PALESTINE
sixty years later

Gaza, East Jerusalem, and the West Bank

2008-2009

Photographs and Observations

photographs and text by

Thomas Suárez

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Brief Glossary

• *Arab and Jew.* Although for the purposes of this book I use these two words as the public debate uses them, it is important to disentangle them and be aware of how they are manipulated. Both *Jew* and *Arab* are panethnic terms. Historically, *Jew* referred to one who actively practices Judaism, though today it is variously used to mean heritage, culture, tradition, bloodline, or ethnicity. Israel exploits these ambiguities and contradictions to demonstrate that its policies are non-racist. *Arab* refers to various peoples grouped mainly by their common Semitic language. Unlike the term *Jew*, *Arab* is not synonymous with any religion. In context of Israeli apartheid, a Palestinian, regardless of ethnicity and religion, is simply the Other, one who is not of the chosen bloodline.

• *Bedouin.* A traditionally nomadic and typically desert-dwelling Arab ethnic group.

• *Cast Lead* is Israel's name for its escalation of attacks against Gaza of 27 December, 2008, through 18 January, 2009.

• *IDF* is the Israeli Defence Forces (Israeli military).

• *PA* is the Palestinian Authority, the governing body of Palestine, in principle distinct from any political party. At present there are two "Palestinian Authorities," one in Gaza under Hamas that was democratically elected by all of Palestine, and one in the West Bank and East Jerusalem under Fatah that is unelected (though Mahmoud Abbas won, with US help, a 2005 election for president).

• *UNRWA* is the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, the principal agency overseeing the welfare of the Palestinian refugees.

• *USAID* is the United States Agency for International Development, in theory a humanitarian agency, though its role is disputed.

• *UXO* refers to unexploded ordnance.

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In memory of the young Bedouin girl, name unrecorded,
who was gang raped and murdered by Israeli soldiers in the Negev, August, 1949,
and all the others of whom not even this much is remembered.

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Introduction

The photographs in this book were taken between February 2008, and May 2009, six decades into the *Nakba*, the ongoing "catastrophe" in Palestine that began by late 1947.

In the mid-1940s, as humankind surveyed the legacy of two cataclysmic world wars, attempts were made to change fundamentally the way nations resolved conflicts. International bodies were established to settle disputes and to stand together against injustice. War trials held officials accountable for their crimes. A series of conventions codified the norms of civilized nations.

Yet the first major action by the most powerful nations in this new world was to set in motion the expropriation and subjugation of an entire people, precisely what the revolutionary new laws were to have ensured would happen never again.

Thus was born the Palestinian "problem."

In 1947, the fledgling United Nations discussed the resettlement of Europe's displaced Jews, who along with communists, gypsies, dissidents, homosexuals, Catholics, and the congenitally malformed were the targets of Nazi atrocities. Britain at this time was preparing to cede Palestine, a region it had controlled for the three decades following the demise of the Ottoman Empire, so the resettlement of displaced Jews in a democratic, secular Palestinian nation was proposed. Jews and Arabs had lived together in Palestine for centuries.[1]

But Zionism was from its beginning quite at odds with that coexistence. Already in 1891, barely a decade after Zionist immigration began in earnest, a Jewish visitor in Palestine wrote that the Zionist settlers "behave towards the Arabs with hostility and cruelty, trespass unjustly upon their boundaries, beat them shamefully without reason and even brag about it."[2] In Europe, Zionist leaders were explicit and consistent in their view of Palestinian Arabs as obstacles to be eliminated, and by the early 1900s their violent expulsion by settlers' paramilitary groups had begun.[3]

The goal of a nation-state took precedence over all else. Even on the eve of the Holocaust, in 1938, David Ben-Gurion, who would lead the Zionist armies to victory ten years later and become Israel's first Prime Minister, was uneasy with international offers of sanctuary to get Jews out of harm's way. He stated flatly that he would send half of all the Jewish children in Germany to their deaths rather than weaken the argument for taking Palestine.[4]

In the meantime, Zionist militias were staging a deadly campaign of terrorist attacks to extract that goal by force. The Irgun's infamous bombing of the King David Hotel in 1946 is the only attack still in the popular memory, but was one of many in a day when "Palestinian terrorist" meant *Zionist* terrorist.[5]

So it was that in 1947, then armed with the fact of the Holocaust, the Zionist leadership won the partitioning of Palestine, United Nations General Assembly Resolution 181 allocating approximately 55% of the land to their cause. The vote was 33 to 13, with 10 abstentions.

Although Resolution 181 would doubtfully have withstood legal scrutiny, Palestinian requests to have the Partition brought to the International Court of Justice were denied.[6] By exploiting the Palestinian refusal to willingly give away their own land, Zionist leaders simultaneously agreed to the partition while declaring that they were not bound by its geographic limits.[7]

Still, most European Jews did not want to move to Israel. They looked elsewhere, in particular to the United States, prompting Zionist leaders to use their influence to discourage Jewish immigration.[8] Nor did many Jews in Arab countries wish to join the enterprise, and so more forceful tactics were sometimes used, including staged Arab "terrorism."[9]

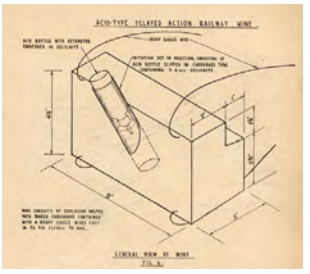
While these were temporal concerns, the two principal problems facing Israel's architects are still today being "solved." The first is that the UN did not give them all of Palestine. The second problem was, and remains, the Palestinians themselves. Zionist planners wanted a "pure" state, and had for decades explicitly acknowledged that this would only be achieved through violent transfer—"brutal compulsion," in Ben-Gurion's words.[10]

Thus when the Zionist armies claimed their prize, they immediately set about expelling or massacring Arabs from the 55% of Palestine given to Israel by the UN, and grabbing as much land beyond it as they could. The war of 1948 was a late offensive by Arab armies fought principally in the "Palestinian" 43% to stop Zionist militias from wiping Palestine off the map.

When Count Bernadotte, the Swedish diplomat who had secured the release of 30,000 Jews from German death camps, told Zionist leaders that their theft of land beyond the UN partition and the massacre of Palestinians had to stop, he was assassinated by Lehi (the "Stern Gang").[12]

A UN Security Council cablegram sent from Palestine upon his murder in Jerusalem in September of 1948 describes the Zionist

> *terrorist groups... in territory controlled by provisional government of Israel [and that] had operated in Palestine*



•1. Diagram from a pamphlet issued by the British government in 1946 to help protect its personnel from Zionist terrorism. The pamphlet analyzes explosive devices used in terrorist attacks by Zionist militias during that year, along with the methods used to hide and booby-trap the bombs. This diagram is of an "acid-type delayed-action railway mine" used to blow up trains.[14]

during mandate, and were responsible for many hideous crimes committed in name of political objectives... [they] constitute a critical challenge from an unbridled bank of Jewish terrorists to the very effort of United Nations to achieve, by means of mediation, a peaceful adjustment of the dispute in Palestine.[13]

The crisis led to second thoughts by the nations that had voted for partition, and to UNGA Resolution 194.

Resolution 194 (December, 1948) demanded that Israel stop blocking the return of the seven hundred and fifty thousand people it had just violently expelled; that Palestinians be accorded free access to Jerusalem, which was to have been an international zone but whose western half Israel had seized; and a "final settlement of all questions." Even though Israel had just grabbed half of the 43% of Palestine that Resolution 181 had reserved for Palestinians, claiming about 78% of the land instead of 55%, it would not (and today still will not) commit to any geographic boundaries.

The United Nations made its recognition of Israel specifically contingent on Israel's compliance with Resolution 194. Israel agreed, but then reneged twenty-four hours after its UN admittance was formalized in UNGA Resolution 273.[14] Today, sixty years later, it has yet to comply. Instead, refugees watched from their squalor and humiliation as Israel flaunted the international body that created it and continued its aggression and ethnic cleansing. How can it be that their descendants still languish in refugee camps?

The world upside-down: Who is attacking whom?

In large part, Israel's intransigence persists due to the West's astonishing and enduring inversion of reality, seeing Israel as the victim and Palestinians as the aggressors. This reversal is why statistics showing far greater Palestinian casualties fail to argue the Palestinian case: all victims are seen as victims of Palestinians. Golda Meir said it masterfully: "We can forgive you for killing our children, but we can never forgive you for making us kill your children."[15]

How has Israel manufactured the illusion that it is the victim and those it is ethnically cleansing are the aggressors?

The role of the media is of course essential, the West's own geo-political interests making its corporate media willing partners to Israel's rendering of events.

As powerful as controlling the message, is the coopting of the language itself. Terms such as "terrorism," "militant," "peace process," "defense," and "insurgent" have long been drained of any meaning, groomed as code words that circumvent critical thought and instill rote conclusions.

Secondly, Israel diverts the debate onto straw issues that exist only in context of its illegal aggression. This tactic is far more effective in persuading the public that Israel "belongs" in Palestine than its overt claims of legitimacy. For example, in reporting evictions of non-Jews from East Jerusalem, the media repeat Israel's explanations of building permits, zoning, and residency requirements. The questions themselves are decoys: Israel is an illegal occupier and has no more jurisdiction in East Jerusalem than it has in London or Tahiti. But by framing the dispute around trappings of sovereignty, sovereignty is assumed.

Three, Israel depicts its attacks as defense. Its standard technique to create this facade has been to provoke in order to elicit a Palestinian response, the response to Israeli violence then showcased as an unprovoked attack.

"Self-defense"

Indeed, six decades ago Zionist leaders met to discuss the "problem" of Palestinian passivity. Realizing that too many Palestinians were willing to resign themselves to the injustice and get on with their lives, Zionist militias agreed to escalate their violence to extract the necessary reaction.[16] "Self-defense" has remained the pretext for Israeli aggression ever since.

The "Cast Lead" attacks on Gaza (Dec 08 - Jan 09) are a recent example of how provocation is used to elicit response to justify attack. During the second half of 2008 the Hamas government in Gaza unilaterally abided by a cease-fire. Israel refused to honor the cease-fire—its part of the agreement was to ease its illegal siege, but instead it *tightened* the siege.

Then on 4 November, Israel launched an air and ground assault on central Gaza, claiming that a tunnel was being dug under the Green Line. Several Palestinians were killed. Why 4 November? Because it was presidential election day in the US (Obama vs McCain), preempting the slightest risk that the attacks would be reported in the Western media. How a tunnel could be clandestinely dug under this exposed, hyper-fortified and surveilled border, or why stopping it required aerial bombardment and tank incursions closer to the coast than the Green Line, never had to be explained. Israel got exactly what it wanted: primitive rockets fired over the Green Line (not even necessarily by Hamas), providing the pretext for 22 days of "defensive" carnage against a civilian population that Israel itself kept trapped.[17]

That "it was Israel that never lived up to its end of the bargain [and] breached the ceasefire" is a matter of simple record, and these words the written testimony of Israeli soldiers.[18]

The invulnerability of Israel's "defense" facade was succinctly demonstrated by the very Western media that professed to examine Cast Lead critically. Their debate consisted of whether or not Israel's attacks were "proportionate." By framing the issue thus, Israel was presumed to be defending itself no matter the answer.

After those 22 days, the West was led to believe that the attacks had ended. But Gaza had, rather, simply returned to "normal." Deadly Israeli strikes by air, sea, and land continue. Life remains paralyzed.

Military strategy

The principal strategy used to force the mass exodus of Palestinians in 1948 was known as Plan Dalet. Zionist militias went from village to village, surrounded each on three sides, then pushed inward so that people had to flee or be killed.[19]

Today the strategy is carried out by encircling Palestinian towns with any combination of settlements, segregated roads, checkpoints, buffer zones, roadblocks, and the apartheid Wall, suffocating towns and villages until they are abandoned or economically and sociologically strangled.

Since 1967, ID cards have been an important tool in Israel's racial cleansing, institutionalizing control over Palestinians' movement and residence. In concert with this, a web of intricate legal obfuscations enables policies of race-supremacy to be enacted under the guise of arcane bureaucracy. Public and international funds are channelled into organizations that carry out ethnic cleansing on Israel's behalf.

Biological and chemical warfare

Israel's use of chemical and biological weapons is first documented in 1948, both in Acre, where the Hagana injected typhoid into the aqueduct, and in Gaza, where a similar attempt was foiled in the act.[20]

It continues today with Israel's use of Palestinian villages as its toxic waste dumps; settlers' poisoning of Palestinian wells; the crippling of Gaza's sewage system and blocking of its repair; the diversion of aquifers and potable water; Israeli settlements that discharge their untreated waste into neighboring Palestinian villages; and with the chemicals, white phosphorus, and depleted uranium unleashed by IDF weapons.[21]

Health and education

The UN warns that Israel's slow starvation of Palestinians risks a generation of children unable to grow and develop normally.[22] Israel's sabotaging of the Palestinian economy, infrastructure, and distribution networks is causing a quarter of Palestinian children to suffer from acute or chronic malnutrition. Their cognition is impaired, often irreversibly, and their immune systems damaged. In the Gaza Strip, Israel bans or severely restricts the entry of essential foods such as milk and baby formula. Pleas by the UN and other international organizations are ignored.

The denial of medical care is systemic. In the West Bank, access to proper care depends on getting travel permits that can be denied even in life-threatening circumstances. Ultimately, no matter the preparation, access rests with the whims of soldiers at the checkpoints.

The situation in Gaza is yet more dire. Since Israel blocks the entry of most medical equipment, supplies, and doctors, many patients need treatment outside of Gaza. But patients die because Israel refuses to let them pass through the border, or because it makes passage contingent on their becoming collaborators.[23] The Israeli Medical Association's complicity in the IDF's torture of Palestinians is well documented,[24] as is the IDF's deliberate targeting of ambulances and other emergency vehicles.

Palestine is crippled by Israel's sabotaging of education. It bans bringing books and school supplies into Gaza, forcibly removes students attending schools other than where their apartheid ID cards permit, and prevents students granted international study and scholarships from leaving—all this, in addition to the routine, arbitrary incarceration of children and the myriad restrictions that paralyze daily life under brutal military occupation and siege.

Buying complicity

Plans to buy the complicity of the Ottoman Empire, which by the early 1900s was heavily in debt, never materialized, nor did a plan pursued by Zionist officials in 1937-38 in which an "uninvolved" non-Jewish American would coerce Iraq into importing Palestine's Arabs while the Zionist leadership would publicly condemn the transfer.[25] After WWII, such deals were more successful.

In 1948 Zionists struck a secret deal giving King Abdullah of Jordan the West Bank in return for his cooperation with their theft of land beyond the UN partition.[26] Today, dictatorships enjoy generous US support in exchange for such cooperation, Egypt's complicity with the siege of Gaza being a dramatic example. The Palestinian Authority itself has become a smoke-and-mirrors "representative" serving at the pleasure of Israel and the United States, its domestic military police trained for the purpose by the CIA.

The fallacy of "negotiating" as unequals

The so-called peace process has always been a distraction from the actual issues of Israeli aggression and intransigence, the "negotiations" and "road maps" stalling tactics affording Israel time and impunity. The Oslo Accords of 1993 were the most devastating coup of all, institutionalizing Israel's expropriation of Palestinian land and subjugation of Palestinian life. Yet Oslo, implemented in a series of accords culminating with the Camp David Summit of 2000, was presented to the West as a "generous offer" reluctantly accepted by a belligerent Yasser Arafat.

Oslo handed fully 97.3% of Palestine over to Israeli security control, in return for which Palestinians were given nothing—no commitments to the core issues of settlements, borders, refugees, water, or Jerusalem, nor any true sovereignty over their own affairs. This was not a mere failure to secure Israeli concession or compromise, but rather a *failure to get Israel even to do what it has been legally obligated to do since 1948*. Oslo's few helpful provisions, such as guaranteeing free passage between Gaza and the West Bank, Israel simply ignores, even though they merely restate international law. Settlements, land confiscations, arbitrary arrests, assassinations, and countless other Israeli abuses blossomed in Oslo's wake.

Exploitation of the Holocaust & anti-Semitism

After WWII, Zionist leaders like Ben-Gurion recognized that the universal revulsion against the Nazis could be harnessed to their advantage.[27] They framed their battle in Palestine as the new front after the Allies' victory in Europe, and Palestinians as the heirs of their just-defeated German enemies.

This did more than paint Zionist aggression as defensive; it hardened its soldiers against soul-searching when, three years after the defeat of the Axis, they razed village after village because of people's ethnicity. The Holocaust and anti-Semitism have been cynically exploited to enable Israel's actions ever since.

In concert with this, an intrinsic link was fabricated between Israel—the very name positioning the nation-state as Biblical heir—and Judaism. Zionism freed nationalism of the constraints of geographic borders, instead claiming subjects and demanding allegiance by ethnicity.

Expropriation of Judaism

Along with the expropriation of Palestine came the expropriation of Judaism itself. Judaism was placed at the service of a secular, imperialist enterprise that in turn decided, with itself as the new standard, who was a good Jew and who was a bad Jew.[28]

This audacious coopting of Judaism is why a Jewish child born in Israel is not "Israeli"—that child's nationality is, by Israeli law, "Jewish." However one defines Judaism—ethnicity, religion, tradition, culture—it, and the militarized nation-state, are made one and the same.

Traditional anti-Semitism can cause violence against Jews, and sacrilege against Judaism, but does not have the power to harm the integrity of Judaism. Zionism, in contrast, exploits Judaism from within. If a religious tradition is the sum of the actions of its adherents, and if—*if*—Zionism is the embodiment of Judaism, then Zionism has succeeded where traditional anti-Semitism never could: it has actually compromised Judaism itself.

Erasing, not just removing, Palestinians

Finally, Zionism manufactures a continuum linking its neocolonialism with the collective Judeo-Christian subconscious. The land between the Jordan and the Mediterranean represents a shared Genesis. Anything breaking that link is a shared enemy.

