

# THE Round Table

Fall  
2005

"...a path from where we are to where we should be." --Peter Maurin

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## END THE ISRAELI OCCUPATION...



## FREE THE PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES

# Why This Issue?

My Uncle John is a retired driver. For most of his adult life he has hauled cases of Pepsi Cola from the factory to the stores. He has lived in Nebraska his entire life, and has a typically Nebraska view of things. I am allowed to speak of a typical Nebraska view, incidentally, by being born and bred in the Cornhusker state. Without speaking too much for him, I can tell you that Uncle John thinks that we should not let foreign-born people into our country, and that our country should provide some moral guidance for the other countries, in that we are the moral authority in the world. Uncle John spent a lot of time goading me as a child (my tendencies leaned toward radical early on). He continues to enjoy talking politics to me, mostly to see if he can get a good rise out of me. I, for my part, mostly try to avoid hot topics that will be sure to offend both of us. You can imagine, then, my alarm when he brought up "that Middle East problem" at my last visit back home. After his initial assessment that "they should just put a wall up around all of them and let them sort it out themselves," I pointed out that, without assistance from the US, it would be a much fairer fight. He shocked me by saying, "You know, when I look at a situation where one side has tanks and fighter planes, and the other side has kids throwing rocks, something just seems wrong." I don't think he believed me when I told him that we give heaps of aid to Israel, but he still knew somewhere in him that something wasn't quite right.

Uncle John is right. Something isn't right. Palestinians live in a land occupied. Looking at the maps in the centerfold of this issue offers a dramatic vision of the vanishing of land and rights of the Palestinian people. Their attempts to work (harvesting olive trees), to educate their children, to live in safe homes in neighborhoods, to move about in freedom without harassment—are made impossible. Their farm lands and homes are systematically destroyed by tanks, their families and children methodically persecuted by military presence and force, their movement restricted by laws, military posts, and physical structures (such as the apartheid wall and roadblocks) created for the purpose of disallowing trade or visits. These things are destroying the lives of the Palestinian people. This situation has led to individual Palestinians into their own acts of violence in the form of suicide bombings. We often react to these individual instances in horror while we ignore the systematic violence happening every day.

On their own, these horrors would be enough to command our attention, and warrant an issue of the *Round Table*. Add to this the fact that our country is paying for most of it, and the topic of Palestine demands our focus. And so we offer this issue.

Uncle John, at least, knows about the "Middle East situation." Most Americans could quote the media regarding the suicide bombings and great "Palestinian threat" but could tell you little else. To counter our collective confusion and misinformation, we learn from Mazen Badra and Eman Aldumairi what it is like to live under the "Israeli threat" and occupation. Both discuss a desire to be free not only from occupation, but also hatred within themselves. Jenny Truax gives us a report regarding nonviolent movements currently happening, and possibilities for a nonviolent resolution based in Gandhian philosophy. Hedy Epstein shares with us experience and education from her visits to Palestine, encourages us not to be silent, and gives us ideas on how to act.

This conflict deserves our thoughtful analysis and action to find a nonviolent end to the occupation. As we are complicit in the degree of violence occurring, let us be active in seeking a solution that is just and peaceful for all. I think Uncle John would agree!



— Annjie Schiefelbein

Front cover photograph by Miki Kartsman  
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# A Palestinian Christian's Perspective: An Interview with Mazen Badra

by Mark Chmiel

**Mark:** Many people think Israel/Palestine is very complicated. Can you give us what you think is some relevant background to understanding what is going on today.

**Mazen:** Let's talk about the recent history...The major problem for the Palestinians basically started with the Zionist movement and after the major immigration by the Jews to Palestine/Holy Land. You can talk about the British Mandate period. Then the 1948 war. Maybe the U.N. was right to divide Palestine into two areas, one for the Jews, one for the Palestinians. Maybe the Palestinians felt that they don't want to split the baby, because it's their baby, and the Jews accepted that, because it fulfilled their dreams and their ambition to have a state.

That resulted in hundreds of thousands of Palestinians leaving their country and living as refugees in nearby states. And the struggle continued afterwards, in 1967, because a good number of Palestinians had to leave Palestine, and join the other refugees in Jordan, Syria, Egypt, Tunisia, Lebanon, Iraq, and other parts. And some decided to go to Latin America or North America or other countries.

In my opinion, the major issue, the major conflict is occupation. The intention of the Zionist movement and the Israeli authorities was to create a pure Jewish state, meaning that if they can get rid of all the Arabs and Palestinians, they would do it. They tried in different means, violent means, war means, and even terrorist means. They succeeded in some and failed in many because, in the end, the Palestinians are still there, the majority of them are still there. And they will continue to dream of their statehood, as the Jews have managed to get theirs.

"Occupation" is not only a Palestinian perception because a huge number of countries all over the world recognize the rights of the Palestinians. At least the 1967 Israeli takeover of the West Bank and Gaza is an act of occupation. There are a lot of U.N. resolutions about it, and the United States, at least to some extent, cannot deny that this land is supposed to be given to the Palestinians to establish their own, independent state.

So, the major issue is occupation. And I see it as it as the

major source of violence, terror, and the conflict. I see it very clearly: If the occupation ends—if the Israelis pull out of the West Bank and Gaza, go back to 1967 borders—I'm almost positively sure that things will shift 180 degrees toward peace and toward co-existence, and we can live peacefully as good neighbors next to each other.

**Mark:** Mazen, Americans are beginning to get a better idea of what occupation is, in Iraq. But we may not be so familiar with the characteristics of the occupation in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Could you describe what occupation means, concretely, for Palestinians in their day-to-day lives?

**Mazen:** That's important. Occupation in its essence is depriving the people under occupation of many of their rights and freedom. Occupation is total injustice because the occupied people are all the time at the mercy of the occupier. For example, since 1967 until now, with occupation came oppression, imprisonment, confiscation of land, and the major issue, which is settlements. And the Palestinians felt that settlements were the beginning of their end. Since 1967 with the Israeli aggression, what Israel tried to do was to confiscate as much land as it could and build Jewish settlements on Palestinian land. To the extent of even controlling all of the Palestinian areas of life—social, economic, educational, health, you name it, and the Palestinians could do nothing without the Israeli authority's approval or permit. For example, renewing your driver's license or going anywhere, you need Israel's permission. But the major thing was the confiscation of the land and as a result the Palestinians were confined or cornered in smaller and smaller pieces of land until recently, of course, with the confiscation of land, and the construction of by-pass roads (built intentionally for the Jewish settlers and Israeli military vehicles only), which were to connect the settlements with each other. Which means that they by-passed a lot of Palestinian cities and cut the Palestinian cities off from each other.

And recently the aggression continued with the segregation or separation wall, which ate up more and more of the

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Palestinian land and almost cut several cities and villages into two and deprived a lot of Palestinians of the ability to reach their schools, hospitals, work, land, or relatives. So that was another big concern to the Palestinians in many dimensions.

Occupation is evil. The occupation is the major source of violence. And what the Palestinians were trying to do, basically, was to resist the occupation by different means. They tried it peacefully, and did not succeed. They tried it violently, and it was damaging to both sides, definitely. And some believe that the only way to fight occupation is through armed struggle. And, although I might differ with some Palestinian factions on the means, I, personally, disagree with people that call for armed struggle and using violent means to end the occupation, but, in many cases, I can understand why, I can even understand the frustration and why even some teen-agers and young people decide to become suicide bombers and end their lives but not before they kill or injure other people.

The point I'm trying to make here: Everything started when occupation started. My dad used to tell me how wonderful his relationship was with his Jewish employer back in the 1920s and 1930s and they had a very good relationship, and they used to live next to each other and work with each other. We never had any issues and problems. When the Palestinians started realizing that there was more to it than just being there and Jews living with the Arabs and being part of an Arab entity, this is when the conflict started. People start thinking about if they are going to be displaced from their land, their country. And this is where hatred started, and people started thinking about different means to resist.

I tried also to contribute to ending the occupation by using different means. I totally believe in nonviolence as a means. I felt that I have to do something to help my people but not in violent ways. And that's why, right at the start of the first intifada back in 1988. I started (with some of my friends) a nonviolent movement to call for a rapprochement between the two peoples. I started this with Ghassan Adoni, a very good friend. We tried to promote dialogue and understanding between Jews and Palestinians at the grass-roots level. We invited them to homes, either in Israel or in Palestine, to talk about their fears, concerns, and ambitions. And I felt that this human contact, the human touch, was the most powerful element because now, "enemies," so to speak, meet face to face, rather than live with their perceptions and images of the other side. When we go back home, we start thinking about the other side, and, to some extent, worrying about those people, because I have met the human being, rather than my perception or image or stereotype. And I felt from the feedback I got from the other side, that they started realizing the same thing. In the end, the Palestinians are not animals, they don't have a tail from behind or from the back, and they are not bloodsuckers or killers or terrorists. That was the power of this activity and we managed to lobby thousands of people on both sides.

**Mark:** Was this your full-time work at this time?

**Mazen:** Actually not. After I finished high school, I decided to continue my education, so I went to a local university and finished my bachelor's degree. I wanted to be able to teach, so I continued with a Master's degree and I got my MBA within a year after I finished my BA. And I started teaching at

the same university from where I graduated, Bir Zeit University. I taught twelve years there, in the School of Business. This is where I met some of my friends and the people that started this rapprochement activity. During the intifada there were a lot of curfews and closures and, in many cases, we were not able to travel from Bethlehem, where we lived, to north of Jerusalem, Ramallah and Bir Zeit, where we used to work and teach. Ghassan and I, we are both from the same city and we used to commute with each other, either in his car or my car, everyday.

