

# STUDENT MEDIA HANDBOOK

FALL 2013



# Introduction

**This document was produced by media professionals to assist Palestinian rights activists on university campuses to effectively communicate their message through the media.**

It offers advice for dealing with journalists, doing interviews, and writing op-eds, as well as resources and information on the conflict that may be useful in media work and public outreach. The authors thank the organizations that allowed their material to be used as examples.

This edition includes updated sections on the current Israeli government, Useful Facts & Figures on the blockade of Gaza and other topics, talking points on BDS, new maps, fact sheets, and human rights reports.

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# 1. Tips for Dealing with Journalists & Editors

When communicating with journalists and editors, remember that they are people trying to do a job and that your goal is to positively influence their coverage. Always be professional and cordial, regardless of their outlet, what you think of their reporting, or how they treat you. The following are some tips on how to approach and interact with journalists and editors.

- Designate one or more spokespeople for your organization who are informed on the issues and speak well to conduct interviews and engage with the press.
- In all media work and interactions with the press, choose your words carefully and get your facts straight. If you exaggerate or say things that aren't accurate, you will discredit yourself. This cannot be stressed enough.
- Always be diplomatic, never aggressive or angry. You're trying to positively influence journalists and their coverage, not win an argument. If you have a legitimate complaint with someone's reporting you should be able to present it in a calm and thoughtful manner.
- Always reply as quickly as possible to inquiries from the press. Journalists have deadlines and sometimes a few minutes can mean the difference between getting your point of view into a story or not.
- To support your arguments, cite statements and reports from respected human rights groups like Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, or even the U.S. State Department and its annual human rights reports. Also cite revealing quotes from Israeli political and military leaders, who often speak frankly in the Israeli press about the actual goals of Israeli policies.

## PITCHING STORIES & OP-EDS

- Identify reporters in your area who cover international affairs and/or community issues.
- Contact those journalists when, for example, you're holding a protest or launching a campaign, to encourage them to cover the story. This is called a "pitch."

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### SAMPLE PITCH

Dear Ms. Smith,

I'm writing to inform you of a protest that [insert name of organization] will hold this Friday in response to former Israeli Foreign Minister and current Justice Minister Tzipi Livni's visit to the University of X.

Ms. Livni served as Israeli Foreign Minister during Israel's military assault on the Gaza Strip in the winter of 2008-9. Israeli forces killed approximately 1,400 Palestinians; most were civilians, and more than 300 were children. More than 5,000 others were wounded in the three-week onslaught.

Major human rights groups like [Amnesty International](#) and [Human Rights Watch](#), and the UN report produced by Justice Richard Goldstone all found strong evidence that Israel committed war crimes and crimes against humanity during the attack.

As the public face of Israel during this period, Ms. Livni defended the operation, [claiming repeatedly](#) that there was no humanitarian crisis in Gaza and that Israeli forces were acting in accordance with international law, despite much evidence to the contrary.

We will protest Ms. Livni's appearance at the University of X this Friday, at 7 PM, calling for her arrest as a war criminal. If you would like to cover the protest or would like more information, I would be happy to be of assistance.

Best,

X

Cell number

- It's worth taking the time to do some research to identify local journalists who cover the issues that you're pitching. A handful of well-targeted pitches can yield better results than a mass email sent out to journalists who cover unrelated beats.
  - Include hyperlinks to sources and further information in your pitches. Journalists are busy and are often juggling multiple stories. If they can just click a link to find out more they're more likely to do so.
  - If you or a student you know travels to Palestine, consider writing an op-ed when you return describing what you saw or experienced and submit it to a local or campus newspaper (see Chapter 3, Tips for Writing Op-Eds, on page 8).
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### SAMPLE LETTER

Dear Mr. Smith,

I'm writing regarding your article that appeared in today's Tribune, [insert name of article]. I'm concerned that you referred to East Jerusalem as "disputed" rather than with its proper legal designation, "occupied."

With the exception of Israel, virtually every government (including the American government) and international legal body considers the West Bank, Gaza Strip and East Jerusalem to be occupied by Israel. Even Israel's own [supreme court has ruled](#) that these territories are under "belligerent occupation."

I realize that stories about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict can be difficult to cover, with passionate advocates on both sides, but in future I would urge you to identify the occupied territories as such for the benefit of your readers. Without vital context such as this, it's impossible to make sense of what's taking place in the Holy Land.

If you would like, I'll be happy to direct you to further resources on this subject.

Best,

X

Cell number



## FOLLOWING UP

- Most journalists receive many emails a day, and it's easy for yours to get lost in the shuffle. If you don't receive a response to your message, follow up with a phone call to be sure that it was received. Depending on how time sensitive your pitch or press release is, you can follow up anywhere from a few hours, to a day or two, to a week later.
- If a journalist does a story based on your pitch, send him/her a quick thank you email, even if the story might not be perfect. This can help to build a relationship.

### TIP

When you see local or campus media coverage that is inaccurate or unfair, take the opportunity to approach the journalist in a friendly way to correct him, start a dialogue, and/or pitch a story idea or op-ed.

## ISSUES TO WATCH FOR WHEN MONITORING THE MEDIA

- Whether journalists refer to the occupied territories (the West Bank, Gaza Strip, East Jerusalem, and Syrian Golan Heights) as occupied, or whether they use terms like “disputed,” “contested,” “land Palestinians claim,” etc. instead.
- Whether journalists allude to the fact that Israeli settlements are illegal according to international law.
- When journalists use terms like “housing” and “neighborhoods” instead of “settlements,” “colonies,” etc.
- When the Nakba (the ethnic cleansing of approximately [750,000 Palestinians](#) during Israel's creation) is presented as being the consequence of a war started by Israel's Arab neighbors after Israel declared independence in May 1948. (In fact, more than 200 Palestinian towns and villages had already been depopulated as people fled in fear or were forcibly expelled by Zionist forces, and between 250,000 and 350,000 Palestinians had been uprooted and made refugees by the time Israel declared independence in May 1948. For more on the Nakba, see Chapters 9 and 10, and [this fact sheet](#).)
- When someone claims that Israel was attacked or invaded by its Arab neighbors in 1967. In fact, Israel started the 1967, or Six-Day War, claiming that it was a pre-emptive strike against enemies that were planning an imminent attack.
- When a story only includes quotes from Israelis and/or their supporters.

## 2. Tips for Doing Interviews

### PREPARING

- Research the interviewer beforehand to familiarize yourself with his/her reporting. If they don't work for a media outlet you recognize, search for their name on Google. If you find suspicious results, such as associations with racist or anti-Semitic material, decline the interview. (Note: It is also best to avoid doing interviews with media outlets such as Press TV, which is an official Iranian government news service. There is little upside to such an interview, as the audience is already sympathetic to the cause, while there is potentially a significant downside.)
- Make an effort to dress "respectably" for interviews, even radio. This does not mean a suit, but it's probably best not to wear T-shirts with slogans, sweatshirts, etc.
- Whenever possible, agree on a set of talking points in advance to focus your message and respond to anticipated questions.

### THE INTERVIEW

- Always be polite to the interviewer, e.g., "Thanks Dan, thank you for having me on," or "that's an excellent question."
- Do not scream or shout, even if you are confronted with lies and slander.
- You can be firm without falling into a trap that makes you look like a "crazy activist."
- Remain calm and confident. You have truth and facts on your side.
- Sometimes the best way to dismiss a false claim is to calmly show the absurdity of the claim or accusation by dismissing it as such. For example: "It's absurd to suggest that East Jerusalem isn't occupied by Israel. The UN and virtually every government on the planet, including the American government, consider East Jerusalem to be under Israeli military occupation."
- Use words like "fact," "truth" and "reality" when making your point or counterpoint. For example: "The facts on the ground, as backed up by numerous reports from the UN indicate that..." or "the reality of what happened is...."
- Whenever possible use examples (a human interest anecdote, or a revealing fact or statistic) to back up your claims, without getting bogged down in them.



Students at Brooklyn College stage a mock checkpoint. Source: Habib Khan

- Answer the question you want to answer, no matter what you are asked. If you are asked questions which are clearly meant to distract, to slander, or to change the subject and waste time, you can always answer your own question in order to hit your talking points. For example: “The question that we should be asking is...”; “That’s a good question, but an even better question is...”; or just brush by the question with “What we should be focusing on is...”

### 3. Tips for Writing Op-Eds

Opinion pieces (op-eds) and letters to the editor conveying the reality of Palestinian life can be placed in your local or university newspapers and are an excellent way to get your message across without it being filtered by an interviewer.

The following are some guidelines for op-ed and letter writing.

#### PREPARING

- Make a habit of reading the opinion page of your local newspaper or of a national newspaper such as *The New York Times*. You may disagree with what you're reading, but it will give you a better sense of how op-eds are constructed. If you're familiar with the format, it will be easier to start writing your own.
- Check the opinion page of the newspaper to which you want to submit your op-ed. You should be able to find general guidelines for writing, including word count.
- If there is an op-ed published with a point of view with which you disagree, university newspaper editors will often provide space for a rebuttal op-ed. Local newspaper editors will sometimes do the same, though it's more likely that they'll run a letter to the editor of approximately 150 words.
- Stake out a clear position for or against something. For example, if you're working on BDS, write an op-ed arguing why your fellow students should boycott Tribe brand hummus.

#### WRITING

- Adhere strictly to the word limits provided by the newspaper. If the limit is 600 words, don't send in 800 words – or even 625. The editor will either immediately discard it or may make cuts without your approval.
- The introductory paragraph is key. Include wording in that paragraph which links it to an event or item in the news at the moment.
- Make sure the news item you reference in the introductory paragraph is current. If you refer to something that happened a few days ago or last week, editors may consider it yesterday's news and reject it. Turnaround is important. You want to submit an op-ed within 48 hours of an event or story that you're responding to or using as a news hook.

- Draw the reader in quickly, perhaps with a personal anecdote. You want to make a positive impression on a busy editor and convince the reader that it's worth reading the whole op-ed.
- Use short sentences and avoid overly technical language that may confuse non-experts.
- Provide facts, but don't overwhelm the reader with numbers and statistics.
- Do not overstate the case or be hyperbolic. This merely provides opponents of your viewpoint with an easy opening for a rebuttal. What is being done to Palestinians is bad enough without turning to sources that may misstate numbers or facts. People on the fence are most likely to be convinced by mainstream media sources that they know they can trust. Less well-known websites may well be right, but the mainstream source is more likely to convince. If you want to introduce readers to a new site, try to provide a simultaneous reference to a mainstream source that provides the same information.
- Be sure to note anything you have personally witnessed or experienced, for example relating to Israeli discrimination or violence against civilians. Personal anecdotes of this sort can be very powerful.
- Try to conclude the op-ed by linking the piece back to your opening paragraph.
- Include a one-sentence "tagline" at the end of the op-ed explaining who you are. If you were in the region recently, try to include this in the tagline. This will enhance your credibility with readers. This sentence does not count against your word limit.

## **SUBMITTING/FOLLOW-UP**

- When submitting your op-ed include a brief introductory note identifying yourself, what the op-ed is about, and thanking the editor for his or her consideration.
- If you do not hear back from an editor after 48-72 hours then follow up by email or phone to confirm that the piece was received. If the piece is time sensitive then you can follow up before 48 hours pass.
- If your op-ed is published, alert your friends and allies so they can post supportive comments on the website where it is published and/or submit letters to the editor.
- If your op-ed is published, consider sending a quick email to the editor responsible thanking him/her for their assistance. This can help build a relationship.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Although shorter word counts offer less space to make your case, letters to the editor are also an effective way to communicate your message. Letters sections are widely read and it's often easier to get a letter published than an op-ed.

As with op-eds, letters should be submitted as soon as possible after the article/editorial/op-ed that you are responding to is published, ideally within 24 hours. If you wait too long they may publish someone else's letter instead, or deem the subject old news.

## SCHEDULING AN EDITORIAL BOARD MEETING

Another way of building the relationship with newspaper editors is to schedule an editorial board meeting for yourself and colleagues.

You are a community resource for editors who may not know much about the issue, but want to learn more. If Gaza is being attacked, your local newspaper may write an editorial about it. They will do a better job if they've heard your opinion in person, particularly if you or your colleagues have personal expertise or experience with the subject (e.g. they are from Gaza). They may not agree entirely, but they might at least touch on concerns you've raised.

## 4. Tips for Writing Media Advisories & Press Releases

If your organization has a newsworthy announcement, event or campaign planned, you may want to consider issuing a media advisory or a press release.

### **MEDIA ADVISORIES**

Media advisories are usually used to alert journalists to an upcoming event such as a demonstration, a press conference, or a lecture. A media advisory should contain all necessary information (date, time, location, contact person, etc.). It should include a short description of the event, but be as brief as possible.

### **PRESS RELEASES**

A press release normally consists of a longer (yet still concise) statement relevant to a particular event or issue to help provide context, background, a clarification on the position of your organization, etc. For example, you might send out a press release announcing your group's position on a local controversy regarding Palestine/Israel, or to give some background on a speaker whom you have invited to give a lecture.

Press releases can also be issued in conjunction with other groups, particularly when making a statement addressing an important issue.

The following are some general tips for writing press releases and media advisories.



- Be as concise as possible. Journalists receive many press releases and media advisories and are less likely to read something that's longer than a few paragraphs. Try to limit media advisories to one paragraph (not including basic information), and press releases to three or four paragraphs.
- Include a short quote or two from a spokesperson in your press release.
- Include hyperlinks to sources for statistics, quotes, any contentious or controversial claims made (for example, allegations of war crimes), or to provide context and background on an issue.
- Always include contact information where the appropriate person from your organization can be reached, including a phone number.
- Distribute widely, but be smart and selective. Don't send to journalists who cover beats unrelated to the subject at hand. Instead, create a media list of journalists on campus, in the city where you're located, and even on the state level, who cover community and/or international news.
- Media outlets list contact information on their websites. If you are not sure of the newspapers distributed in your town or state, you can find lists of local newspapers [online](#).
- The local television affiliates, listed by state, for all four major news networks can also be found online: [ABC](#), [CBS](#), [NBC](#) and [FOX](#).
- After your organization circulates a press release or media advisory, it can be effective to follow up with a phone call to select journalists anywhere from five to 48 hours later, depending on time constraints. Always call after you send the press release or media alert so the journalist/producer has the opportunity to reference your email while on the phone.



## SAMPLE PRESS RELEASE

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[NAME(S) OF STUDENT GROUP(S)]

### FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

DATE

CONTACT NAME(S): Email | Phone

HEADLINE: Keep it short but concise. The headline should include the name of the speaker/event/issue.

PLACE & TIME BRACKET: When applicable, enter the date, time and location of the event.

NEWS HOOK: Put the most important information first. Write 1-2 sentences on how this event or issue is important and timely news in the context of current events. Always remember to hyperlink to sources when possible, such as news stories.

DETAILS & QUOTE: Write 2-3 sentences that give more details about the issue/event/guest speaker. Try to use a quote from someone directly involved in the issue/event. If it's a speaker, quote them directly.

BACKGROUND: In a couple of sentences add information about your organization and any other important information that helps convey the news story. Remember to keep it brief and on point.

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## 5. Tips for Using Digital Media

Using digital media such as Facebook and Twitter can be an effective way of getting your message out. It allows you to generate buzz around a campaign or event you're working on and gives you a direct connection to journalists (they can follow you, you can follow/tweet at them). Twitter campaigns can influence a brand, organization, or politician you may be targeting, whether by mentioning their handle (@TheirHandle) or by injecting your tweets into a brand conversation that is happening—such as a new hashtag that a company like Hewlett-Packard or Ahava may be using for a marketing campaign.