This sense of natural entitlement is achieved not so much by removing Palestinians as by rebranding Palestinian identity as Israeli, thus erasing Palestinian civilization not just physically, but metaphysically. The remains of ethnically cleansed villages are camouflaged, their names excised from the map and replaced with Hebrew names. Mention of the *nakba* is expunged from schoolbooks.[29] The term "Israelite" or "First Temple" is indiscriminately assigned to ancient artifacts.[30] Palestinian music, food, culture, symbols, are rebranded "Israeli." Shops boast "Israeli" couscous, shawarma, hummus, and the like. Traditional Jewish music and traditional Arabic music become "traditional" Israeli music. Even the kafiyeh, symbol of Palestinian resistance, has been coopted, its chain-link motif morphed into joined Stars of David on Israeli scarves.

In this Orwellian world, settlers become the indigenous and the indigenous the settlers, and "right of return" applies to a vague and distant mythology-based descendancy but not to people being thrown off their land as you read these words.

In short, this continuum means that those who are ethnically cleansed, never existed.

Palestine today is a wasteland of powerful nations' hypocrisy. It is my hope that these photographs bear witness that Palestine is also a land of people determined to hold on to their humanity, a people who refuse to be erased or pummeled into the role of victimhood.

The Gaza Strip



• 2. *(left)* A girl in southern Rafah plays amidst the destruction of the Cast Lead attacks. She is within the line of fire from an infamous Israeli watchtower that terrorized this neighborhood until Israel removed its Gaza settlements in 2005, the same tower from which the British peace activist Thomas Hurndall was murdered (2003) while rescuing a Palestinian child from its bullets. The massive base of the tower still stands (fig 4, right). Note the scale: it dwarfs truck, tree, and people.

• 3. *(above)* Children wait for their father as he buys supplies from a neighborhood shop in Rafah.

• 4. *(right)* The vestige of an Israeli watchtower in southern Rafah, near the Egyptian border (see image 2).





• 5. The Children's Theatre of the Culture & Free Thought Association, Khan Younis. This grass-roots school works with the community toward a progressive, democratic society. Adults pursue self-sufficient micro-economic projects, children develop skills and free expression in a little oasis of relative safety, and everyone engages in open discussion befitting the center's name.

The center survives on the good will of the community, and often despite the authorities. One of the center's leaders described interference first by Fatah, and then by Hamas. After Hamas assumed power, it carted away some of the center's equipment. Not to be bullied, she and her colleagues began a merciless telephoning campaign to the Hamas authorities demanding their property back. After a few days the men relented, promising that they would return the equipment if only the women promised to stop phoning.

Everything was returned.

• 6. *(right)* A girl in Khuza'a, southeast Gaza Strip, wears traditional dress over the modern.

She has planted herself in front of her house, as if to protect what's left of it. To her right, just beyond the stoop, it lies in ruins, destroyed by an Israeli incursion over the Green Line. Several hundred feet to her right, an armed, remote-controlled Israeli tower built on her family's farm keeps them from their most fertile land. And at some unknown facility within Israel, a soldier keeps watch on them through the tower's array of lenses (see image 39, page 27).







• 7, 8, 9. Faten Qishta teaches an English class at the Life Makers Center, a grass-roots labor of love that gives children a safe place to play and learn, and helps them overcome trauma. The traditional verse she teaches her students fits Gaza perfectly: *We shall not be moved. Just like a tree that grows beside the water, we shall not be moved.*



Israel forbids bringing school supplies—books, paper, pencils, etc—into the Gaza Strip, and is forcibly holding back over a hundred truckloads of such supplies.[31] Some school supplies are smuggled through the tunnels from Egypt, but this is limited and adds much to the cost. A small amount is slipped to teachers by the rare visitor.

In addition, UNWRA has thousands of desks, tables, and chairs waiting to be brought to its refugee schools in Gaza, but these, too, have thus far been forcibly blocked by Israel.

The UN expresses bewilderment at the "long history [of] obstacles with the Israeli authorities in getting educational materials such as paper and books into Gaza," but is powerless against Israeli and US intransigence.[32]

Musical instruments are also blocked at the border. Along with the tens of thousands of other banned items, from baby formula, to lentils, shoes, and shampoo with conditioner, musical instruments are banned in the cause of Israeli self-defense.[33]



When John Ging, head of UNRWA operations in Gaza, told a group I was with that Israel's and the United States' policies have always achieved the opposite of the intended result, I asked if it did not seem obvious that their policies have in fact succeeded brilliantly, that their actual results were precisely the intended results. He replied that he must leave it to the parties involved to expose their intent themselves. He argued, wisely, that if all parties were simply held to international law, their actions would prove their intentions.

Palestinian society holds education in high esteem, and many young people view education as a means to defy the oppression that is all they have known. So it is not surprising that many Gazan students achieve high scholastic recognition despite the impediments, and have been offered scholarships to study abroad in countries where Israel cannot keep books from them.

But Israel physically prevents most of those students from leaving Gaza. In the rare cases where explanation is necessary, such as for recipients of US Fulbright scholarships, "security" is always Israel's justification. The "evidence" is always secret. We met some of these remarkable young people whose dreams and aspirations ended at Gaza's prison walls.

• 10. *(above)* Beach toy vendor, Gaza City.

I watched this happy scene at Gaza City's idyllic shore sitting in a little restaurant on the beachfront. I watched for some time, because getting food in a Gazan restaurant is a lengthy process.

Shawarma? Chicken? Hamburgers? Potatoes? Vegetables? Without hesitation I selected the first and the last. But immediately my mind wandered back to the float vendor, and to what was going on all around him—in the sea, down the coast to the left toward Egypt, up the coast to the right toward Israel, behind me, and in the sky above. And I came to see the float vendor as iconic of Palestine: victims refusing their victimhood.

The restaurant owner vanished after taking my order. No explanation was needed. Scarcity is everywhere under siege. Food is scarce. Electricity is erratic at best, on for perhaps four hours a day, according to the mood of the Masters on the other side of the Green Line. Refrigeration is useless unless one has a generator, and the generator does no good unless one has gasoline to run it. And everything, including the gasoline, has to be smuggled through the tunnels. So the restaurant owner was racing about the neighborhood trying to find competitors who had shawarma, vegetables, and a working



(• 11)

generator or gas for cooking to share. Community is the Gazans' secret weapon against the siege.

He returned a while later to explain that he was out of vegetables—that is, no restaurant in the neighborhood had them. I opted for potatoes.

As he disappeared again, I looked to my left, where a single wall protrudes through the sand, all that remains of a civilian police station that was demolished by the IDF on the first day of the Cast Lead attacks, killing everyone inside. Two hundred forty civilian police were killed on that first day at various stations throughout Gaza, deliberately targeted at the war's start in order to eliminate the society's emergency professionals. A witness we spoke with described how small bits of bodies were all that remained of the police corps, as the Israeli jets had used *flechette* (dart) bombs.

Further to my left, a river of black, raw sewage continually empties into the Mediterranean. According to the UN, Gaza's sewage system collapsed because of the daily power blackouts imposed by Israel, as well as its refusal to allow necessary spare parts into Gaza and its refusal to allow sufficient fuel to power alternative generators.[34] Pumping the untreated sewage into the coastal waters is the best that can be hoped for under the blockade. When the pumps remain unpowered for too long and the system exceeds overflow capacity, the sewage spills into lagoons and residential areas.

The most horrific instance of catastrophic sewage failure caused by the Israeli siege to date was in the town of Beit Hanoun, in the northeast corner of the Gaza Strip.[35] The ailing wall of a treatment pool collapsed and immersed one neighborhood in sewage, killing five people, submerging at least 25 houses, and displacing a few hundred families. In addition to the lingering threat of disease, UNRWA warned that live explosives were in the flood of sewage covering the village, because Israel had been shelling the area and ordnance had landed in the treatment pool. What did typical Western media report? There was a terrible collapse of a sewage system in Gaza, and Israel offered its help to the victims.

Next, I looked beyond the float vendor, to the sea. Because of the collapse of Gaza's sewage system, its coastal water is polluted with faecal bacteria. After these photos were taken, signs were placed along the beach warning swimmers of the danger,[36] but with little alternative in the hermetically sealed Gaza strip, the warnings are largely ignored.

Fishermen might minimize the risk of sewage-contaminated catch if they fished away from the coast. But further out at sea, I watched Israeli military speedboats ply the Gazan coastal waters, the sound of their shelling as much a part of the Gazan landscape as the sound of the waves and the birds. Navy gunmen decide from the deck if, and where, Gazans in Gazan waters may fish, and at whim will fire upon the boats and their fishermen, piracy committed purely to starve and humiliate.

Up the coast to my right, on 9 June, 2006, IDF shelling onshore killed eight civilians and maimed forty. This created a brief scandal in the Western media—not because of the murders per se, but because among the crowded beach was someone with a video camera, and as the other picnickers fled the attack, he preserved a scene of perfect horror: a ten-year-old girl in shock beside the bodies of her father, step-mother, and her five siblings.

In fact, this scene was not extraordinary: more than twenty civilians had been killed by Israeli shells in just the weeks before. They were the norm, silent statistics on UN ledgers, no human interest story to grab the West.

But when it saw the video of a little girl who had just witnessed the horrific extermination of her family at a beach picnic, suddenly a Palestinian was transformed into that most dangerous of creatures, an actual human being, and the Israeli government panicked.

Using one of its most successful tactics, it simply claimed that the explosives were not from the shells that its nearby ships were firing, but that the charges had been set by Hamas and left on the beach. The US media enthusiastically seized upon this "correction," neither seeking evidence nor asking why Israeli vessels are shelling Gaza in the first place. At the same time, the newly-orphaned girl became the victim of a character assassination campaign claiming that the video was staged, that she'd merely put on an act for the camera.

Finally, the US media ignored, or relegated to an obscure footnote, an exhaustive forensic analysis by a former

senior Pentagon intelligence analyst sent by Human Rights Watch,[37] as well as a meticulous on-the-scene investigation by The Guardian.[38] Both proved that the shells had been fired from the Israeli vessel.

Similarly, in Khan Younis—to my left as I sit on the Gaza beach—in 2002, IDF helicopters opened fire onto crowds peacefully protesting an assault by Israeli tanks. Israel claimed the dead and injured did not result from their fire, but from militants within the crowds. Not even a video showing the shells being fired from the IDF helicopter above and striking the crowds, nor the occasional Israeli soldier who comes forward and confesses that indiscriminate killing of civilians is their unwritten order, has been able to shake the US media's state of denial.[39] Children murdered or blinded by IDF sniper fire while sitting at their desks in Khan Younis' UN-run school do not even merit the US media.[40]

"Shooting fish in a barrel." That, in the words of two Israeli soldiers, is how it feels to kill people in the open-air prison Israel has made of the Gaza Strip.[41] "We bow our heads in shame," they wrote, "against this hideous attack on a civilian population [by] air strikes, artillery fire, and snipers from afar." Four thousand "fish" have been killed in the barrel by the IDF in the past decade.

The most frequently heard defense of IDF killings is that Palestinian militants—especially Hamas'—are using civilians as human shields, both to protect the militants and to create "sympathy" victims for anti-Israel propaganda. This, too, the US press accepts uncritically, despite the fact that human rights organizations, and most recently the Goldstone report on the Cast Lead attacks, document the *opposite*. All the evidence, rather, shows that it is the IDF itself that uses civilians as human shields, not Hamas or other Palestinian resistance groups.

The only known case of Palestinian fighters being protected by human shields was in Beit Hanoun, in 2006. A crowd of women surrounded a mosque in which 15 militants were said to be hiding. But these women had not been "taken" for the task—they had assembled and formed the shield of their own free will, a simple act of non-violent resistance. The IDF shot dead two of the women.

The sky above completes the contradiction of the float vendor. Imagine a world in which anything in the air is bad news. IDF aircraft, whether attack helicopters or F-16s or killer drones or supersonic jets on dreaded "sonic boom" missions to punish the trapped populace, are the only aircraft Gazans know. Palestinians are



(• 12)

denied any right to their own airspace, and Gaza's own airport lies in ruins, destroyed by the IDF in 2001, shortly after it was built.

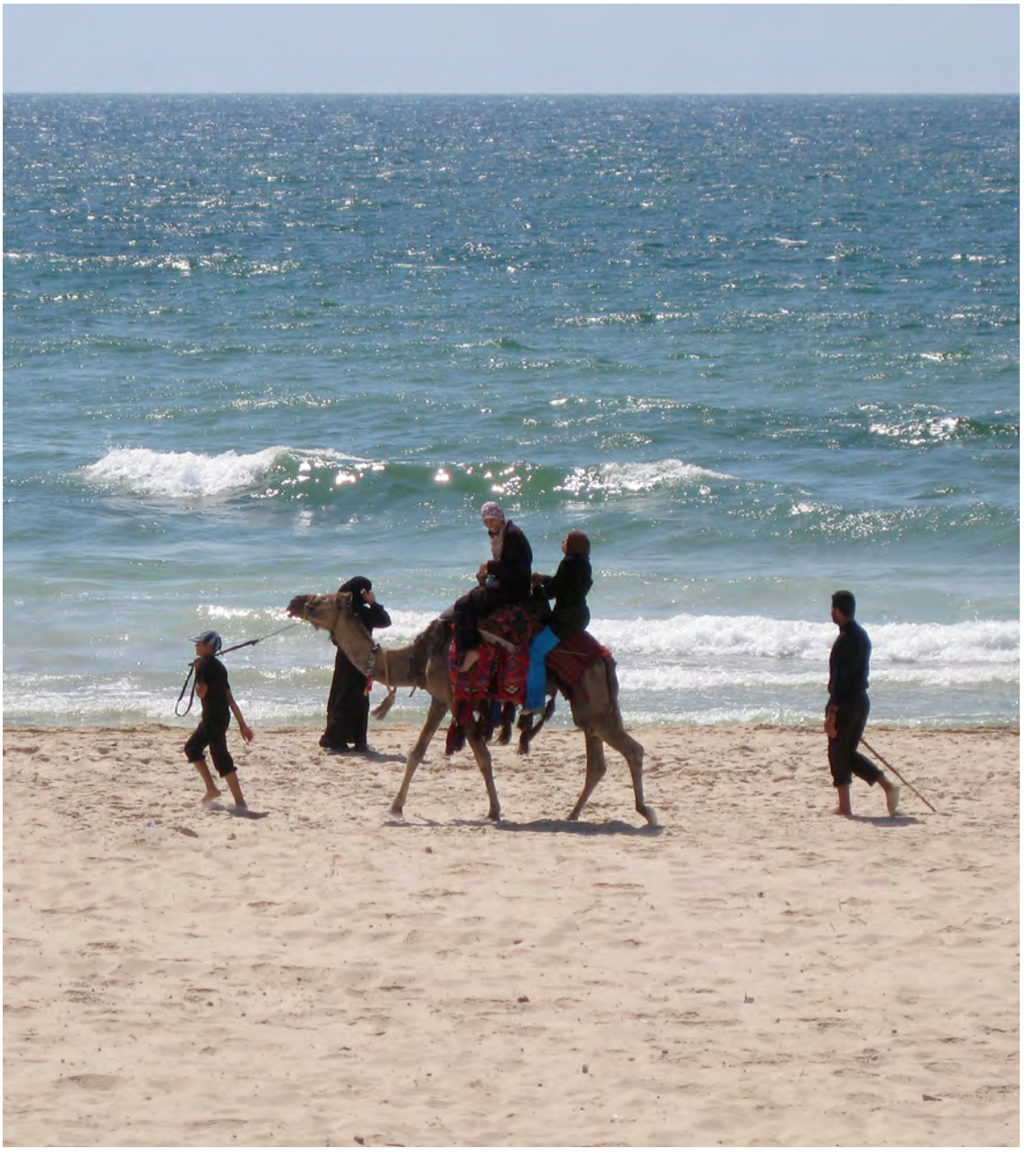
The remains of the Gaza City office of Palestinian Airlines are still visible, the boards sealing its front looking like planks of a coffin, but its handsome overhead sign intact, the arresting, incongruous artifact of the would-be national airline of a country forbidden to fly. Indeed even venturing as high as one's roof is a death sentence in Gaza: it is IDF policy that its unmanned drones kill anything on any roof in the Gaza Strip, including children who didn't know.[42]

Yet amidst all the terror, all the humiliation, all the hopelessness, parents buy their children balloons and floats that, if not made by what had been the Gaza Strip's only plastics factory before it was destroyed by the IDF in January 2009, were smuggled through the tunnels from Egypt.

Thus by the time the restaurant owner returned with a paper bag and transferred its contents onto a plate for me, I had come to see this beach scene as a perfect work of resistance art, precisely because its canvas left no room for the oppressor.

• 13. Travelling merchant, southeast Gaza Strip.









• 14. Camels have become rarer in Gaza since Cast Lead (they do not fit through the tunnels). The old caravan routes reached Gaza after crossing through northern Sinai.

• 15 & 16. The Qattan Centre for the Child in Gaza City is a jewel amidst the deprivations of the siege. Financed by a Palestinian who was expelled in the 1948 war but became a successful business-man, it avidly promotes reading, the arts, and understanding of other cultures. Its books include foreign languages and braille.

The Centre is free to all children of Gaza, though the realities of the siege make access difficult. The emphasis on reading is a formidable task, as just getting Israel to allow the Centre's bookshelves into Gaza took years,[43] and that was *before* the siege.

Younger children can also opt for pure fun, such as dancing with this musical theatrical company, relief from the insecurities of their daily lives. Older children contribute their time back to the Centre.

Israel shelled the Centre shortly before it opened in 2005, killing a child at its entrance.



• 17. Given their high population densities, Gaza's cities are eerily devoid of traffic. Donkeys are the default transport for people and goods.

Motor vehicles are limited by the severe strangling of fuel supplies to the Gaza Strip, and the expense of smuggling spare car parts through the tunnels from Egypt. Thus the siege has left donkeys in charge where the internal combustion engine has failed.