So it became almost a full-time activity because you can't go to work; there are plenty of checkpoints along the way and after 1993, the Israeli authorities adopted the closure policy so no Palestinians were allowed to enter Israel proper beyond the 1967 borders, including, in particular, East Jerusalem. A lot of Palestinians are attached to Jerusalem religiously and historically, and it is an important point where people from all the cities south of Jerusalem have to cross if they want to go north. So, to that extent, Jerusalem was crucial and important strategic location. After it was occupied by Israel in 1993, the Palestinians needed to find another road. So, my daily trip to my university from Bethlehem was around 20 minutes, 30 minutes max. After they closed the area, it would take us around two and a half to three hours. It was very risky and dangerous because you get to pass by some settlements and checkpoints and in many cases, we were stopped, harassed, beaten, and arrested, for no reason.

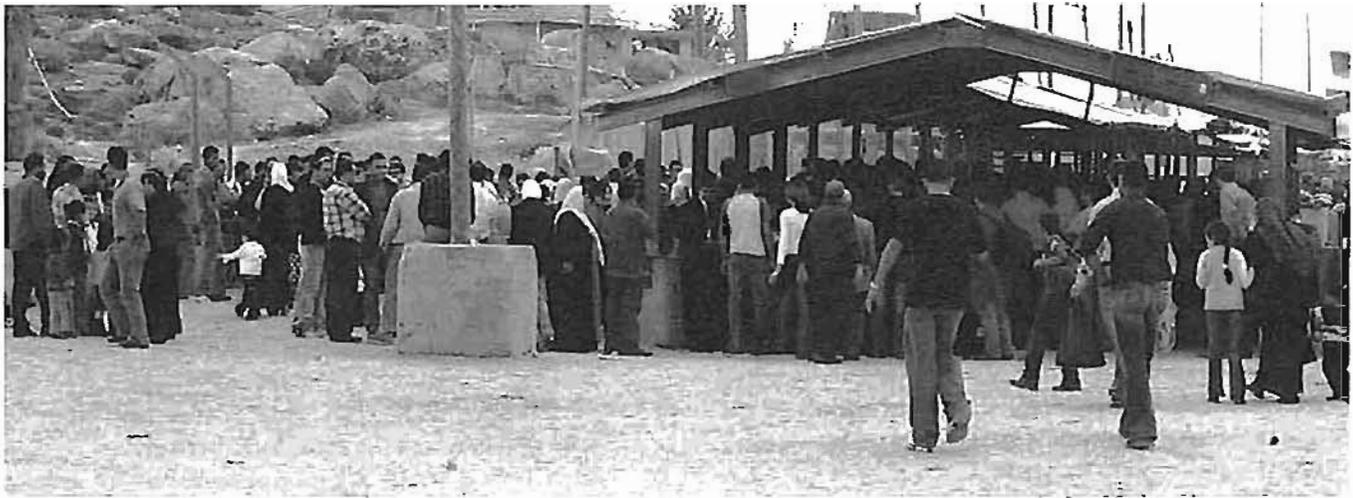
Let me clarify one point. After the 1967 war, the Israeli authorities distinguished the Palestinians and labeled the Palestinians from the Jews and settlers. Although the settlers lived in the West Bank among the Palestinians, on Palestinian soil and land, they kept their identity and their license plates were like any other license plate. The Palestinians were given a different color ID and a different color license plate, whereby any checkpoint or soldier can identify you as a Palestinian. Being a Palestinian by itself is a crime.

I was a young man, already married, working at Bir Zeit, and had two of my children. And in many cases that was a concern for my family and kids: I went to work taking the risk of not coming back, for the reason of being killed or being arrested.

Going from Bethlehem to Bir Zeit was a nightmare on a daily basis. If you wanted to go meet with your students and lecture, you are afraid that you might be stopped, arrested, shot at, or killed, and not come back to your family and your kids. So it's not easy to function under this. It was a challenge.

And when I think about it, and I see how the Palestinians are living under such conditions and circumstances, you have to admire the Palestinians, because under all these circumstances, they still survive, they manage to live and accept the challenge. Education, getting to your work and job, and raising your kids under the horrible and terrible situation were all big challenges.

But the kids, most of the time, were deprived of a lot of things that children in other parts of the world had. You didn't have toys, you didn't have any entertainment, you didn't have fun, you didn't have a sea or a pool to swim in. Plus the economic situation was so bad all the time, with the per capita income less than \$2000 and the poverty rate was so high.



An Israeli checkpoint in the West Bank *Jenn Presson*

At the same time, it's amazing that we had the highest literacy rate, I think 95% of the Palestinians were educated, had been to school, or finished high school at least. That's something we were proud of.

Gradually, I couldn't continue to go to Bir Zeit University to teach and I had to start teaching at Bethlehem University. I applied and they accepted my application. People in the Ramallah area teach at Bir Zeit University, people in the Nablus area teach at al-Naja University, people in the Bethlehem area teach at Bethlehem University, and people in the Hebron area go to Hebron University. Although Bethlehem University had about 40% of its students that used to come from the north (Jerusalem) or the south (Hebron), after the closure policy by the Israeli authorities, now the numbers are about 90% from the Bethlehem area only. The instructors in many cases cannot come from either north Jerusalem, or south from Hebron. So you have to hire people from your community, from your surroundings.

Just take Bethlehem by itself, where the Lord Jesus was born. It is a place that used to host annually more than 2 million people who came to visit the Church of the Nativity and other religious, historical, cultural, or archeological places around the area and slept in Bethlehem hotels. We had over twenty hotels in the Bethlehem area. Since at least 2000 after the second intifada, almost all the hotels are closed now. You don't get probably four to five thousand tourists a year. More than 75% of the people in Bethlehem used to live on tourism: hotels, restaurants, souvenir shops, the olive wood shops, the mother of pearl shops and a lot of things related to it, like embroidery shops, and everything that is related to tourism. Because that is what Bethlehem is: a place of attraction where a lot of people invested their income and capabilities in the tourism sector.

Because we don't have tourism anymore, the unemployment rate went up to 65% in the Bethlehem area alone and the economic situation is so deteriorated. And that's because of the closure and the curfews. The curfew is a situation whereby you are confined or forced to stay in your house: you cannot open the windows or even stick your hand out. Israeli occupation forces used to impose curfews. I remember the longest in

Bethlehem was about 45 days. We were forced to stay in our homes, you eat what you have, what you can get. The water system is not like in the US; there, you get water once every other week and people have water tanks on top of their roofs. And if you get the water early, it's enough to take a bath or to cook or to drink. So the water was very rare. It was very difficult but we managed through what we call neighborhood committees. I was an active member in my neighborhood. In our backyard, in places that cannot be seen by the soldiers, we started planting vegetables and fruits and raising chickens either for meat or eggs. We also raised rabbits and pigeons, and this is how people survived, by caring and sharing. We used to take a risk to sneak food to our neighbor if we felt the neighbor was hungry and didn't have food, we tried to share what we had. And we survived for forty-five days; it was really a perfect example for a lot of people. Bethlehem and Beit Sahour were in the news then. I'm proud to be part of that activity.

Some people could take it, others couldn't after the second intifada, with the closure policy, high unemployment, shootings. In the first intifada it was more nonviolent on the part of the Palestinians—mostly demonstrations and stone-throwing—but in the second intifada, weapons and guns were used and this is where it became more dangerous and risky.

In my situation, my house was on the border of Bethlehem and Jerusalem and behind my house, there is an Israeli military camp and the road by my house is a road that leads to a nearby settlement. In many cases, we were harassed by the settlers and at one point in time my bedroom and kids' bedroom almost caught on fire because of shooting and the throwing of bombs at us. It was a miracle that we were not harmed physically that night.

My house has been subject to hitting by bullets from the Israeli side, shooting at the Palestinian demonstrators or the Palestinians who shoot at the military camp from the other side. My house had been hit at least 175 times during the course of six months. We had to evacuate the house a couple of times. But the majority of the time we were in the house, when the water system and electricity system was hit. All of this happened when my kids were 17, 14, 11, and 9.

Like many other Christian Palestinians in the Bethlehem area, we decided to leave. We couldn't take it anymore, even though I had a good, secure job at Bethlehem University and my wife had a secure job at a children's hospital as a nurse. But money wasn't an issue anymore, it was safety and security for me and my family, this was the main concern. I didn't want to die and leave my wife and kids behind me. I couldn't imagine losing my family. When my son was five-years-old, he was almost killed at the hands of a Jewish settler. He was beaten. After two hours, his first reaction was to lock himself in his room and refuse to open the door for anyone. I wasn't at home then and when I got there, I kept trying to convince my son that the settler wasn't outside, "No one is going to hurt you, I'm your dad, and open the door." Finally, when he opened the door, the first thing he told me was "Dad, when I grow up, I want to buy a gun, and kill the settler."

So, this is what hit me, because that's not me, and I don't want my son to grow up with hatred, and I don't want my son to grow up with a desire for revenge and wish to kill another human being.

This is when I started thinking about the movement of rapprochement and meeting the other side, so that we can speed up the peace process, and have peace rather than a war. That incident became my nightmare and I couldn't forget it.

And I decided in the end, I can't take it anymore, I have to leave. All this took place in 2002, we had the chance to join my parents and my brothers here in the United States. I want to let you know that my dad had to leave the country back in 1961, my mom joined him later on, then my brother. Because they lived in the U.S. for quite some time, although they were all born in Palestine (my dad was 40 years old when he left), they were treated as foreigners by the Israeli authorities and deprived of any right to live and reside in Palestine, in Bethlehem. I was almost the only one in the family who could stay in our home and on our land. For so many years, I was deprived of the opportunity to be raised by my dad, to live next to my dad, to be with my dad. I stayed actually almost alone for quite some time in Bethlehem without my family. I was so attached to the land and my home.