### TWITTER

- Choose a short but identifiable Twitter handle (username) for your organization.
- Keep your Twitter and Facebook accounts active and up to date.
- You can tweet often, but stay focused on a topic, and don't overdo it.
- If you are addressing a particular topic, debate, or conversation happening on Twitter, search for the relevant hashtag (such as #Gaza or #Obama) being used by people tweeting about that subject.
- Remember that your social media presence is an extension of your group or organization, not your personal account. Keep in mind that your tweets are publicly visible; don't tweet anything that you wouldn't want the world to know that you said.
- Although it's good to get the attention of others by following them (especially if you know they will follow you in return), you should focus on building your following through others retweeting you, and through joining conversations, which use hashtags. For example, #BoycottSodaStream is a conversation about the boycott campaign against SodaStream, which makes products in a West Bank settlement.
- Including links or photos in your tweets can increase the likelihood you will be retweeted.

- To keep your links short, start an account with a URL shortening service like bitly ([www.bitly.com](http://www.bitly.com)). Often, services like bitly and others have browser extensions for Google Chrome and Firefox that will make the shortening/tweeting process easier.

## MORE TIPS FOR USING TWITTER

For some Twitter basics from the Tiziano Project, [click here](#).

For a YouTube tutorial on Twitter, [click here](#).

For a Twitter how-to, tips, and instructions from Mashable, [click here](#).

- Tweet or post excerpts of newspaper articles or reports that you want to publicize rather than just the title or headline.
- If you want to direct a tweet at someone but you want everyone who follows you to see it, start the tweet with a period (“.”).
- If you want to tweet something someone said IRL (In Real Life), for example if you are at a conference listening to a presentation, begin your tweet with a period, then insert the person’s username or Twitter handle (@TwitterHandle), and then use a colon. It will look something like this: .@YousefMunayyer: Already this year, Israeli settlers have surpassed total number of arsons committed in 2010 (previous all-time high).

## FACEBOOK

- Create a fan page for your organization, not a group.
- As with Twitter, keep your page updated and current, but stay focused on topics that will be of interest to people who “like” your page or follow your Twitter account. It’s good practice to keep your posts at least an hour apart.

## CLICK HERE FOR A GUIDE TO EVERYTHING FACEBOOK

<http://mashable.com/guidebook/facebook/>

- Although it’s not ideal, you can use applications like RSS Graffiti or DLVR.IT to synchronize your website with Facebook, your website with Twitter, or to pull your Twitter feed selectively into your Facebook page.
- If you can post to Twitter and Facebook separately rather than setting up Facebook to simultaneously post all of your tweets, it’s worth it. If you can’t post manually to Facebook because of capacity – as is the case with many organizations – consider assigning someone to post on Facebook during a particular campaign period to generate more interest in that campaign.

- Photos and videos often get more attention on Facebook. Currently, photos that are square fit perfectly into the columns of Facebook’s “Timeline” layout.
- When members are sharing information from your organization, have them “Share” it from your organization’s Facebook page so that others can see your page is the source.
- The more “likes” and comments an item on Facebook receives, the more likely it is to show in the home feed of users who have “liked” your page.

## WEBSITES

There are a number of web services or content management systems (CMS) that you can use to make a website. Simpler ones include [Tumblr](#) and [Wordpress](#), all of which allow you to use pre-made themes.

Examples of a simple Wordpress website include Columbia SJP ([www.columbiasjp.org](http://www.columbiasjp.org)) and the National SJP ([www.sjpnational.org](http://www.sjpnational.org)). Though it appears to be complex, another simple setup using Tumblr is the Love Under Apartheid website ([www.loveunderapartheid.com](http://www.loveunderapartheid.com)).

More complex sites can be setup using Wordpress, and more commonly [Drupal](#).

Examples of more complex Wordpress sites include Punks Against Apartheid ([www.punksagainstapartheid.com](http://www.punksagainstapartheid.com)) and Olympia BDS ([www.olympiabds.org](http://www.olympiabds.org)).

If you want to see how often your website is being visited, which pages visitors are looking at, and who is visiting your site, along with other information, you can use a free analytics service like [Google Analytics](#) or [GoStats](#).

A website is the most basic point of access to get information about an organization. Some under-resourced organizations, including student groups, use a Facebook page in place of a website, but it’s worth considering the following:

- A website is your home on the web and gives you a greater web presence than just having a Facebook page does.
- More so than Facebook, you control how it appears.
- You can have a lengthier “Bio” or “About Us” page on a website.
- You can organize information and resources far better on a website than on a Facebook page.
- A website does not need updating as often as you would update your Twitter or Facebook accounts.

## 6. Messaging

Recent efforts by the Israeli government and Zionist organizations to “delegitimize the delegitimizers” are attempts to discredit advocates for Palestinian rights and to weaken the impact of their work. These efforts reflect the success Palestinian rights advocates have had and demonstrate the extent to which their messages are being heard.

To win the narrative for Palestinian rights in the public sphere, it is vital to stay focused on your core message(s) and to define yourselves.

The following are some suggestions for messaging.

1. Define yourself, your movement, and your values. Show Americans that people working for Palestinian rights are their neighbors, teachers, students, and friends. One of the greatest strengths of the Palestinian rights movement is its diversity, so you should stress this.
2. Infuse your language with values like freedom, equal rights, democracy, etc. This allows you to speak to Americans in terms they understand. Most can't define Zionism, but freedom and equality are easy terms for most people to conceptualize. Emphasizing shared values also allows you to connect with Americans on both an emotional and intellectual level.

### EXAMPLES OF LANGUAGE INFUSED WITH VALUES

“Palestinians just want the same things that Americans want: to live in freedom and to be able to give their children a prosperous future.”

“If you believe that all people should be treated equally, regardless of race or religion, then you should support Palestinian rights.”

3. Ground your arguments in legal and moral terms: Israeli settlements, the occupation, the siege of Gaza, etc., are “illegal” and violate fundamental Palestinian “rights”; Palestinians want “justice,” “dignity,” and “freedom.” Focus on universal rights that are based in international law and always explain them in relatable terms. It’s important to keep in mind that while Americans care about international law, most would not be able to define it or many of the rights that emanate from it. That means that overly legalistic messages may fall flat, but messages that unpack what a given right means in relatable, human terms will have more of an impact.

### **USE LANGUAGE & FOCUS ON ISSUES THAT APPEAL TO SPECIFIC AUDIENCES**

- If you are addressing women who are likely to be mothers, talk about pregnant Palestinian women who have died or lost their babies because Israeli soldiers at checkpoints refused to let them travel to the hospital or whose children can’t go to school because of Israeli restrictions on movement.
- If it’s a rural audience, talk about Palestinian farmers whose land has been stolen, or who can’t tend to their crops because of the wall or harassment from settlers.
- If you’re talking to students, talk about the problems faced by Palestinian students trying to get an education while living under military occupation.
- If you’re talking to practicing Christians, talk about the difficulties faced by Palestinian Christians and the fact that Israel denies them free access to worship at the holy sites in Jerusalem and elsewhere.



The late Palestinian intellectual Edward Said.  
Source: [weekly.ahram.org.eg](http://weekly.ahram.org.eg)

## 7. Tips for Talking Points

**Talking points help you effectively communicate your message when dealing with the press or speaking in public.**

Talking points are usually short bullet points summing up a few key messages that you want to convey and/or answers to questions that you expect to be asked. They are intended as a guide and do not necessarily have to be repeated verbatim.

Whenever possible, talking points should be crafted based on the specific topics that spokespeople expect to be asked about and prior to specific media or public awareness campaigns. Agreeing on talking points beforehand also helps to avoid disagreements over messaging after an interview or media appearance have taken place.

**Keep your talking points short and simple.**

A simple message supported by one or two revealing facts/statistics/quotes is much more easily understood than a detailed list of grievances. Try to compose one or two pithy phrases that sum up your message(s).



## 8. Sample Talking Points

### ON ISRAELI APARTHEID & CLAIMS THAT ISRAEL IS A WESTERN-STYLE LIBERAL DEMOCRACY

- Israeli settlers and Palestinians in the occupied territories are [separate and unequal](#) not unlike whites and blacks in the American south during segregation or under apartheid in South Africa.
- There [are more than 50 laws](#) that discriminate against Palestinian citizens of Israel solely based on their ethnicity, dealing with everything from land ownership to family reunification rights, rendering them second or third class citizens in their own homeland.
- Israel is not a secular, Western-style democracy like the U.S. or European countries. It might be best described as an “ethnocracy,” where one group of people enjoys rights and privileges not granted others based solely on their religion.
- Over the entirety of its 65-year existence, there has been a period of only about one year (1966-67) that Israel has not ruled over large numbers of Palestinians to whom it granted no political rights.
- There is a virtual caste system within the territories that Israel controls between the Jordan River and Mediterranean Sea, with Israeli Jews at the top and Muslim and Christian Palestinians in the occupied territories at the bottom.
- Jews from anywhere in the world can move to Israel and quickly receive full citizenship while millions of Palestinians whose families were forced from their homes during the establishment of Israel live in refugee camps just a few miles away, prevented from returning simply because they are not Jewish.
- Many veterans of the anti-Apartheid struggle in South Africa, including [Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu](#) have compared Israel’s policies towards the Palestinians to apartheid in their own country.
- Former Israeli prime minister [Ehud Barak](#) has warned not once, but twice, the first time in 1999, that a continuation of the status quo will lead to Israel becoming an “apartheid” state. Many observers, both inside and outside of Israel, believe that reality already exists.

- One of the first people to use the word apartheid in relation to Israel was Israel's first prime minister, David Ben Gurion, [who warned](#) following the 1967 War that Israel would become an "apartheid state" if it retained control of the occupied territories.

*(See sections below on Institutional Discrimination Against Palestinian Citizens of Israel and Apartheid Analogy)*

#### NOTE

There are many counter arguments for the democracy claim, but it's important not to overstate the case or you risk losing legitimacy. It's best to acknowledge that Palestinian citizens of Israel enjoy many democratic rights (the right to vote, to hold office, etc.) but then point to the system of laws and policies that preference Jewish citizens over non-Jewish citizens. For many people, simply learning that not all Israeli citizens are Jewish will be eye opening.

## ON RECOGNIZING ISRAEL AS A JEWISH STATE

- Recognizing Israel as a Jewish state would mean recognizing the permanent [second-class status](#) of Palestinian citizens of Israel, who make up roughly 20% of the population.
- Recognizing Israel as a Jewish state would mean renouncing the internationally recognized right of Palestinian refugees to return to their land and homes that they were forced from during Israel's creation.
- Asking Palestinians to recognize Israel as a "Jewish state" is akin to asking American Jews and other non-Christians to officially recognize the United States as a "Christian state."
- In 1988, the Palestine Liberation Organization recognized the state of Israel and its "right to exist." This was considered a major and historic compromise on the part of the Palestinians, who effectively renounced claim to 78% of historic Palestine. (See [map](#).)
- The demand that Palestinians recognize Israel as a Jewish state only [appeared in 2001](#), when officials in the Bush administration began mentioning it. Prior to that, Palestinians had only been asked to recognize Israel's existence as a state.

*(For more on recognizing Israel as a Jewish state, see fact sheet [here](#))*

## ON THE PEACE PROCESS

- Israel doesn't want to negotiate terms for a peace agreement, it wants to dictate them.
- Due to the massive power imbalance between Israel and the Palestinians, bilateral negotiations under US auspices are doomed to failure as they allow Israel to attempt to impose an unjust and unworkable agreement on the weaker Palestinian party, with American support.
- A majority of the members of Israel's current government oppose the two-state solution, making negotiations under the current conditions pointless, and even dangerous.
- Successive Israeli governments of all political stripes have used the US-sponsored "peace process" as a cover to expand Jewish settlements on occupied Palestinian land. Between 1993, when the first of the Oslo Accords were signed, and 2000 when negotiations broke down, Israel nearly doubled the number of Jewish settlers living in the occupied Palestinian West Bank (excluding East Jerusalem).
- After decades of advocating a hardline, rejectionist policy on Palestinian statehood, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu now says that he supports the two-state solution. However he has announced numerous conditions that would strip the Palestinian "state" he envisions of any real sovereignty, including Israeli control over all of the state's borders and airspace and a continued Israeli military presence within it.
- Far from being an even-handed broker, the Obama administration has continued America's role as "[Israel's lawyer](#)," in the words of former senior US negotiator Aaron David Miller (referring to talks under previous administrations).
- Instead of "hope and change," the Obama administration's Middle East policies have brought more of the same by continuing to send ever more weapons and money to Israel, despite Israel's flagrant violations of international law and defiance of official US policies going back decades.
- Supporting Israel unconditionally undermines America's national security because the US is seen to be complicit in Israel's oppression of the Palestinian people, which fuels hostility towards the US.
- As demonstrated by revelations in the leaked [Palestine Papers](#), Palestinian negotiators bent over backwards to reach a peace agreement with the government of former Prime Minister Ehud Olmert but were repeatedly rebuffed by their Israeli counterparts.

- The Palestine Papers showed that Palestinian negotiators offered sweeping concessions on core issues, including allowing Israel to annex all but one of its East Jerusalem settlements and nullifying the right of return of millions of Palestinian refugees. In response to Palestinian concessions, Israeli negotiators increased their demands while at the same time swallowing up even more Palestinian land by building settlements and the wall.
- In previous negotiations, Abbas offered the Israelis the moon and they demanded the stars as well. There's no reason to expect that returning to US-sponsored negotiations that have failed miserably over the past two decades will bring Israelis and Palestinians closer to peace –particularly with the current, hardline right-wing, pro-settler government in power in Israel.

*(For more on the peace process, see Useful Facts & Figures section on the Oslo Accords)*

## **ON CLAIMS THAT ISRAEL WANTS PEACE, PALESTINIANS DON'T**

- It is Israel that is systematically killing the two-state solution, by building illegal settlements on Palestinian land, not the Palestinians.
- Nobody wants peace more than Palestinians do, because no one suffers more from a lack of peace than the Palestinians. (This segues into detailing some of the ways that Palestinians suffer.)
- Israelis are more interested in “peace and quiet” than they are in making a serious and lasting peace with the Palestinians.
- In 1988 Palestinians agreed to accept just 22% of historic Palestine for their state (see [map](#)). This was a major historic compromise that Israelis have never fully recognized or reciprocated. Ever since, Israel has been asking the Palestinians to compromise even further, while continuing to take their land.
- Everybody wants peace, the question is on what terms. A peace agreement that is unjust and doesn't respect Palestinian rights cannot succeed.
- Palestinians don't teach their children to hate; unjust and brutal Israeli policies and actions create hostility towards Israel. (A good segue into describing some of those policies and actions.)
- Israel continues to claim it wants peace while imposing a cruel and illegal blockade on Gaza and maintaining a brutal 46-year-old military occupation of Palestinians in the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and Gaza. They can't say they want peace while at the same time stealing Palestinian land, bulldozing their homes, and denying them freedom and basic human rights.

## ON THE BOYCOTT, DIVESTMENT, & SANCTIONS MOVEMENT

- The BDS movement was initiated by a [2005 call](#) from Palestinian civil society, inspired by the tactics used by South African anti-apartheid and US civil rights activists.
- BDS is an important nonviolent tactic for Palestinians attempting to safeguard their rights against Israeli human rights abuses.
- As the international community looks on and does nothing to hold Israel accountable for its massive, systematic violations of international law and human rights abuses, global civil society is taking the lead with BDS. People are leading where governments have failed to do so.
- Many universities /pension funds in the US are complicit in Israeli human rights violations because they hold investments in companies that provide equipment to the Israeli military which uses them to abuse Palestinian rights and violate international law. To be silent as our school/pension fund uses our tuition/pension money to invest in corporations that profit from violence against Palestinians and the continued occupation and colonization of the Palestinian territories is to be complicit in those human rights violations.
- Some critics say that BDS is divisive. Ending Jim Crow segregation was once considered a divisive issue. That doesn't mean that action was wrong. There were arguments over divestment from South African apartheid too, but it was the right thing to do.
- Some critics of BDS claim that it is an anti-Semitic movement. It is not anti-Semitic to criticize Israel's policies, just as it is not Islamophobic to criticize the policies of Iran or Saudi Arabia. Many Jewish students and non-students support the BDS movement.
- Just because other countries may be engaged in serious, even worse, human rights abuses, does that mean we should be silent about Israeli human rights violations? By that logic, no one should criticize China because the Syrian regime is currently engaged in more grave rights violations.