This has led to premium prices on the animals, in addition to a shortage of feed, which like everything else must come through the tunnels. Even the carts, such as these children wait on in Rafah, have become prohibitively expensive, because the wood from which they are made and repaired has to be smuggled through the tunnels.[44]

Donkeys have provided Gazans under siege with the means to distribute food and other necessities. But it is a different heroic role for the Gazan donkey that most caught the West's imagination.[45] When the only zebra in the Gaza Zoo died of starvation during the Cast Lead attacks, the zookeepers responded to disappointed children with typical Gazan resourcefulness: they painted stripes on two donkeys.

They are now zebras.

• 18. Tunnel workers by an enclosure concealing an opening from view. [Rafah, near the Egyptian border]



The UN warns that the Israeli siege has "forced thousands of people affected by poverty to risk their lives on a daily basis to sustain their livelihoods" working the tunnels.[46] Israel claims they are used to smuggle weapons to militants. But it is only the tunnels that keep Gaza from deteriorating from the "silent hunger" that the West can ignore, to the hunger of distended bellies and mass corpses that Israel's draconian siege would otherwise bring. They cannot stop a generation of Gazan children from the permanent effects of dietary deprivation, but they do keep Gaza on life support.

A young Rafah woman led our way to this area and translated for these workers. Two months later, three members of her family were buried alive when Israel bombed the tunnels. Air strikes, collapsing tunnels, and other mishaps have killed and injured hundreds.

In late 2009 Egypt, with US money and help, began sinking a steel wall underground to block the tunnels. The barrier will extend 20 meters below the surface and run for most of the Egypt-Gaza border. Reports say that Egypt will also pump in sea water at high pressure to flood any digging below the barrier, further harming Gaza's fragile water supply.

The stated purpose of the bizarre wall is the same as for the siege and blockade: to stop the smuggling of munitions. The true purpose? Perhaps to destabilize Hamas by creating a humanitarian catastrophe from which Gaza will have to be "liberated," either because of the famine itself or the rebellion it sparks.

• 19 & 20. Digging a new tunnel, and carting away dirt.

[Rafah, near the Egyptian border]







• 21. As seen looking up from a tunnel to Egypt, children play in the destruction of an Israeli air attack while they watch men work the tunnels.

Nothing these children can see escaped the Cast Lead shelling. The entire world they know lies in ruins.

[Southern Rafah, near the Egyptian border]

• 22, 23, 24. Three views of the same tunnel. [Rafah, near the Egyptian border]

This simple tripod and pulley contraption was concocted from parts of various other machines. An average sized adult could fit through the vertical shaft, but after the ninety degree turn to the south it becomes narrower. The rough wooden slats at the top help prevent the opening from eroding under the stress of hauling goods to the surface, and offer the tunnel runner something firm to grab onto.

This is a modest tunnel. Along with the continuing siege have come wider tunnels, tunnel speculators, a tunnel economy, tunnel pyramid schemes, and—most seriously—the risk of a vested interest in maintaining the siege.

Impressively, the largest tunnels can now bring through refrigerators, as well as sheep in time for Eid al-Adha, the feast of the sacrifice.[47] Even brides, otherwise unable to join their husbands, have been smuggled through.

Everyone in the Gaza Strip relies on the tunnels to survive. "Everything on this table," journalist Taghreed El-Khodary remarked at breakfast one morning in Gaza City, "everything you are eating, and the coffee, the sugar—everything, everything, came through the tunnels."









• 25. *(top)* The simple metal sign for Gaza's Environmental Quality Authority escaped the shelling that rendered the buildings around it useless. Their walls reflecting the red of the setting Mediterranean sun, the now-deserted buildings are typical of Cast Lead targets: civilian infrastructure. The Environmental Quality Authority is the principal oversight and regulatory agency on environmental matters in Palestine.

• 26 & 27. *(middle)* The American School, Beit Lahiya, targeted and destroyed by the IDF on 2 January, 2009. When pressed for an explanation as to why it destroyed a school offering first to twelfth graders a liberal world view and American curriculum, an IDF spokesman stated that the school "was being used as a rocket-launching site."[48] No evidence was given. It remains in ruins because of Israel's blocking of rebuilding materials.





In the rubble of the school, four months after the attack, I found a cardboard page from a children's book. One side had survived largely intact, enough to see four hippos singing *Soon after dark, upon the beach, we sing our favorite song. Belly belly button, you're oh so fine.*



• 28. *(bottom)* The ruins of the Palestinian Parliament in Gaza City. Until its bombing by Israel, this was the center of the only democratically elected government in the Middle East aside from Turkey. (Neither Israel, which legislates an underclass by race and exerts totalitarian control over four million other people who cannot vote in its elections, nor the Palestinian Authority in the West Bank, can possibly be considered democracies.) That government, Hamas, is the elected representative not just of the Gaza Strip, but all Palestine—Gaza, East Jerusalem, and the West Bank.

Upon crossing the Egyptian border at Rafah, I entered the only part of Palestine where that elected government still held power. East Jerusalem and the West Bank have been taken over by Fatah in what can only be described as a US-backed coup. The PA in the West Bank and East Jerusalem now "speaks" on behalf of the Palestinian people the same way the US' puppet government of 1960s Saigon "spoke" for the people of Vietnam.

Parallels to US interference in Latin America and elsewhere are obvious. The PA now rules by a domestic military police trained by the CIA. Opposition parties, political dissent, and peaceful protest are violently squelched. Employment requires loyalty to the Party. People are "disappeared," tortured, executed. Yet the





West has declared the Hamas government to be a terrorist organization.

Why the terror over Hamas?

One need not make excuses for Hamas' religious conservatism or other faults—the Palestinian Centre for Human Rights, among others, documents its abuses—to see that terrorism is not the crime that concerns Israel and the US. The reason the West vilifies Hamas, rather, is that it is the only viable party standing up against Israeli aggression and for Palestinian liberation.

This was the young Yasir Arafat's crime as well, and it is precisely because Arafat gave Palestinians' long-denied aspirations a voice that he lives on as a symbol despite his disastrous sell-out in later life. Even here in Hamas-run Gaza, images of Arafat remain proudly posted. What he represents transcends Hamas' feud with Fatah.

In their elections of January, 2006, Palestinians chose between Fatah, an organization that had become synonymous with corruption, had done little to help them in their day-to-day struggles, and had sold them to the glue factory at the Oslo Accords; or Hamas, which had a proven record of social assistance, had earned a reputation for scrupulousness, and—most importantly—was not seen as collaborating with their oppressors. Yet the West feigned surprise when—though the US had poured considerable money to assure Fatah's victory, and though most Palestinians would have preferred a secular party like Fatah—they elected Hamas.

The subversion of the election having failed, Washington next set about sabotaging the democracy militarily. With US-supplied weapons, Fatah took over the West Bank and East Jerusalem, but failed to rout Hamas from the Gaza Strip.

The focus was then shifted to subverting the democracy through internal destabilization. US cash was offered to Gaza's public employees, which include essential services such as doctors, teachers, and police, if they agreed *not* to work—and since Gaza's coffers had been frozen by the West upon Hamas' electoral win, Hamas could barely pay them if they *did* work.

What did I find in this "enemy entity," as Israel has declared Gaza? My experience was of an orderly, civil society making the best of a catastrophic situation.

In the Western media, "Hamas" is always accompanied by a litany of four deadly sins, endlessly repeated and never questioned.

—1. *Hamas refuses to recognize Israel.* Of course they refuse to. Why would anyone unilaterally "recognize" a military power that is stealing and blockading their land, when that invading nation will neither retreat nor recognize *them*? And since Israel refuses to state where its borders lie, would Palestinians be recognizing in







advance whatever borders it later claims? Which Israel are Palestinians recognizing? Israel of Resolution 181? Israel May, 1948? The Green Line? 1967? 2017?

Hamas has long stated that it will make peace with Israel in exchange for all parties abiding by international law, a "permanent peace" such as the Vatican had with Israel until 1994, and the US still has with Taiwan. But therein lies the West's quagmire: the rule of law would expose its neo-colonial adventure and staggering hypocrisy.

—2. *Hamas refuses to renounce violence.* The West calls Israeli violence "defense" and any Palestinian reaction "violence." Gazans are under siege and attack by the world's fourth largest military, operating outside the rule of international law. Yet we forbid them from defending themselves, while we arm and empower Israel.

—3. *Hamas refuses to honor existing (Fatah's) agreements with Israel.* Hamas has been excluded from negotiations even after being democratically elected to be the Palestinians' representative. A people's legitimate, democratic government is supposed to respect negotiations from which it itself was excluded? (Nor has Israel ever honored its agreements, from partition through Oslo and beyond.)

—4. *Hamas fires rockets.* This is true. Hamas fires primitive rockets in response to Israeli invasions and the siege (the siege is legally an act of war), as do rogue factions not in Hamas' control (see pg 40-41). Many Palestinians view the Qassams as foolish, since they play into Israel's "defense" excuse, while some see them as acts of desperation to attract the world's attention. Hamas makes clear that they would much prefer sophisticated weapons that could hit proper military targets, but that the unguided Qassams are all they have.

• 29, 30. *(previous page)* School children, and what had been a playground, riddled with IDF bullets. [Rafah]

• 31, 32, 33. *(above)* Images of defiance in Rafah :
– Children play amidst the bombing;
– One boy's "victory" surrounded by devastation;
– Palestinian flag as donkey's blinders.

• 34 *(right)* Tribute to US peace activist Rachael Corrie, crushed to death in Rafah in March 2003 while resisting the IDF's bulldozing of Palestinians' homes. The IDF murders of Thomas Hurndall and James Miller followed in April and May.

[Life Makers Center, Rafah]





• 35. Taraji Abu Rijela and her family live in the last line of houses on the eastern end of Khuza'a in the southeast Gaza Strip, separated from the Green Line only by their farmland. Living so close to the border, Taraji is accustomed to incursions by the Israeli military, driving over their fields in tanks to destroy their crops—a modern, mechanized version of early Zionist settlers' practice of pouring gasoline on Arabs' market produce.

On one such incursion three years ago, Israeli soldiers killed Taraji's brother-in-law as he tried to work his fields. His murder was altogether unremarkable, another statistic. The tanks continued to Taraji's house, where the soldiers abducted her husband, blindfolded him and carted him away. His family was told nothing: not what he was accused of, not where he was being taken, what would happen to him. With the help of the Red Cross, they eventually learned that he was still alive, and had been sentenced to six years' imprisonment on the charge that he had attempted to build a house too close to the Green Line. Israel has forbidden communication of any kind between them.

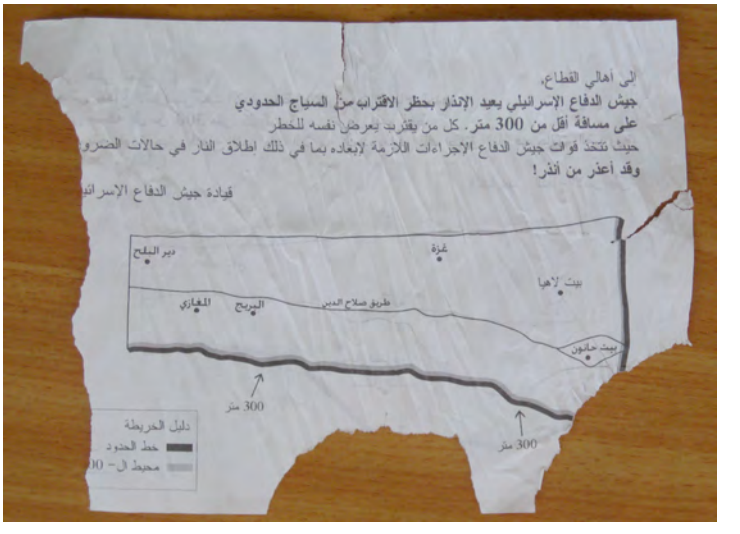
When their daughter, a bright, charismatic teenager, tells us about the day they took her father away, she fixates on the pain of having been unable to help him, and how he yelled at her and her mother to keep away, lest they be taken as well. She describes how she resolved to direct her despair, her anger, her humiliation into fighting back. She is now attending university and regards her education as her salvation. This account you are reading is a result of that resolve and salvation: she is telling her story in English and translating for her mother.

Her mother, proud and calm, tells us that despite the poverty and violence inflicted upon them as she grew up, she wanted to live at peace with Israel. Even after they robbed her of her husband, robbed her daughter of her father, and killed her daughter's uncle, still she hoped to live at peace with Israel.

She then recounts twelve hours of terror a few months earlier, during Cast Lead. She tells us of neighbors fleeing through windows as their houses are bulldozed with them still inside. She tells us of being trapped in the rubble as the bulldozers closed in on them. She tells us of her neighbors executed while waving white rags as they fled the rubble. She tells us of the ambulances incinerated as they try to save the dying and wounded.[49] And she asks a young boy standing nearby to lift the leg of his trousers; he reluctantly obliges, exposing the scars of white phosphorous burns.

"Now I just hate them," she finished.





• 36. *(top)* White phosphorus found on the ground. This small piece, even after lying outside for a few months, ignited when we disturbed it with a stick. According to Human Rights Watch,[50] the white phosphorus shells left behind by the Israeli attacks were made in the United States by Thiokol Aerospace, the company whose consumer products include Morton salt and whose faulty booster rocket caused the Challenger disaster in 1986. Each of the shells spreads 116 white phosphorus wedges in a radius of up to 125 meters from the blast point. Upon contact with oxygen, they burn at up to 816°C (1500°F). [Khuza'a, southeast Gaza Strip]

• 37. *(bottom)* Leaflet dropped by the Israeli Air Force warning farmers that if they step onto the easternmost 300 meters of their land (Gaza's most fertile farmland), they will be shot.[51]



• 38. The area to the back where the land becomes an even color is Israel. Farmers could not actually reach the fortified fence that forms the de facto border here in the southeast Gaza Strip, because Israel has declared it off-limits and shoots anyone who approaches it.

The IDF frequently sabotages Palestinian crops by criss-crossing the farmland with tanks, trampling the plants and breaking up the soil, as in this photo. Many farmers explained that they have been forced to abandon their traditional harvest in favor of faster growing crops



to increase the chance that something can be harvested before the next onslaught.

Compounding the problem, Israel has diverted the aquifers that naturally feed Gaza, and its overuse of those aquifers—pumping water beyond their annual replenishment—has led to salt water intrusion and risks their irreversible destruction.

Gaza was several times its current size on the 1947 UN partition. Most of it, including the land visible here beyond what is now the border, was expropriated by Israel in the 1948 war.

The houses bordering this farmland were destroyed in Cast Lead. The women and children in this photo walk by their twisted remains.

• 39. Looking like a gold-domed farm silo without a barn, this unmanned Israeli watchtower in the southeast Gaza Strip is crowned with an array of remote-controlled guns with a range of 1,500-2,000 meters. It is one of a network of such towers sitting on Palestinian farmland on the Gazan side of the Green Line.[52]

The system, named "Lethal" or "Roeh-Yoreh" (Sees-Fires), comprises automatic weapons, cameras, video recording equipment, and sensors operated by female soldiers from a remote command post somewhere in Israel. Their targets are referred to as "infiltrators," but they are Palestinians on their own land. These remote-controlled towers, and soldiers' unpredictable sniper fire, make Gaza's most fertile land a death trap for farming families.





• 40. *(previous page)* Rubble of Khuza'a, an agricultural village of about ten thousand people.

• 41. A boy stands on a bag of donated grain that his parents are storing under an overhang in what remains of their house.

Palestinian civilization was historically self-sufficient; his family has been forced into the Gazan blight, open-ended dependence on relief agencies while their own farmland rots.

• 42. A farmer uses left-over material from a USAID project to cover an enclosure for his animals. The print states that it is from the construction of a park in "El-Namsawi."

Namsawi is a section of the Gazan city of Khan Younis; but I could find no reference to such a park, nor any person in the area who had heard of it, and a search for any appearance of "Namsawi" on the entire USAID web site yielded nothing (Dec '09).

As with all USAID projects in Palestine, the plastic sheet states that this was funded "by the people of the United States of America for the benefit of the Palestinian people." While the irony of US "charity" is hardly lost on Palestinians—the country principally responsible for their continuing enslavement, expresses its pride at sending them a handout—nor is USAID's presence merely benign (see image 106, page 68).





• 43. Farmland turned into a vast crater from a missile fired from one of Israel's 226 US-supplied F-16 fighter jets.

[Southeast Gaza Strip]

• 44. *(next page)* Until the Cast Lead attacks, this was the village of Khuza'a, southeast Gaza Strip.




ABOTREKA
22



• 45. *(left)* As seen from a small crater near the Green Line, the white building in the upper left is in Israel.

• 46. *(above)* A woman in Jabaliya, Northern Gaza Strip, recounts the day the IDF destroyed her village. Fares Akram, a Human Rights Watch activist and reporter whose father was killed by an Israeli F16 airstrike during Cast Lead, translates.

The woman explains that she had been living in the house of her son-in-law, who was taken away by the IDF a year earlier during one of its incursions and is still in an Israeli prison. She is probably referring to the four-day Israeli attack on this neighborhood in February, 2008, in which troops killed 108 people. In the latest attacks (Cast Lead), her grandson lost one leg and a finger, and her son-in-law's mother had to have her leg amputated because it was hit by a missile. *We took refuge in the UNRWA school because we believed that the UN could protect us, but then F16s attacked there as well.* People were burned, she recounts, and some blinded.

Twenty-two days after the attacks ended we returned to help collect the corpses. The children are still in shock and afraid to return to school because they know that no one can make them safe. Not their parents, not the United Nations. Their schoolbooks were destroyed with the house and there are no more. She is aware that this is because the schoolbooks are forbidden by Israel.