But ultimately, I felt that, not that it's not worth it, but it's not time yet to die. I could do more if I go outside. I'm here, and have been three years since August of 2002, and I teach at a college, and I teach part-time at another university here. My kids felt the freedom and security, felt that their life here is much more pleasant and much more beautiful than it is over there, because they were raised in a war zone, with political tension and conflict, and they didn't even live their childhood as I did myself.

That's the most important thing to me, to feel that my family is happy here, that they feel secure, that they sleep better at night because almost every one of them developed psycho-

logical problems and issues. My son was totally traumatized, and my young daughter, too. She can't go outside to play because she thinks about the soldiers and about what happened over there. And when she hears the thunder, she gets so terrified because this reminds her of the bulldozers and the tanks and the shooting over there.

Despite all that, we still feel it is more secure to be here than to go back at this time. That will continue to be my dream, my goal, one day, to be able to return to my home, my country.

**Mark:** Given what you've described for us, the realities of the occupation, do you have a sense of hope or despair? Do you have a vision for how there can be progress, both there and here?

**Mazen:** Well, Mark, I always say I am optimistic by nature, but I want to be realistic, too. It's always going to be a mixed feeling, until the Israeli government will be really sincere about making peace with the Palestinians. It doesn't matter what you see on the news, or read in the media: The mere fact is that the majority of us, the Palestinians, still feel that the intention of the Israeli authority is that the pull-out from Gaza is to be the end of their concessions. They didn't do it for the sake of peace, they didn't do it for the sake of the Palestinians, or because they like the Palestinians. They did it because Gaza has been all the time a burden to them: 1/3rd of their budget, whether soldiers or money, was tied into Gaza. Even if you want to go back to ideology and talk about the Old Testament, Gaza has never been a major part of the promise or a major part of their religious attachment to Palestine and the Holy Land.

So pulling out of Gaza, that's what gives you the mixed



The Badra family (from left to right): May, Majid, Flora, Mazen, Maha, and Matar

feeling. It's good from one side, but at the same time, I'm pretty much pessimistic about their intentions in the West Bank. What's actually on the ground is Israel is expanding the current settlements, closing Jerusalem even further, building the wall which makes it even more difficult getting traveling between cities.

So my feeling is that nothing major is going to happen. My vision is to have two states as neighbors to live next to each other, because I feel that both Jews and Palestinians have a

great potential to cooperate and work together. It could be the best country all over, because there is great potential there to make the area prosperous and good.

I don't mind if Jerusalem is a unified capital for both, or if at some point in time if we have "Israelastine," one state for both, Jews and Palestinians. It doesn't matter at the end, it's what you have in your heart, and it's your intention. If you want to think about the Promised Land and the Zionist project, we will not get anywhere.

I think the best protection for the Jews is not the nuclear power, it's not their army, it's the peace with Palestinians. There will never be peace with the surrounding countries—Jordan, Syria, Lebanon—without a true, just peace with the Palestinians. So I believe that the struggle in the Middle East between the Arabs and the Jews, has been because of the Palestinian

issue. If that is solved, and the Palestinians feel that they got what they want (the 67 borders), they can convince the Arabs that there is no reason to fight and harm their neighbor. There were Jews in almost every Arab city and country: Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, even Iraq. The ability to live together is there, it's possible.

If we can think about our kids and the future of our kids and families, everything else will be resolved and be wonderful. If we live with our slogans and hatred, we will never get anywhere.

When the right time comes, I will be ready to forget and forgive.



# Nonviolent Strategies for Ending Occupation

by Jenny Truax

When you think of Israel and Palestine, "nonviolence" is certainly not the first word that might come to your mind. Images of house demolitions and suicide bombers are the more likely candidates. It is true, however, that nonviolence has been used extensively during this conflict, and that it could be a key to eventually ending it peacefully. In what follows, I draw largely on the work of Robert Burrowes (*The Strategy for Nonviolent Defense: A Gandhian Approach*) and Mubarak Awad (Nonviolence International, the Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence) in outlining a Gandhian strategy of nonviolence in addressing the occupation of Palestine.

In setting the context for some nonviolent approaches to ending the occupation, the most obvious point to make is that these parties are not on a level playing field. On CBS, NBC and ABC, we primarily see the carnage inflicted by suicide bombers. Very little context is given, and the emphasis is almost always focused on individual acts of terror, rather than state-sponsored (read: Israeli) acts of terror. Palestinians resist with stones, and homemade suicide bombs. Israel (don't forget—the country that is doing the occupying of another people's land) is backed by helicopter gunships, approximately \$3 billion in annual U.S. assistance, and the 4th most powerful mili-

tary in the world. The fatalities mirror this imbalance: since September 2000, approximately 3,500 Palestinians and 1,000 Israelis have been killed; and 29,000 Palestinians and 7,200 Israelis have been injured. The playing field is certainly not level.

Nonviolence could be a powerful tool toward ending the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Several arguments support the use of nonviolent strategy and tactics. First, it is obvious that the use of force has been ineffective at achieving peace and security for the Israelis, and unsuccessful for the Palestinians as well. Second, it has been shown that within conflicts, the less bloodshed, the faster the two sides can work together to solve problems politically. Utilizing nonviolent strategies to undermine the opponent's ability to continue oppression reduces the fatalities. At the very least, only one side is doing the killing. The longer the occupation continues, the wider the gulf of hatred and mistrust between the two sides. Third, while Israel has managed to defy worldwide public opinion in its settlement expansion and construction of the Barrier Wall, it does not possess the resources that would allow it to withstand long-term international isolation. Nonviolent tactics such as targeted boycotts, divestments, or other economic tools might have the effect that the tactics of the anti-

Jenny Truax is enjoying married life, while regularly painting the Karen House bathrooms and honing her guitar skills along with her new, favorite band, Girlyman.

apartheid movement had on the South African government in the 1980s. Fourth, as the weaker actor, the Palestinians need to find a more effective tactic of mass resistance than force. Most analysts agree that it was not Hamas, or any other armed group, that forced Israel to concede the Gaza Strip. The disengagement is an example of a unilateral Israeli move aimed at meeting the needs of its own people, rather than a step towards participation in a larger peace process. The renewed armed resistance in this Intifada has not brought freedom to the majority of the Palestinians. Nonviolence could be an effective tool at shifting the power balance.

Gandhi's philosophy of nonviolence, called Satyagraha, involves a humble search for truth while converting the opponent into a friend and participant in a problem-solving process. Satyagraha is characterized by three distinct principles. The first is the unity of means and end. That is, violence cannot achieve a nonviolent society. Secondly, the Gandhian approach presupposes the unity of all life, to expansively include all living creatures. We are connected to our opponent, along with all elements of our local and global environment. The Palestinians are connected to the Israelis, and each of us is connected to this conflict. Lastly, the satyagrahi must be willing to undergo suffering rather than inflict it. This willingness, rather than a self-defeating masochism, demonstrates love in action, and should be demonstrated in a way that elicits respect and furthers communication. Participants in the anti-occupation movement should be willing to suffer (rather than cause others' suffering) to achieve the goal. Gandhi designed Satyagraha as a complete substitute for violence, a method of resolving conflict that, while imperfect, provides an effective means toward reducing structural violence. Non-violent struggle is not negative or passive. Rather, it is an active, affirmative process, utilizing all resources and requiring high levels of disciplined and coordinated action.

Preparing a campaign depends upon an accurate assessment of historical, cultural, and structural context. This assessment could involve these four elements: knowing the details of the oppression, completing a structural analysis of the oppression's causes, assessing the political and religious circumstances, and making decisions about what will be possible in the campaign. Using Gandhian nonviolence, the resolution of conflict with the opponent must include a commitment to meeting both sides' needs for security, meaning and self-esteem. Therefore, it is helpful to identify what needs Israel is trying to meet by continuing to occupy the West Bank.

Broadly speaking, the ultimate

goal of a nonviolent movement is to create processes and structures that satisfy human needs. Our political purpose is ending the Israeli occupation. More specifically, this can be articulated in a list of requests. This list should accurately reflect the needs of the Palestinians, unify different groups within the anti-occupation movement, and be within the Israel's power to yield. The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) lists a set of principles that provides a good starting point for a list of requests, paraphrased below:

**1. Self-Determination & Self-Governance:** The AFSC affirms the right of both Israelis and Palestinians to live as sovereign peoples in their own homeland, a right that encompasses the possibility of choosing two separate states. ...[T]he AFSC believes that the starting point for discussion should be...the borders that were in place before the war of June 1967. The issue here is of one land and two peoples, no one's right to self-determination should be exercised at the expense of someone else's... The AFSC supports the rights of both Palestinians and Israelis to choose their forms of governance.

**2. Human Rights:**...[H]uman rights...provide the foundation to any building of peace. Human rights include the freedom to practice one's religion, the freedom of assembly, free speech, free press, the right to education and adequate nutrition, and civil rights for all people. Rights of minorities within the Israeli state and within a future Palestinian state must be safeguarded. The AFSC also affirms the right to freedom of movement within borders.

**3. Economic Justice and Natural Resources:** All parties need to take action to ensure equitable access to resources such as land and water. Fair taxation and distribution



High spirits in Nablus Jenn Presson

of resources are critical elements to establish and maintain peace.

**4. Security:** The foundations of security are to be found in trust, respect, and mutual recognition of the humanity and past and present sufferings of both parties. The AFSC has maintained that military might only increases fear and distrust and exacerbates the power differences that already exist between conflicting parties.

**5. Status of Jerusalem and Settlements in Gaza and on the West Bank:** Since the 1967 war, unilateral Israeli settlement in Jerusalem and on the West Bank and Gaza has been one of the great obstacles to the peace process. . . . Consistent with AFSC's belief that Israel and Palestine is a land for two peoples, Jerusalem must be regarded as a city that can be united but also can be shared by both peoples.

**6. Responsibilities of the International Community:** . . . All countries, but especially the United States, should affirm the principles of self-determination in accordance with human rights and international law, and should support the control and reduction of arms into the area and the expansion of economic, non-military aid.