### NOTE

In June 2013, Haaretz newspaper reported that the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations "plans to launch a huge campaign this August to counter the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement against Israel."

Conference executive vice chairman Malcolm Hoenlein was quoted saying that "It will be a major Internet and social media campaign, in which we hope to reach every single college student in America. The goal is to educate in creative ways and win the public back."

## **ON CLAIMS THAT ACTIVISTS ARE ANTI-SEMITIC & SEEK TO “DELEGITIMIZE” ISRAEL**

- Israel’s actions are delegitimizing Israel. The occupation delegitimizes Israel. Illegal Jewish settlements built on occupied Palestinian land delegitimize Israel, etc.
- It is not anti-Semitic to criticize Israel’s policies, just as it is not Islamophobic to criticize the policies of Iran or Saudi Arabia.
- The BDS movement and all human rights groups could go away tomorrow, but Israel still wouldn’t be able to hide its building of illegal settlements on Palestinian land, or its subjecting of millions of people to apartheid, etc.

### **NOTE**

If you try to counter this claim by proving it wrong, you risk sounding defensive and getting caught up in Israel’s framing. Instead, focus on affirming who you are and what you are working for in positive terms (for more, see Chapter 6 on Messaging).

## **ON ACCUSATIONS ACTIVISTS ARE “USEFUL IDIOTS” FOR ISLAMISTS LIKE HAMAS**

- Advocates for Palestinian rights are not naive. They are educated, conscientious citizens of the world, who refuse to stand idly by while their governments are complicit in Israel’s abuses of Palestinian human rights.
- Activists are not acting in support of any political party, movement, or faction. They are acting in support of the millions of ordinary Palestinians who have the right to live in freedom and dignity.
- If authorities in countries like the United States had not failed to live up to their stated ideals and had taken action to end Israel’s oppression of the Palestinians, Palestinian solidarity activism wouldn’t be necessary.

## **ON CLAIMS THAT ISRAEL IS BEING UNFAIRLY SINGLED OUT**

- Israel is not above the law. International law is based on the notion that all human beings are worthy of the same rights and of being treated equally. These laws apply equally to all nations.
- The UN was instrumental in the creation of Israel. Because of this, it (and the international community in general) bears a responsibility to help resolve the situation, guided by the standards of international law.

- Unlike many other countries engaged in serious human rights abuses, Israel receives massive financial, military, and diplomatic aid from the US and other western countries, therefore Americans are directly complicit in Israel's violations of Palestinian rights.
- Israel is the only country in the world to reap the benefits of labeling itself a Western-style liberal democracy without any of the pressure to live up to the obligations of a true democracy.
- Israel wants the world to believe it's just like the U.S. or Europe, but when it comes to human rights it is more similar to Saudi Arabia and Iran.

## ON CLAIMS ISRAEL WITHDREW FROM GAZA HOPING FOR PEACE, BUT GOT ROCKETS INSTEAD

- In 2005, Israel withdrew its soldiers and settlers from Gaza, but didn't end its occupation or ease its restrictions on the population, instead maintaining control over Gaza's borders, airspace, and coastline and tightening its siege.
- In 2004, Dov Weisglass, a top advisor to then-Prime Minister Ariel Sharon [said that the "disengagement" plan was designed to "freeze" the peace process](#) by lifting international pressure on Israel to take further action (stating, "when you freeze that process, you prevent the establishment of a Palestinian state. The disengagement...supplies the amount of formaldehyde that is necessary so there will not be a political process with the Palestinians").
- Israel locked up the gates of Gaza's cage and threw away the key, refusing to coordinate the move with the Palestinian Authority in the West Bank or Hamas in Gaza, or to make it part of a peace agreement.
- Despite the withdrawal of Israeli settlers and soldiers, Gaza remains under Israeli military occupation according to international law. Israel continues to control all of Gaza's border crossings, its airspace, and coastline.
- Ultimately Israel, not Hamas, controls the Gaza Strip and is holding an entire population of men, women and children hostage.

## ON THE SIEGE & BLOCKADE OF GAZA

- Israel's siege and naval blockade of Gaza is an act of collective punishment, which is illegal under international law.
- The siege and blockade have caused enormous economic and human hardship to the people of Gaza.

- The siege is not motivated by security concerns, but is part of a strategy of “economic warfare” against the people of Gaza.
- In 2006, senior advisor to then-Prime Minister Ehud Olmert, [Dov Weisglass, said](#) the goal of the Gaza siege was to put the 1.5 million people of Gaza “on a diet, but not to make them die of hunger.”
- The goal is to crush Gaza’s economy and make life unbearable for the people of Gaza, with the hope that support for Hamas will decrease as a result. This is collective punishment and a war crime according to international law.
- Major human rights organizations, UN bodies and health organizations around the world have condemned Israel’s blockade and documented the devastating effects it has had on Gaza’s economy, health and environment.
- Although the UN’s so-called “Palmer Report” on Israel’s attack against the Freedom Flotilla in May 2010 claimed that the blockade was legal, it is widely considered a whitewash, containing the following important caveat: “its conclusions can not be considered definitive in either fact or law.”
- Shortly after the Palmer Report was released, an [independent UN panel released a report](#) concluding that Israel’s blockade of Gaza does violate international law. The [International Committee of the Red Cross](#) and a [UN fact-finding mission](#) into Israel’s attack on the 2010 Gaza flotilla reached the same conclusion in 2010.
- The international community must insist that the people of Gaza enjoy the same rights as all citizens of the world. The siege on Gaza must be lifted completely, once and for all.
- Even if there were no immediate humanitarian crisis, Gaza would remain a de facto prison for the 1.7 million people living there.
- Israel has a right to defend itself, but it does not have the right to punish an entire population for the actions of a few, or because Israelis don’t like the political parties that Palestinians have elected.
- Although the siege was relaxed somewhat following Israel’s deadly attack on the flotilla that attempted to break the blockade in May 2010, Israeli restrictions continue to hamper the free flow of goods, materials, and people, causing continued suffering and hardship.

*(For more on the siege and blockade of Gaza, see Useful Facts & Figures section. Also see fact sheet [here](#))*



# 9. Useful Facts & Figures

## THE NAKBA/PALESTINIAN REFUGEES

- Number of Palestinians ethnically-cleansed during the establishment of Israel in 1947-9: Approximately 750,000. (Note: Some historians, such as [Ilan Pappé](#), have written that as many as one million Palestinians were expelled in total between 1947 and 1949).
- The dispossession of Palestinians by Zionist forces during the establishment of Israel was not the unintended or inevitable consequence of war, as the official Israeli/Zionist narrative asserts, but the result of deliberate policies put in place by the pre-state Zionist leadership and subsequently the newly-created Israeli government. (See [here](#) for more on Plan Dalet, the blueprint for the ethnic cleansing of Palestine)
- The Nakba began shortly after the UN passed the Partition Plan at the end of November 1947, long before the armies of neighboring Arab states “invaded” the newly declared state of Israel in May 1948. By early May 1948, more than 200 Palestinian towns and villages had already been depopulated as people fled in fear or were forcibly expelled by Zionist forces, and between 250,000 and 350,000 Palestinians had been uprooted and made refugees.
- There are currently upwards of 7 million Palestinian refugees and displaced persons spread across Israel, the occupied territories, and in the diaspora. They are the longest-standing refugee population in the world. Of those, about 5 million are the survivors, and their descendants, of the ethnic cleansing of Palestine during the establishment of Israel.
- Between 1967 and 1994, Israel stripped more than 100,000 Palestinians from Gaza and some 140,000 from the West Bank of their residency rights.
- *(For more on the Nakba, see [here](#))*  
*(For more on Palestinian refugees & the right of return, see [here](#))*

## THE OSLO ACCORDS

Since the signing of the first of the series of agreements between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) known as the Oslo Accords in 1993, Israel has:

- [Tripled the number of Jewish colonists](#) living illegally on occupied Palestinian land in the West Bank (not including East Jerusalem) to over 300,000.
- Demolished more than [12,000 Palestinian homes](#).
- Expanded its settlement enterprise to cover 42% of the land in the occupied West Bank.
- Built a wall, [deemed illegal by the International Court of Justice](#) at The Hague, that reaches deep inside the occupied West Bank, cutting Palestinian villagers off from their lands and de facto annexing almost 10% of the West Bank to Israel, including all of occupied East Jerusalem.
- Maintained an increasing stranglehold on the economies and people of the occupied territories, particularly the Gaza Strip, which has suffered under a siege and blockade imposed by Israel following the withdrawal of its soldiers and settlers in 2005.
- Accelerated the process of [“Judaizing” East Jerusalem](#) through the expansion of Jewish-only settlements, home demolitions, and the revocation of Palestinian residency rights. (See below for more on the Judaization of East Jerusalem)
- In July 2010, a video surfaced showing Benjamin Netanyahu speaking to a group of settlers in 2001, when he was in the opposition, bragging that he had sabotaged the Oslo peace process during his first term as prime minister (1996-1999), [stating](#): “I de facto put an end to the Oslo accords,” adding that “America is a thing you can move very easily.”

## SETTLEMENTS

- Number of Israeli settlers living illegally on occupied land: well over 500,000 in total, more than 200,000 of whom live in occupied East Jerusalem. In addition, approximately 20,000 settlers live in settlements in the occupied Syrian Golan Heights.
- As of 2012 there were some [130 official settlements](#) and more than 110 “outposts” (nascent settlements built without official government approval) in the occupied West Bank and East Jerusalem.
- Between the time that current Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu returned to power in March 2009 and July 2012, the settler population [grew by 18%](#) according to the Israeli interior ministry.

- In 2012, settlements in the West Bank grew by [1977 acres](#), about twice the size of Central Park in New York.
- [According](#) to the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics, between January and March 2013 there were 865 settlement housing starts in the West Bank, compared with 313 for the same period in 2012.
- As of 2012, settlements and related infrastructure (including Israeli-only roads, army bases, the separation wall, closed military zones, and checkpoints) cover approximately [42%](#) of the West Bank.
- Beginning in November 2012, Israel responded to the Palestinian application for UN recognition of a state of Palestine by [approving](#) an [unprecedented](#) amount of new settlement construction, including in the sensitive so-called E1 corridor of East Jerusalem, prompting even the US State Department to [condemn](#) the announcements as forming part of a “pattern of provocation.” For years, Israel has refrained from building settlements in this area, under pressure from the US and international community, as doing so would fill in a large gap in the ring of settlements that surround East Jerusalem and jut deep into the West Bank, thereby effectively severing the West Bank in two.

*(See [here](#) for December 2012 B’Tselem report on E1, and [here](#) for map of E1 from The New York Times.)*

- Between 2001 and 2007, [10,000 Israeli settlement units](#) were built in the occupied territories.
- In January 2013, Israel’s Peace Now, which monitors settlement growth, released a report condemning Netanyahu’s policies on settlement construction, [alleging](#) they “disclose a clear intention to use settlements to systematically undermine and render impossible a realistic, viable two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.”
- In 2011, Israeli human rights organization B’Tselem [noted](#): “The extreme change that Israel has made in the map of the West Bank prevents any real possibility to establish an independent, viable Palestinian state in the framework of exercising the right to self-determination.”
- From 1993 to 2000, as Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) negotiated what came to be known as the Oslo Accords, the number of Jewish settlers in the occupied West Bank (excluding East Jerusalem), nearly doubled, from 110,900 to 190,206 [according](#) to B’Tselem. Accurate figures for settlements in occupied East Jerusalem, which were mostly built and expanded before 1993, are harder to find, but as of 2000 the number of settlers in East Jerusalem stands at more than 167,000 according to B’Tselem.

## GAZA SETTLEMENTS

### THE 2005 “DISENGAGEMENT” PLAN

- Number of settlers Israel withdrew from Gaza in 2005: Approximately 8000.
- In 2004, Dov Weisglass, a top advisor to then-Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, said that the withdrawal of settlers from Gaza (the “disengagement” plan) was intended to “freeze” the peace process, by alleviating international pressure on Israel to take further action towards a peace agreement, [stating](#):

*“And when you freeze that process, you prevent the establishment of a Palestinian state, and you prevent a discussion on the refugees, the borders and Jerusalem. Effectively, this whole package called the Palestinian state, with all that it entails, has been removed indefinitely from our agenda. And all this with authority and permission. All with a presidential blessing and the ratification of both houses of Congress.*

*“The disengagement is actually formaldehyde. It supplies the amount of formaldehyde that is necessary so there will not be a political process with the Palestinians.”*

## US POLICY ON SETTLEMENTS

- The official policy of the United States, in line with the rest of the international community, has always been that Israeli settlements are illegal.
- In 1979, the State Department issued a [legal opinion](#) declaring that settlements were “inconsistent with international law.” However, presidents from both parties have chosen to [look the other way](#) more often than not rather than confront Israel over the issue.

*(See [here](#) for more on US policy on settlements)*

## SETTLER VIOLENCE

- In recent years there has been a dramatic increase in the number of violent attacks, arsons, and vandalism, including racist graffiti, carried out by Jewish settlers and other Israeli extremists against Palestinians and their property, including holy places, both in the occupied territories and inside Israel.
- Between 2008 and 2012 the number of violent attacks by settlers against Palestinians rose by about 150% each year with 154 attacks in the first half of 2012 alone, [according](#) to the Office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights.

- Many of these incidents are so-called “price tag” attacks, committed in response to, or anticipation of, Israeli government actions that extremist Israeli Jews perceive to be hostile to the settlement movement.
- In February 2012, The Guardian newspaper [reported](#) on a confidential European Union report that found:

“Over 90% of monitored complaints regarding settler violence filed by Palestinians with the Israeli police in recent years have been closed without indictment.. Discriminatory protections and privileges for settlers compound these abuses and create an environment in which settlers can act with apparent impunity.”

The EU report [concluded](#) that “settler violence enjoys the tacit support of the state of Israel.”

- In June 2012, Dan Halutz, former chief of staff of the Israeli Army, which as an occupying military force is ultimately responsible for security in the occupied territories, said that the Netanyahu government wasn’t really interested in stopping settler violence, [stating](#): “If we wanted, we could catch them [settlers who are attacking Palestinians] and when we want to, we will.”
- In February 2012, it was [revealed](#) that then-Israeli Justice Minister Yaakov Neeman, a political independent, had been offering advice to extreme right-wing activists on how to seek pardons for Israeli Jews convicted of violent attacks against Palestinians and others.
- A 2012 UN [report](#) documented the rising use of threats, violence and intimidation by settlers to deny Palestinians access to their water resources in the West Bank. It found that Israeli settlers have been acting systematically to gain control of some 56 springs, most of which are located on private Palestinian land. The report also criticized Israeli authorities for having “systematically failed to enforce the law on those responsible for these acts and to provide Palestinians with any effective remedy.”
- The most notorious instance of settler violence was carried out by an Israeli-American settler, Brooklyn-born Baruch Goldstein, who massacred 29 Palestinians as they prayed in Hebron’s Ibrahimi Mosque in 1994. More than 100 others were wounded in the attack. In the unrest that followed, another 25 Palestinians were killed by Israeli soldiers. Just over a month after the Cave of the Patriarchs massacre, Hamas launched its first suicide bombing targeting Israeli civilians.

*(For more on violence against non-Jews in Israel and the occupied territories, see [here](#))*

## RESTRICTIONS ON MOVEMENT IN THE WEST BANK

(See December 2012 UN map: [West Bank Access Restrictions](#))

- Number of checkpoints, roadblocks and other obstacles to Palestinian movement in the West Bank (an area smaller than Delaware): Approximately 500 at any given time.
- Palestinians are prohibited from driving on the vast network of settler roads built inside the West Bank, which are restricted to Israeli citizens.
- According to the United Nations “some [94%](#) of the Jordan Valley and Dead Sea area have remained off-limits for Palestinian use, due to their designation as closed military areas and nature reserves, or their allocation to Israeli settlements.”