She points toward the Israeli border. *The soldiers still keep firing and drive around in their tanks to terrify us.* She points to the rubble of what had been their home. *Are we donkeys? Are we cows?* She says there's no medicine to

treat the chemicals burning their skin, and the soldiers destroyed the wells, so there is no water except what little the aid agencies can bring in.



The land used to be a citrus grove; we used to sell oranges and lemons as our livelihood, but now it is all destroyed. We used to grow vegetables as well, according to the season. We had animals from which we got milk and made cheese. But it is all destroyed, the animals killed, the groves ruined. Yet the soldiers still fire. She points to the border again. *Now with the dead land, the insects attack people.* She points to rashes on the children's skin, but I wonder if they are from the chemicals of war, not insects.

She tells us of the young men who were arrested, of the little children who are now orphans, and she insists that there was no resistance here, no fighters. And she tells us *the soldiers killed execution-style, with no mercy.*



• 47 & 48. A man bring his cart to a UNICEF tent, then returns to the village with a few bags of flat bread. Buildings were destroyed by air strikes, mines, and, as on the right, by US-made Caterpillar D9 bulldozers. The IDF modifies these for military use, adding 15 tons to the 49-ton production weight, and dubs them *Doobi* (teddy bear). [Northern Gaza Strip]

• 49. *(next page)* Woman and child in front of the tent that is now their home. Theirs is a make-shift tent, aid agency tarp arranged over a single improvised spine.

This scene could have been Gaza 1948, when tent cities sheltered thousands fleeing massacres to the north and east, while they waited for Israel to stop blocking their return home. Now their descendents are again displaced, but with a twist even their ancestors did not face: Israel's blocking the rebuilding of its massive civilian destruction. As a result, 60,000 structures, including schools, damaged or destroyed by Israeli



attacks, cannot be repaired or rebuilt. Electricity, severely limited throughout the Gaza Strip, is failing completely here because Israel prohibits any repair of the electrical infrastructure it crippled.

In late 2009, heavy rains exacerbated the dire living conditions. After living in tents for a year, people like these had no dry ground on which to sleep.

[Northern Gaza Strip]



• 50. Child's artwork, a memory of white phosphorus attacks of January, 2009. [Qattan Centre for the Child, Gaza City]

51-54: US-made weapons found in the Gazan rubble
[Palestinian Centre for Human Rights, Gaza City]









• 51. *(top right)* Hellfire Systems (Boeing/Lockheed Martin) AGM 114C, air-to-surface missile. The name "Hellfire" comes from "helicopter fire-and-forget." In 1997, the British journalist Robert Fisk found a similar fragment of a US-made AGM 114C, from a missile Israel targeted against an ambulance in Lebanon, killing two women and four children instantly. Fisk decided to bring the fragment all the way to Boeing in the US and seek corporate culpability for their weapons' bloodbaths. Boeing accused him of being on "some kind of crusade" and told him that they were not responsible because the missile was "not an anti-ambulance weapon."[53] In response to the negative exposure Israel simply stated, without evidence and contrary to Fisk's first-hand account, that the ambulance was carrying a "terrorist."

• 52. *(2nd, right)* Marked "MFR-5S443." Robert Fisk documented what appears to be another example of this conical-shaped munitions part in an IDF attack on Beit Jala, a Christian village near Bethlehem.[54] Fisk confirmed the weapon's US origins.

• 53. *(3rd, right)* The code 96214 shows that this was produced by Raytheon. A US government solicitation notice dated 22 October 2001 for "bomb spare parts" included AFG Fin, Raytheon part number 837760-4.[55]

• 54. *(bottom, right)* M114 Motor launch rocket, probably made by Alliant Techsystems (ATK), which makes such rockets and has armaments agreements with Israel.

• 55. *(above)* A year after their village was levelled, the UN reports that some families in this neighborhood are attempting to rebuild with mud bricks. [Abed-Rabbo area of Jabaliya]

• 56. *(below, left)* A UNICEF relief operations tent.

• 57. *(below, right)* Behind the tent is an area of civilian factories destroyed in Cast Lead. [Northeast Gaza Strip]





• 58. Palestinian flags are often seen hoisted on the highest vestige of houses destroyed by the IDF—symbolic defiance by the people left to huddle in the little tent.



• 59. The partially decomposed body of a horse killed during the Cast Lead attacks. Because of the scale of the destruction and the impediments to relief efforts, many animal corpses remained.

• 60. *(next page, top)* Children fly kites they concocted and ornamented from whatever they could find in their village of Beit Lahiya in the northern Gaza Strip.

Some of Gaza's families are originally from the verdant hill in the distance, once the Palestinian town of Najd. They fled from Najd to Gaza in May of 1948 when the Negev Brigade, an Israeli





militia, attacked and emptied it. "The cleansing operation continues," to quote Ben-Gurion at the time.[56] And so the white town on the plateau is no longer Najd, but now Sderot, established in 1951 on Najd's ruins, and in the news as the victim of rocket fire from Gaza.

As per Zionist policy for all settlements vulnerable to Palestinian reprisal, Sderot was peopled with "eastern" (Mizrachi) Jews.[57]

• 61. Graffiti of a Qassam rocket being launched. The graffiti is in northeast Gaza, an area from where such rockets are fired over the Green Line to southern Israel, in particular Sderot (see previous image, 60).

• 62 & 63. *(right)* The carcass of these young men's home, and the remains of an exploded US mine still inside it.

• 64 & 65. *(below)* Unexploded ordnance. This man was a taxi driver. Israeli troops bombed his house and bulldozed his taxi after taking control of his village in Jabaliya, northern Gaza Strip. When Fares Akram, translating for us, asked if we could speak with him, the man first makes clear that he does not want to be patronized.





Don't come here to feel sorry for me, he says agitatedly, though his voice is not very strong. *Go back home and stop your government from doing this. I don't want pity.*

He climbs atop a section of the collapsed roof and lifts a lone, nearly-intact piece of beautiful tile. *This was my house. I am old. I cannot build it again. Where will my children live?*

Of his taxi, all he has left is a photograph. *Why did they have to destroy my taxi? It was my family's only livelihood.*

We follow him to what was probably the front of the house. He lifts something substantial from the ruins—an unexploded mine. We inch back. *I don't care if it explodes. They have already killed me.* Cautiously, we look closer and see that





the bomb is made in the United States, like the others we've encountered. It matches ordnance that the UN identifies as US-made M15s, which contain 22 pounds of explosives (TNT and RDX).[58] By late 2009, twelve people, half of whom were children, were killed by unexploded ordnance after Cast Lead "ended," and many more wounded. Israel dismisses these deaths as the unfortunate reality of a war of self-defense.

But there is something more to this that Israel's fiction of a defensive war cannot explain :

Since the war ended, Israel has prevented the UN from neutralizing these UXOs.

Leaving aside the question of why the world needs Israel's permission to neutralize bombs it dumped on other people in a land it claims not to be occupying, how does one make sense of this?

Here's how Israel explained it. A month after Cast Lead ended, to counter protests by relief workers, the IDF said that their complaint "lacks all factual basis, since no response has been issued."[59] In other words, Israel was not blocking their work, but was merely not replying to requests that it stop blocking their work.

The day after Haaretz published the IDF's remarkable statement, it reported the predictable result of Israel's interference: five tons of live UXOs collected by relief workers were stolen. Israel automatically blamed Hamas; hopefully they are correct, because the alternatives, any of several fringe groups, are far more dangerous.

A UN Mine Action Service expert told me that Israel's blocking of their work was always presented as "bureaucratic." In late May, more than four months after Cast Lead, Israel finally agreed "in principle" (but not in fact) to allow the UN to neutralize the explosives. As of early 2010, Israel is still keeping the UN from rendering its UXOs safe.

But why? Israel claims its brutal siege is to prevent militants from getting explosives. That's its reason for the blockade, air strikes, and now the massive subterranean wall along the Egyptian border. Yet its UXOs constitute a huge stockpile of explosives *already inside Gaza*. Qassam rockets' warheads contain smuggled or scavenged TNT, and the UXO this man is holding is filled with a TNT composite—that, of course, is why militants steal them.

So—Why would Israel prevent the UN from disarming vast amounts of explosives that are already inside the Gaza Strip and at risk of ending up in the same primitive rockets fired over the Green Line that Israel used to justify the Cast Lead carnage in the first place?



If the logical answer seems too Machiavellian, a recent report from Gaza adds yet another twist. The journalist Mohammed Omer reports that a hospital in Gaza was treating a man who had been severely beaten after Hamas caught him accepting payment from Israel to fire rockets over the Green Line.[60]

• 66. *(above)* A woman peers about her home, still standing but ridden with IDF bullet holes.



• 67. When this child and her family returned to their shelled home after the Cast Lead attacks, they were greeted by graffiti left by Israeli soldiers:

Next time it will hurt much more !!!

Another graffiti in the same building fit the words of the Israeli national anthem amidst the bullet holes.

[Beit Lahiya, northern Gaza Strip]

• 68. *(right)* Three-year-old Farah Abu Halima with surviving family in Beit Lahiya.

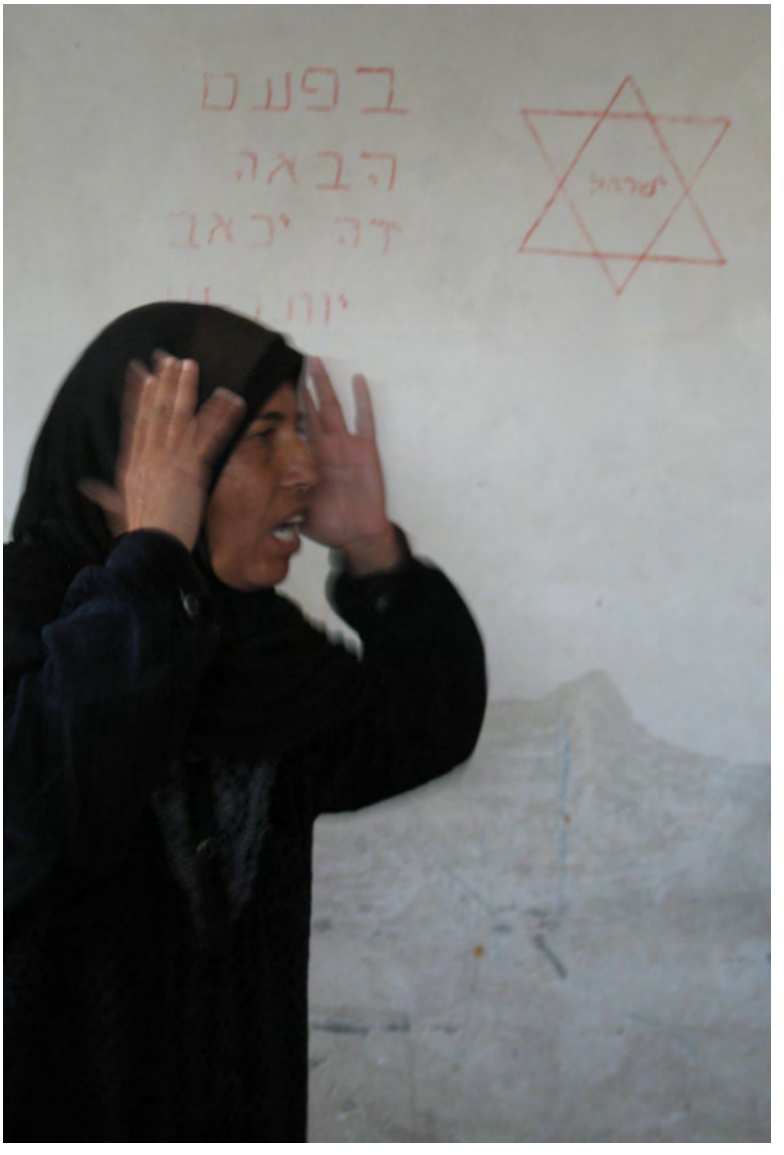
Farah does not want to come into the light. The burns on her feet, legs, and neck are obvious even in the dark. When her shirt is lifted we see the horrific disfigurement from white phosphorus burns.

Fares Akram interprets their recounting of what happened on 4 January, 2009.[61]

Farah's mother, twenty-one year old Ghada Abu Halima, was hiding with Farah in the hallway in the middle of the house. Drones, Apache helicopters, and F16s crisscrossed the sky. Then the explosions: three in close succession. A white phosphorus shell hit through the roof. Farah's grandfather, his daughter, and three sons burned to death instantly. Bodies fused together from the heat. Heads were seared from their bodies. Farah and her mother were on fire.

There were no ambulances because Israel had declared the area a closed military zone, so neighbors and family members placed the victims on a wagon hitched to a farm tractor to bring them to Kamal Adwan Hospital. Along the way they were stopped





by Israeli soldiers who were positioned behind sandbags, inside a girls' school, and in two tanks.

Five people—a woman named Nabila, her son Matar, and three other boys—got off and stood motionless for the soldiers. About ten meters away, a soldier whose face was painted black and green raised his weapon to his right eye and executed Matar (17) as he stood beside his mother, and another boy, Muhammad (16).

Two boys remained standing: Omar (17) and Ali, a five-year-old wounded with white phosphorus. The soldiers ordered Omar and Farah's father, Mohammad, to undress. Nabila, certain that they would all be executed, yelled at Omar to grab Ali and run. As they fled, soldiers shot Omar in the arm but he kept running and survived.

Farah and her mother were still in the cart. Her father obeyed the soldiers' orders and stripped naked.

There he stood: much of his family had just burned to death; there were no ambulances because Israel said there could be none; their farm cart "ambulance" was blocked by the soldiers; on it lay his wife and daughter, white phosphorus still burning through them as long as it had oxygen; two boys who had come along to help had just been murdered, one dying in the arms of his mother; their bodies now lay by his feet; and the soldiers amused themselves with his ritual humiliation.

The soldiers next ordered him to dress, turn around, and to walk. They could neither continue to the hospital nor take the tractor. So he leaned his wife against his side, took little Farah in his arms, and persevered for half a kilometer. They were found by someone with a vehicle who got them through sniper fire to the hospital. Four days later, after several unsuccessful attempts, relief workers reached the bodies of Matar and Muhammad, which the IDF had run over with tanks.

Since the siege had left no hospital in Gaza equipped to help the seriously wounded, Farah and her mother had to be transferred to the military hospital in Cairo as soon as an ambulance could get through the siege. The first attempt failed; the IDF attacked the ambulance and wounded the driver. The second attempt got through the Rafah crossing to Egypt.

The rest of the Abu Halima family stayed in a tent until the harsh winter weather forced them back into their partially destroyed home, where they remain.

Ghada Abu Halima lived for twelve weeks with her burns and with the knowledge that her daughter was in the same horrific pain as she. She died 29 March.

In the course of Cast Lead, sixteen medics were killed by the IDF, not counting the civilians killed assisting them. Two clinics were destroyed, and more than half of Gaza's twenty-seven hospitals damaged. On the day Farah was burned—4 January—an IDF helicopter fired on three medics as they tried to get the wounded into their two ambulances, killing them, and killing a twelve-year-old boy who was helping them. Elsewhere in Gaza that same day, an Israeli tank fired a shell loaded with 8,000 *flechettes* (darts) at two medics as they lifted a wounded man into the ambulance. The patient's body was instantly shredded. One medic survived.

Note: In late 2009, as a result of tireless efforts by activists in the US and Gaza, Farah was flown to San Diego for extensive, long-term treatment under the auspices of the Palestine Children's Relief Fund.



• 69. *(left)* Reliving one day of the Cast Lead attacks.
[Beit Lahiya, northern Gaza Strip]

• 70. *(above)* Farah's neighbor in Beit Lahiya.
(See image 68, page 42)

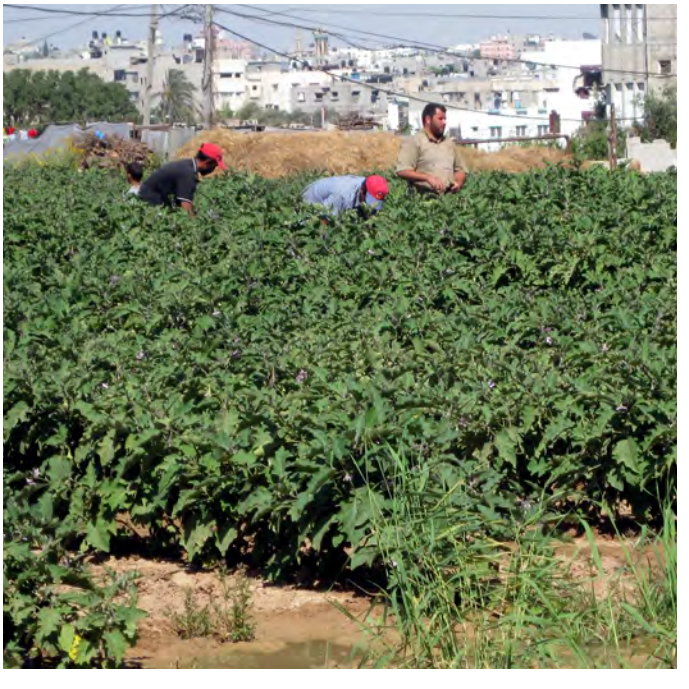
• 71. *(top)* Gaza's main coastal road, refugee camp on one side, the Mediterranean Sea on the other. The high population density of the Gaza Strip is the result of the massive influx of refugees from the 1948 war.

• 72. *(below, left)* Population density is but one of the challenges of agriculture in the Gaza Strip. Farmers contend with sandy soil, the diversion of the natural aquifers, environmental damage, insufficient land, salinated water, and shortage of materials resulting from the siege. There is no fertilizer in Gaza, for example, because it can be used in explosives. In response, Gazans have developed hyper-efficient micro-farming techniques for families, natural replacements for chemicals, greenhouse systems, and methods for farming virtually to the sea.

Gazan agricultural experts spoke of their hope that when the siege ends, the innovative techniques that they have developed out of necessity can be shared for more efficient, less environmentally damaging farming.