With this list of requests outlined, the campaign should develop the broad strategic aims of "defense" and "counter-offense." These aims focus on consolidating the will and power of the defense to resist, and then altering the opponent's will and power to dominate. These aims have smaller strategic goals that serve as intermediate stepping stones. In contrast to most military strategies, these aims take into account both will (defined as the inclination to act, motivated by human needs) and power (the capability to act). Overemphasis on power is evident in the U.S. military failures in Vietnam and Iraq, where a vastly more powerful military was outlasted by the will of an out-gunned but determined opponent.

The primary strategic aim of the anti-occupation movement should be to consolidate the will and power of the resisting people. The movement should include as many people as possible with tactics that are accessible to a wide spectrum of age, nationality, and ability. Mubarak Awad advocates the adoption of a large-scale nonviolent strategy including public discussions. Such discussions, he states, should provide education on nonviolence and include diverse segments of Palestinian society, so that all Palestinians have "a voice instead of a gun." This tactic is reminiscent of the church-based organizing done by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference during the United States' Civil Rights Movement. Awad further advocates for regular, democratic, transparent elections for Palestinian leadership.

Other tactics within this strategy include protecting houses, wells, and olive fields within Occupied Lands from demolition. Groups such as the International Solidarity Movement (ISM) and the Christian Peacemaker Teams are often present in these actions, which certainly help build up the solidarity of those resisting. Other forms of direct action are advocated in this thoughtful comment from two ISM organizers, Huwaida Arraf and Adam Shapiro:

"...[W]hat is needed is nonviolent direct action against the occupation. This includes roadblock removal, boycotts, refusing to obey curfew orders, blocking roads, refusing to show ID cards or even burning them. Yes, the Israeli army and

settlers will use violence. Yes, people will get killed and injured. They are now also. Hamas claims it has many men ready to be suicide bombers – we advocate that these men offer themselves as martyrs by standing on a settler road and blocking it from traffic... This is no less noble than carrying out a suicide operation. . . . But an action like this cannot happen once and it cannot be the only type of action. Large-scale, mass popular participation must be developed in order for a movement to have an effect."

To reach each strategic goal, steps should include both nonviolent resistance and building alternative institutions. The first intifada was successful at combining these two elements.

One example was the creation of a Palestinian blood bank. Awad describes the necessity for the "building of an entire infrastructure independently of Israel" including universities, factories, social institutions, libraries, social services, hospitals, and schools with alternative curricula that would later become the mainstays of Palestinian society when occupation ends.

In maintaining adherence to nonviolent principles, leadership should be both open (not secretive) and decentralized. This enables anyone with interest to participate in the movement. Developing alternative networks of communication (websites, alternative news sources) are an important shift toward self-reliance, and contribute towards movement-building. Civil disobedience often comes at a later and developed point in a nonviolent struggle, as it requires a high level of discipline and risk for usually a smaller number of people. An important goal in this movement, states Awad, is to find opportunities for direct contact between the Palestinian civilians and Israeli authorities that can both illuminate the injustice of the occupation and humanize both sides to each other.

Three categories of nonviolent tactics are protest and persuasion, non-cooperation, and nonviolent intervention. An example could be found in the movement to stop the Barrier Wall. Within these three categories, we see examples of protest, vigil and raising awareness about the Wall. The movement encourages non-cooperation with its construction in terms of materials, resources, and labor. Others have attempted to physically, nonviolently block its construction.

The second strategic aim is to undermine Israel's will and power to continue the occupation. Ideally, converting the opponent's will to participate an honest peace process would be a sufficient goal. This ideal is often unfeasible because the power balance favors the opponent, or the opponent misperceives the defense's goals or its own needs. Therefore, undermining the opponent's ability to hold power-over is vital in getting to equitable negotiations. Strategic goals can include undermining the support of: 1) Israeli troops, 2) social groups within the Israel's constituency, and 3) constituencies of allied elites that support the Israeli occupation.

A remarkable group of people, self-described as "refuseniks," are a growing constituency in undermining the support of the Israeli military for occupation. 1,662 people from the different branches of the Israeli military have signed a declaration refusing to serve in the Occupied Territories. This crack in the armor could contribute towards undermining Israel's ability to continue occupation.



The writing's on the wall, Abu Dis Jenn Presson

Nonviolence works best when the social distance between the oppressor and the victim is small. Building relationships with constituencies of both Israel and its allies can help close that distance. Women's groups have historically been effective at closing that social gap. For example, in the first intifada Israeli and Palestinian women together protested the occupation and connected its violence to violence in Israel. Direct and indirect aid from third parties are important in funding the anti-occupation movement. A clear commitment to non-violence and the principle of mutual statehood helps the movement from appearing threatening to ordinary Israelis. Groups including Gush Shalom and Yesb G'vul promote the fact that Israeli citizens would be safer if the conflict occupation would end peacefully. The shifting of Israeli public perception of the conflict would do much to change the state's will and policy towards the West Bank occupation.

Inarguably, without U.S. support, Israel could not continue occupation. Therefore, the tactics for undermining allied support for the occupation are vital. This stage includes raising awareness, and identifying specific groups whose support is necessary for Israel to continue occupation. Speaking tours, organizing in churches and accompaniment projects all contribute towards this goal. One recently publicized tactic is divestment. The U.S. Presbyterian Church (USA) made headlines this year when its Mission Responsibility through Investment Committee began a process of phased selective divestment in

line with the church's social investment policy. The idea is to pressure corporations (such as Caterpillar, maker of home-demolishing bulldozers) that benefit from settlements and other aspects of the occupation to divest from their activity there, and if the company refuses to respond, then the churches themselves divest from participating in the corporation. The PC USA move gained the commendation of the World Council of Churches in February. The United Church of Christ, the Episcopal Church, the Sisters of Mercy and the Sisters of Loretto are all in the process of examining their respective corporate actions in the West Bank and the possibility of divestment.

It seems clear that divestment needs to be specific in nature, so not to be misconstrued as anti-Semitic. The purpose is to draw attention to the injustice of occupation, with the settlements, checkpoints, and roadblocks they engender, along with the corporations that benefit from the injustice. Some groups promote education toward ending U.S. aid to Israel, while others raise awareness toward specific Israeli policies (home demolitions, the barrier wall, etc). All contribute towards undermining U.S. public support for the Israeli occupation.

Nonviolence is not a magic pill. If used strategically, with dedicated participants, and with coordination, it has proven effective at bringing down the most brutal of dictators (Marcos in the Philippines, Pinochet in Chile). But perhaps the most compelling proposition for the use of nonviolence comes from Nafez Assaily:

"...for the Israelis, no one can give them peace. Only the Palestinians can give them peace. The U.S. can give them money and weapons, but not peace. And the only people who can give us peace are the Israelis. The Arabs can give us money and weapons, but they can not give us peace. We must act on these two facts. More nonviolence, more effectiveness."

### Sources and Recommended Resources

#### Articles

"Nonviolent Resistance in Palestine: Pursuing Alternative Strategies" by Center for Policy Analysis on Palestine.

"The Intifada" by Andrew Rigby and Nafez Assaily.

"Why Nonviolent Resistance is Important for the Palestinian Intifada" by Huwaida Arraf and Adam Shapiro.

"A Palestinian Gandhi?" Interview of Mubarak Awad by George Lakey.

"An Israeli View: Nonviolence in the Abu Mazen Era" by Yosi Alpher.

"A Palestinian View: A Practical Guide to a Successful Non-violent Strategy" by Sami Awad.

"Nonviolent Resistance: A Strategy?" by Mubarak Awad.

"Components of a Just Peace" by [www.afsc.org](http://www.afsc.org).

"Palestinian Pacifism" by John Bacher.

#### Anti-Occupation Groups

B'Tselem (Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories)

Gush Shalom (Israeli Peace Bloc)

Israeli Committee against House Demolitions

Jewish Voices for Peace

Palestinians and Israelis for Nonviolence

Sabeel (Ecumenical Liberation Theology Center in Palestine)

US Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation (coalition of over 250 member organizations)

Yesh Gvul (supporting Israeli refuseniks)

#### Books & Magazines

Robert Burrowes, *The Strategy for Nonviolent Defense: A Gandhian Approach*.

Gene Sharp, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*.

*Sojourners Magazine*, August 2005. ✦

## Action with Olive Oil

The olive tree, a universal symbol of life and hope, sustained the indigenous people of Palestine throughout its troubled history. It continues to be a symbol of perseverance and connection to the land as the illegal Israeli military occupation and the resultant al-Aqsa intifada drag on. Traditionally, the olive harvest accounts for much of the total agricultural output in Palestine. Every part of the tree is used. Crushed olives produce the luminous green-gold oil and branches are carved by the artisans of Bethlehem and Beit Sahour. Olive pits are used as fuel and women have washed with olive oil soap since ancient times. For centuries olive groves and citrus orchards dotted the hillsides throughout Palestine, but today illegal Jewish-only settlements and an abominable 30 foot-high, concrete wall scar the land. The ongoing occupation is devastating the land and destroying the economy. Over the last four years the Israeli occupying forces have uprooted almost 400,000 olive trees with a value of over 60 million dollars. Over half of the olive oil produced in Palestine is thrown away due to a lack of access to international markets.

The Center for Theology and Social Analysis (CTSA) has partnered with the Palestine Children's Welfare Fund to bring extra virgin, organic olive oil to St. Louis. For pricing and ordering information please email [oliveoil@ctsa-stl.org](mailto:oliveoil@ctsa-stl.org) or call Dianne at 314-647-4812. When the Palestinians plant an olive tree, they say a prayer:

*"God protect it and make it grow so that my children's grandchildren will benefit from its abundance."*

Purchase Palestinian olive oil as a sign of your solidarity. Let the olive tree remain a symbol of hope for peace in Palestine and peace for all the children of Abraham.