*(For more, see September 2012 UN report: [West Bank Movement and Access Update](#). See also July 2013 UN report [The Humanitarian Impact of the Barrier](#))*

## THE WEST BANK WALL

(See [here](#) for 2012 UN map of the wall)

- In June 2002, under the pretext of security, the Israeli government began unilaterally constructing a wall, much of it on Palestinian land inside the occupied West Bank. (Since 1994, the Gaza Strip has been surrounded by an Israeli barrier.)
- In July 2004, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) issued an [advisory opinion](#) deeming Israel’s West Bank wall illegal, as most of it is built on occupied Palestinian land inside the West Bank. The court said the wall must be dismantled, and ordered Israel to compensate Palestinians harmed by its construction. It also called on third-party states to ensure Israel’s compliance with the judgment. While the ICJ’s decision was an advisory opinion, and therefore not binding on the parties, it is an authoritative statement of the status of the wall in international law.
- Once completed, the full length of the wall will be between [420 and 440 miles](#) (according to the Israeli Ministry of Defense and B’Tselem, respectively) - more than twice the length of Israel’s internationally recognized boundary with the West Bank.
- [According](#) to the UN, as of December 2012, approximately 62% of the wall had been completed, while a further 8% was under construction and 30% had been planned, but not yet built.
- Approximately [85%](#) of the wall will be built not along Israel’s internationally recognized pre-1967 border, but on Palestinian land inside the occupied West Bank.



- When finished, the wall, along with the settlements, Israeli-only highways and closed military zones, are projected to cover 46% of the West Bank, effectively annexing it to Israel.
- [Critics have accused Israeli authorities](#) of designing the wall's route to envelop as much Palestinian land and as many Israeli settlements as possible on the western, or Israeli side, while placing as many Palestinians as possible on the eastern side. In total, about 85% of the Israeli settler population is expected to end up on the Israeli side of the wall.
- [According](#) to a December 2012 report from the UN:
  - The inclusion of Israeli settlements, including areas planned for their future expansion, on the 'Israeli side' of the Barrier is the single most important factor determining the route of the Barrier and its deviation from the Green Line [boundary between Israel and the West Bank]. The Barrier has reduced the access of around 7,500 Palestinians living in communities located behind the Barrier to workplaces and essential services. They require special permits to continue living in their homes; another 23,000 will be isolated if the Barrier is completed as planned.
  - There are about 150 Palestinian communities which have part of their land isolated by the Barrier and must obtain 'visitors' permits or perform 'prior coordination' to access this area.

- Access to agricultural land through the Barrier is channeled through 80 gates, the majority of which only open for limited times during the olive harvest. Many applicants are refused access even then.
- The wall also surrounds much of occupied East Jerusalem, cutting its approximately [250,000](#) Palestinian residents off from the rest of the occupied West Bank.
- During construction of the wall, Israel has destroyed large amounts of Palestinian farmland and usurped water supplies, including the biggest aquifer in the West Bank.

## EAST JERUSALEM

See [here](#) for 2010 map of settlements in and around East Jerusalem  
 See [here](#) for interactive “Jerusalem and its Environs” map

- In the June 1967 War, Israel captured and occupied East Jerusalem, including the Old City and its holy sites.
- Today, there are approximately [250,000](#) Palestinians living in East Jerusalem. They can travel inside Israel and vote in municipal elections, but do not have Israeli citizenship or the right to vote in national elections, and face the constant threat of [losing](#) their residency rights if they can’t prove the city is their “center of life” to Israeli authorities.
- Following its capture in the 1967 War, Israel [expanded](#) the municipal boundaries of East Jerusalem, which comprised about four square miles, adding an additional 45 square miles (more than 17,000 acres) of the occupied West Bank to the city, which was then annexed to Israel. Neither move has been recognized by the international community, including the US, which is why no major country, including the US, has its embassy to Israel in Jerusalem.
- There are approximately [200,000](#) Jewish settlers living in the expanded boundaries of East Jerusalem, in violation of international law.
- Although Israel has attempted to make a distinction between them, according to international law, there is no legal difference between East Jerusalem and the rest of the occupied territories. As such, Israel has no internationally recognized legal claim to any part of East Jerusalem, including the Old City and its holy sites.
- In an attempt to separate and isolate East Jerusalem from the rest of the occupied West Bank, Israel has built a ring of settlements around its outskirts. This ring has been reinforced by the West Bank wall that Israel is constructing, which also separates Israeli settlements in and near East Jerusalem from the rest of the West Bank.



- Beginning in November 2012, Israel responded to the Palestinian application for UN recognition of a state of Palestine by [approving](#) an [unprecedented](#) amount of new settlement construction, including in the sensitive so-called E1 corridor of East Jerusalem, prompting even the US State Department to [condemn](#) the announcements as forming part of a “pattern of provocation.” For years, Israel has refrained from building settlements in this area, under pressure from the US and international community, as doing so would fill in a large gap in the ring of settlements that surround East Jerusalem and jut deep into the West Bank, thereby effectively severing the West Bank in two.

*(See [here](#) for December 2012 B’Tselem report on E1, and [here](#) for map of E1 from The New York Times.)*

- Since 1993, Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza have been forbidden by Israel to enter East Jerusalem without a difficult to obtain permit. As a result, millions of Palestinian Muslims and Christians living in the West Bank and Gaza are prevented from accessing their holy sites in Jerusalem.
- According to a December 2012 UN [report](#):
  - 35% of land in East Jerusalem has been confiscated for Israeli settlement use; only 13% of East Jerusalem is zoned for Palestinian construction, much of which is already built-up.
  - At least 33% of all Palestinian homes in East Jerusalem lack Israeli-issued building permits, which are difficult to obtain, potentially placing at least 93,100 residents at risk of displacement, which has a psychological impact. Since 1967, the Israeli authorities have demolished some 2,000 houses in East Jerusalem.
  - Several hundred Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem are at risk of forced displacement due to settler activities, particularly in the Old City, Silwan and Sheikh Jarrah.
  - There is a chronic shortage of classrooms in East Jerusalem: 1,100 additional classrooms are required to accommodate Palestinian children and many existing facilities are substandard or unsuitable.

## THE ‘JUDAIZATION’ OF EAST JERUSALEM

- According to the [2009 US State Department](#) International Religious Freedom Report: “Many of the national and municipal policies in Jerusalem were designed to limit or diminish the non-Jewish population of Jerusalem.”

- [According to](#) Israeli human rights organization B'Tselem: “Since East Jerusalem was annexed in 1967, the government of Israel’s primary goal in Jerusalem has been to create a demographic and geographic situation that will thwart any future attempt to challenge Israeli sovereignty over the city. To achieve this goal, the government has been taking actions to increase the number of Jews, and reduce the number of Palestinians, living in the city.”
- In 2010, Jerusalem city councilman Yakir Segev [stated](#): “We will not allow residents of the eastern [occupied Palestinian] part of the city to build as much as they need... At the end of the day, however politically incorrect it may be to say, we will also look at the demographic situation in Jerusalem to make sure that in another 20 years we don’t wake up in an Arab city.”
- Methods used by Israel as part of an effort to [“Judaize”](#) or alter the religious composition of Jerusalem by increasing the number of Jews while decreasing the number of Palestinians, include:
  - **Revoking residency rights and social benefits of Palestinians** who stay abroad for at least seven years, or who are unable to prove that their “center of life” is in Jerusalem. Since 1967, Israel has revoked the residency rights of about [14,000](#) East Jerusalem Palestinians, of which more than 4,500 were revoked in 2008 alone.
  - **The encouragement of Jewish settlement in historically Palestinian-Arab areas.** While severely restricting the expansion of Palestinian residential areas and revoking Palestinian residency rights, the Israeli government, through official and unofficial organizations, encourages Jews to move to settlements in East Jerusalem.
  - **Systematic discrimination in municipal planning and in the allocation of services and building permits.** According to a 2011 [report](#) by the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs:

“Since 1967, Israel has failed to provide Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem with the necessary planning framework to meet their basic housing and infrastructure needs. Only 13 percent of the annexed municipal area is currently zoned by the Israeli authorities for Palestinian construction, much of which is already built-up. It is only within this area that Palestinians can apply for building permits, but the number of permits granted per year to Palestinians does not begin to meet the existing demand for housing and the requirements related to formal land registration prevent many from applying. As a result, Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem find themselves confronting a serious shortage in housing and other basic infrastructure. Many residents have been left with no choice other than to build structures ‘illegally’ and therefore risk demolition and displacement.”

- **Demolitions of Palestinian homes and structures** built without difficult to obtain permission from Israeli authorities. Since 1967, [approximately 2,000](#) Palestinian homes have been demolished in East Jerusalem. According to official Israeli statistics, from 2000 to 2008 Israel demolished more than 670 Palestinian homes in East Jerusalem. The number of outstanding demolition orders is estimated to be as high as 20,000. According to Human Rights Watch's [2012 World Report](#):

“Israel usually carries out demolitions on the grounds that the structures were built without permits, but in practice such permits are almost impossible for Palestinians to obtain in Israeli-controlled areas, whereas a separate planning process available only to settlers grants new construction permits much more readily.”

## ISRAELI RESTRICTIONS ON PALESTINIAN FREEDOM OF WORSHIP

- Since 1993, Palestinians living under occupation in the West Bank and Gaza have been forbidden by Israel to enter occupied East Jerusalem without a difficult to obtain permit. Since 2007, Palestinians in the West Bank have also had to negotiate passage through Israel's West Bank wall and accompanying checkpoints. As a result, millions of Palestinian Muslims and Christians are [prevented from accessing their holy sites in Jerusalem](#).
- According to the 2012 US State Department [International Religious Freedom Report](#), released in May 2013:

“The Government of Israel continued to apply travel restrictions during the year that impeded access to particular places of worship in the West Bank and Jerusalem for Muslims and Christians [in the occupied territories]. The Israeli government's strict closures and curfews hindered residents from practicing their religion at key holy sites, such as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem and the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. The process by which the Israeli government granted Palestinians access to various sectors of the Occupied Territories at times involved de facto discrimination based on religion.

“[Israel's West Bank] barrier, like restrictions on permits, limited access to holy sites and seriously impeded the work of religious organizations that provide education, health care, and other humanitarian relief and social services to Palestinians, particularly in and around East Jerusalem. The separation barrier significantly impeded Bethlehem-area Christians, including clergy, from reaching the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and made visits to Christian sites in Bethany and Bethlehem difficult for Palestinian Christians who live on the Jerusalem side of the barrier.

“The Government of Israel restricted access to the Haram al-Sharif/ Temple Mount by Muslims from Jerusalem and the West Bank. The Israeli government provided Muslims from Gaza no opportunity to access the site. Israel’s permitting regime also generally restricted most West Bank Muslims from accessing the Haram al-Sharif/Temple Mount, although some with permits to enter Jerusalem generally were able to visit the site. Israeli security authorities in Jerusalem frequently restricted residents in East Jerusalem from entering the Haram al-Sharif/Temple Mount compound for Friday prayers. Citing security concerns, authorities also frequently barred entry of male residents under the age of 50, and sometimes barred women under the age of 45.”

- The [2009 State Department International Religious Freedom Report](#) noted “many Muslim and Christian sites [in Israel] are neglected, inaccessible, or threatened by property developers and municipalities. The Christian pilgrimage sites around the Sea of Galilee face periodic threats of encroachment from district planners who want to use parts of their properties for recreation.”

## THE GAZA STRIP

### LEGAL STATUS

- Since the June 1967 War, Israel has militarily occupied the Gaza Strip, along with the West Bank and East Jerusalem. Although Hamas has nominally controlled most of the territory inside Gaza since ousting forces belonging to the Fatah-dominated Palestinian Authority in 2007, the tiny coastal enclave remains under overall Israeli military occupation according to international law. Despite Israel’s withdrawal of its soldiers and some 8000 settlers from the interior of Gaza in 2005 (the so-called “disengagement”), Israel continues to control virtually all entry and exit, as well as Gaza’s airspace and coastline, therefore retaining “effective control,” the [legal definition](#) for qualifying as an occupying power.
- Israel’s continuing status as an occupying power in Gaza has been affirmed by the [United Nations](#) and international humanitarian and human rights organizations such as the [International Committee of the Red Cross](#), [Amnesty International](#), and [Human Rights Watch](#), as well as the [U.S. State Department](#).

## THE SIEGE & BLOCKADE

See December 2012 UN Map: [Gaza Strip: Access and Closure](#)

See [here](#) for fact sheet on legal status of the blockade

- Since the early 1990s, Israel has increasingly restricted the movement of people and goods in and out of Gaza, imposing a draconian siege and full naval blockade following Hamas' victory in Palestinian legislative elections in 2007. The siege and blockade of Gaza amount to collective punishment of the entire civilian population, which is illegal under international law.
- In 2006, senior advisor to then-Prime Minister Ehud Olmert, [Dov Weisglass, said](#) the goal of the Gaza siege was to put the people of Gaza "on a diet, but not to make them die of hunger."
- Following international outrage in the wake of Israel's assault on the Gaza Freedom Flotilla in May 2010, which killed nine Turkish citizens, including one Turkish-American citizen, Israel relaxed some of its restrictions, however the siege and naval blockade remain in place.
- [According](#) to the United Nations, as of July 2013, some 57% of Gazans "do not have money to buy sufficient food and 80% of families receive some form of international aid... The continued [Israeli] ban on the transfer of produce and other goods from Gaza to its traditional markets in the West Bank and Israel has effectively prevented sustainable economic growth."
- According to a July 2013 UN report, [The Gaza Strip: The Humanitarian Impact Of Movement Restrictions On People And Goods](#):
  - Less than 200 people per day (on average) were allowed out of Gaza via Israel in the first half of 2013, compared to 26,000 in the equivalent period of 2000, before the second Intifada.
  - Less than one truckload of goods per day (on average) exited Gaza in the first half of 2013, compared to 38 during the first half of 2007, before the imposition of the blockade.
  - Kerem Shalom, the only functioning official crossing for goods to and from Gaza, was closed for almost half of the time (52 days) in the first four months of 2013.
  - 57% of Gaza households are food insecure and about 80% are aid recipients.
  - Over a third (34.5%) of those able and willing to work are unemployed (PCBS) - one of the highest unemployment rates in the world.

- A longstanding electricity deficit, compounded by shortages in fuel needed to run Gaza's power plant, results in power outages of up to 12 hours a day.
- Only a quarter of households receive running water every day, during several hours only.
- Over 90% of the water extracted from the Gaza aquifer is unsafe for human consumption.
- Over 12,000 people are currently displaced due to their inability to reconstruct their homes, destroyed during hostilities.
- At least 230 Palestinian civilians have been killed and over 400 injured while working in tunnels between Gaza and Egypt, used for the transfer of restricted goods, since June 2007.
- According to another July 2013 UN report, [Access Restricted Areas \(ARA\) In The Gaza Strip:](#)
  - Since September 2000, Israel has tightened restrictions on Palestinian access to the sea and to land located near the fence with Israel, citing security concerns. Up to 35% of Gaza's agricultural land and as much as 85% of its fishing waters have been affected at various points.
  - Currently, access to farming land within 300 meters [328 yards] of the perimeter fence separating Gaza from Israel is largely prohibited, while presence for several hundred meters beyond this distance is risky.
  - Fishermen are currently allowed to access less than one third of the fishing areas allocated under the Oslo Accords - 6 out of 20 nautical miles (nm) from the coast. There are currently 3,500 registered fishermen, compared to approximately 10,000 in 2000. The potential fish catch lost as a result of access restrictions between 2000 and 2012 is estimated at approximately 1,300 metric tons per year.
  - Prior to November 2012, access restrictions resulted in a loss of approximately 75,000 metric tons of agricultural produce, valued at USD 50.2 million, per year.
  - 319 shelters, or 12% of those destroyed during Operation "Cast Lead" in 2008/2009 were located in the ARA.
  - Thirteen schools, with 4,800 students and staff are located within 1,500 meters from the fence and have been damaged or had class sessions disrupted due to the enforcement of access restrictions.
  - Since June 2007, 214 Palestinians have been killed, including at least 127 civilians, and 825 injured, including at least 761 civilians, in the ARA on land.