• 73. *(below, right)* A "troubadour" truck and wedding car, Gaza City. Most of the people crammed into the Gaza Strip are young, and societal norms are conservative, so weddings are a frequent sight—and sound. Though honeymoon travel is impossible because of the siege, newly-weds who can afford a ride in one of Gaza's few luxury cars careen through the streets to the accompaniment of an enthusiastic band playing lively music from the open truck.









• 74. Those displaced persons who fled to tent cities put up after the Cast Lead attacks are materially better off than those who remained in their villages. Their tents are more substantial, aid agencies can provide more regular meals, and limited educational services can occasionally be provided.

[Northern Gaza Strip]





• 75. *(left)* Tent 55 at a tent city in the northern Gaza Strip. Inside it are the few belongings salvaged from her family's home or donated by NGOs. The earth floor is kept clean with a broom. Since a year has already passed and Israel has blocked all reconstruction, these tent camps are becoming new refugee communities.

In the UN's words, it "has left no stone unturned in seeking approval... in extensive consultations with the Israeli authorities... [yet] no meaningful progress has been made in kick-starting UN civilian construction activities essential for the well-being and recovery of a war- and blockade-affected population, half of whom are children."[62]

Figures that cite the financial drain on the world community for supporting Israel rarely take into account the substantial indirect payments. Most aid purportedly for Palestine is in truth clandestine aid to Israel, paying to repair the damage of its aggression or repaying Israel the costs of the Occupation itself. The overt US payment to Israel—about $3 billion a year—is given in a lump sum up front, thus earning Israel interest while the US pays interest on its debt. But more importantly, the US exempts Israel from accounting for how that money is spent. It is laundered through a "general fund." Why? Else the financing of an Occupation that is illegal even under US law would easily be challenged in court.

But the overt US support is only part of the US aid. In addition, the US gives Israel roughly $3 billion more per year in military support from its defense budget, in forgiven loans, and in special grants.

The international community spends vast sums every year cleaning up after Israel's destruction, and maintaining the millions of people made dependent. The damage to world stability and the rule of law is incalculable.

Any honest accounting of Israel's cost must also acknowledge that the generous aid the US bestows on some Arab countries, particularly Egypt and Jordan, is payment to buy their cooperation. The people of those countries, living under repressive regimes propped up for the purpose, pay a terrible price for US support of Israel.

• 76. *(above)* Gazan herdsman with flock, at dusk.



• 77. Hassan, a fisherman, at the wharf in Gaza City.

Translating for us is Jenny Linnel, a young British activist with the International Solidarity Movement who returned to Gaza on the first "free Gaza" boat in 2008. Their voices are punctuated by the frightening *booms* of shells firing in the not-too-distant distance.

So what choice do we have? Hassan replies to our concern about setting out to sea amidst heavily armed navy vessels that fire on Palestinian fishing boats as one would targets in a video game. *We can stay home and surely starve our families, or go out to fish and maybe get shot, but only maybe. So we go out to sea.*

The risk of IDF piracy increases with distance from the shore. But the fishermen must take that greater risk. Not only do the quantity and variety of fish change markedly with the deeper waters beyond the continental shelf, but Israeli impediments to deeper fishing have caused unnatural depletion of stocks nearer to shore, and the environmental damage caused by the siege has left the coastal area badly contaminated. Off of northern Gaza, the shelf is about 10 nautical miles out, well within the 20 nautical mile rights given Gaza in the Oslo Accords. But Israel arbitrarily limits this to three nautical miles.



Even fishermen who remain within the boundaries Israel dictates are not safe. Hassan tells us of friends who were shot with the bullets that explode inside the body (probably "dum-dum" bullets); of the frequent water-hosing of boats in attempts to sink them for sport; of fishermen forced to strip naked for sheer humiliation; of arbitrary arrests; of confiscation of boats which, if returned at all, are vandalized; and of families paying what amounts to kidnapping ransom to get their fathers and husbands back.

Israel invariably claims that the fishermen were militants, and such statements, never questioned by the media, are sufficient to dismiss the issue.

• 78. *(above)* At the port at Gaza City, fishermen transport a modest early morning catch.







• 79. *(left, top)* Gaza City's wharf.

The man with the cart is returning from Gaza City's claw-shaped docking area; to the left, the path goes through an area of destruction from Cast Lead and previous attacks.

Israel's blocking development of the Gaza port has been a long standing issue in peace negotiations. In 1993 Israel agreed in principle to stop interfering, but then procrastinated for six more years until the Sharm el-Sheikh Memorandum of 1999, which was part of the Oslo Accords. Although this document allowed work on the seaport to begin, it had little meaning, because Israel prohibited the seaport from ever being used until it agreed to a "joint protocol."

These obfuscations notwithstanding, in 2000 construction of the seaport project began. But a few months later, supposedly in retaliation for the killing of two Israeli soldiers in the West Bank by an Occupation-weary mob, the Israeli Air Force destroyed it.

• 80. *(left, bottom)* The Mediterranean off Gaza City at dusk. Note the three vessels: a fishing boat close to shore; another fishing boat, small, on the left; and an Israeli military speedboat just right of center, firing away as it criss-crosses Gazan waters. Israeli navy speedboats' shelling is so constant that one conjures an image of a gilded Gazan sea floor.

• 81. *(above)* In a tent city in the northern Gaza Strip, a child's early evening kite dances with the moon.

East Jerusalem



• 82. *(left)* The Dome of the Rock and the Armenian church in Occupied East Jerusalem.

Israeli law guarantees freedom of worship, but not religious freedom *per se*. Christians in Israel or Palestine risk five years' imprisonment if convicted of proselytizing to a Jew, a crime that includes as simple an act as offering a Bible containing the New Testament.[63] Christian literature cannot be freely distributed, Palestinian Christians are denied access to holy sites in Jerusalem and Nazareth, and churches are disadvantaged by Israeli taxation policies and other abuse.[64] Israel issued demolition orders for a section of the old Armenian church in this photo, for example, even though Israel has no legal authority in East Jerusalem; and denied the Pope freedom of movement within the Holy Land in order to hide the realities of its Occupation and siege from the pontiff (see image 116, pages 74-75).

• 83 & 84. Israeli excavation near the Al-Aqsa Mosque.

Although the modern nation-state of Israel is the political invention of staunchly secular Jews, they gave it a Biblical name invoking ancient Jewish history, religion, and identity, and with it the claim of descendency-based entitlement. Thus there has always been the need to present Israel as the heir to Biblical precedent, and that task falls to nationalism-driven archeology—as does the job of denying any evidence that contradicts that entitlement or places it in a greater, inclusive reality.



Memoricide occurred on a massive scale in the early years of the Israeli state, when hundreds of Arab villages were levelled and erased from the map. Israeli archeology continues the process through the politically guided interpretation—and destruction—of artifacts and monuments. Within the first two years after seizing East Jerusalem in the 1967 war, Israel destroyed several historic Islamic structures, some by way of "archaeological excavations."[65]

Ongoing Israeli excavations around East Jerusalem are in direct violation of international law.[66] The UN warns that tunnels Israel is digging near and beneath the Al-Aqsa Mosque compound will jeopardize its structural integrity, and Israeli assurances that nothing is at risk have already proven false: in February of 2009, as a result of these excavations, the floor of a close-by UNRWA elementary school collapsed, injuring 17 girls.[67]



At writing, in early 2010, Israel is set to destroy an ancient Muslim cemetery in East Jerusalem to build a "Museum of Tolerance," and in an even more audacious twist, Prime Minister Netanyahu is designating significant West Bank historic and cultural landmarks as "Israeli national heritage sites." In both examples, historical monuments are used as tools of physical expropriation, but their methods of memoricide differ. In the first, the artifact and its proof of the existence of the Other is simply destroyed. The second example is more insidious: the artifact's "memory" itself is hijacked, as if the Other were never even there and the Zionist state has simply "returned."

One could debate the unlikelihood of maintaining bloodlines through millennia, over continents, and across mass conversions; and one could debate Biblical history and the interpretation of ancient artifacts, though the Israelite kingdoms of the Bible have been largely relegated to myth by the objective archeological evidence.[68]

But the entire issue is irrelevant. The premise itself—that blood descent entitles people to take over land and expel or subjugate any people not of the same blood—is repugnant to the very core of "enlightened" civilization's values and laws.

Why, then, does the West empower Israel to do precisely this?



• 85. House acquired by Ariel Sharon in the old city of Jerusalem in 1987.
Sharon told the US media that he took the house to promote "co-oexistence," and that it was strange that he, then a cabinet member, would be criticized "for living in a certain place in his country's own capital."[69] The New York Times interviewer, who became a popular author on world affairs, left unsaid that Jerusalem is not the capital of Israel, and that East Jerusalem is not even *in* Israel.

Sharon avidly promoted cleansing Palestine of Arabs, and his move to this house marked the shift from discreet to overt official support for the expropriation of the Muslim Quarter of East Jerusalem.



• 86. Israeli flags are hoisted on a balcony supported by beams built through the Arab balcony below it.

In old Jerusalem, iconography of Arab presence is generally cultural, such as steeples and minarets, but Israeli presence is starkly political and territorial. Palestinian flags can be found in souvenir shops along with crucifixes and I Love Israel beach towels, but in the narrow alleyways along which Christ is said to have carried his own cross to his execution, symbols of nation-state sovereignty are overwhelmingly the Israeli flag. And they are jarring—the old city feels too universal a treasure to be branded by any modern nation-state's avarice.

That universality, indeed, is why the 1947 UN partition set aside Jerusalem as an international zone to be administered by the UN itself. But by the end of their 1948 war, Zionist militias had seized western Jerusalem, while Jordan's double-dealing King Abdullah delayed any Arab defense of Palestine and took eastern Jerusalem. So it remained for nineteen years, until the Six Day War in June of 1967, when Jordan ceded its occupation of the West Bank and East Jerusalem, and Israel moved in.

Israel's campaign to racially cleanse East Jerusalem operates through bureaucratic chicanery designed to create the veneer of legal process. But to begin there would be to miss the larger point: *Israel has no authority over East Jerusalem.* Its very presence there is an illegal military Occupation, and its eviction pretexts are irrelevant. This sidetracking of the public debate from the actual aggression onto secondary minutiae that presume Israel's sovereignty, is a powerful tool for Israel's ethnic cleansing, because discussing those issues as legitimate creates an implicit acceptance of the Occupation itself.

Legal veneers take the form of various permits which non-Jews can rarely acquire; of requiring non-Jews

to produce arcane documentation proving long-term residency; of bureaucratic stonewalling; of racially skewed rents and other fees; and of moving the border of Jerusalem onto West Bank land to make Palestinians' ID cards "wrong." In 2008 alone, 4,577 native East Jerusalemites were evicted by the Interior Ministry for the crime of being Palestinian.[70]

The settler who first stepped off the plane from Brooklyn that morning is welcomed into the evicted Arab's home or the housing built on its ruins. He does not need documents to prove long-term residency—his blood proves that he has been there for twenty-five hundred years, and has been there to the exclusion of all Others.

Israel's racial cleansing by way of bureaucracy engineered for the purpose is even more insidious than the "grandfather clauses" enacted in post-slavery United States, laws that "legally" preserved the racist system. This is because for Palestinians, the very act of "following the rules" puts them at risk. When submitting an application, for example, the clerk will typically demand of non-Jews particular documentation proving long-term residency—documentation that cannot be supplied. This results not simply in the denial of the permit, but in the outright loss of residency. Thus many Palestinians reasonably gamble that they will delay the inevitable race-based eviction longer by *not* applying for permits.

• 87. *(below)* Israeli soldiers chaperon settlers through the old city of Jerusalem.



• 88. In 2003, Israel routed its Wall along the middle of a main street in the West Bank village of Abu Dis. The west side of the street "became" Jerusalem, and people on that side with West Bank ID cards are now "illegal" and confined to their houses until the bureaucracy of racial cleansing catches up with them.

The woman writing on the Wall in this photo is exactly opposite the people in image 109—the other side of the street.

A family I know that was fractured by this apartheid is typical of many. The Wall split them in two and ultimately led to the parents' divorce.

What was the choice? When the Wall was built, the father's ID confined him to the other (east) side of the Wall (image 109). But the mother's ID card is for this side. Although she *can* make the trip through the checkpoints to be with him, she risks never being able to return. Their two daughters are reaching the age when Israel will no longer permit them to cross, and they will almost surely remain on *this* side of the Wall. The mother had to choose between her husband and her children—though their fate is still subject to Israel's other mechanisms of cleansing East Jerusalem of Palestinians.





• 89. A Druze border guard on the outskirts of East Jerusalem.

In 1980 the Knesset passed the Jerusalem Law, which claimed Jerusalem as Israel's undivided capital. As with Israeli policy for the country itself, the law deliberately omits any definition of Jerusalem's borders. This allows Israel to move the city's border—and within context of its illegal annexation of East Jerusalem, the national border of Israel itself. "Jerusalem" gradually incorporates ever more Palestinian land in neighboring West Bank villages nearly as far as Bethlehem. The UN Security Council quickly declared the Jerusalem Law illegal, that East Jerusalem is illegally occupied Palestinian Territory, and that Tel Aviv is Israel's capital.

Yet Israel and its patrons persist in stating, as Barack Obama did in his presidential campaign, that "Jerusalem will remain the capital of Israel, and it must remain undivided"—deliberate falsehoods and breaches of international law by the future leader of the world's most powerful nation.

The West Bank





• 90. *(left)* A donkey peers out at the apartheid Wall that slices through Palestine and blocks him from the valley.

• 91. *(above)* Far from the Green Line, a shepherd and his son lead their animals to nibble on the sparse grass growing on the rocky hill. Their grazing land has been taken by the Wall.

Israel claims that it is building its separation Wall to keep terrorists out. The US media repeat this claim unquestioningly, and cite as proof a statistical drop in attacks that roughly coincided with its construction.

What the US media do not mention is that the Wall is still under construction. Wide gaps remain. These gaps are not in places where they offer any relief to people who want only to live a normal life, but their location is immaterial to precisely the people Israel claims to be stopping.

Desperate West Bank laborers slip through such gaps to serve Israel's black economy. I know a man who circumvented the Wall to see his dying father in East Jerusalem when Israel refused to grant him a permit to do so. Yet we are to believe that terrorists, with nothing to lose and going only one way, can't get through? Political and strategic shifts caused the drop in attacks, not the Wall.

Nor does the Wall separate Israel from Palestine. It separates Palestine from Palestine, running an odd course serving not defense but the expropriation of Palestinian land and the fragmentation of Palestinian society. Israel told the International Court of Justice that it routed the Wall (which the Court declared illegal) far from the



by the Wall or settlements, retain a degree of independence from the Israeli-controlled economy. The whole family is involved in the processing of the animal products, which are sold on the local market.

• 94. *(next page, top)* Snaking through Palestine, the Wall slices the village of Abu Dis in two.

• 95. *(next page, bottom)* Olive trees lie unharvested and an old stone house sits abandoned, both severed from their owners by the Wall. Few of these field houses are still in use. Some of their families were made refugees in 1948, and after the 1967 war more were abandoned because their families were forced to leave them for the relative safety of the village. Made from stone from the surrounding hills and iconic of the Palestinian landscape, they are a relic of a pre-oppression past.

For a perspective of the Wall's height, note the large army truck on the closed military road, on its way to a nearby Israeli military facility.

border "to enable the combat forces to chase the terrorists [within the West Bank, if they get past the Wall]."[71]

The Wall is also two-pronged psychological warfare: to dampen Palestinian resistance through disorientation and its bold statement of conquest, humiliation, futility; and as dramatic proof to the rest of the world that Israel's neighbors are barbarian hordes—Israel had to built a Great Wall to keep them out.

The presumption of Israeli defense is so deeply entrenched that we hardly notice that *it is Israel that is attacking Palestine.* The question should be, Why has the Wall failed to stop Israeli state terrorism against Palestinians?

• 92. *(top)* Morning in Abu Dis.

• 93. *(bottom)* A man returns his flock to the stable. People who have been able to hold on to a local agriculture-based economy, and who still have some access to land not blocked







• 96. The football goal in the lower left is a reminder that this was Abu Dis' local pitch until the Wall came.

On the other side of the Wall lies what had been the town's agricultural land, now inaccessible.

The Dome of the Rock (East Jerusalem) is visible three km in the distance.



The Israeli watchtower that pierces the Palestinian landscape to the right on this 2008 photograph no longer exists. It is now the settlement of Kadmat Zion, an example of how Israel first takes land for "security" to blur the true goal of colonization.



• 97. Computer room in the "Friendship House" *(Dar Assadaqa)* in Abu Dis.

Run by the Camden Abu Dis Friendship Association, this is a community center with a focus on education.

The painting on the wall is of *the* Wall, breached by the iconic figure of Handala, creation of the Palestinian cartoonist Naji Salim al-Ali. The artist's powerfully critical commentaries precipitated his assassination in London in 1987, and in its wake a diplomatic row between London and Tel-Aviv when it emerged that the alleged assassin, a Jordanian, was in the employ of Mossad.







• 98. *(above, left)* Palestinian oud player Ahmed Eriqat coaches students at an UNRWA school.

• 99. *(above, right)* Two violinists from the London Philharmonic Orchestra, Nancy Elan and Thomas Eisner, perform Béla Bartók's duos at Al Quds University.

• 100. *(right)* Students perform *dabke* dances.

• 101. Bread maker, Abu Dis.

This sesame bread is a specialty of Palestine and used to be a major export from Abu Dis.

The same crates that are now piled purposelessly on the right had—before the Wall—been filled every morning with bread destined for Jerusalem shops.

• 102. *(right)* Local hamburger and falafel joint.









• 103 & 104. *(above)* The sacred and the secular in Abu Dis: the Prayer room of the Boys' orphanage in the Arab Institute; and science classroom in the UNRWA school.