Al-Jusmaniyye (Gethsemane), 1999  
Pencil on Paper by Samia A. Halaby

# Palestinian Loss of Land...



1897 The First Zionist Congress takes place in Switzerland. Its program states the Zionist intent to establish a homeland in Palestine. Between 1903 and 1905, other options for a potential Jewish state are explored, including Uganda, Angola, Canada, Australia, Iraq and Libya. The 1905 Seventh Zionist Congress votes against a national home anywhere except Palestine and its immediate vicinity.

1936-1939 Arab Revolt in Palestine; Britain crushes rebellion, expels or executes its leaders; ever-increasing persecution of Jews in Germany.

1937 British Peel Commission report recommends partition of Palestine into Jewish and Arab areas, angering the majority Arab population.

1939 British MacDonald White Paper recommends restrictions on Jewish immigration and land purchases; calls for establishment within ten years of independent, binational state in Palestine, angering Jews who comprise 31 percent of Palestine's inhabitants.

1939-1945 World War II in Europe; Holocaust: Nazi regime responsible for death of approximately six million Jews (the Shoah) and millions of homosexuals, Roma, Slavs, and other "undesirables."

1945 U.N. established; World War II ends, leaving 100,000 eastern and central European Jews in "displaced persons" camps.

1946 Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry recommends U.N. trusteeship over Palestine; Palestinian and Jewish violence against British and each other; Jewish Holocaust survivors begin to flee to Palestine through clandestine land and sea routes.

1947 Britain requests that the U.N. deal with the issue of Palestine; U.N. General Assembly Resolution 181 calls for Palestine to be divided into a Jewish state (57% of Palestine), an Arab state (43% of Palestine).

1948 Civil war in Palestine; Britain ends its mandate, Israel unilaterally declares independence, Arab states declare war against Israel; Israel gains control of 77% of British Mandatory Palestine, including some areas designated for Palestinian Arab state; Jordan and Egypt hold the West Bank and the Gaza Strip respectively, Jerusalem divided; 600,000-900,000 Palestinians displaced before, during, and after the fighting are not allowed to return; U.N. General Assembly Resolution 194 supports right of Palestinian refugees to regain their homes if they so desire.



## ...and a Brief History of the Conflict

**1948-1958** Large-scale Jewish immigration to Israel from Europe, North Africa, and Asia.

**1950** Israeli Law of Return and Absentee Property Law enacted; extensive confiscation of Arab property.

**1964** Egypt and other Arab states establish Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)

**1967** June (Six Day) War begins when Israel attacks Egypt, claiming it is acting preemptively; Israel occupies West Bank, Gaza Strip, Egyptian Sinai, and Syrian Golan Heights, expands Jerusalem boundaries and extends Israeli law over East Jerusalem; U.N. Security Council Resolution 242 calls for withdrawal of Israeli troops from territories newly occupied.

**1968-1970** Israel begins to establish Jewish settlements in newly occupied territories; PLO adopts goal of a democratic secular state in all of Mandate Palestine; Arafat named chairman of PLO; War of Attrition between Israel and Egypt, Israel and Syria.

**1979** Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Egyptian President Anwar Sadat sign Israeli-Egyptian Peace Treaty in Washington, D.C.

**1982** Israeli invasion of Lebanon; PLO evacuated from Beirut to Tunisia; massacre at Sabra and Shatilla refugee camps near Beirut; 400,000 Israelis demonstrate, call for investigation of Israel's role in massacre.

**1987-1993** Predominantly nonviolent (demonstrations, strikes) Palestinian intifada.

**1993** Israel drastically restricts Palestinian movement between Occupied Palestinian Territories and Israel; Israel and the PLO sign the "Oslo Accords" on interim self-government arrangements.

**2000** Clinton-led Camp David II summit ends in failure; new Palestinian uprising (al-Aqsa intifada) begins, sparked by Ariel Sharon's visit to al-Haram el-Sharif/Temple Mount.

**2001-2003** Palestinian suicide bombings and Israeli "targeted killings" continue; Mahmoud Abbas (Abu Mazen) chosen as Palestinian prime minister; Israel completes first stage of "The Wall".

**The Present** Israel continues to develop a matrix of control over the West Bank and East Jerusalem through land expropriation, settlement expansion, the construction of exclusively "Israeli" roads, and economic control. Israel dismantles its settlements in the Gaza Strip. The United States backs away from its previous commitment to encourage withdrawal from the West Bank. The barrier wall fortifies the Israeli stranglehold over Palestinians in the West Bank.

# From the West Bank: An Interview with Eman Aldumairi

by Dianne Lee

*The following transcript documents a conversation between a young Palestinian professor, Eman Aldumairi from the West Bank, and Dianne Lee, a professor from St. Louis, Missouri from the fall of 2005.*

**Dianne:** I would like you to start by telling us your name and where you live, where are you from.

**Eman:** My name is Eman Aldumairi and I am from Palestine. I live in Hebron, in the southern part of Hebron. And I am an English language teacher. I have been teaching English at Hebron University for about four years, and I also have two other part-time jobs. I am a...teacher...and I also serve as an Arabic and English languages teacher for the Doctors without Borders staff in Hebron.

**Dianne:** So all three of your jobs involve teaching English?

**Eman:** Yes, teaching English, and part of it teaching Arabic language to foreigners.

**Dianne:** Is it necessary for you to have three jobs?

**Eman:** Sometimes, yes.

**Dianne:** Why?

**Eman:** Because, it helps me financially. Because... I'm helping help [my sister] to get her diploma, and we don't have public education here, I mean higher education. We pay for it. It is very expensive in Palestine. Besides that I want to have much more experience. I'd like to work with adults, with foreigners, and with children together. So each job has different characteristics, I can say. I can teach and learn a lot, so many things at the same time.

**Dianne:** Tell me, Eman, what is it like to pursue your academic career, your profession, under occupation? What are the challenges?

**Eman:** It's a kind of challenge in Palestine to pursue one's higher education because we, as Palestinian students, and teachers as well, we face many, many obstacles due to the Israeli occupation. Because sometimes we don't have access to the

academic institutions—I mean both teachers and students. Besides that we pay for our education. We don't have a government that provides these services freely for the people in Palestine. So we need to work in order also to get an education. Besides the whole psychological pain that we experience in Palestine, it is sometimes quite difficult to concentrate on studying while you know that you are occupied and you may be always. Or when you are also always afraid for your loved persons and your relatives, you want all of them to be safe.

While moving around Palestine you often think of your past friends whom you lost during the intifada, or your brothers and sisters and friends who are in jail, and also you think about your future. You want to have a good future, within all these circumstances, so sometimes we see it is a way to resist occupation in a nonviolent way. Because we believe, we believe deep in our hearts, that knowledge is a very strong weapon to dispel the evil forces in the world. So when you are a well-educated person you can be easily heard by the other parts of the world. So it is quite challenging, but also we are self-motivated to achieve somehow as much knowledge as we can.

**Dianne:** When you talk about the difficulty of accessing the university are you talking physically getting to the university?

**Eman:** Yes, physically.

**Dianne:** Explain.

**Eman:** Since the beginning of the intifada in 2000 the Israeli soldiers have placed so many checkpoints and roadblocks all over Palestine. It is quite difficult to move from one city to another. Moreover, it is...always difficult to move inside one city because, if I want to go to the University, I come over three checkpoints. Hebron itself has a special case because it is divided into two parts, Hebron One and Hebron Two. Hebron Two is under the Palestinian Authority and Hebron One is under the Israeli Authority. I live in Hebron One which is under the Israeli authority. I am always checked whenever I go in or out. Sometimes they prevent us from going or coming back

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Dianne Lee worked with the International Solidarity Movement in the West Bank in December 2003 and January of 2004.



Dianne Lee, Hedy Epstein and friends at the wall in Qalqilya, West Bank

home. Besides the fact that Hebron University was itself closed for maybe 8 to 9 months—claiming that it is an Islamic institution that incites terrorism and violence against Israel within the curriculum, although we adopt British and American textbooks to teach. All of the textbooks that we teach and we learn from at the University are either American or British, so they have nothing to do with anything like that.

**Dianne:** What are the major subjects that students study at Hebron University?

**Eman:** Hebron University has eight colleges, we have the college of agriculture, art, science, computer and technology, nursing, al-Shari'a—Islamic religion. We have also, sports, such kind of subjects that are taught all over the world.

**Dianne:** All over the world. So how long does it take you, on average, to go from your home to Hebron University?

**Eman:** It depends, normal cases it takes twenty minutes, but when I come over a lot of checkpoints it takes an hour, an hour and a half.

**Dianne:** And the students are experiencing the same difficulty?

**Eman:** Yes, especially students who live in villages around Hebron because they will come over more checkpoints.

**Dianne:** And the wall, tell me how will the wall impact those students or impact you?

**Eman:** It is still approaching Hebron, but some students will never have access to Hebron University in person because they will be separated from Hebron city forever.

**Dianne:** And there will be no access?

**Eman:** No, they need, we don't know what will we do, but the only thing we think of is to put an end to this wall, but I hear sometimes students, they say that if we don't end this wall, I, we think that we need to join another university that is closer to them or that is easier to access.

**Dianne:** Are there other universities available for these students or will some of them have no option to continue their education?

**Eman:** Well I think that some of them will have an opportunity to join maybe Bethlehem University and some others won't have an option.

**Dianne:** Can you tell us, how does the occupation affect normal family life?

**Eman:** We don't have normal family life in Palestine... the way that the American people have here. I myself, I was born and raised up within the Israeli occupation. So I thought that living under the Israeli occupation was the normal life that we live, but it's a fact that mothers are always worried about their children. Children are always worried about being shot or being beaten by the Israelis, so they are sometimes afraid to go and play together. They don't have the opportunity to spend much time with their friends. Sometimes, some fathers (because so many men, Palestinian men) are in jail, so mothers sometimes have to take good care of the children and to work outside. It is very hard in order to fund their family, things like that.