- During the same period, five Palestinian fishermen were killed and 25 injured when Israeli naval forces opened fire to enforce access restrictions.
- According to Israeli human rights organization Gisha, which works on freedom of movement issues for Palestinians, as of [June 2013](#):
  - There is a shortage of approximately 250 schools in Gaza, among other things because of a ban on construction materials.
  - The ban on sale of goods from Gaza to the West Bank, in effect since June 2007, remains in place.
  - Between January and May 2013, approximately 19 truckloads of goods exited Gaza per month, about 1.7% of what exited monthly prior to 2007.
  - **Travel between Gaza and the West Bank:** The only crossings through which people are permitted to travel to and from the Gaza Strip are Erez (to Israel) and Rafah (to Egypt). Israel allows passage through Erez only “in exceptional humanitarian cases, with an emphasis on urgent medical cases.” In practice, during 2012 about 4,000 exits of Palestinians were recorded per month at Erez, most of them businesspeople and medical patients and their companions.
  - **Travel from Gaza to the outside world:** travel takes place mostly through Egypt. Rafah Crossing is open every day. Through its control of the Palestinian population registry, Israel has indirect control over the issuance of Palestinian passports, which are required for travel through Rafah.
  - **Access to the Gaza Strip’s land, territorial waters and air space:** Israel prevents all access to and from the Gaza Strip by sea and air. Israel expanded the fishing zone from three to six nautical miles off the coast, after it had reduced it following rocket fire from Gaza in March. Israel prevents access in the buffer zone from a distance of 300 meters from the border fence.
- According to a December 2012 [report](#) from the World Health Organization, there has been an ongoing shortage of essential drugs in Gaza over the past several years, with more than 40% of the items included in the essential drug list missing.

## INSTITUTIONAL DISCRIMINATION AGAINST PALESTINIAN CITIZENS OF ISRAEL

- There [are more than 50](#) laws that discriminate against Palestinian citizens of Israel solely based on their ethnicity, rendering them second- or third-class citizens in their own homeland. These laws cover everything from land ownership to family reunification rights.

- 93% of the land in Israel is owned either by the state or by quasi- governmental agencies, such as the Jewish National Fund, which [discriminate against non-Jews](#). Palestinian citizens of Israel face significant legal obstacles in gaining access to this land for agriculture, residential, or commercial development.
- Since Israel's establishment in 1948, [approximately 600](#) Jewish municipalities have been established, while not a single new Arab town or community has been built.
- The Nationality and Entry into Israel Law prevents Palestinians from the occupied territories who are married to Palestinian citizens of Israel from gaining residency or citizenship status in Israel. This law forces thousands of Palestinian citizens of Israel to either leave Israel or live apart from their families.
- In 2011, the Israeli government approved a law allowing about 300 rural Israeli Jewish-majority towns to reject residents who do not meet a vague "social suitability" standard. Critics, including [Human Rights Watch](#), slammed the move as an attempt to allow Jewish towns to keep Arabs and other non-Jews out.
- In 2011, the Israeli government passed the so-called "[Nakba Law](#)" which bans state funding for groups that commemorate the tragedy that befell Palestinians during the establishment of Israel in 1948, when approximately 750,000 Palestinian Arabs were ethnically cleansed to create a Jewish-majority state.
- Israeli government resources are disproportionately directed to Jews and not to Arabs, one factor in causing the Palestinian citizens of Israel to suffer the lowest living standards in Israeli society by all socio-economic indicators.
- Government funding for Arab schools is far below that of Jewish schools. According to the 2012 State Department country [report](#) on Israel and the occupied Palestinian territories, released in April 2013: "Resources devoted to Arabic education were inferior to those devoted to Hebrew education in the public education system, leading some Arabs in ethnically mixed cities to study in Hebrew instead."
- The British Mandate-era Land [Acquisition for Public Purposes] Ordinance law allows the Finance Minister of Israel to confiscate land for "public purposes." The state has used this law extensively, in conjunction with other laws such as the Land Acquisition Law and the Absentees' Property Law, to confiscate Palestinian land in Israel. A new amendment, which was adopted in February 2010, confirms state ownership of land confiscated under this law, even where it has not been used for the purposes it was originally confiscated for. The amendment was designed to prevent Arab citizens from submitting lawsuits to reclaim confiscated land.
- Today, there is a virtual caste system within the territories that Israel controls between the Jordan River and Mediterranean Sea, with Israeli Jews at the top and Muslim and Christian Palestinians in the occupied territories at the bottom. In between are Palestinians with Israeli citizenship and Palestinian residents of occupied East Jerusalem.



## APARTHEID ANALOGY

- The United Nations International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid (1973) **defines apartheid** as “inhuman acts committed for the purpose of establishing and maintaining domination by one racial group of persons over any other racial group of persons and systematically oppressing them.”
- Over the entirety of its 64-year existence, there has been a period of only about one year (1966-67) that Israel has not ruled over large numbers of Palestinians to whom it granted no political rights simply because they are not Jewish. Prior to the start of the occupation in 1967, Palestinians who remained inside what became Israel in 1948 were ruled by martial law for all but one year, not unlike Palestinians in the occupied territories have been for the past 46 years.
- According to a 2010 Human Rights Watch **report** entitled “Separate and Unequal: Israel’s Discriminatory Treatment of Palestinians in the Occupied Palestinian Territories”:

“Palestinians face systematic discrimination merely because of their race, ethnicity, and national origin, depriving them of electricity, water, schools, and access to roads, while nearby Jewish settlers enjoy all of these state-provided benefits... While Israeli settlements flourish, Palestinians under Israeli control live in a time warp - not just separate, not just unequal, but sometimes even pushed off their lands and out of their homes.”
- One of the first people to use the word “apartheid” in relation to Israel was Israel’s first prime minister, David Ben Gurion, **who warned** following the 1967 War of Israel becoming an “apartheid state” if it retained control of the occupied territories.
- In 1999, then-Israeli prime minister and current defense minister Ehud Barak **stated**: “Every attempt to keep hold of [Israel and the occupied territories] as one political entity leads, necessarily, to either a nondemocratic or a non-Jewish state. Because if the Palestinians vote, then it is a binational state, and if they don’t vote it is an apartheid state.”
- In 2010, Barak repeated the apartheid comparison, **stating**: “As long as in this territory west of the Jordan river there is only one political entity called Israel it is going to be either non-Jewish, or non-democratic... If this bloc of millions of Palestinians cannot vote, that will be an apartheid state.”
- In 2007, then-Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert **warned** that Israel would face a civil rights struggle similar to the one mounted against apartheid in South Africa if it did not relinquish the occupied territories.

- In 2006, former US President Jimmy Carter published a [book](#) entitled, “Palestine Peace Not Apartheid” comparing Israel’s regime in the occupied territories to South African apartheid.
- In 2006, former US President Jimmy Carter published a [book](#) entitled, “Palestine Peace Not Apartheid” comparing Israel’s regime in the occupied territories to South African apartheid.
- Many veterans of the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa also consider Israel’s treatment of Palestinians to be a form of apartheid. One of the most outspoken voices has been that of Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu, one of the heroes of the struggle against South African apartheid, who has repeatedly [made the comparison](#). In 2012, Archbishop Tutu [wrote](#) that Israel’s version of apartheid is actually worse than South Africa’s, stating: “Not only is this group of people [Palestinians] being oppressed more than the apartheid ideologues could ever dream about in South Africa, their very identity and history are being denied and obfuscated.”
- In June 2013, the recently retired South African ambassador to Israel, Ismail Coovadia, [wrote](#) that Israel’s treatment of Palestinians is a “replication of apartheid.”

## GROWING ISRAELI RACISM, EXTREMISM & INTOLERANCE FOR DISSENT & DIVERSITY

- In July 2013, a [bill was introduced](#) in the Israeli parliament by Ayelet Shaked, chairwoman of the Jewish Home party (which is part of Israel’s coalition government) that would restrict foreign funding for left-leaning Israeli non-governmental organizations if any of their employees or board members call for boycott, divestment or sanctions against Israel, the indictment of Israeli soldiers in an international court, reject Israel’s existence as a Jewish and democratic state, incite to racism, or support armed struggle against Israel. If passed, any such organization would be prevented by law from receiving more than 20,000 Israeli shekels (about \$5,500 USD) a year from foreign sources. Critics have condemned the bill as an attempt to suppress organizations that monitor Israeli abuses of Palestinian human rights, many of which receive funding from European and other foreign governments. Two similar bills were introduced in the previous parliamentary session but frozen by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu due to concerns over the political and diplomatic fallout that would result if they were adopted as law.
- In July 2013, Haaretz newspaper [reported](#) that a majority of the members of parliament from the Jewish Home party, which is part of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu’s coalition government, supported the candidacy of Rabbi Shmuel Eliyahu for the position of Sephardic chief rabbi of Israel. Eliyahu, who is currently the chief rabbi of the city of Safed and on the government payroll, has a long history

of racist and inflammatory statements about Palestinians and Arabs. In 2010, Eliyahu issued a religious ruling that was signed by dozens of rabbis, many of whom also receive salaries from the government, calling on Jews not to rent apartments to Arabs. The ruling [stated](#) in part:

“Their way of life is different than that of Jews... Among [the gentiles] are those who are bitter and hateful toward us and who meddle into our lives to the point where they are a danger... The neighbors and acquaintances [of a Jew who sells or rents to an Arab] must distance themselves from the Jew, refrain from doing business with him, deny him the right to read from the Torah, and similarly [ostracize] him until he goes back on this harmful deed.”

Eliyahu had previously told an interviewer: “You can say the word ‘racist’ 20 times... It doesn’t have an effect on me. By the way, Jewish religious law prohibits the selling of apartments to Arabs and the renting of apartments to Arabs.” In the summer of 2011, Eliyahu reportedly said that “Arab culture is very cruel” and “Arabs have a different codes [sic] and norms that have become ideology,” adding “a Jew should not run away from an Arab. A Jew should chase away Arabs.” He also said that “Expelling Arabs from Jewish neighborhoods is part of the strategy.” Eliyahu had previously advocated “[hanging the children of terrorists.](#)” (For more on Eliyahu and other extremist Israeli rabbis, see fact sheet [here](#))

- In July 2013, Israel’s newly-elected chief Ashkenazi rabbi, David Lau, [referred](#) to African-American basketball players playing in Israel as “kushim,” a derogatory term akin to “nigger.” Following criticism from anti-racism activists, Lau was defended by Naftali Bennett, Israel’s Minister of Religious Services and head of the Jewish Home party.
- In July 2013, the Israeli online magazine +972 [reported](#) that real estate agents in Tel Aviv were marketing “clean” apartment buildings that didn’t rent to individuals of African descent.
- In June 2013, fans of the Beitar Jerusalem soccer team, one of the most prominent soccer teams in Israel, [attacked](#) Arab workers at a McDonald’s restaurant in Jerusalem, chanting “Death to Arabs,” “Muhammad was a homosexual and not a prophet,” and “We don’t want Arabs in Israel.” Beitar fans have a long history of extreme racism and violence. In February 2013, two Beitar fans were [arrested](#) for setting fire to the team’s main offices, following Beitar’s signing of two Chechnyan Muslim players, the first non-Jewish players in the team’s history (the two were subsequently let go). In protest of the signing, some fans chanted anti-Muslim slogans during a game, a routine occurrence, and held a sign [reading](#) “Beitar will be pure forever.” In March 2012, hundreds of mostly young, Jewish-Israeli fans of Beitar entered the Malha Mall in West Jerusalem chanting “[Death to the Arabs,](#)” jumping on tables, and [attacking Palestinian workers.](#)
- In June 2013, a bill was introduced in Israel’s parliament (Knesset) by Yariv Levin of

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's Likud party and Ayelet Shaked of the Jewish Home party that would formally entrench in law Israel's status as "the national home of the Jewish people" and specify "that the right to national self-determination in Israel is reserved solely for Jews," [according](#) to Haaretz newspaper. Although Israel's declaration of independence identifies Israel as a "Jewish state," the principle has never formally been adopted as law.

- According to the 2012 State Department country [report](#) on Israel and the occupied Palestinian territories, released in April 2013: "Arab citizens faced institutional and societal discrimination... A June report published by the Prime Minister's Office stated that 22 percent of employers indicated that they discriminated against Arab applicants in the hiring process."
- According to the same 2012 State Department country [report](#), released in April 2013, "Some ultra-Orthodox youths in religious studies programs insulted and almost daily spat on Christian clergy, nuns, and seminarians in [occupied East] Jerusalem's Old City." Previously, in November 2011, Haaretz newspaper [reported](#) that ultra-Orthodox Jews were cursing and spitting at Christian clergy in the streets of the Old City "as a matter of routine." The chief secretary of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate stated: "It happens a lot. You walk down the street and suddenly they spit at you for no reason." A student at the city's Armenian Seminary complained that he was subjected to insults and spitting from ultra-Orthodox men on a daily basis, stating: "When I see an ultra-Orthodox man coming toward me in the street, I always ask myself if he will spit at me." According to a separate Haaretz [article](#) published in February 2012, spitting incidents were so prevalent that some priests had stopped visiting certain parts of the Old City.
- In January 2013, the Israeli mayor of Upper Nazareth, Shimon Gapso, said he wouldn't allow an Arab school to open in his city, stating: "Upper Nazareth was founded to make the Galilee Jewish and must preserve this role." According to a [report](#) in Haaretz newspaper, Gapso "compared the establishment of an Arab school to a Muslim cemetery or a mosque in the city, and vowed this would not happen as long as he was mayor."
- In November 2012, as Israel was bombing Gaza, then-Shas party leader and Interior Minister Eli Yishai, [said](#): "The goal of the operation is to send Gaza back to the Middle Ages. Only then will Israel be calm for 40 years." During [Operation Cast Lead](#) in 2008-2009, when the Israeli military killed approximately 1,400 Palestinians, most of them civilians, during a three-week period, Yishai [said](#), "It [should be] possible to destroy Gaza, so they will understand not to mess with us. It is a great opportunity to demolish thousands of houses of all the terrorists, so they will think twice before they launch rockets." In June 2012, Yishai [told an interviewer](#) that Israel "belongs to us, to the white man." The previous month, Yishai helped fuel anti-African sentiment, [complaining](#) that allowing African asylum seekers to remain in Israel would "bury the Zionist dream." In August 2012, Yishai [said that](#)

migrants from Africa were a “threat” to Israel as severe as Iran’s nuclear program and that he would “lock them up to make their lives miserable.”

- Also in November 2012 during Israel’s bombing campaign in Gaza, then-Transportation Minister Yisrael Katz, of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu’s Likud Party, called for the expulsion of the 1.7 million people of Gaza into the Egyptian desert, **stating**: “the tear of one Jewish child is too much, even if it means that all Gazans must be evacuated to the Sinai desert.”
- In June 2012, the publication of the Shas party (which was then part of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu’s coalition government), Yom Leyom, published an open letter from editor Rabbi Moshe Shafir urging refugees from Sudan and other African countries to leave Israel, **stating**: “A society personifying a social time bomb of robbery, violence, sodomy as well as assimilation alongside the destruction of the institute of marriage and the proper family unit - such a society must be separate and distant, and the sooner the better.”
- In May 2012, Israeli politicians, including Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, helped incite a **wave of anti-African racism and violence** targeting asylum seekers from countries such as Sudan and Eritrea. According to press reports, Netanyahu **warned** members of his cabinet that the “phenomenon of illegal infiltrators from Africa is extremely serious and threatens Israel’s social fabric and national security.” A few days later, a wave of violence against Africans, including physical assaults and arsons, erupted following a Tel Aviv rally where members of the Israeli parliament made inflammatory remarks about Africans. Miri Regev, of Netanyahu’s Likud party, **told the crowd** that Sudanese asylum seekers were a “cancer in our body.”
- In May 2012, Rabbi Ovadia Yosef, the influential spiritual leader of the Shas party, which was then part of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu’s coalition government, said that doctors who were religious Jews shouldn’t treat non-Jews on Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath, even if the patient’s life was in danger, **stating**: “If a gentile were to get injured in a car accident during Sabbath, and he is brought to the hospital - Israel must not treat him.” He concluded “the Torah forbids to violate the Sabbath for gentiles.” In September 2010, Yosef declared that non-Jews were created to “serve” Jews, **stating**:

“Goyim [non- Jews] were born only to serve us. Without that, they have no place in the world – only to serve the People of Israel... Why are gentiles needed? They will work, they will plow, they will reap. We will sit like an effendi and eat... With gentiles, it will be like any person: They need to die, but God will give them longevity. Why? Imagine that one’s donkey would die, they’d lose their money. This is his servant. That’s why he gets a long life, to work well for this Jew.”

