation, racism against palestinians and against jews from places outside europe, the oppression of women and queers, and the pervasive hierarchical structure of israel's old-army-buddies networks. they say that the army has made itself a state and called it israel. to me, as an anarchist, the only place i differ with their analysis is in seeing no possibility for states to be anything *but* the creations of war machines both external and internal.

arching over all this is the same dynamic that got the zionists a state: the colonial power in the area (the u.s.a.) wants a foothold, a completely dependent state that can't say no. so the state of israel gets \$6.3 billion a year in arms and cash, which it needs to stay afloat economically and militarily; and the u.s.a. gets a partner-puppet more reliable than any state more integrated into the region could be - and permanently at war.

on the palestinian side, resistance to the israeli occupation of 1967, and to the zionist project in general, is mainly through nationalist/national liberation organizations of various kinds. right now, there's a tenuous balance between secular and religious-right nationalists (quite like the similar balance in the israeli political elite). both sets are aiming for a state of some kind: bureaucratic or theocratic seem to be the options, with some differences over what amount of land different groups would settle for and how willing they are to coexist with jewish israelis under any conditions.

the sticking point for any planned palestinian state built on less than the whole area of palestine is the situation of the refugees of 1948. they're a majority of palestinians, and they've been in refugee camps for three generations. most importantly, they simply *don't* come from the west bank, Gaza strip or east Jerusalem. their homes are inside the cease-fire "green line" that marks the edges of the state of israel.

much of the energy behind the tensions within the palestinian movements comes from the very different situations faced by the four main categories of palestinians: those in the occupied territories, in the refugee camps (some of which are in the occupied territories), in the diaspora elsewhere in the world, and living as citizens of israel. these lines cut across families, sometimes aligning with class differences, sometimes not. each group has different immediate needs, different key long-term issues, and access to very different resources.

this has led to stronger and weaker support for various types of nationalist groups in different places. most notably, the religious-right groups have their main bases of support in the refugee camps in the Gaza strip. these refugees are living under the most intense military occupation, and are also deeply committed to returning to their homes inside the "green line". religious-right nationalists have been almost the only groups to provide services to these deeply deprived communities, and also have very uncompromising lines on return (through conquest) to the lands lost in 1948. they've never had similar support among non-refugee palestinians in the occupied territories or among palestinian citizens of israel, for whom these two factors are less crucial. similar differences and tensions are visible around all the various factions and organizations, and in all the various sectors of palestinian society.