**Dianne:** Can you tell me, how do people resist the occupa-

tion, in small ways as well as large ways?

**Eman:** I think that the only way that we can do it is just to try to forget that we are occupied people and try to live our lives normally. So, in Palestine, we have strong friendly relationships with each other. So we support ourselves strongly, we support each other strongly, and each family cares about the others. All people in one neighborhood they live as one big family, so this is how we resist the occupation. ...[D]uring the long days of curfew, people ask if there is someone who doesn't have food, doesn't have some drinks, who wants help. Some neighborhoods managed to have classrooms for the children of the neighborhood. Some parents, especially who were originally teachers, volunteered to teach all of the subjects at someone's home or at mosques, things like that.

**Dianne:** How long did the closures or curfews last?

**Eman:** It depends. Sometimes it lasts for two days, for one day. Sometimes it lasted for 40 days, 50 days. It depends.

**Dianne:** Eman, if there is one message that you would like to share with the American people what would you want to say? What would you want us to know, or what do you want us to do?

**Eman:** One thing is that I feel that there is a lot of hatred in this world. And the cause of this hatred is because we don't know each other and so one way to dispel this hatred is to get to know each other. I want them to know, to know us, who we are, who we really are. And just to let them know that we are humans who want to get our freedom and liberty. We want to live our lives normally as they live their lives normally. I want to live happy, to have happy times with my family, with my brothers and sisters. I think that they should know that—the only thing that I don't like is that they think of us as the most violent part of the conflict. I am really upset that this is the first time in history that people are being blamed for resisting occupation.

I'd like them to know that if they hear something that is called violence, it is because there is some oppression in this part of the world, and oppressed people are trying to get their freedom and are trying to make others hear their voice. We don't want to be violent if they see that we are violent people. But also we don't want to stay without doing anything in front of this whole occupation that is trying to spoil our lives.

**Dianne:** Can you talk about settlements and the land confiscation? The Americans know that Israel recently pulled out of Gaza but know less about what is currently happening in the West Bank. In Hebron, where you live, are there settlements?

**Eman:** Yes, I live by an Israeli settlement.

**Dianne:** And are the settlements expanding?

**Eman:** Somehow yes. Yes.

**Dianne:** And what is the effect of that settlement expansion on the opportunities for a peaceful resolution to this conflict?

**Eman:** It has a tremendous effect because the expansion of these settlements means that there are Palestinian lands taken from the Palestinians, and there are some ways that Palestinians cannot go through anymore. Besides that, those settlers who live in these settlements are the most, somehow, what can I say, are the most annoying part of the Israeli occupation. So, it's really quite offending that we come across so many settlements whenever we turn our face.

**Dianne:** Do you believe, Eman, that a two-state solution is possible? Can the Palestinians live side-by-side with the Israelis if the occupation ended and there was somehow parity between the two?

**Eman:** I don't think so. No. No, I don't believe so. Because, you know, you need to look back at history and you need to know how was Palestine 50, 60 years ago. There were Palestinians, large Palestinian families living in Haifa, Jaffa, and all these cities that are now completely occupied by the Israelis. And there are Palestinian refugees who are looking forward to coming back to Palestine, and Palestine means to them Haifa, Jaffa, Tel Aviv, Jerusalem. So I don't believe that it will work to have peace with the two states together.

**Dianne:** And so, do you believe peace in a one state is possible?

**Eman:** Yes in one state, but just in one state.

**Dianne:** Where both Jews and Muslims, as well as Christians live together in peace?

**Eman:** Yes, this is what I believe. When all people of different backgrounds, different religious beliefs, experience the same level of freedom. That all Muslims, Christians, and Jews can behave normally and do their religious duties equally, without being interrupted by others. This is what I believe in.

**Dianne:** Is there anything else that you want to share?

**Eman:** With the Americans? I just want to tell them that Palestinians are mothers, brothers, sisters, and friends. There are children, there are old people in Palestine the same way that there are here. Young people want to live their time happily, in an exciting way. Old people want their children and grandchildren to live their lives peacefully. Parents want the best for their children and this is what we are always, I think, as humans sharing. So I want just for them to think of us as humans. And if they see something that they don't like about the Palestinians, I just ask them to look for reasons. Because they may, we may be excused for it, even if it's for one time. And I am sure that most of the Americans here are quite fair enough to accept the truth, and reject the wrong and the inhuman behaviors.



# Imagine

by Mark Chmiel

Imagine you are a seventeen-year-old Palestinian youth in Gaza City. You are staying at a hospital to be with your sister who has shrapnel throughout her body. It doesn't look good. Unfortunately, she was in the vicinity of some Hamas members the Israelis assassinated from an Apache Helicopter gunship. The Israelis got their targets, but the missiles caused what government officials call "collateral damage." Your sister, "collateral damage." It's not the first time you've seen the results of these helicopters, made in the USA.

Imagine you are a Palestinian-American shopping in a mall store. You hear the clerks talking about the latest "terrorist attack" in the Middle East. You know they mean Arab terrorists. You know the clerks have never even heard of Israeli state terrorism. You leave the store.

Imagine you are a Palestinian professor at Bir Zeit University in the West Bank. In recent years, you have heard the U.S. stress that pressure must be put on Iraq's Saddam Hussein because of his repeated violations of U.N. resolutions. You would shake your head, remembering how the U.S. government, under Democratic and Republic administrations, repeatedly vetoed Security Council resolutions condemning Israel's violations of international law in the occupied territories.

Imagine you are a middle-aged Palestinian in the Gaza Strip lucky enough to have a job. As you drive your taxi you remember the Gaza Airport Israel destroyed some years back. Your people have no Air Force. Much less no F-16s compliments of the U.S.

Imagine you're a Palestinian in a refugee camp in southern Lebanon. It's 1999 and you hear of the NATO attack on Serbia to insure there is no ethnic cleansing of the people of Kosovo. U.S. President Clinton says, "There are times when looking away is simply not an option." You get this throbbing headache.

Imagine you are a Palestinian university student in Nablus. You've seen on the evening news reports of President Bush describing Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon as a "man of peace." You know Sharon's history in terrorist attacks against Palestinian civilians and his responsi-

bility during the Sabra and Chatila refugee camp mass murders by Lebanese forces in 1982. You've never read George Orwell, but you'd easily understand him.

Imagine you are a Palestinian-American studying medicine. You accidentally turn on Fox News and hear reports of U.S. officials ardently intoning how the U.S. must guarantee Israel's security. For all your years of living in the U.S. and watching the news, you can't remember anyone in Congress speaking passionately about protecting the security of the Palestinian people against their Israeli occupiers.

Imagine you're a Palestinian father of eight now living in a tent in Rafah, Gaza. Your home and those of many other neighbors in your neighborhood have been destroyed by Caterpillar bulldozers. You had invested everything in that house. But the Israelis had to stop the terrorists. You are not a terrorist. You know that Caterpillar is a U.S. corporation.

Imagine you are a Palestinian engineer living in Jordan. It's 1991 and you see how long Saddam Hussein's invasion and occupation of Kuwait is allowed to stand. You heard that President George Bush state that aggression can't be rewarded. A decade later, you know that Iraq had to pay reparations to Kuwait for years; you know Israel has never paid a shekel in reparations to the Palestinians.

Imagine you are a Palestinian journalist in Ramallah watching Al-Jazeera's coverage of the U.S. occupation of Iraq. You see how the U.S. had had to destroy Fallujah in order to save it. You remember those mantras of the Bush Administration about Saddam Hussein: "Weapons of mass destruction," "smoking gun," "mushroom cloud." You note that U.S. leaders don't lose any sleep over Israel's nuclear arsenal.

Imagine you are a Gazan mother who recently identified your child at the morgue. He was shot seventeen times by Israeli soldiers of the occupying forces. You recall—out of the blue—that the United States annually gives the State of Israel in excess of three billion dollars.

Imagine you are a Palestinian, anywhere. You ask yourself and your friends about the Americans, "Why do they hate us?"



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Mark Chmiel is faculty support for the Saint Louis University student group, SLU Solidarity with Palestine.

# Palestine, Oh Palestine

by Hedy Epstein

## 13th International Women In Black Conference

Thanks to a very generous, loving birthday gift from my dear friend, Ed Gaffney, I was able to attend the 13th International Women in Black Conference, held in East Jerusalem from August 12-16, 2005. Ed, a Professor of Law at Valparaiso University, not only contributed himself, but also collected funds needed for my travel. Over 700 women from 44 different countries attended the conference, titled "Women Resist Occupation and War."

After two days of panels, plenaries, and workshops on conflict, peace and resistance issues, the internationals (Israelis were not allowed to go, per their own government) traveled to Ramallah to meet with Palestinian women, who were not allowed—by the Israeli government—to come to Jerusalem. Several Palestinian women gave testimonies about the impact of the Israeli occupation on their lives. The Palestinian women presented the Women's Global Charter of Humanity. The Charter proposes to build a world without exploitation, oppression and intolerance.

At lunch, the hundreds of women present honored me with surprise hugs, kisses and good wishes for my 81st birthday, that day. Among the women, at my invitation, was my dear friend, Najwa from Ramallah, who so lovingly housed, fed, and cared for Dianne Lee, Chrissy Kirchhoefer, Anne Farina and me during our first visit to occupied Palestine in December 2003 and January 2004.