In August 2010, on the eve of peace talks in Washington, Yosef [delivered a sermon](#) describing Palestinians as “evil, bitter enemies” and calling on god to make them “perish from this world” by striking them with a plague. In 2005, Yosef said that New Orleans was devastated by Hurricane Katrina because US President George W. Bush had supported Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon’s withdrawal of settlers from Gaza, [stating](#),

“He [Bush] perpetrated the expulsion. Now everyone is mad at him... this is his punishment for what he did to Gush Katif.” He added: “There was a tsunami and there are terrible natural disasters, because there isn’t enough Torah study... black people reside there [in New Orleans]. Blacks will study the Torah? (God said) let’s bring a tsunami and drown them... Hundreds of thousands remained homeless. Tens of thousands have been killed. All of this because they have no God.”

In 2001, Yosef delivered a sermon in which [he stated](#): “It is forbidden to be merciful to [Arabs]. You must send missiles to them and annihilate them. They are evil and damnable...The Lord shall return the Arabs’ deeds on their own heads, waste their seed and exterminate them, devastate them and vanish them from this world.”

- Following a wave of racist incitement and violence against Africans fueled by Israeli political leaders, a May 2012 [poll by the Israel Democracy Institute](#) found that 52% of Israeli Jews agreed with the claim made by parliamentarian Miri Regev, of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu’s Likud party, that Africans living illegally in Israel were a “cancer in the body of Israel”; 83% of Israeli Jews said that they supported demonstrations against the presence of Africans in Israel; and 33.5% of Israeli Jews said they “could identify” with the violent attacks taking place against Africans in Tel Aviv. Also in May, a group of ambassadors from African countries [complained](#) to Israel’s Deputy Foreign Minister that African diplomats were afraid to walk down the street in Israel due to the racism and violence incited by Israeli politicians.
- In May 2012, Rabbi Aharon Yehuda Leib Shteinman, the spiritual leader of the United Torah Judaism party, which was then part of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu’s coalition government, reportedly said that non-Jews are “murderers, thieves and senseless” at a conference, [stating](#):

“Today they say there are eight billion people in the world. And what are they all? Murderers, thieves and senseless. Did God create the world for these murderers? The world was created for the righteous people who study Torah. That is the purpose of creation ... The nations of the world have no redeeming qualities.”

- Also in May 2012, some 30,000, mostly young, right-wing Israelis [marched](#) through Palestinian areas of occupied East Jerusalem on Jerusalem Day singing “Death to Arabs” and “Muhammad is dead” and starting fights with local residents. Previous years witnessed similar scenes.

- In April 2012, Israel's Education Ministry **banned** a previously approved civics textbook that advocated equal rights for Palestinian citizens of Israel, deeming it "unbalanced."
- In February 2012, Dov Lior, the influential chief rabbi of settlements in Hebron and Kiryat Arba and the head of the settler Council of Rabbis of Judea and Samaria [the West Bank], **called** President Barack Obama a "kushi," a derogatory term for individuals of African descent, and compared him to Haman, an enemy of the Jewish people described in the Biblical Book of Esther. He also called for increased settlement activity in the occupied Palestinian West Bank, in order to "eradicate the jungle." In September 2011, Lior **told a conference** that Arabs are "wolves," "savages," and "evil camel riders." At a "women's health conference" in January 2011, Lior **warned Jewish women** against marrying non-Jewish men, saying that "Gentile sperm leads to barbaric offspring." In June 2011, **Lior was arrested** and subsequently released without charge by Israeli police on suspicion of incitement after he endorsed the **King's Torah**, a book that condoned the killing of non-Jewish civilians, including children. In December 2007, Lior **stated**: "We must cleanse the country of Arabs and resettle them in the countries where they came from." Lior has also praised mass murderer Baruch Goldstein, a Brooklyn-born settler who massacred 29 Palestinians as they prayed in Hebron, **stating** that he was "holier than all the martyrs of the Holocaust."
- In January 2012, one of the most prominent leaders of the settler movement, Benny Katzover, **called** for the dismantling of Israel's "democracy" and its replacement with a theocratic regime.
- In October 2011, former Chief Military Rabbi Avichai Rontzki, **told** an interviewer that Palestinians suspected of being involved in militant activity should "be shot, exterminated, and killed in their beds," instead of being arrested. Previously, in November 2009, the then-chief military rabbi told students in a pre-army yeshiva (religious school) program that soldiers who "show mercy" toward the enemy in wartime will be "damned," **stating**, "In times of war, whoever doesn't fight with all his heart and soul is damned - if he keeps his sword from bloodshed, if he shows mercy toward his enemy when no mercy should be shown." During Israel's assault on Gaza in the winter of 2008-2009, **Operation Cast Lead**, which killed approximately 1,400 Palestinians, most of them civilians, the army rabbinate under Rontzki provided troops with a pamphlet **stating**, "When you show mercy to a cruel enemy, you are being cruel to pure and honest soldiers. This is terribly immoral. These are not games at the amusement park where sportsmanship teaches one to make concessions. This is a war on murderers."
- In September 2011, a **survey found** that a third of Israeli Jews don't consider Arab citizens to be real Israelis.

- In July 2011, the Israeli government approved the so-called “[Boycott law](#),” which allows for civil lawsuits to be filed against individuals or organizations that publicly call for an economic, cultural, or academic boycott of Israeli settlements, the State of Israel, or any of its institutions. The law does not require plaintiffs to prove that they have suffered damages from the actions of the defendant. Human rights and civil liberties groups have condemned the law, with B’Tselem, [stating](#): “The bill clearly seeks to restrict the activity of only certain political groups, solely because they challenge the current political consensus in Israel. Rather than conduct a democratic debate on issues on the public agenda in Israel, the bill silences political rivals and makes public debate impossible. This bill is dangerous. It tramples on fundamental rights, primarily the right to freedom of speech, the right to protest, and the right to organize.”
- In February 2011, Israeli Knesset member (parliamentarian) Tzipi Hotovely of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu’s Likud party organized a [hearing](#) by the Knesset Committee on the Status of Women to examine “the problem” of Jewish-Arab interracial relationships. Among those invited to speak was the head of a group called Lehava, which is composed of followers of the late Rabbi Meir Kahane, whose racist Kach party was [deemed a terrorist organization](#) by Israel and the United States. Lehava is indirectly funded by the Israeli government. (See [here](#) for more on Lehava. See below for more on Hotovely.)
- According to a [February 2011 survey](#), 52% of Israeli Jews would be willing to limit press freedoms to protect the state’s image, while 55% would accept limits on the right to oppose the government’s “defense policy.” A [poll](#) done by the Israel Democracy Institute and released in January 2011 found that nearly half of Israeli Jews don’t want to live next door to Arabs, while more than a third didn’t want to live next to foreigners or the mentally ill.
- In January 2011, the Yedioth Ahronoth newspaper [reported](#) that civics teachers around the country complained of rampant, virulent anti-Arab racism amongst their students. One teacher said, “When we have a discussion in class about equal rights, the class immediately gets out of control... The students attack us, the teachers, for being leftist and anti-Semitic, and say that all the Arab citizens who want to destroy Israel should be transferred [expelled].”
- In December 2010, dozens of municipal chief rabbis on the government payroll signed a religious ruling initiated by the chief rabbi of the city of Safed, Shmuel Eliyahu, prohibiting Jews from renting property to Gentiles. One of the signatories, Rabbi Yosef Scheinen, head of the Ashdod Yeshiva religious school, [stated](#), “Racism originated in the Torah... The land of Israel is designated for the people of Israel.”
- Also in December 2010, the wives of 30 prominent rabbis signed an open letter calling on Jewish women not to date or work with non-Jews. The letter [stated](#): “For your sake, for the sake of future generations, and so you don’t undergo horrible



suffering, we turn to you with a request, a plea, a prayer. Don't date non-Jews, don't work at places that non-Jews frequent, and don't do national service with non-Jews."

- According to a September 2010 [poll](#), half of Israeli Jewish students didn't want Arabs in their classrooms and 59% opposed equal rights for Arabs.
- In August 2010, rabbis Yitzhak Shapira and Yosef Elitzur, of a [state-funded](#) religious school in the settlement of Yitzhar, [published](#) *The King's Torah*, a book condoning the murder of non-Jewish civilians, including children, because they may grow up to pose a threat to the state. The book stated that non-Jews are "uncompassionate by nature" and attacks against them "curb their evil inclination." It also [declared](#) that "the ban on killing a gentile does not stem from the intrinsic value of his life, which is not essentially legitimate as such." It also [asserted](#): "Hurting small children makes sense if it's clear that they'll grow up to harm us, and in such a situation - the injury will be directed at them of all people."

In defending the book, Shapira stated: "Assuming that at a time of war I must kill children in order to win - otherwise my soldiers will die, then killing the enemy's children is the right thing to do rather than have my soldiers killed..." A number of other prominent rabbis subsequently endorsed the book, including Dov Lior, the influential chief rabbi of settlements in Hebron and Kiryat Arba, and head of the settler Council of Rabbis of Judea and Samaria [the West Bank].

- In July 2009, Israel's then-Housing Minister, Ariel Atlas, warned against the "spread" of Israel's Arab population and [said](#) that Arabs and Jews shouldn't live together, stating that "if we go on like we have until now, we will lose the Galilee. Populations that should not mix are spreading there. I don't think that it is appropriate for [Jews and Arabs] to live together."
- In the aftermath of [Operation Cast Lead](#), Israel's devastating three-week military assault against Gaza that killed approximately 1,400 Palestinians, most of them civilians, in the winter of 2008-9, the Israeli daily Haaretz [reported](#) that Israeli army units had been printing t-shirts depicting disturbing, violent images such as dead Palestinian babies, Palestinian mothers weeping on their children's graves, a gun aimed at a child, bombed-out mosques, and a pregnant Palestinian woman with a target superimposed on her belly and the caption, "1 shot, 2 kills." Another showed a Palestinian baby, growing into a boy and then an armed adult, with the inscription, "No matter how it begins, we'll put an end to it."

## THE CURRENT ISRAELI GOVERNMENT

The current Israeli government is arguably the most pro-settler government in Israel's history, having numerous settlers and their supporters in senior positions.

*(For more on the current government, see fact sheets [here](#) and [here](#))*

### THE LIKUD PARTY

*31 Knesset seats/Joint Likud-Yisrael Beiteinu list*

- Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's party. Historically, Likud has strongly opposed the creation of a Palestinian state and has played a prominent role in the Greater Israel movement, which holds that all of historic Palestine as well as parts of neighboring countries such as Egypt, Lebanon, Syria and Jordan, belong to Israel. Former Likud leaders, Menachem Begin and Ariel Sharon, were at the forefront of Israel's settlement enterprise in the occupied territories.
- In previous years, Likud's platform explicitly prohibited the creation of a Palestinian state in the occupied territories. The campaign to include that clause against Palestinian statehood in the platform was led by Netanyahu himself. During the 2013 election, Likud ran on a joint parliamentary list with former Foreign Minister Avigdor Lieberman's Yisrael Beiteinu party. The combined list had no official platform, which caused some [controversy](#) when [questions](#) were raised about whether the two hardline parties actually supported the creation of even the truncated Palestinian mini-state shorn of any real sovereignty that Netanyahu described in his 2009 Bar-Ilan University speech, which has been hailed by some of his supporters as a historic shift in Netanyahu and Likud's views on peace with the Palestinians.

*Party Leader & Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu*

- Netanyahu is currently in his third term as prime minister, the second consecutive. His first term lasted from 1996-1999, and his second from 2009-2013.
- A longtime staunch opponent of Palestinian statehood, Netanyahu publicly said that he accepted the necessity of a Palestinian state in his [speech at Bar-Ilan University](#) in June 2009, however he attached so many caveats (including that it be demilitarized, that Israel maintain control over its borders and airspace, and a continued Israeli military presence in the Jordan valley) as to render his statement meaningless.

*(See [here](#) for more on Netanyahu's views on the two-state solution and peace with the Palestinians.)*

- During [his speech to the US Congress](#) in May 2011, Netanyahu further elaborated on his hardline stance, stating that Israel would refuse to base negotiations on the borders of a Palestinian state on Israel's internationally recognized, pre-1967 borders; would refuse to allow any Palestinian refugees to return to their lands or homes in Israel; and would never relinquish control of occupied East Jerusalem.
- In December 2012, Tzipi Hotovely, a member of the Israeli parliament from the Likud party, said that Netanyahu's Bar-Ilan speech was a smokescreen designed to alleviate international pressure on Israel, [stating](#): "We are opposed to a Palestinian state... [Bar-Ilan was] a tactical speech for the rest of the world."
- Between the time that Netanyahu returned to power for his second term as prime minister in March 2009 and July 2012, the settler population in the West Bank [grew by 18%](#) according to the Israeli Interior Ministry.
- On January 16, 2013, Israel's Peace Now, which monitors settlement growth, released a report condemning Netanyahu's settlement policies, [alleging](#) they "disclose a clear intention to use settlements to systematically undermine and render impossible a realistic, viable two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict."
- In November 2012, following a string of new settlement expansion announcements, including in the highly sensitive "E-1" corridor of East Jerusalem, the US State Department issued an unusually strong rebuke of Israeli settlement policies, with a spokesperson [describing](#) them as a "pattern of provocation."
- In October 2012, former US President Jimmy Carter, who brokered the Camp David peace treaty between Israel and Egypt, [accused](#) Netanyahu of having "abandoned" the two-state solution by refusing to halt settlement construction.
- In April 2012, the former head of Israel's internal security agency (Shin Bet), Yuval Diskin, made a speech blaming Netanyahu, not the Palestinians, for the freeze in the peace process. According to [Haaretz newspaper](#):

"Forget the stories they tell you about how Abbas is not interested in negotiation," said Diskin, adding, "We are not talking to the Palestinians because this government has no interest in negotiations."

"The former Shin Bet chief added, "I was there up to a year ago and I know from up-close what is happening. This government is not interested in solving anything with the Palestinians, and I say this [with] certainty," he added. Diskin pointed the finger at Netanyahu. "This prime minister knows that if he makes the slightest move forward, then his well-established rule and his coalition will fall apart."

- In May 2012, former Prime Minister Ehud Olmert echoed Diskin's criticisms of Netanyahu, accusing him of not being sincere in his stated desire to reach a peace

agreement with the Palestinians, **stating**: “The fact is that we don’t negotiate with the Palestinians, and the fact is that we have not proposed anything.” When asked if he thought that Netanyahu would make a genuine effort to make peace, Olmert responded: “I doubt that he will.”