• 105. *(left)* Ramallah Cultural Palace. An international conference on mental health was to have taken place in Gaza City in late October, 2008. Sponsored by the World Health Organization and European Union, among others, the Conference was more than a year in the planning and brought together about one hundred professionals and academics from around the world.

Inevitably, Israel blocked the international participants from entering Gaza, so they were forced to converse by video conference between Gaza City and Ramallah. The man on the screen is in Gaza City; the two men at the table and in the video inset are in Ramallah.

An Israeli spokesman publicly charged that the mental health professionals were "cooperating with terror organizations." Exactly two months later, Israel launched the Cast Lead attacks on Gaza.

• 106. Water pumping station built by USAID, an organization ostensibly dedicated to delivering US civilian foreign aid. It has long been linked to the CIA, accused of being a conduit for corporate welfare, and a Trojan horse for US political goals. Between 1993 and 2007, USAID spent more than $1.7 billion in Palestine.[72] Palestine needs this pumping station because of Israel's illegal diversion of West Bank aquifers to its settlements and businesses. So if the station worked, its cost should be tallied with US aid to Israel, not Palestine. But the pumping station has never worked, a huge, illuminated boondoggle.



Nearby, another USAID endeavor sits similarly unused—a children's playground, out of reach of the community and adjoining a waste dump. Upon its christening, a USAID spokesperson "expressed the American people's commitment to supporting the Palestinian people and improving their conditions"[73]—these "conditions" being the direct result of the US' support and financing of Israeli aggression.

In Abu Dis, USAID bus stops have never seen a bus, but flaunt signs reminding people that they are a gift from the people of the United States—as are the checkpoints, roadblocks, and segregated roads that make routine travel impossible for Palestinians.



One recent USAID-funded project that functions perfectly and *will* be used is the newly modernized Jalama checkpoint. Israel's latest apartheid apparatus, it is yet another example of how US taxpayer money that is represented as aid to "Palestine" is in truth yet further subsidy to Israel's Occupation. Both Mahmoud Abbas and Tony Blair shamelessly joined the checkpoint's christening ceremony.[74]

The director of a marvellous grass-roots community center described to me a USAID rep's occasional visits to entice them with money. Given that her center is dependent on donations from their impoverished community, the prospect of a generous foreign handout was exciting indeed. But when she learned the conditions that would accompany this windfall "donation," the true motivation of USAID's "generosity" became clear. The center would effectively sell itself and its mission to US geopolitical /corporate interests. *You take money from US, you're fucked,* she summed up clear English.



•107 & 108. Armed watchtower and checkpoint of the Jabal Al Zaytoun terminal, where West Bankers granted permits to East Jerusalem are processed.



• 109. Dissecting what had been a bustling Abu Dis business street, the Wall dwarfs the two people by its base and veers sharply at the minaret, foreshortening the mosque's steps (see image 88, page 58). The modern building in the back belongs to the PA. Israel proposes Abu Dis as the capital of the Palestinian state it has never allowed to exist, while Palestinians want their capital to be East Jerusalem, which Israel has illegally annexed.





• 110. *(left)* The blue prayer beads of the *Misbaha* count the ninety-nine names of God. [Bethlehem]

• 111. *(above)* Coffee vendor, Al Abedeyh village, a pleasant corner along the terrifying, winding road through Wadi al-Nar, the "Valley of Fire," and the "Container" checkpoint. Palestinians can no longer use their traditional roads linking southern Palestine, such as Hebron and Bethlehem, with Ramallah and the north, because Palestine is severed by Israeli settlements and their segregated highways. The route through Wadi al-Nar is dangerous, unpredictable, and humiliating, but it is the only passage left for Christians, Muslims, and other non-Jews. (See also page 92.)

• 112. *(right)* Student recital, Edward Said National Conservatory of Music, Bethlehem. Founded by the brilliant intellectual and renamed for him after his death, the Conservatory has branches in East Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Ramallah.



• 113.
A segregated road pierces through the hill to the Israeli settlement of Gilo, near Bethlehem, as it appeared in early 2008. The settlement is built on land confiscated primarily from the Christian village of Beit Jala.



Gilo is more than just part of Israel's military occupation; it is part of the psychological battle as well. Since Israel is trying to create a "greater Jerusalem" by linking its nearby West Bank settlements to Jerusalem through a matrix of roads upon which only Jews may travel, the wording with which the media refer to Gilo is pivotal.

In the fateful month of September, 2001, CNN dictated to its staff that henceforth Gilo would

be referred to as a "Jewish neighborhood," never as a "settlement." CNN denied that the mandate arose out of external pressure, but offered no justification for the deliberate misrepresentation. The eminent journalist Robert Fisk put on record that internal CNN sources had confided to him that CNN had indeed caved in to precisely such pressure.

The result was CNN's anchorman standing in the rain in Gilo, bemoaning stone-throwing Palestinian youths and pointing to the IDF tanks that must stay to protect the "Jewish neighborhood" in "southern Jerusalem" from them. The audience is unaware that Gilo is in the West Bank, not Israel, unaware that the "neighborhood" was built by violently cleansing it of those same Palestinians who now throw stones at the invading tanks, and unaware of the IDF's ongoing attacks on the nearby Palestinian villages where the stone-throwers now live.

Then in May of 2002, at the request of members of the Israeli cabinet, the Israel Broadcasting Authority instructed the editorial departments of Ha'aretz not to use the term "settlement" in referring to the settlements.

That summer, the US' National Public Radio referred to a terrorist attack in Gilo as having happened in "Jerusalem."[75] NPR's listeners assume this to mean that a Palestinian had invaded *Israel*. The reality—that the attack took place in the West Bank in Palestine, against an illegal, brutal military occupation—was deliberately indecipherable.

About the same time, the New York Times substituted "area" for CNN's "neighborhood." The paper reported that Israel was building barriers to "protect" the "Jewish area" of Gilo from Palestinians.

• 114. *(below)* To give settlements the illusion of age, fast-growing pines are quickly planted around them. The trees conceal the rubble of destroyed villages, supplant the olive trees that were a Palestinian livelihood, and lend a "European" air to the settlements.

Ninety percent of local indigenous tree species are eradicated by Israeli reforesting programs, mainly those of the Jewish National Fund, whose mission is to reserve land exclusively and in perpetuity for Jews. The JNF has created parks over the remains of more than 400 Palestinian villages ethnically cleansed and levelled by Zionist militias.[76]

But in Occupied Palestine, the JNF operates via a subsidiary, Himanuta Ltd., to inoculate it from legal challenges to its charitable status.

In this way, the ethnic cleansing of Palestine remains tax exempt.





• 115. *(above)* Ancient terracing for olive cultivation.

As with many olive orchards in the West Bank, Palestinians are now forbidden from stepping foot on this slope because Israel has declared the area a "security" buffer zone for its nearby settlements.

Traditional Palestinian terracing prevented soil erosion, retained rainfall, and increased the surface area of agricultural land. Olive tree terraces were also a stage for important aspects of Palestinian social activity, particularly during harvest season. (See also page 98.)

• 116. *(next page, top)* The Wall has become a vast canvas for anti-apartheid art. Here it is seen from a rooftop in the Aida Refugee Camp, with part of Israel's sprawling Gilo settlement beyond it. This is February, 2008; the crane on the right is prophetic, as the settlement expanded dramatically by the end of 2009.

This stretch of the apartheid Wall lies about seven kilometers due east of the Green Line, which itself allots to Israel about 50% of what was to have been the "Arab" side of the 1947 partition. Everything to the west of the Wall is morphed into Israel, or into its illegal annexation of East Jerusalem. This not only expropriates the land, but also allows it to be ethnically cleansed by simple bureaucracy rather than bulldozers, since Israel had assigned West Bank ID cards to Palestinians living there.

The Aida camp was established in 1950 to shelter refugees from 17 villages in the western Jerusalem and Hebron areas. Sixty years later, the Wall and its five Israeli watchtowers make the camp yet more of a prison.



When Pope Benedict XVI visited the Holy Land in 2009, the camp, whose refugees include Christian families, prepared to receive him along this stretch of the Wall, to the right of the image. But Israel intervened and forbid the Pontiff from being received there, lest the head of the Roman Catholic Church see its handiwork.

Nor did Israel permit the Pope to see the Holy Land's poorest and most beleaguered, the one and a half million people it keeps imprisoned in the Gaza Strip—the site of the Biblical Samson's imprisonment. Christians in Gaza and the West Bank called on Benedict XVI not to make the Israeli-controlled visit, as it served only to "endorse the Israeli government's policies and atrocities."[77]

• 117. *(below)* Walking about Aida camp, one has the feeling of being lost in a place that civilized nations forgot to liberate. Metal, concrete, bullet holes, bleakness in every direction, defiant messages scrawled on monotonous cement that read like revolutionary manifestos yet do nothing more than rephrase jilted UN Resolutions and international law.

Out of sight around the bend, one anemic shrub pierces through the asphalt, its cracked limbs gently bandaged by an unknown caretaker. Coin-sized irregularities on cement walls are the vestiges of bullet holes plugged to hide painful memories from children. Those through metal are harder to hide.





• 118. *(left)* Aida Refugee Camp.

• 119. In their art-work, children at the Aida Refugee Camp march to freedom.

Next to that dream, the reality :

Father Prisoner
Mother Murdered
Grandfather Palestinian

And the decades of broken promise :

UN Resolution 194

But it is in the top line that the children bare, in perfect simplicity, what it all feels like :

First name Refugee



• 120. Nancy Elan gives an impromptu violin lesson.

[Lajee Center, which organizes cultural, social, and sporting activities for children in the Aida Refugee Camp]







• 121. *(left, top)* Perched atop a wall, IDF soldiers make certain that no one but settlers are on this road leading to the Shuhada Street area of Hebron.

• 122. *(left, bottom)* School children make a symbolic attempt to return to their old neighborhood in Hebron.

They are met by a wall of IDF soldiers and, out of sight behind the soldiers, a settler with a video camera recording the "threat."

Israeli military orders restricting movement within the old city apply only to Palestinians. The illegal settlers are exempt from these orders.

• 123. *(right)* An Israeli policeman warns a defiant Palestinian child.



• 124. The old municipal building in Hebron, a ghost of the city's former elegance.

• 125. *(below)* The Star of David spray-painted by settlers next to the staircase leading to their commandeered flats.

• 126. *(next page)* Settlers, one with a rifle slung over his shoulder, walk down Shuhada Street. Two soldiers, each with machine guns, guard the segregated street.

Once a bustling Arab market, this area is now closed to all but the settlers and the IDF.

The ethnic cleansing of pivotal Shuhada Street accelerated with a suicide attack by a Brooklyn-born resident of nearby Kiryat Arba settlement. In 1994 Goldstein, a physician who had received two citations from the Israeli Army, entered Hebron's Ibrahimi Mosque and opened fire, murdering 29 and wounding 150 before worshippers killed him with a fire extinguisher as he reloaded.

His grave in Kiryat Arba is a pilgrimage destination for radical Zionists, along with Meir Kahane Memorial Park, in honor of the founder of the terrorist organization Kach.

The Israeli government responded to the massacre by putting *Palestinians,* not the illegal settlers, under curfew, and protecting those settlers as they hijacked more homes in Hebron's old city at rifle-point—settlers so violent, and so fanatical in their belief of divine and exclusive right to







all of Palestine, that even some Israeli soldiers have described them as "pure evil."[78]

Soldiers have also come forward to expose the reality of the Israeli military itself in Hebron. Their on-the-record testimony corroborates decades of claims by the Palestinians themselves, whom the West does not believe, and such highly respected international eye-witnesses as Christian Peacemaker Teams, whom the West marginalizes.

The soldiers emphasize that what they describe are not isolated incidents, but rather the norm—"habits."

For example—

A fifteen-year-old Palestinian boy throws stones at the Occupation soldiers. He runs away before the soldiers can grab him. So the soldiers grab a ten-year-old child who just happens to be nearby and, in the soldiers' words, beat him up "to put it mildly." Then they hand the boy over to a commander, who again "really beat the shit out of him." The commander then forces the boy to stand up, but his gut is too injured, he is crying and terrified, so the commander "kicks him some more."

At this point the boy's parents appear. The commander cocks his [loaded] weapon and stuffs it "literally inside the kid's mouth," and yells at the parents "Anyone gets close, I kill him. Don't bug me. I kill. I have no mercy."[79]

The parents can do nothing but leave, the only hope that their young son will live.

These "habits" are the reality of the surreal world in which Hebronites live. For them, daily life is an un-armed dance of survival against heavily armed settlers and the IDF. They have neither protection nor redress against this state terrorism.



• 127, 128, 129. Life in Hebron below the settlers.

Settlers who have commandeered upper-storey flats in the old city of Hebron throw their refuse—garbage, rocks, cement blocks, chemical waste, broken appliances, human feces—down onto the Palestinians below. To protect themselves, Palestinians have had to span the streets with heavy gauge, overhead horizontal fencing.

In the image in the upper right, you are looking straight up. For Palestinians living below the settlers in Hebron's old city, this is their view of the sky. Note the rocks, cinder blocks, glass, and other substantial items that could kill if not caught by the strong fencing.

Hebron settlers' commandeering of flats within buildings is unlike the rest of the West Bank, where settlers create sealed city-states, or East Jerusalem, where they take over entire buildings. Armed settlers in Hebron will typically lay siege to an individual upper-storey apartment and force out its Palestinian family, then break through to the next apartment, sometimes through the roof, sometimes through a wall, to force out another family. The settlers' preference for upper-storey apartments is strategic, paralleling the advantages of commandeering hilltops above rural Palestinian villages. Ground-level residents are placed at their mercy.







• 130. *(left)* "Revenge" is the meaning of the settlers' Hebrew graffiti on the stone wall.



• 131. *(right top)* These steps lead to Shuhada Street and what had been the Hebron Bus Terminal until the IDF seized it as a military post in 1981.[80]

Settler attacks on the family that owned the house to the right of the steps grew so violent that they were forced to abandon it.

• 132. *(right bottom)* Harassment by settlers and their children is a way of life for Hebron school children. Victims of violence face systemic stonewalling or outright refusal by the Israeli police to investigate.[81]

The soldiers in control of the streets add to the abuse, often blocking children's access to unsegregated roads and forcing them to search out roundabout routes to school over rooftops and other dangerous alternatives.



In late 2009, Christian Peacemaker Teams reports that settlers on a hill just east of Hebron have erected a new outpost where they keep violent dogs. Among the latest incidents, a seven-year-old boy was attacked by settlers with one of the dogs, and his older sister was chased and nearly abducted by settlers on horseback.[82]

• 133.

Israeli soldiers are stationed on rooftops throughout the old city of Hebron. This soldier is photographed from a neighboring rooftop.



• 134.

By the edge of the old city in Hebron, a leaning building is a pastiche through time, deteriorating sections rebuilt over the years while parts that were still intact remained.

The newest of all is the trio of IDF booths on its roof.

Below the soldiers, the upper-storey flats have been taken over by Israeli settlers. When this photo was taken in 2008, the legal inhabitants still held onto their lower-storey apartments.





• 135.

Palestinian children play under the ever-present vigilance of Israeli soldiers

[Hebron]



• 136. An Israeli soldier makes an arbitrary check of a Palestinian youth's papers.

Every Palestinian must carry an ID card that specifies where in Palestine he or she is allowed to be, an invisible layer of controls that works in concert with the geographic fragmentation of Palestine.

Of the three principal areas into which Palestine is divided, Israel covets East Jerusalem first. Next is the West Bank, and far below it is Gaza, Israel's dumping ground, two-thirds of whose 1.5 million residents are refugees from its 1948 war.

The ID cards serve not just to manipulate Palestinians within their designated bantustan, but also to channel them down these tiers when possible. The result has been the displacement of individuals and the breakup of families, cleansing non-Jews from East Jerusalem to the West Bank, and from the West Bank to Gaza.

In September 1967, just three months after the Six Day War that set the stage for Israel's dramatic expansion of its 1948 occupation, Israel—though it had no legal jurisdiction in Palestine and so its pretense of "procedure" is irrelevant—used a census ploy to cleanse more than 300,000 Palestinians from their land. Palestinians who were away at that moment, whether escaping the violence of the war or for study or work, were deemed non-residents and blocked from returning, made refugees like their predecessors nineteen years earlier. Israel then began importing settlers from Israel, from the US, and from Russia, enticing them with large public subsidies. The Occupation of the West Bank had begun.

It was at this time that Palestinians were assigned ID cards according to whether they were in the West Bank, Gaza, or East Jerusalem. The Oslo Accords transferred ID cards to the jurisdiction of the Palestinian Authority, but as with all aspects of the Accords, Palestinian autonomy is make-believe. Israel exerts absolute control over which bantustan non-Jews live in.

• 137. A Palestinian woman stranded at Israel's Erez Crossing to Gaza. Gaza and the West Bank are an integral territorial unit under international law, and indeed their corners connected on the original UN partition accepted by Israel in 1947.

The reason why Israel created separate population registries for Palestinians after the 1967 war was to be able to manipulate their movement. Hundreds of families have been forcibly broken up by its apartheid system of ID cards. The Jilo family is one example.

In 2007, Kowkab Jilo and two of her daughters were stopped by soldiers who demanded to see their papers. When she produced her ID card, they were put in a military vehicle and forced into the Gaza Strip, since the mother was originally from Gaza and her ID card was unchanged from her youth.

Kowkab's 27 year old daughter, though born in the West Bank, was also thrown into Gaza and separated from her two children, a two-year-old son and ten-year-old daughter. Her children now have no mother, despite the efforts of their grandfather, of Palestinian officials, and of European observers, to hold Israel to international law.[83]

Israel would happily "reunite" the family by revoking the children's West Bank IDs for Gaza IDs, thus cleansing two more *Untermenschen* from the West Bank. But like the true mother in Solomon's Judgement, given the choice between never seeing her children again, or imposing upon them the deprivation and violence of Gaza under Israeli siege, she chose the former.