Afterwards, we traveled to Bil'in to join Palestinian villagers in a demonstration against the separation wall, which will divide Bil'in, once construction is complete. Villagers will lose 50-60% of their land. The young Israeli soldiers, who usually greet demonstrators with teargas, soundbombs, rubber bullets, live ammunition and more, were seemingly intimidated by so many mothers, grandmothers, and even great-grand-mothers. They stood there, behind rolls of razor wire, like little school-

boys, who had just been scolded. As we returned to the village, the soldiers could not quite refrain from their bad habits, they sent teargas our way. (More about Bil'in later.)

Back to the conference, briefly. Informally, but quite passionately, the Israelis themselves called, nay, begged for "divestment from Israel." The Final Declaration of the Conference called for: 1) An end to the Israeli occupation and destruction of the wall, and 2) Support for Cindy Sheehan.

## With American Friends Service Committee (AFSC)

After the conference, I joined my friends, Kathy Karmphoefer and Paul Pierce, who are AFSC staff in Jerusalem, and visiting AFSC staff from Philadelphia, respectively.

On our way to Hebron, we stopped at the village of Twany, consisting of approximately 160 people farming 30,000 dunums. With heavy hearts, we heard about the harassment by nearby Israeli settlers, how settlers with rocks and chains harassed the children, accompanied by their parents and/or internationals, on their way to and from school, with Israeli soldiers looking on impassively; how the settlers spread rat poison on the hill, where shepherds let their sheep graze. More than 100 sheep died. Tired of the repeated harassment of the schoolchildren, in one night, with the help of other nearby villagers, the community built a school on their land, which, despite demolition threats by Israeli soldiers, still proudly, beautifully, and solidly stands.

Our next stop on this steamy, hot day was Hebron, population of 30-40,000 people. Right in the middle of town are four Israeli settlements of approximately 450 people, with 1,500 soldiers guarding them.

A walk through the *sooq*, or market, which in "normal times" would be crowded with shoppers and fascinating little stores displaying local handicrafts, was devoid of people and most of

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Hedy Epstein's activism has taken her to Nicaragua, Palestine, and Cambodia. Her memoir is entitled, *Remembering Is Not Enough*.

the stores were shuttered. Because of the repeated harassment by the settlers, many of the local Palestinians have moved away. Above the narrow passageway between the shuttered stores, much to my horror, I saw the wire netting the local people have

after about half an hour, the soldiers, who were totally unprovoked, accosted us with teargas and soundbombs.

Since then, the demonstrations have met with increased violence from the soldiers. (For details, go to [www.palsolidarity.org](http://www.palsolidarity.org).) Yet, I never cease to be amazed at the resilience of Palestinians and their love, care and concern, especially for us internationals. All they ask of us is that we go home and talk about what we have seen and experienced.



Hedy Epstein and Kathy Kamphoef at work with Women in Black, Jerusalem *Dianne Lee*

put up to protect themselves from the garbage and other waste products the settlers, residing above the soq, regularly throw down. Though I knew about this ahead of time, seeing it, was shocking, causing me to refer to these settlers as the "true anti-Jews."

### Bil'in Revisited

On August 19, I was back in Bil'in, first, to meet with Mohammed and other village leaders. Also present was Mansour from Biddu, who so lovingly took care of our "Women of a Certain Age 2004" delegation when we spent four days in Biddu in June 2004. We learned about the horror of having their land confiscated and gutted and how they decided that creative, non-violent demonstrations were the way to make their voices heard. Since February 2005, every Friday, after the noon prayer, there have been non-violent demonstrations, Israelis and internationals participating, and with Mohammed developing a different, creative theme each week. Later in the day, after midday prayers in the local mosque, we joined the villagers, other Palestinians, Israelis and internationals in their regular Friday non-violent demonstration against the wall. Though the demonstration was peaceful (there was no stone-throwing,)

### Gaza Disengagement

Though I was not in Gaza, I want to say a few words to counteract the lack of, or mis-information provided by the media about the so-called "Gaza Disengagement."

After 38 years of military rule and a unilateral decision by Ariel Sharon, 9,000 illegal Israeli settlers, guarded by 3,000 Israeli soldiers, withdrew from Gaza in August 2005. But Gaza remains an open-air prison. Despite the disengagement, Israel remains in charge of border crossings and thus controls the movement of people and goods in and out of Gaza. The Palestinian government has no control over Gazan airspace/airports, territorial waters/seaports or natural resources, such as water, gas and no chance of overcoming the structural economic dependency on Israel. Dov Weinglass, senior aide to Sharon, last year spoke of Israel's true intentions, when he said that the disengagement plan "...supplies the formaldehyde [a substance that preserves a given condition] that is necessary so that there will not be a political process with the Palestinians..."

While the disengagement took place, Israel has continued to build furiously, extending the wall, building additions to existing settlements and building new settlements, viz. 150 new homes right in the

middle of East Jerusalem. All of this prevents the possibility of a contiguous Palestinian state and a peace process. All of this is in violation of international law, the Geneva Convention and decisions by the International Court of Law, accompanied by almost complete silence from Israel's partner in crime, the USA, as well as silence by the world. I am reminded of diary entries of a woman in a bunker during the Warsaw Ghetto uprising: "...and you, the Nations, why are you silent? Don't you see how we are being exterminated? Why are you silent?..."

### What You Can Do. If You Don't Wish To Be Silent

- 1) Become informed.
- 2) Contact your representatives and let them know how you feel.
- 3) Write letters and more letters to the editor of your local paper.
- 4) Go to Palestine and see for yourself ~soon~ it will be a life-changing experience.



# Letter to the Editor

by Larry Willard

While I haven't had the pleasure of meeting Mark Chmiel, I do know Teka, Virginia, Joe, Ellen, Barb, and other current and former Catholic Workers both at Karen and other houses in the U.S. For several years in the late 80s and early 90s, I occasionally would volunteer as a housekeeper every few months, an experience I hope never to forget.

I was drawn to the Catholic Worker for many reasons, not the least of which was the writing of the late Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel, a fellow traveler of dear Dorothy. But I'm not writing to stroke you all; everyone knows of your great work. I'm writing as a Jew, a Zionist and as a citizen of Israel who is deeply saddened to see his people portrayed in such a distorted manner ("Mark Chmiel, "From Abroad," *Round Table*, winter 2004). Mark either truly believes what he wrote (I really hope not) or simply chose not to explore "the other side" of the conflict, something he needs to do.

During my first days as an Israeli immigrant in April of 2003, I met a young Irish ISM volunteer. A friend on the Israeli Left introduced us, telling me how she was one of the few ISMers who would visit the real Israel. When we asked her why, the young woman said, "Because we're afraid we'll be killed in a bombing." Duh!!! We pointed out the obvious: It's OK for us to be killed by the folks she is helping, but she has chosen not to let them kill her. "I know," she said sheepishly, "I'm not happy with my feelings about this at all." But at least she had the decency to visit and listen to our point of view.

For whatever reason, Mark has chosen to side with those who honor hate and death. Martyrdom on his side of the fence means something quite different from our side; unlike Jihadists, Jews are forbidden to use it as a rationale for murder. "Jihad, jihad!" "Death to Israel!" "Death to Jews!" are routinely heard throughout Palestinian Authority-controlled areas and in our lovely 22 neighbor states. There has never—repeat NEVER—been a similar mass public chant in Israel itself. On the contrary, in June 2004, I attended a peace rally with more than 100,000 other Israelis of all religions and beliefs. Interestingly, there has yet to be a similar event on the West Bank... or anywhere else in the Arab World.

Aside from being less than one (1) percent of the Middle East and being surrounded by 22 overtly hostile Arab/Muslim states (many of which only acknowledge us

as "Territory Occupied by the Zionist Enemy"), we are home to Jews from every country on earth in addition to being the only democracy—in many ways a far more diverse and open democracy than America's—in the entire region.

Mark is correct about the media's "one-sidedness." For the images presented across the globe, one could hardly help but conclude we are all white, wealthy and afraid to leave our homes—all incredibly inaccurate. Since we are a religion, not a "race," we come in every skin color there is. Many of us have been driven from our birth countries—often, but not always, with only the clothes on our backs—and, thankfully, very few of us choose to live in fear; we choose life. History has taught us that Israel is our only safe haven. We don't have 22 countries of sisters and brothers.

I recall the late professor Harry Cargas lecturing on our miraculous ability to withstand crusades, inquisition (where, like Muslims, we were primary targets of Christianity) and pogroms only to be faced with the Holocaust. "Jew-hatred is the world's oldest hatred and it seems to defy death," he said. I doubted him when I heard that in 1972, but watching current media coverage has made me a believer.

Yes, our security fence is an inconvenience to our sworn enemies. But which is more important—an innocent person's discomfort with being delayed/searched/questioned or several innocent people being saved from murder? And has "moral equivalence" reached the point where a destroyed home is the same as a destroyed human? We all better hope not.

Over the past eight years, I've worked at two Israeli hospitals and two nursing homes. I've seen the handiwork of the folks Mark has assisted. Most—but by no means all—of the patients I've worked with have been Jews. But, Jewish or not, everyone of these survivors of your homicide bombings is treated with the very best care available. I've even assisted a failed 20-year-old bomber relearn to walk, another surprising lesson.

During this period, I've been blessed to work with and befriend dozens of primarily Christian volunteers from across the world. Most of them volunteer more than once. They, like the Catholic Workers, have given me a new appreciation of Christianity's special mission... and of mine.

Some points to ponder:

They're "suicide bombers" to themselves; they're murderers/homicide bombers to anyone with a dictionary.

"Apartheid"? Aside from skin color, country of birth, religious belief, lack of religious belief, Israel is a free, open, and vibrant democracy. Just within the past 12 months, for example,

I've witnessed three gay pride parades in Tel Aviv alone. (You might look into the "esteem" homosexuals hold in Palestinian society.)

In late May of 2003, the IDF raided a grade school in Jenin which was also being used as a weapons storage facility by Hamas/Fatah/PLO/Al-Aqsa/et al. The newspapers here ran a photo of soldiers removing four large portraits from the school: Arafat, Saddam, Bin Laden, and Hitler. Mark must have missed that.