- In May 2012, a leaked report revealed that officials in the British Foreign Office blamed Netanyahu for the breakdown of peace talks. The report **stated**: “Netanyahu has a history of using the incitement issue as a delaying tactic in peace talks.” The report added: “Authoritative studies agree that PA textbooks are not inciting hatred of Israel.”
- In June 2012, Dan Halutz, former chief of staff of the Israeli Army, which as an occupying military force is responsible for security in the occupied territories, said that the Netanyahu government wasn’t interested in stopping the growing phenomenon of settler violence against Palestinians, **stating**: “If we wanted, we could catch them [settlers who are attacking Palestinians] and when we want to, we will.”
- In March 2012, the Guardian newspaper **reported** that senior European Union officials had drafted a confidential report concluding that Jewish settlers are engaged in a systematic and growing campaign of violence against Palestinians and that “settler violence enjoys the tacit support of the state of Israel.”
- In November 2011, French President Nicholas Sarkozy was caught on a microphone complaining to President Obama that Netanyahu was a “liar,” **stating**: “I cannot stand him. He’s a liar.” Seeming to agree, Obama replied, “You’re fed up with him? I have to deal with him every day.”
- In February 2011, German Chancellor Angela Merkel expressed her frustration with Netanyahu in a phone conversation, **complaining**, “You haven’t made a single step to advance peace.”
- In 2005, then-Finance Minister Netanyahu **resigned** from his post in Prime Minister Ariel Sharon’s Likud government in protest of Sharon’s plan to withdraw settlers and soldiers from Gaza and four small Jewish settlements in the West Bank.
- In July 2010, a video surfaced showing Benjamin Netanyahu speaking to a group of settlers in 2001, when he was in the opposition, bragging that he had sabotaged the Oslo peace process during his first term as prime minister (1996-1999), **stating**: “I de facto put an end to the Oslo accords,” adding that “America is a thing you can move very easily.” In the video, he also tells the settlers that the way to deal with Palestinians is to “beat them up, not once but repeatedly, beat them up so it hurts so badly, until it’s unbearable.”
- Following his first meeting with Netanyahu, in 1996, a frustrated US President Clinton **exclaimed** angrily to his aides: “Who the f--k does he think he is? Who’s the f---ing superpower here?”

## *Defense Minister Moshe Ya'alon*

- Ya'alon is a strong supporter of the settlement movement and an opponent of Palestinian statehood. As defense minister, he has direct oversight of approval for settlement construction. During the last government he **criticized** his predecessor, Ehud Barak, for not approving settlement construction quickly enough and for not legalizing so-called settlement "outposts" (nascent settlements built without official Israeli government approval).
- Ya'alon, a hardline right-winger, has flirted with the extreme right of the Likud party, the **Jewish Leadership** faction, led by the ultra-right racist Moshe Feiglin. In 2009, Ya'alon **spoke** at a Jewish Leadership conference, calling the Israeli peace organization Peace Now a "virus," stating: "We again are dealing with the issue of the virus, Peace Now - the elitists, if you may - who have incurred great damage. From my perspective, Jews can and need to live in all of the Land of Israel for all eternity." He also warned against giving in to pressure from the United States regarding settlements, stating:

"There are certain things we need to say - up to here. When you do things you don't believe in, you enter a slippery slope because they put pressure on you, and you keep rolling downwards." To applause, he declared: "I'm not afraid of the Americans."
- In June 2010, Ya'alon, at that time Israel's Vice Premier and Strategic Affairs Minister, **praised** the founder of the Stern Gang, Avraham Stern, declaring: "Israeli students must draw courage and strength from the Lehi founder's ideas so one day they could use them to lead the nation." The Stern Gang was a Zionist terrorist organization that operated in British Mandate Palestine. Its members carried out a wave of violence aimed at Palestinian civilians and British targets in the late 1930s and 1940s, including the notorious massacre of some 100 Palestinian civilians in the village of Deir Yassin on April 9, 1948, and the **assassination** of UN peace mediator Count Folke Bernadotte in September 1948.
- In 2009, Ya'alon **canceled** a visit to the United Kingdom over concerns he could be arrested and charged with war crimes for the actions of the Israeli military when he was its chief of staff (2002-2005) during the Second Intifada. In particular, human rights activists wanted Ya'alon tried for the assassination of Hamas leader Salah Shehadeh in Gaza in July 2002. To kill him, an Israeli warplane dropped a one-ton bomb on an apartment block in the middle of the night in one of the most densely populated places on earth, killing **13 civilians** along with Shehadeh, including eight children. In 2002, then-General Ya'alon, who was tasked with suppressing the Second Intifada, **stated**: "The Palestinian threat harbours cancer-like attributes that have to be severed. There are all kinds of solutions to cancer. Some say it's necessary to amputate organs but at the moment I am applying chemotherapy."

## *Deputy Defense Minister & Chairman of the Likud Central Committee Danny Danon*

- Danon is an influential young Likud leader and outspoken opponent of Palestinian statehood. He has close ties to US fundamentalist Christian groups and individuals, including Texas Governor [Rick Perry](#), [Sarah Palin](#), and controversial radio host Glenn Beck, who Danon [invited to address](#) a Knesset committee in 2011. In June 2013 he was [elected](#) chairman of the Likud party's Central Committee.
- During his time in the previous Knesset, Danon supported bills calling for citizenship "loyalty oaths" aimed at Palestinian citizens and limiting the rights of human rights groups to petition the Israeli Supreme Court. Danon was also one of the sponsors of the controversial "[boycott law](#)," which penalizes individuals who organize or publicly call for boycotts against the state, Israeli educational institutions, or goods produced in Jewish settlements in the occupied territories. Human rights and civil liberties groups condemned the law, with one, B'Tselem, [warning](#) that it "tramples on fundamental rights, primarily the right to freedom of speech, the right to protest, and the right to organize."
- In June 2013, Danon [declared](#):

"Look at the government: there was never a government discussion, resolution or vote about the two-state solution... If you will bring it to a vote in the government... you will see the majority of Likud ministers, along with the Jewish Home [party], will be against it... Today we're not fighting it [Netanyahu's declared goal of a Palestinian state], but if there will be a move to promote a two-state solution, you will see forces blocking it within the [Likud] party and the government."
- In July 2013, Danon [told](#) a journalist: "I understand the importance of political power, so I will use my strength and influence to convince as many people as I can within the party and outside the party that a Palestinian state is bad news for Israel."

## *Deputy Foreign Minister Zeev Elkin*

- In January 2013, he was one of two leading Likud politicians (the other being former Public Diplomacy Minister Yuli Edelstein) who [called on the government](#) to annex so-called "Area C" of the occupied Palestinian West Bank (about 60% of the total area), which according to the terms of the interim Oslo Accords falls under full Israeli security control. (See [here](#) for a UN map of Area C.).
- In January 2013, Elkin [stated](#): "We will try to apply [Israeli] sovereignty over the maximum [of the occupied West Bank] that we can at any given moment... It will take time to change people's awareness but in the end this will penetrate. And then, what seems today like a fairy tale will eventually become political reality, and the reality on the ground."

- In February 2012, pro-settler group Matot Arim **ranked** Elkin, who lives in the settlement of Alon Shvut in the occupied West Bank, the most right-wing member of the Knesset in what many considered to be the most right-wing Knesset in Israel's history.
- In January 2012, Haaretz newspaper **reported** that Elkin, along with another member of the Knesset, Uri Ariel (currently Israel's minister of housing and construction), had been passing information about the Israeli army's movements and plans to far-right settler activists who were seeking to thwart government plans to evacuate so-called settlement "outposts."

### *Deputy Transportation Minister Tzipi Hotovely*

- Hotovely is a vocal opponent of Palestinian statehood and the two-state solution. In December 2012 she **said** in a panel discussion that Netanyahu's 2009 Bar-Ilan address calling for a Palestinian state was just "a tactical speech for the rest of the world," adding, "We are opposed to a Palestinian state."
- In June 2013, Hotovely **warned**: "The Likud movement was destroyed once by [former Prime Minister] Arik Sharon as a result of the disengagement plan [from Gaza]. We will not permit a similar move that will destroy the settlements. Such a step has no party-base and national backing."
- In 2011, Hotovely organized a **hearing** by the Knesset Committee on the Status of Women to examine "the problem" of Jewish-Arab interracial relationships. Among those invited to speak was the head of a group called **Lehava**, which is composed of followers of the late Rabbi Meir Kahane, whose racist Kach party was **deemed** a terrorist organization by Israel and the United States. Lehava receives indirect funding from the Israeli government.
- In December 2010, Hotovely voiced her support for a **letter** signed by dozens of wives of prominent rabbis calling on Jewish women not to fraternize with Arab and other non-Jewish men, stating "the intermarriage phenomenon among Jewish girls and Arab men is dangerous for women, who suffer abuse and disconnection from their families after the marriage."

### *Moshe Feiglin, Deputy Speaker of the Knesset*

- Until recently, many considered the far right-wing settler Feiglin to be on the fringes of Netanyahu's Likud party. However the extremist Jewish Leadership faction he leads **gained** power in **party primaries** in November 2012, and during the most recent election campaign the party establishment **promoted** his image in advertising to lure religious nationalist votes away from the surging Jewish Home party. Following the election, Netanyahu appointed Feiglin as a deputy speaker of the Israeli parliament (Knesset).

- Feiglin's stated objective is to become prime minister and to create a Greater Israel, based "[exclusively on Jewish identity, values and ethics](#)," in Israel and the occupied Palestinian territories.
- On January 1, 2013, Feiglin offered details of a plan that would use some of Israel's budget for defense and security to pay Palestinians to leave the occupied West Bank, [stating](#): "With this budget we can give every Arab family in Judea and Samaria \$500,000 to encourage it to immigrate to a place with a better future." He previously proposed paying Palestinians to leave [in 2008](#).
- In a May 2011 [video](#) rebuttal to a speech by US President Barack Obama on Middle East peace, Feiglin referred to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, and claimed that "the fate of the Twin Towers was sealed" when the US brokered the Oslo Accords between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in the early 1990s. In an April 2010 [op-ed](#) in Maariv newspaper, Feiglin called US Vice President Joe Biden a "diseased leper" for criticizing Israeli settlement construction.
- In 2008, Feiglin was [banned from entering](#) the United Kingdom after the British Home Secretary [deemed his entry](#) "would not be conducive to the public good." A letter to Feiglin from the Home Office [said](#) that the Secretary based her decision on an assessment that his activities "foment or justify terrorist violence in furtherance of particular beliefs; seek to provoke others to terrorist acts; foment other serious criminal activity or seek to provoke others to serious criminal acts and foster hatred which might lead to inter-community violence in the UK."
- Accused of being a racist and a fascist by [critics](#), Feiglin denies there is such a thing as a Palestinian people and believes that Palestinian citizens of Israel and those in the occupied territories should be transferred to neighboring Arab countries. In the mid-2000s, he wrote a tract setting out his political program. In the manifesto, which was mysteriously [removed](#) from his website in 2009 after the last Likud primaries, he said that if he became prime minister he would withdraw Israel from the United Nations and cut off water and electricity to Palestinians in the occupied territories. In response to attacks from Palestinian militants, he called for "the conquest of the area whose residents instigated the violence, their deportation and destruction of the area's infrastructure."
- In 2004, Feiglin summed up his views on Arabs and democracy, [telling](#) an interviewer from The New Yorker:

"Why should non-Jews have a say in the policy of a Jewish state? For two thousand years, Jews dreamed of a Jewish state, not a democratic state. Democracy should serve the values of the state, not destroy them.

"You can't teach a monkey to speak and you can't teach an Arab to be democratic. You're dealing with a culture of thieves and robbers. Muhammad, their prophet, was a robber and a killer and a liar. The Arab destroys everything he touches."



- In another 2004 interview, with the newspaper Yedioth Ahronot, Feiglin spoke of his plan to transfer Palestinians, [stating](#): “Arabs don’t live in the desert, they create it.”
- In 1997, Feiglin was sentenced to six months in prison (later commuted to community service) after being convicted of sedition for his efforts to stop the Oslo accords, which included blocking traffic at intersections.

(See [here](#) for more on Feiglin and the Jewish Leadership faction)

## YISRAEL BEITEINU

### *31 Knesset seats/Joint Likud-Yisrael Beiteinu list*

- Yisrael Beiteinu’s platform rejects the creation of a Palestinian state, [declaring](#): “The demand to establish a Palestinian state and the ‘right of return’ are designed to camouflage the real intention, which is to erase the State of Israel as a Jewish and Zionist state.” During the last election campaign, Yisrael Beiteinu’s website featured a video [boasting](#) that during its time in the previous government it “thwarted [a] Palestinian declaration of statehood.”
- Although the party’s founder and leader, former Foreign Minister Avigdor Lieberman, has said he would accept a Palestinian state, he has also declared on several occasions that he doesn’t believe peace is possible in the foreseeable future.
- In June 2012, the Yisrael Beiteinu party chairman for Upper Nazareth, Alex Gedalkin, [began a campaign](#) urging Palestinian citizens of Israel to sell their homes to Jews and leave in exchange for \$10,000.

### *Party Leader & Former Foreign Minister Avigdor Lieberman*

- In recent years, Lieberman, who immigrated from Moldova and now lives in a West Bank settlement in violation of international law, [has advocated a law](#) that would force Palestinian citizens of Israel to swear allegiance to Israel as a “Jewish state,” thereby formally acquiescing to their own second-class status. For the 2009 election, Lieberman campaigned on the slogan “Only Lieberman Understands Arabic.” In 1997, Lieberman, then a member of the Likud party, resigned his post and left the party in protest over then first-term Prime Minister Netanyahu’s signing of the U.S.-brokered Wye River Memorandum (part of the Oslo Accords) with the Palestine Liberation Organization. In 1998, Lieberman called for the flooding of Egypt by bombing the Aswan Dam in retaliation for Egyptian support of PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat. In 2003, [Lieberman called for](#) thousands of Palestinian prisoners held by Israel to be drowned in the Dead Sea and offered to provide the buses to take them there. In May 2006, [Lieberman called for the killing](#) of Arab members of Knesset who meet with Hamas. In 2008, Lieberman and Yisrael Beiteinu left Prime Minister Ehud Olmert’s coalition government in opposition to the restarting of peace talks with the Palestinians.

Explaining the decision, Lieberman **declared**: “Negotiations on the basis of land for peace are a critical mistake...and will destroy us.” In September 2010, **Lieberman said** that peace with Palestinians was not possible, “not next year and not for the next generation.”

- In December 2012, Lieberman was **indicted** for fraud and breach of trust, prompting his resignation as foreign minister, however he remains Yisrael Beiteinu leader and won a seat in the Knesset in the last election. Although Lieberman has **suggested** he would quit politics if convicted of the corruption charges he’s facing, he remains an important figure in the government and Netanyahu has promised to hold the foreign minister post open for Lieberman if/when he’s cleared of the charges against him.
- In June 2013, Lieberman said that Gaza needed a “thorough cleaning,” **stating**: “ Hamas has no intention of reconciling with a Jewish presence in Israel... So we need to return to the Gaza Strip and conduct a thorough cleaning.”

### *Deputy Party Leader & Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development Yair Shamir*

- Shamir, son of the late hardline Likud Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, is number two in the Yisrael Beiteinu party, appointed to that position by party boss Lieberman. With Lieberman **suggesting** he’ll quit politics if convicted of the corruption charges he’s facing, Shamir could become new leader of the party, and is an important player in the government.
- In December 2012, Shamir spelled out his views on the Palestinians and the two-state solution in an op-ed entitled “**Why I oppose a Palestinian state.**” In it, he declared: “A Palestinian state would not only fail to bring peace and stability to the region, but would increase the tension and usher in permanent instability... We must remove the idea of a Palestinian state in our area from the Israeli agenda immediately if not sooner.”
- Regarding settlement construction on occupied Palestinian land, in January 2013 Shamir **told** an interviewer: “The Arabs there who call themselves Palestinian, they’ll stay or go, but we’ll definitely stay. We need to keep building in the land.”