Whereas Palestinians in Palestine are citizens of a country that does not exist, Arab citizens of Israel are not quite citizens of Israel. They face discrimination





reminiscent of that endured by blacks in the US into the 1960s—for example in recreation areas, swimming pools, and transportation—discrimination that is upheld under Israeli law.[84]

The system itself markedly disadvantages Arabs in public employment, funds, and programs. Nor, of course, need non-Jewish citizens apply to live in Israel's heavily subsidized West Bank settlements.

Laws against the "mixing of blood" are strictly enforced. Marriage between an Arab—Christian or Muslim—and a Jew is illegal in Israel. Jewish vigilante groups take no chances, patrolling their neighborhoods to protect against Arab men dating Jewish women.[85]

Segregationist laws extend over the Green Line. The "Citizenship and Entry into Israel Law," passed by the Knesset in 2003 and again in 2008, prohibits Israeli citizens from living with their Palestinian spouse, even temporarily. Young couples with children have been pulled out of their homes and separated, members of the family dumped over the Green Line.[86]

Land, property, and housing discrimination is also codified in law. Arab Israeli citizens, by virtue of race, have no rights under Israeli law to recover property lost in the 1948 war. "No Arabs" housing is upheld by Israeli law,[87] and more than a seventh of all the land in Israel is automatically off-limits to non-Jewish citizens because it is owned by the Jewish National Fund. Founded in 1901 for the very purpose of ethnic exclusion, Israeli law forbids even one inch of JNF earth to be rented or sublet to a non-Jew.

• 138. *(top)* The Wall near Al Quds University.

• 139 & 140. A teacher at an UNRWA school holds a student's art project. Its English cliché carries meaning far beyond a mere fondness for the hearth—for the refugee who embroidered it, it is in defiance of the forced displacement that has defined her life.



Similarly, the iconic image of Che Guevara, hero of Latin American liberation, is found in Palestinian handicraft, on political posters, clothing, and on refugee camp walls. Most strikingly, parents have named their daughters *Guevara* after Che, with a soft 'g' as per Arabic pronunciation.





• 141. A girl laughs as she is caught in a Palestinian flag another girl is waving.

[Hebron]

• 142. Bethlehem University, a Catholic co-educational institution open to students of all faiths, has also lost people to Zionist apartheid.



In the spring of 2009, a student at the University who was a few months from graduation abruptly found herself handcuffed and blindfolded by Israeli soldiers, then forced into the Gaza Strip,[88] where Israel forbids her even from bringing in books, paper, or pens.

The young woman, Berlanty Azzam, was studying Business Administration. She had gone to Ramallah for a job interview, a trip of only about twenty miles, but one that in Occupied Palestine is a terrifying detour around segregated roads, through checkpoints, and random interrogation.

When IDF soldiers stopped the car she was in, she produced a Gaza I.D. and a valid permit for her studies in Bethlehem (which was not even necessary).

But her Gaza I.D. gave Israel a "reason" to cleanse another non-Jew from the West Bank.

Berlanty is Christian.

Israel justified Berlanty's displacement as "self-defence" and, in December 2009, the Israeli High Court of Justice upheld the IDF's action.

About 25,000 West Bankers may have Gaza IDs.[89]



• 143. Students at the boys' school, Anata Refugee Camp.



• 144. The settlement of Pisgat Ze'ev (right), and Shu'fat refugee camp (left), as seen from a rooftop in the Anata Refugee Camp. Anata is surrounded by four settlements and an Israeli military installation. The Wall and racially segregated access road wrap around the valley. Most of what had been this school's playground was confiscated for the apartheid road and Wall.

After Israeli soldiers repeatedly fired tear gas grenades inside the school's back door, the camp was forced to seal the door permanently shut.

In early 2007, ten-year-old Abir Aramin was shot and killed by Israeli soldiers as she walked to the camp's girls' school. Palestinian parents have little redress for IDF violence, but Abir's father was a prominent peace activist with influential Israeli colleagues. Still, for the next two and a half days, Israeli authorities refused to examine the scene, and then said that the case would not be pursued because intervening rains had made it impossible to locate with precision Abir's blood or the IDF jeep's tire tracks. Instead, Israel claimed that there was no proof that the IDF bullet that had penetrated the back of her skull was the cause of her death.

Although Palestinian children are killed by Israeli soldiers or settlers on average one every two days, the US mindset precludes any explanation but that these deaths occur despite the IDF's best efforts to safeguard civilians—Palestinians, in some way, are to blame. The reality that some Israeli soldiers "entice children like mice into a trap and murder them for sport," as a respected US war correspondent put it, is too jarring even to be heard.[90]

But as with so much of the Palestinian issue, the very question of soldiers' deliberate versus collateral deaths is a distraction. Israel is an illegal, foreign occupier, and so bears responsibility for *any* killings, even accidental, caused in its maintenance and defense of that Occupation.

The sole instance of an IDF soldier being held accountable was the British peace activist Thomas Hurndall's murderer; but that conviction, obtained only after considerable international pressure was brought to bear by his determined parents and family, was permitted by Israel because the killer was Arab (Bedouin)—a suitable scapegoat.

• 145. *(top)* Soap making, Nablus, outside the old city.

• 146. *(bottom)* Soap making, Nablus, inside the old city.

Nablus has for centuries been renowned for its soap. Virgin olive oil, water, and a sodium compound are mixed in a vat over low heat for about five days, then poured onto a large open floor, cut into small blocks, the blocks then piled into these conical towers for their two-to-four week drying process.

Many of the Nablus soap factories that thrived in the latter nineteenth century survived an earthquake in 1927, but could not survive the later IDF assaults on the old city, and the only two that remain are crippled by the Israeli closure system. The United Nations calculates that Israel has increased the factories' transportation costs by a factor of ten.

• 147. *(next page)* The old city of Nablus is a frequent target of IDF incursions. Israel launched an all-out assault in April of 2002, claiming that resistance fighters were holed up in the winding alleys and interconnected









dwellings of the old city. Following a pattern of Israeli destruction of Arab historic and cultural presence in Palestine, the IDF has demolished entire historic sections of the ancient city, ostensibly to find resistance fighters.



• 148. *(above)* In the old city of Nablus, posters, pasted everywhere, commemorate these children's neighbors killed by the Israeli military.

• 149. *(right)* Remembering Maram, a Nablus girl, shot dead by Israeli soldiers in September, 2004. She was eleven.[91]

• 150. *(next page)* The village of Raba, southeast of Jenin, will be swallowed up by the advancing apartheid Wall, along with the entire Shubat Valley, Assalmiya Mountain, and agricultural land.[92] Raba lies eight kilometers from the Green Line inside the West Bank.









• 151. *(left)* Olive tree, near the border of Israel in the northeast West Bank. According to the planned route of the Wall, this land will be taken by Israel.

• 152. *(middle)* Olive tree uprooted by a US-made Caterpillar bulldozer.

• 153. *(bottom)* Local olive press, vicinity of Jenin. Israel began the large-scale destruction or theft of olive trees, a mainstay of the traditional Palestinian economy and society, after the 1967 war. Some are stolen, removed intact and replanted in Israel or in its West Bank settlements, while most are simply destroyed. Either way, the goals of land confiscation and destruction of the Palestinian economy are achieved.

Many are destroyed in "security" maneuvers, typically as part of house demolitions, with the claim that militants hide behind the trees. Others are taken through legal charades. For example, farmers are first prevented from reaching their cultivated plots through road closures, by declaring the farms to be security zones due to their proximity to Israeli settlements, or simply by settler violence.[93]

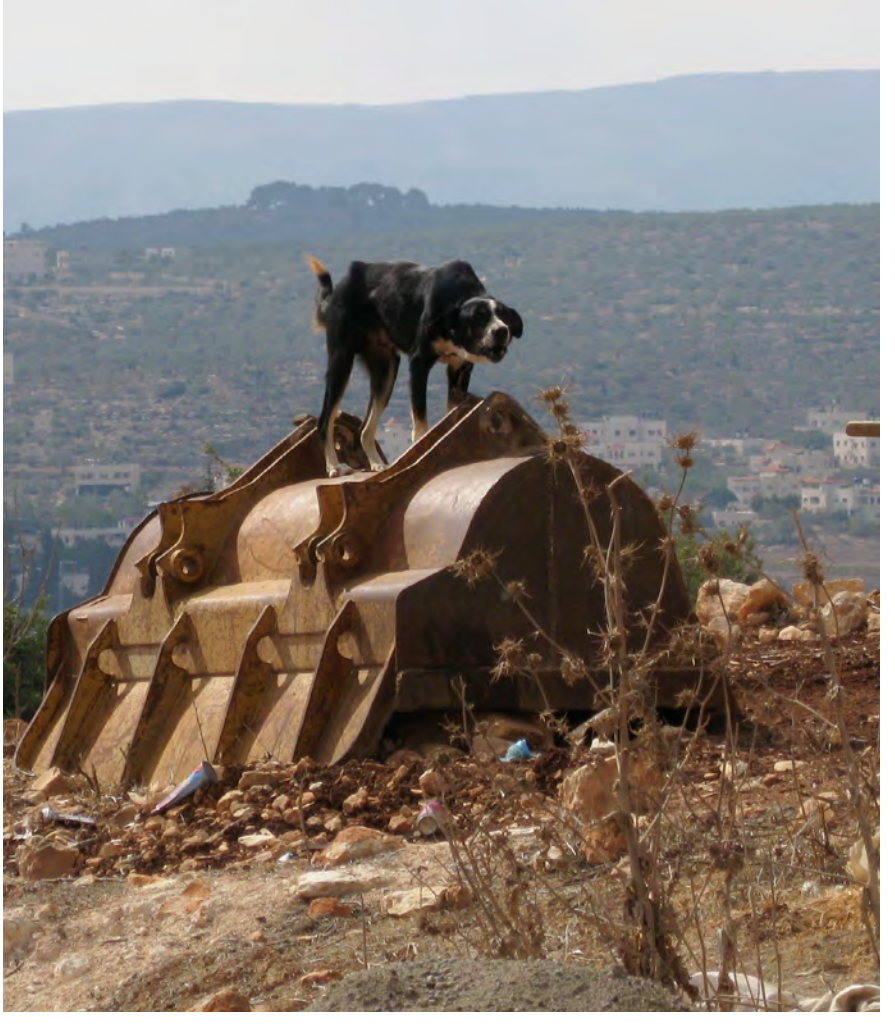
Israeli settlements' extreme diversion of water sources forces some farmers to abandon their fields, and others are blocked by the Wall or because checkpoint soldiers will not let them bring farm equipment through.

Once the farmers have been kept from their land for sufficient time, Israel invokes an Ottoman-era law declaring that farmers who fail to cultivate their land forfeit their ownership of it to the state—that "state" meaning not any Palestinian entity, but an Israeli entity.

Where olive groves remain and farmers can reach them, harvesting can be a dangerous ordeal because of armed settlers who harass them.

Palestinian olive oil won Fairtrade status in 2009, enabling a portion of its profits to go to replacing olive trees destroyed by the IDF.





• 154. *(above)* Like the keys that are all refugees were able to keep of the homes they lost, these stone houses validate memories, proof of what was. A farming village once stood here. This house is all that remains. [northernmost West Bank]

• 155 & 156. *(left & below)* A small farm in the countryside near Jenin.



• 157. *(right)* Stored grain, northern West Bank.

• 158. *(below)* When the IDF levelled their village in the Jordan valley, this Bedouin family was lucky to escape with their animals, which they sold to buy a small plot of land in the countryside near Jenin. They now have the beginnings of a durable home—walls, and no immediate threat of their land being confiscated—though no doors or windows.

The man has heard that an industrial park may be built next to their land (a "Valley of Peace" project; see page 103).

See also image 165 (Bedouin).







• 159. Two students at the Freedom Theatre, in the Jenin Refugee Camp, seem still to be in acting class as they tend to their chores. The Freedom Theatre offers camp children a respite from the fear, humiliation, and absolute futility of one's dreams that is the refugee's cycle of spiritual and physical oppression.

Much of the camp was reduced to rubble by Israel's 2002 "Operation Defensive Shield," which sought to squelch the Second Intifada. During and for days after the offensive, Israel blocked all relief personnel from the camp, including the Red Cross and UNRWA, even to evacuate the wounded. All communication with camp residents was lost for ten days.

UNRWA personnel heard claims that IDF troops executed captured Palestinians and that their corpses, along with the injured, were taken to undisclosed locations in Israel—a claim that takes on new significance in light of Israel's recent admission to trafficking in human organs. Israel's blockade, however, meant that these reports could not be investigated and so remain rumors.[94]

The UN could only report that "UNRWA made persistent and unrelenting efforts to gain access to the camp [but its] emergency teams, medical staff, ambulance crews and trucks carrying medicine and food were blocked" by Israel.

The Gulf states offered to pay to rebuild the camp. Israel "permitted" the rebuilding under the condition that the new roads be wide enough to accommodate IDF tanks.



• 160. *(above)* Jalama Crossing, northwest West Bank.

• 161. *(below)* Children playing, vicinity of Jenin.

• 162. *(next page)* Palestinian-owned clothing factory north of Jenin. Visible in the distance is the Jalama Crossing, through which the factory's finished clothing is shipped to the Israeli company Honigman.

The Israeli fashion company Honigman was established in 1947, the year of the partition. Its 150 branches bring well-made designer clothing to shoppers across Israel—much of it made "in Israel" by Palestinian workers in Palestine.

It is a captive work force. Although the factory is theoretically an independent Palestinian firm, Israel's "security" laws require it to do business only with Israel. But Honigman's customers are spared these details. Inside the factory, I watched as "Made in Israel" tags were neatly sewn into the garments by their Palestinian makers before being crated across the Green Line.

This Palestinian factory used to operate autonomously and distribute its goods to the world via Jordan. As Israel tightened its yoke on the West Bank, the factory was forced to sell its products only to Israeli firms, and to buy its materials only from Israeli suppliers, at whatever prices those firms dictate. Matters got worse when the complex of checkpoints and roadblocks made it all but impossible for many workers to get from home to the job. The factory had to close and split itself into two separate locations to minimize the distances, and thus the chance of checkpoints, between home and work.

According to its website, the Honigman label offers "classical and elegant style that is also urban and fashion forward ... for women who have confidence in themselves and in their bodies," in shops featuring "an atmosphere of indulgence." For teens, the company boasts "sexy and intrusive fashion ... provocative yet functional," and for children, "collections inspired by rock music, street wear, extreme sports, graffiti, comics and parties." But it is Palestinian artists in the West Bank who create many of these lucrative designs, with all rights expropriated by Israeli businessmen.

A picture frame with clippings from Israeli magazine ads boasting new Honigman fashions hung on the wall of the factory. The workers pointed to it with pride, as these were their own creations.

This economic apartheid was foreseen by students of the Occupation and the Wall. By analyzing the Israeli strangling of free enterprise in the West Bank, the planned and actual route of the Wall, Israeli facilities



along the Green Line, and "development" plans as cited in World Bank documents, a pattern of economic bantustans emerged.[95]

Jenin is in fact a laboratory for this vision. By no coincidence, Jenin was both the first city to be sealed behind Israel's apartheid Wall, *and* the city touted by Israeli PM Benjamin Netanyahu as proof that what Palestinians really want is not sovereignty, but rather "economic peace." Among the schemes that will force this "peace" on Palestinians is the equally Orwellian-named "Valley of Peace" project, a web of multinational industrial complexes. Palestinians are given no say in their own future; Israel and the West decide on their behalf.

The root cause of Palestine's economic collapse is the Israeli Occupation, in all its intricate manifestations. But as with the Israel-Palestine conflict itself, the West refuses to address the cause, instead enforcing "fixes" that serve its own interests and simply normalize the Occupation. Under the charade of development and cooperation, Palestinians will be the cheap workforce for Israel and the other nations behind the project, for example manufacturing Toyotas and Renaults for Israel and Jordan. The words of the Israeli industrialist Stef Wertheimer sum up the chauvinism: he said that he is building Valley of Peace factories to "keep [Palestinians] busy working, instead of engaging in terrorism."[96]

Trade union representatives I met with in Jenin spoke about one Valley of Peace project, an industrial park that Germany is building nearby to manufacture textile, wood, and food products. They were grateful for the relief the project might provide for the crippling unemployment caused by the Occupation. But when I asked them what Germany expected in return for the thirty million dollars pledged for the project, or how Israel fit into the scheme, they claimed not to understand my question, even after careful repetition by my interpreter—a Palestinian who had spent his share of his life in Israeli prisons and understood my point perfectly. It was a gift, they insisted. On reflection, I think they understood, but the question is a luxury they cannot afford.



• 163. Prisoner art

[Political Prisoners Museum, al-Quds University]



Israel at any one time holds ten to eleven thousand Palestinian prisoners. Most are civilians rounded up arbitrarily, on suspicion of "organizing," for violating Occupation laws, or for taking part in the Palestinian campaigns of non-violent resistance. Ongoing non-violent resistance in Bilin, Al Masara, and Nil'in, for example, is being brutally suppressed.

Others are imprisoned for resisting invading tanks with whatever weapons are available, usually stones or molotov cocktails. Under international law, all people have the right to resist the illegal military occupation of their land. Exceedingly few are guilty of targeting civilians.

Prisoners serve several purposes: to recruit collaborators, as human currency for political deals and swaps, to decapitate resistance movements by removing anyone with leadership talents, and to force Palestinians into Gaza by citing their incarceration as a loss of residency in East Jerusalem or the West Bank.

The vast arsenal of prisoners also serves Israel's myth of an embattled Jewish state defending itself against an enemy of Biblical proportions—"an ancient battle between Good and Evil,"as US President GW Bush described it upon the occasion of Israel's 60th birthday. The subliminal message is powerful: *Ten thousand Palestinians in prison? What a violent society—no wonder Israel must protect itself.*

Thus the only Israeli who, at this writing, is held by any Palestinian group—a legal prisoner of war, as he was a soldier seized while attacking Palestine—is an international *cause célèbre,* spun as an act of Palestinian terrorism rather than self-defense; whereas Israel's mass rounding up and imprisoning of civilians is turned upside down as "proof" of the violent Others against whom Israel is ever-vulnerable.