Since our establishment as a modern, independent state in 1948, we have per capita earned more awards for contributions to science, medicine, engineering, and the arts than any other country. Most—but not all—of these have been earned by Jews. Yet Palestinian textbooks today teach of Jews being descended from pigs and being responsible for the creation and spread of AIDS and cancer.

I'll always be grateful to Karen House for helping me become a better human being, and to G-d for allowing me to choose to live as a free Jew in my people's 3,500 year home. We can always use more good people as volunteers, Mark. You might be surprised at what happens.

Larry Willard  
Haifa, Israel



## A Round Table Response

Dear Larry,

We wanted to take this opportunity to respond to your letter to the Editor. We would like to begin by saying we remember your time with us at Karen House with great fondness and gratitude and are inspired by how faithfully you live your life in accordance with your beliefs. We are saddened if our position, calling for an end to the occupation of the Palestinian Territories, causes any divide between us.

We in no way wish to portray Israelis in "such a distorted manner." Your reminder that Jews in Israel come in every skin color from around the globe, many fleeing for their lives, is indisputable and indeed fills us with respect for what so many Jewish people have had to endure throughout history. Our criticisms of the State of Israel are in no way a universal criticism of its people. We criticize the actions and decisions of our own government in the United States rather religiously, yet we love its people.

It is important and necessary to offer this same regard to the Palestinians. In your letter you accused Mark of having "chosen to side with those who honor hate and death" and say you have "seen the handiwork of the folks Mark has assisted." Just as every Israeli is not an unreasonable fanatic, neither is every Palestinian a suicide bomber.

The Catholic Worker principle of nonviolence is central to our philosophy and we in no way support violence, by either a Palestinian suicide bomber or by an Israeli helicopter. We also offer this opinion with humility because we know that we do not experience the violence from either. And yet, it is important to speak out when we think injustices are occurring and we know they are occurring with both the occupation of

the West Bank and Gaza Strip and now especially with the erection of the wall.

You speak of the "security fence" as an "inconvenience," causing innocent people discomfort while they are searched, and questioned and how this does not compare with the necessity of preventing potential loss of life. And yet, the immense concrete wall, winding its way through the West Bank, is far more than a mere inconvenience. It poses an extreme hardship for many people, separating them from necessary sources of water, schools, work. It can take hours to go one mile through checkpoints and this is in the event one is not detained like many innocent Palestinians commonly are.

The reality of this type of daily hardship and loss of fundamental liberties for Palestinians, does not add to the image of Israel being a "diverse and open democracy." Israel will not gain security by continuing a policy by which it appropriates land, tears down homes and intimidates the Palestinian population. How can security come by these policies? No wall will be high enough.

Teka Childress  
For the Roundtable Editors



# From Abroad

by Rob Boedeker  
Ivory Coast



Our car slowed down as we approached the roadblock, a series of tires and nailstrips lying across the road. Two armed men came out from an adjacent shack. They looked more ragged than the government soldiers or the U.N. soldiers we passed earlier that morning. Ft. Mateo said they seemed bored to him; they seemed cocky and undisciplined to me.

They talked with Mateo, asked us the standard questions of who we were, where we were coming from, and where we were going, and then they asked for money. As a personal rule, Mateo doesn't give out money in these situations. Despite the comfort of his presence, I was nervous.

Each roadblock was another jolt and another tense moment; I couldn't concentrate and I couldn't relax. Trying to calm myself down worked for a moment but just until the soldiers did something else to set me on edge. I had to pay attention to everything in case it should lead to something more serious. Such concentration is draining.

In the end nothing happened. We passed through all the roadblocks relatively quickly. Nonchalant through it all, Mateo commented that there were fewer barricades than there used to be.

Sleeping became harder. The next morning when I woke up I dreaded the thought of having to go through it all again. It took a lot of energy to convince myself to get up and get dressed, to accept that this is something that I needed to get used to. Not until I left did I stop feeling tense and exhausted.

Insecurity is a vague word with a lot of connotations but in a conflict zone it can refer to the unpredictability of those in charge. What we normally take for granted as limits of reasonable behavior become questionable. With every new armed guard came a new situation to adjust to—from over-confidence and recklessness, embarrassed demands for bribes and drunken aggressivity to professionalism, genuine concern for our well-being, camaraderie and respect for our work.

The unpredictability is what really got to me. A gun in your hands gives you a sense of authority and control. Here were thirty-year-olds turned into adolescents on power-trips. I felt no reassurance that any rights or limits would be respected.

Yet I have white skin, education, foreigner status and

money. The reality is these protected me whether I took comfort in them or not. To some degree I am insulated. The old women carrying bundles on their heads, though, and the young girls we passed selling bananas on the road: they have no shelter from harassment. What higher authority can they complain to? Who is to tell the rebels to restrain themselves? What social mechanisms are in place to combat such impunity?

The stress I felt seems small in comparison. And as soon as I got back home it went away. I have a hard time grasping what trauma prolonged insecurity creates in individuals who cannot escape. I have a harder time imagining what keeps them going amidst such suffering.

An African woman I met told me a story from her time in France. It was a particularly hot summer and she commented on the sweltering heat. A friend thought that being from Africa she wouldn't think that day was very hot at all. "Just because I'm from Africa doesn't mean that I don't suffer from the heat," she replied. Having had to suffer in life doesn't mean that we suffer less or somehow learn to enjoy it.

Suffering produces a variety of responses in people, from grace, generosity and patient endurance to resentment, covetousness, and cruelty. Suffering drains us of the energy we need to function. It can trap us in a survivalist mentality where our needs become the primary concern. It would be one thing to rail against the suffering caused by natural disasters or life's tragedies, but most of the suffering I see around me comes from other people's actions. The real tragedy of life is the cycle of pain we participate in. The suffering we feel and the suffering we create through our institutions, beliefs, or force is in essence, poverty.

These roadblocks are an example of this cycle. Civilians-turned-soldiers hoping to change an exploitative system who then turn around and exploit others. Past wrongs feeding insecurity which feeds suffering. Looking back at those barricades, I am struck by the suffering we endure and the suffering we create and I am humbled by the whole lot.



Rob Boedeker is working with the Jesuit Refugee Service in the Ivory Coast for the next two years.

# From Karen House



by Christen E. Parker

What's the update from here? Hot hot summer days (and now the break of cool weather – alleluia!). Weddings abounded again this year—Rodney and mine in the church basement of Holy Trinity and Annjie and Jenny's in the countryside of the Armbruster's place.

Volunteers have steadily come through—cleaning, cooking, painting our planters, tutoring, taking house and hearing about this Catholic Worker idea of Love in practice. Andy joined our group, taking on the juggling act of hospitality and medical school. Folks in the community are still plugging away with sustainable homebuilding, re-habbing the future “Teka Childress House,” nurse-practicionering, undergrad and graduate schooling, organizing, out-reaching, secretary-ing, being in

relationships, taking on the work of Little House, fixing bikes, and, of course, doing hospitality. We're full—as usual—and I've been thinking a lot about this “usual” state.

I was speaking with a woman about Karen House a few months ago and she asked what some of our volunteer needs are. To begin the list of opportunities, I said “Housetakers,” as I'm always on the lookout for those, and she very thoughtfully nodded, “Ok, so you need people to take people into their homes.” I was instantly humbled. I was only thinking of filling our house shifts, not other people's empty rooms. Of course!

Of course, we need people to take people into their homes! How logical. How loving. Would folks do it?

I was speaking with Teka about this conversation, and she said that, in the past, Karen House has had a group of folks

with “Christ Rooms” ready, people who could be called to place someone with. Could this happen again? Would you be interested in being part of the work of this house? Give me a call and let's explore it together.

In light of this, and the day-to-day here, I ponder what it means to be a “Catholic Worker”—to open our lives to the needy, to seek solidarity with the oppressed, to work to build a better society starting in our own homes. “The Catholic Worker” is not owned by anyone—not by Karen

House, not by Mary House in New York. (And that decentralization is actually a part of the Catholic Worker philosophy.) Anyone can be a Catholic Worker as far as I can see. Though consistently exhausting, living the works of Love still seems like a healthy way to live to me. I'm grateful for the opportunity to do some good, and for all the wonderful models of love who surround me in this house and neighborhood.

Peace be with you. ✦



The new home of the Gainesville Catholic Worker, Florida (where Christen got her CW roots).

Christen Parker is teaching after-school Drama and Spanish classes at De la Salle Middle School.

# KAREN HOUSE NEEDS!

## Urgent

We hope to receive enough donations of these items so that we can both meet the house needs and be a resource to our neighbors:

\* Blankets

\* Gift Certificates for Laclede Gas:

\$25 denominations, purchase by mailing order to Laclede Gas, Attn: Gift Certificates, Drawer 9, St. Louis, MO 63166. 314-342-0500



## Ongoing

- \* Coffee (fair trade preferred)
- \* Diapers (size 3 & 4)
- \* Cereal, 100% Fruit Juice
- \* Tools (call Tony for details 621-4052)
- \* Laundry Detergent

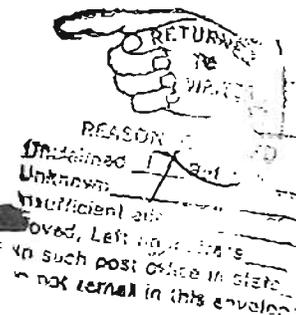
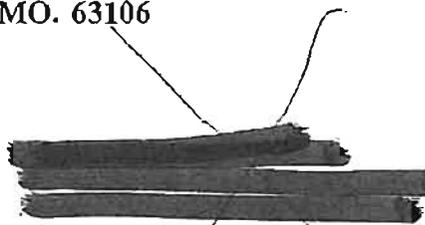
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## The Round Table

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