Children are targets. Over seven hundred Palestinian children are prosecuted in Israeli military courts every year. Human rights organizations document how Palestinian children are subjected to torture and abuse in order to exact "confessions" or information, often with the cooperation of the Israeli medical establishment.[97]

Israel "lowered" its high number of child political prisoners and "legalized" its treatment of them by segregating legal age by race. Whereas Israeli children become adults at the internationally-accepted norm, age eighteen, Israeli law states that Palestinian children are legal adults at age *sixteen*.[98]

The psychological torture can be as damaging as physical abuse. Among the tactics used to demoralize children and force them to become collaborators is the very threat of being falsely accused of the same. If they refuse to cooperate and inform, their interrogators threaten to spread the false rumor that he or she *is* spying for Israel. This is a threat literally worse than death, since not only is betrayal the ultimate disgrace to one's name and family, it also leaves the falsely accused collaborator vulnerable to vigilante justice.

Israeli commanders have come forward and confirmed the indiscriminate detention and torture of children as young as nine: "Every soldier who was in the Occupied Territories can tell you the same story."[99]



• 164. *(above)* Though little more than choreography, these Palestinian Authority guards control the entrance to Jericho, granted superficial autonomy under the Oslo Accords. The Jericho area is where the CIA trains the Palestinian Authority's domestic military police.

• 165. *(below)* Bedouin encampment, Jordan Valley. For decades the Bedouin have been shoved about by Israeli colonization. Any patch of land in the Jordan Valley on which Bedouin remain, Israel steadily designates as "security zones" and bulldozes the villages. In the meantime, Israel has prohibited the Bedouin from building any substantive dwelling, so they must pass the cold, wet winter months under cardboard propped against barren trees or in tin lean-tos.

The UN documents a systematic Israeli campaign against Bedouin: confiscation of their animals, demolition of their dwellings, and expropriation of their water sources, in addition to settlers' "unrelenting harassment, threats and physical abuse" for the purpose of driving them away to take their land.[100] As but one recent example, the UN documents the Israeli military bulldozing an entire Bedouin village under the pretense that it was a "closed military zone" from which the people had to be removed "for their own safety," and then immediately giving the confiscated land to a nearby settlement for its agricultural cooperative.[101]







• 166. *(previous page, top)* The Jericho checkpoint. In 2009, Israel announced that it was removing this particular checkpoint. The Western media reported this "goodwill gesture"—but not that it was immediately replaced by others. Checkpoint tallies are a shell game to demonstrate Israeli "concessions," while the net impediment to Palestinian movement continues to worsen.

• 167. *(previous page, bottom)* The northwest part of the Dead Sea, the region where the Dead Sea Scrolls were discovered. Although this part of the Dead Sea lies in Palestine, Israel prohibits Palestinians from going to it. According to IDF soldiers who went on record, they are instructed to "prevent Palestinians coming from the Jordan Valley to the Dead Sea beaches," because "when Jews and Palestinian vacationers were sitting on the beaches side by side it hurt the business of the surrounding *yishuvim* [settlements]." But the official explanation would be self-defense. The soldiers' commander told them that he "could come up with or find a security justification if he needed to."[102]

• 168. *(below, left)* Street scene, Jericho.

• 169. *(below, right)* "No entry for Israelis," sign in three languages designating a so-called "Area A" of the Oslo Accords. Jericho is among these areas, 2.7% of Palestine, that are allowed the facade of Palestinian self-governance, though there is no actual autonomy in any sense of a sovereign people.

25.1% of Palestine is designated "Area B," in which the PA assumes conditional civil responsibilities, but Israel maintains security control. In the rest of Palestine, the 72.2% designated "Area C," Israel retains both security and civil control.

Ultimately, Israel can and does override these distinctions and exerts its power at will.





• 170. Christ is said to have spent forty days and forty nights on this mountain resisting Temptation. The Greek Orthodox monastery built into the mountainside originally dates from the sixth century. Monks and hermits have inhabited the caves on the mountainside since early Christianity.

• 171. *(next page)* Hisham's Palace (Khirbat al-Mafjar), remains of an Umayyad winter palace just north of Jericho, built in the mid-eighth century. Jericho is one of the oldest continually inhabited places on earth, as well as the lowest inhabited place, at 258 meters (850 ft) below sea level.

Over the millennia, Jericho's principal attraction to human settlement has been its abundant springs.





Palestine at the precipice

The Israel-Palestine conflict is typically framed as being complex to the point of intractability. But that claim is in itself part of the methodology of ethnic cleansing, serving to "explain" the paralysis of the international community and the failure of six decades' attempts at a resolution, as well as to frame the continuing aggression as being without alternative. It is a "fact on the ground" whose very purpose is to buy time until the theft of Palestine is a *fait accompli*. And like the settlements, the ruse of intractability must be dismantled.

The resolution of the Palestinian issue involves two questions: What would be a just solution? And how can the complicit nations be persuaded to cooperate?

Means to a just resolution, negotiated in accordance with international law, have been available for six decades—that is not the problem. Solutions have traditionally envisioned two states, though the idea of a single, secular, democratic nation is gaining favor because Israel's obfuscations and settlements have made a viable Palestinian state all but impossible—as indeed was the intention.

It is the second issue, the belligerence of culpable nations, that is the problem. Israel has been able to continue its aggression because its patrons, above all the US, have financed, empowered, and shielded it.

Why has the US propped up Israel, affording it such impunity that even its sinking of the USS Liberty in 1967 was hushed up, and the US servicemen who survived the attack silenced? Why have the US media kept the country in a haze of virtually Orwellian misinformation?

Israel is a Western client-state, a European colony, a neo-colonial foothold in the Middle East. Israel serves US corporate and geopolitical/military interests—which must be distinguished from the US' true national interest. But Palestinians happened to be in the way, and so had to be at once demonized and denied, reduced to virtual enslavement for inconveniencing those interests.

Thus the tools of the US media and the interests they serve, and the tools of Zionism since its beginning, have been those of settler and imperialist projects throughout the centuries: the radical manipulation of language, the continuous rewriting of history, and lies—massive lies.

Palestinians are denied any right to self-defense. They have no army, no military, no control over their borders or airspace. Palestinian non-violent resistance is met with IDF bullets and prison cells, and rendered ineffective by the vacuous silence of the Western media, even when the protests are joined by Western and Israeli activists.

How, then, can Palestine be pulled back from the brink?

Unlike many disputes in Europe, where competing claims may date back to medieval times and various parties can justify their positions according to when in history they "start the clock," Zionist aggression—quite distinct from traditional Jewish presence in the Holy Land—is modern and specific.

Justice will require laying bare Palestine's history from the late 1890s, when a half-century of pre-statehood ethnic cleansing began through smaller-scale terrorism and racial exclusion, through to the present, disconnecting historical fact from nationalist "narratives." Evidence and documentation of the conflict are ample, and serious historians differ little on the essential facts. Indeed Zionist records themselves are among the best primary sources.

Israel's "moving bar" starting point of negotiations must be set back not to the latest land grab, not to the latest settlement, not to the latest summit, but to 1947-48. Any attempt to address the conflict from a later date ignores the crux of the issue.

The year 1967 is often held up as the negotiating holy grail, as though a generation of refugees were non-people and the theft of their lives mere history. The truth is that in 1967, two decades of horrific injustice were hardly noticed because by 1950 the West had washed its hands of the catastrophe it had created.

Zionism and Judaism need to be disentangled from each other. Israel's calculated invocations of anti-Semitism and the Holocaust must be exposed for what they are: the cynical exploitation of bigotry and betrayal of the memory of the Nazis' victims. Equally, one must be alert for true anti-Semitism and neo-Nazism exploiting the Palestinian issue for their own ends.

History has shown that boycott, divestment, and sanction (BDS) is an effective weapon against the expropriation and subjugation of a people denied the ability to defend themselves or to negotiate as equals. Refusing to patronize Israeli interests, whether commercial, cultural, or academic, will isolate the regime as it becomes ever more desperate to portray itself as the victim.

Since the last of these photographs were taken in mid 2009, an emboldened Israel is accelerating its ethnic cleansing on the gamble that the world will do nothing. This book is one person's glimpse of Palestine at the precipice, offered in the conviction that people can act against injustice and prevail—but for Palestine, we must act together, in solidarity, and now.

Notes

1. Ilan Pappe, *A History of Modern Palestine.* Cambridge University Press, 2006, ch 1-3.

2. Asher Zvi Ginzberg, in his book *Hamelitz*, quoted in Nur Masalha, *Expulsion of the Palestinians, the Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948.* Institute for Palestinian Studies, 1992 (2001), p7.

3. Masalha, p75.

4. For example: "If I knew that it would be possible to save all the children in Germany by bringing them over to England, and only half of them to Eretz Israel then I would opt for the second alternative. For we must weigh not only the lives of those children but also the history of the people of Israel."—Ben-Gurion, as quoted in John Rose, *The Myths of Zionism*, p145. The Evian Conference of 1938 was convened by US President Roosevelt to discuss the resettlement of Jews fleeing Nazi persecution. That several nations were reluctant to accept refugees is irrelevant to the issue of Zionist response. The most successful participant was the Dominican Republic, which offered to take 100,000 Jewish refugees on generous terms.

5. e.g., see *Palestine Pamphlet,* endnote 11.

6. Ilan Pappe, *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine.* Oneworld, 2006, p34.

7. Pappe, *Ethnic Cleansing,* p36.

8. Pappe, *History,* p118

9. Naeim Giladi, *Ben-Gurion's Scandals: How the Haganah and the Mossad Eliminated Jews.* Dandelion Books (2nd ed., 2003); also Pappe, *History,* p176.

10. Masalha, p128.

11. Page illustrated from *Palestine Pamphlet / Terrorist Methods with Mines and Booby Traps*. Headquarters, Chief Engineer of the British Mandate, December, 1946. Marked "Restricted." 38 pages.

12. Pappe, *Ethnic Cleansing,* 156-7; Ted Schwarz, *Walking With The Damned: The Shocking Murder Of The Man Who Freed 30,000 Prisoners From The Nazis*, Paragon House, 1992.

13. Cablegram to the UN Security Council dated 27 Sept 1948. (source: U.N. Official Documents, http://unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/45FC0C6E511EC0C5802564D400560CA0).

14. Ilan Pappe, *The Making of the Arab-Israeli Conflict 1947-1951*, I.B. Tauris, 1992, 208-09, 241. This was during the Lausanne Conference of 1949.

15. Meir to Anwar Sadat, 1973, according to widely repeated attribution, though it does not appear to be officially documented.

16. Pappe, *Ethnic Cleansing,* p51-52. Israeli's strategy of attacking to elicit a response to justify an attack, is also discussed in Zeev Maoz, *Defending the Holy Land: A Critical Analysis of Israel's Security & Foreign Policy,* University of Michigan Press, 2009.

17. Jane Adas, *Spinning Cast Lead*, in The Link, AMEU, Volume 42, Issue 5.

18. Arik Diamant and David Zonsheine, *Talk to Hamas,* The Guardian, 15 February, 2010. The authors were IDF soldiers in Cast Lead. Also see Oakland Ross, *Israeli town celebrates end to daily rocket fire... thanks to the ceasefire with Hamas*. The Star (Canada), Oct 9 2008.

19. Pappe, *Ethnic Cleansing,* ch 4-5.

20. The Zionists' biological terrorism appears to have been the fruit of the so-called "Science Corps of the Hagana" established by Ben-Gurion in the 1940s. See Pappe, *Ethnic Cleansing,* p100-101.

21. See e.g., *Report on the use of radioactive weapons in the Gaza Strip during «Operation Cast Lead»* (27 Dec 2008 - 18 Jan 2009) by Action des Citoyens pour le Désarmement Nucléaire, 4 July, 2009. The UN's Goldstone Commission acknowledged claims of depleted uranium use, but did not investigate them.

22. See e.g., the synopsis by Peter Hansen (UNRWA), Hungry in Gaza, The Guardian, March 5, 2003.

23 & 24. B'Tselem, *Testimony: Israeli Security Agency exploits illness of Gazan to try and force him to become a collaborator*, September 2009; Rory McCarthy, *Israel accused of interrogating medical patients from Gaza*, in The Guardian, 6 December 2009. Detailed documentation about Israeli Medical Association at boycottima.org.

25. Masalha, p148-149.

26. Avi Shlaim, *Collusion Across the Jordan: King Abdullah, the Zionist Movement and the Partition of Palestine.* Oxford University Press, 1988.

27. Pappe, *Ethnic Cleansing,* p72-73. See also Rose, *Myths,* ch. 8.

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23. Ian Black, *1948 no catastrophe says Israel, as term nakba banned from Arab children's textbooks,* in The Guardian, 22 July, 2009.

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32. *UN agency calls on Israel to lift book blockade of Gaza schools,* UN News Center, 10 September, 2009

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40. E.g., four incidents within two years documented in *Israeli Gunfire Hits 11-Year Old Girl Sitting at her Desk in an UNRWA School,* UNRWA, 12 Oct., 2004.

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42. Marc Garlasco & Darryl Li, *Remote Control Death,* The Nation, March 20, 2009.

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45. *Dye-job donkeys wow Gaza children,* BBC News, 9 October, 2009.

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95. See, e.g., stopthewall.org.

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97. e.g., extensive documentation at btselem.org. See also boycottima.org for medical establishment complicity.

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Online Resources (alphabetical by url)

adalah.net • US Palestine activism
adalahny.org • Coalition for Justice in the Middle East
al-awda.org • Palestinian Right to Return Coalition
english.aljazeera.net • Al Jazeera (English)
ameu.org • Americans for Middle East Understanding
bdsmovement.net • Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions
bigcampaign.org • Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions
boycottima.org • complicity of Israeli Medical Assn.
btselem.org • Israeli Info Ctr for Human Rights in OTs
camdenabudis.net • Camden Abu Dis Friendship Assn
cpt.org • Christian Peacemaker Teams
electronicintifada.net • Electronic Intifada (news)
endtheoccupation.org • US Campaign to End the Occupation
gazamentalhealth.org • Gaza Mental Health Foundation
gazaconference.net • mental health conference
icahd.org • Israeli Cmte Against House Demolitions
ijsn.net • International Jewish Anti-Zionist Network
palestinecampaign.org • Palestine Solidarity Campaign
palestinechronicle.com • Palestine Chronicle
palestinejournal.net • portal to online resources
palestineremembered.com • Resource for Palestine's history
palsolidarity.org • International Solidarity Movement
map-uk.org • Medical Aid for Palestinians
pchrgaza.org • Palestinian Centre for Human Rights
rachelcorriefoundation.org • Rachel Corrie Foundation
rafahtoday.org • Mohammed Omer's *Reports from Palestine*
shovrimshtika.org • Breaking the Silence
stopthewall.org • Stop the Wall
ussliberty.com • the 1967 Israeli attack on the USS Liberty
vivagaza.org • delegation to Gaza, with links to videos
wrmea.org • Washington Report on Middle East Affairs



Map of the 1947 partition proposed by the 11-member United Nations Special Committee on Palestine.

UNSCOP collected testimony from Zionist organizations in Palestine and the US.

Arab representatives argued that Palestinians' natural rights to their own land were self-evident and reaffirmed by the principles of the United Nations Charter itself.

The blue area was to be the Zionist nation, the brown Palestinian, and the white an international zone with Jerusalem and Bethlehem.

(source: UN. Reprinted 1956.)



Tom Suárez at the Erez Crossing between Israel and the Gaza Strip.

(Photo: Shachaf Polakow, activestills.org.)

Suárez' previous books include *Early Mapping of the Pacific* (Tuttle, 2004); *Early Mapping of Southeast Asia* (Periplus, 1999); the novels *The Crustacean Codex* (Terra Nova, 1997) and *Viol Player of Cattigara*; and *Shedding the Veil, Mapping the European Discovery of America* (World Scientific, 1992).

A violinist, Suárez is a member of the Advisory Committee of the Gaza Mental Health Foundation.

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• Norman Finkelstein, *Beyond Chutzpah: On the Misuse of Anti-Semitism and the Abuse of History.* (University of CA Press, 2005)

• _____ *'This Time We Went Too Far'* (Or Books, 2010).

• Robert Fisk, *Pity the Nation: The Abduction of Lebanon*. (Nation Books, 2002)

• Yosef Grodzinsky, *In the Shadow of the Holocaust; The forced role of Holocaust survivors in Israel's founding*. (Common Courage Press, 2004)

• Tikva Honig-Parnass and Toufic Haddad, *Between the Lines: Israel, the Palestinians, and the U.S. War on Terror* (Haymarket, 2007)

• Ghada Karmi, *Married to Another Man: Israel's Dilemma in Palestine.* (Pluto Press, 2007)

• _____ *In Search of Fatima: A Palestinian Story.* (Verso, 2002)

• Naeim Giladi, *Ben Gurion's Scandals: How the Haganah & the Mossad Eliminated Jews*. (Dandelion Books, 2003)

• Mahoney, Adas, Norberg, *Burning Issues: Understanding and Misunderstanding the Middle East.* (AMEU, 2007)

• Saree Makdisi, *Palestine Inside Out: An Everyday Occupation*. (Norton, 2008)

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• Paul McGeough, *Kill Khalid: The Failed Mossad Assassination of Khalid Mishal and the Rise of Hamas.* (New Press, 2009)

• Ilan Pappe, *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine.* (Oneworld, 2006)

• _____ *A History of Modern Palestine.* (Cambridge University Press, 2006)

• Tanya Reinhart, *The Road Map to Nowhere*. (Verso, 2006)

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• Stephen Sniegoski,*The Transparent Cabal: The Neoconservative Agenda, War in the Middle East, and the National Interest of Israel*. (Ihs Press, 2008)