## YESH ATID (THERE IS A FUTURE)

### *19 Knesset seats*

- The unexpected strong showing of the newly-formed Yesh Atid party and its leader, former journalist Yair Lapid, in the last election was initially hailed as a victory for Israeli “moderates” by some observers. However Yesh Atid’s **platform**,

despite calling for a “return to the negotiating table out of good will and the desire to reach a final agreement... to reach two nation-states with recognized international borders that have no demands from each other;” lays out a series of conditions that would make the creation of a viable, independent Palestinian state all but impossible. These conditions include:

- The demand that large settlement “blocs” built on occupied Palestinian land will remain under Israeli control.
- The borders of the new Palestinian state will be based on Israel’s “security considerations and the reality that has been created since 1967.”
- Palestinian refugees will be denied their internationally recognized [legal right of return](#) to the homes they were expelled from in Israel and instead be “settled within the future Palestinian state.”
- Occupied East Jerusalem will remain under Israeli control and not become the capital of an independent Palestine.
- Israel will reserve the right to violate the sovereignty of any Palestinian state to take military action “to the extent it deems fit.”

### *Party Leader & Finance Minister Yair Lapid*

- In January 2013, Lapid [stated](#): “I do not think that the Arabs want peace... What I want is not a new Middle East, but to be rid of [Palestinians] and put a tall fence between us and them... The Palestinians must be brought to an understanding that [occupied East] Jerusalem will always remain under Israeli sovereignty and that there is no point for them in opening negotiations about Jerusalem.”
- In April 2013, Lapid [wrote](#) on his Facebook page: “We fear that Europe is slowly becoming Muslim, but we also say ‘they deserve it...”
- In January 2013, Lapid [told](#) Time magazine:

“You know my father didn’t come here from the ghetto in order to live in a country that is half Arab, half Jewish. He came here to live in a Jewish state. And we have 3.3 million Palestinians now between the sea and the eastern border of Israel. If we don’t do something about it, her generation [nods toward a 15-year-old girl at our table] is going to spend her time with six or seven or eight million Palestinians.”

## BAYIT HAYEHUDI (JEWISH HOME)

### *12 Knesset seats*

- The Jewish Home party is composed of numerous settlers and supporters of the settlement movement, and is categorically opposed to Palestinian statehood and the two-state solution.

### *Party Leader & Minister of Industry, Trade and Labor Naftali Bennett*

- Party leader Naftali Bennett, who is a former head of the Yesha Council, the main political body representing settlers (but not a settler himself) has [repeated](#) on numerous occasions his staunch, unequivocal opposition to the creation of a Palestinian state in the occupied territories. Instead, Bennett has [proposed](#) that Israel annex the 60% of the occupied West Bank known as Area C, where Israeli settlers live, and where Israel has full control according to the interim Oslo Accords. (See [here](#) for a UN map of Area C.) Such a move would eliminate any possibility of creating a Palestinian state in the occupied territories.
- In January 2013, Bennett [told](#) New Yorker magazine: “I will do everything in my power, forever, to fight against a Palestinian state being founded in the Land of Israel.” In December 2012, he [told](#) another interviewer: “My positions are very clear: I never hide the fact that I categorically oppose a Palestinian state inside our country.”
- In June 2013, Bennett said that the two-state solution had “reached a dead end,” [stating](#):

“The idea that a Palestinian state will arise inside the land of Israel has reached a dead end... Never in the history of Israel have so many people dealt with so much energy with something so pointless.”
- Also in June 2013, Bennett [stated](#):

“The most important thing in Land of Israel is to build, build, build [settlements]... It’s important that there will be an Israeli presence everywhere. Our principal problem is still Israel’s leaders unwillingness to say in a simple manner that the Land of Israel belongs to the People of Israel.”

### *Housing and Construction Minister Uri Ariel*

- Ariel, a settler, is known for his extreme right-wing opinions about the conflict with the Palestinians and also for his [anti-gay](#) views. As Housing and Construction Minister, Ariel - a former secretary general of the Yesha Council, which represents

Israeli settlers - has responsibility for overseeing settlement construction.

- In July 2013, Ariel **stated**:

“Some didn’t learn [from the Gaza “disengagement”] and are trying to sell us the delusion of two states for two nations... Our No. 1 citizen [President Shimon Peres] says that one state between the Jordan River and the sea is a fantasy, but [I say] two states for two nations is the greatest fairy tale ever told.”

- In March 2012, Ariel **called** for Israel to annex the occupied Palestinian West Bank, part of a “one-state solution” that would see Palestinians living there granted a sort of second- or third-class residency right similar to how Israel treats Palestinians in occupied East Jerusalem, with the possibility of eventually gaining Israeli citizenship after meeting certain requirements, including taking a loyalty oath.
- In January 2012, Haaretz newspaper **reported** that Ariel, along with another member of the Knesset, Zeev Elkin of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu’s Likud party (currently Israel’s deputy foreign minister), had been passing information about the Israeli army’s movements and plans to far-right settler activists who were seeking to thwart government plans to evacuate so-called settlement “outposts.”
- Prior to Israel’s withdrawal of soldiers and settlers from Gaza in 2005, Ariel moved with his family to a Gaza settlement to protest the move.

## HATNUAH (THE MOVEMENT)

### *6 Knesset seats*

- The newly-formed Hatnuah and leader Tzipi Livni ran in the last election on a platform promising to resume peace talks with the Palestinians, and Livni, who was appointed Justice Minister and designated minister in charge of negotiations by Netanyahu, has repeatedly stated her desire to reach an agreement. However, Hatnuah has only six seats in the Israeli parliament and wields little influence in the government, prompting some **critics** to accuse Livni of acting as a fig leaf for a hardline right-wing government that is arguably the most pro-settler government in Israel’s history.

### *Party Leader & Justice Minister Tzipi Livni*

- Livni is a former member of the Likud and Kadima parties and was foreign minister from 2006 to 2009 under Kadima Prime Minister Ehud Olmert.

- Although she supports the two-state solution and was involved in peace negotiations with the Palestinians, she spent much of her political career with the Likud party, one of the main political patrons of the settlement movement, and maintains a [right-wing ideological](#) outlook.
- Speaking before a group of foreign ambassadors in December 2012, Livni rejected international criticism of Israel's construction of illegal settlements on occupied Palestinian land, [stating](#): "It doesn't matter what you think about settlements... We have settlement blocs close to the Green Line and the only way for the conflict with the Palestinians to end is for Israel to keep them."
- Although considered a moderate by many Western politicians, many Palestinians remember Livni for the role she played during [Operation Cast Lead](#), Israel's deadly assault on Gaza in 2008-9, which killed approximately 1,400 Palestinians, most of them civilians, over a three-week period. As foreign minister, she acted as Israel's face to the world, defending the brutal onslaught and claiming to reporters that there was no humanitarian crisis in Gaza. The [United Nations](#) and human rights organizations such as [Amnesty International](#) and [Human Rights Watch](#) subsequently documented evidence of widespread war crimes and crimes against humanity carried out by Israeli forces during Cast Lead. Two weeks into the assault, Livni [declared](#) that it had "restored Israel's deterrence ... Hamas now understands that when you fire on its citizens it responds by going wild – and this is a good thing."
- The so-called, Palestine Papers, confidential documents written by Palestinian negotiators that were [leaked to the press](#) in 2010, revealed that Livni wanted some areas populated by Palestinian citizens of Israel transferred to a new Palestinian state. They also quoted Livni telling Palestinian negotiators that although she's a lawyer, she doesn't believe in international law, [stating](#): "I was the Minister of Justice. I am a lawyer... But I am against law - international law in particular. Law in general."

# 10. International Law & Palestine/Israel

## IMPORTANT UN RESOLUTIONS ON PALESTINE/ISRAEL & WHAT THEY MEAN

- [UNGA Resolution 181](#): Also known as the UN Partition Plan (1947), this resolution approved the division of historic Palestine into two states, one Jewish and one Arab. It allocated 55% of the land to the Jewish state and 42% to the Arab state (Jerusalem was to be placed under international administration) although Jews only made up about 1/3 of the population and owned only about 7% of the land.
- [UNGA Resolution 194](#): Adopted in December 1948, this resolution affirmed the right of Palestinians who were displaced during Israel's creation to return to their homes and land. It states:

“[Palestinian] refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which, under principles of international law or in equity, should be made good by the Governments or authorities responsible.”
- [UNSC Resolution 242](#): Passed following the 1967 War, Resolution 242 is the cornerstone of the “land for peace” formula, and the basis of the two-state solution. Its preamble stresses the “inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war,” and the resolution itself calls for Israel to withdraw from the occupied territories. Because the English text of the resolution didn't specify “the” occupied territories, Israel has attempted to argue that it doesn't call for a withdrawal from all of the occupied territories.

## THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES & INTERNATIONAL LAW

- The United Nations and virtually the entire international community consider the Gaza Strip, West Bank, and East Jerusalem (and Syrian Golan Heights) to be territories militarily occupied by Israel.
- Article 42 of [the Fourth Hague Convention](#) states that “Territory is considered occupied when it is actually placed under the authority of the hostile army. The occupation extends only to the territory where such authority has been established and can be exercised.”
- In July 2004, while ruling that the wall Israel is building in the West Bank is illegal, the [International Court of Justice](#) also deemed Israel’s settlement enterprise to be in contravention of international law, and the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem to be under Israeli military occupation.
- In addition, the High Contracting Parties to the Fourth Geneva Convention, including the International Committee of the Red Cross, consider the Gaza Strip, West Bank, and East Jerusalem (and Syrian Golan Heights) to be territories militarily occupied by Israel. According to a [2001 ICRC statement](#):

“[The ICRC] has always affirmed the de jure applicability of the Fourth Geneva Convention to the territories occupied since 1967 by the State of Israel, including East Jerusalem... As an Occupying Power, Israel is also bound by other customary rules relating to occupation, expressed in the Regulations annexed to the Hague Convention respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land of 18 October 1907.”
- Israel’s own Supreme Court has also [judged](#) the West Bank to be under “belligerent occupation” by Israel.
- In 2003, then-Prime Minister Ariel Sharon [stated](#): “You cannot like the word, but what is happening is an occupation - to hold 3.5 million Palestinians under occupation. I believe that is a terrible thing for Israel and for the Palestinians.”
- Implicitly acknowledging that the recently conquered territories were militarily occupied by Israel, in September 1967 the legal counsel to Israel’s Foreign Ministry, Theodor Meron, [advised the government](#) of Prime Minister Levi Eshkol that “civilian settlement in the administered territories contravenes the explicit provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention.”



## EAST JERUSALEM

- Although Israeli authorities radically expanded the municipal boundaries of East Jerusalem and then annexed it shortly after the occupation began in June 1967, the international community does not recognize Israel's claim to the eastern half of the city.
- In legal terms, East Jerusalem is no different than the rest of the West Bank or Gaza, which is why no major country – including the United States – has its embassy in Israel in Jerusalem.
- Israel's annexation of East Jerusalem has been repeatedly rejected by the international community through a series of UN Security Council resolutions, including Resolutions [252](#), [267](#), [471](#), [476](#) and [478](#). Resolution 252 (1968) states that the Security Council “[c]onsiders that all...actions taken by Israel...which tend to change the legal status of Jerusalem are invalid and cannot change that status.”
- Although Israel has attempted to make a distinction between them, according to international law, there is no legal difference between East Jerusalem and the rest of the occupied territories. As such, Israel has no internationally recognized legal claim to any part of East Jerusalem, including the Old City and its holy sites.
- The Israeli Supreme Court has [begun recognizing](#) as legitimate legal claims from Jews to properties in East Jerusalem that were allegedly owned by Jews prior to Israel's creation in 1948. As a result, some Palestinians have begun to be [evicted](#) from their homes to make way for Jewish settlers who claimed ownership of the land pre-1948. At the same time, the Supreme Court refuses to recognize legal claims by Palestinian Arabs to properties owned in what became Israel in 1948.

## GAZA

- While Israel unilaterally removed its illegal settlers from the Gaza Strip in 2005, the area remains occupied by Israel, as acknowledged by the [United Nations](#), the [United States](#), [Amnesty International](#), [Human Rights Watch](#), and others.
- Israel's continued control of Gaza's territorial waters, its airspace, the flow of people and goods through its land borders, and its continued ground and air incursions into the territory, confirm that it exercises the “effective control” necessary to qualify as a foreign occupying power under the Fourth Geneva Convention.
- As the occupying power, Israel is responsible for the welfare of civilians it is occupying. Instead, residents of the Gaza Strip have been suffering for years under a harsh, Israeli-imposed [blockade](#), as well as devastating Israeli military assaults in [2006](#), [2009](#), and 2012.

- In September 2011, an [independent UN panel of rights experts issued a report](#) concluding that Israel's blockade of Gaza violates international law, stating that it amounts to collective punishment in "flagrant contravention of international human rights and humanitarian law." The [International Committee of the Red Cross](#) and a [UN fact-finding mission](#) into Israel's attack on the Freedom Flotilla reached the same conclusion in 2010.
- A 2009 Amnesty International [report](#) following Operation Cast Lead, Israel's devastating military assault on Gaza in the winter of 2008-9, stated:

"The prolonged blockade of Gaza, which had already been in place for some 18 months before the current fighting began, amounts to collective punishment of its entire population.

"The Fourth Geneva Convention specifically prohibits collective punishment. Its Article 33 provides: 'No protected person may be punished for an offence he or she has not personally committed. Collective penalties and likewise all measures of intimidation or of terrorism are prohibited.'"

*(See [here](#) for more on Gaza and international law)*

## SETTLEMENTS

- The [Charter of the United Nations](#) bars the acquisition of territory by war. Thus Israel does not have any legal claim to any of the territories it occupied in 1967, and no right to settle its own citizens there. The pre-amble of UN Resolution 242, passed following the June 1967 War, also stresses the "inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war."
- Article 49 of the [Fourth Geneva Convention](#) states: "The Occupying Power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies."
- In 1979, the US State Department issued a [legal opinion](#) declaring that settlements were "inconsistent with international law."
- The UN has passed numerous resolutions affirming that all Israeli construction carried out beyond its 1967 borders, including in occupied East Jerusalem, is in violation of international law.
- From the beginning of the occupation in June 1967, successive Israeli governments have argued that settlement building does not violate international law. However, a formerly classified document dated September 1967, shows that the legal counsel to Israel's Foreign Ministry, [Theodor Meron](#), advised the government of Prime Minister Levi Eshkol that "civilian settlement in the administered territories contravenes the explicit provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention."

## THE RIGHT OF RETURN

- All refugees have an internationally recognized right to return to areas from which they have fled or were forced, to receive compensation for damages, and to either regain their properties or receive compensation and support for voluntary resettlement.
- This right derives from a number of legal sources, including customary international law, international humanitarian law (governing rights of civilians during war), and human rights law.
- The UN's [Universal Declaration of Human Rights](#) states in Article 13(2) that “[e]veryone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and return to his own country.”
- In the specific case of the Palestinians, the right of return was affirmed by UN Resolution 194. In December 1948, following Israel’s establishment and the attendant displacement of some 750,000 Palestinians, the UN General Assembly passed Resolution 194, which [states](#):

”[Palestinian] refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which, under principles of international law or in equity, should be made good by the Governments or authorities responsible.”

*(For more on Palestinian refugees & the right of return, see [here](#))*

# 11. Fact Sheets / FAQs / Reports

## FAQS

### THE INSTITUTE FOR MIDDLE EAST UNDERSTANDING

- [Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions \(BDS\)](#)
- [Settlements](#)
- [The Nakba](#)

## FACT SHEETS

### THE INSTITUTE FOR MIDDLE EAST UNDERSTANDING

- [State-Sanctioned Incitement: Israel's Extremist Rabbis](#) (July 2013)
- [The Israeli Government & The Two-State Solution](#) (July 2013)
- [The Nakba: 65 Years of Dispossession & Apartheid](#) (May 2013)
- [QUICK FACTS: Israeli Independence & The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine](#) (April 2013)
- [65th Anniversary of the Adoption of Plan Dalet](#) (March 2013)
- [Key Parties & Players in the New Israeli Government & Their Policies Towards the Palestinians](#) (March 2013)
- [The Killing of Rachel Corrie: Ten Years Later](#) (March 2013)
- [Does Netanyahu Really Support the Two-State Solution?](#) (March 2013)
- [Knesset Member Moshe Feiglin & The Jewish Leadership Faction](#) (Feb 2013)
- [2013 Israeli Election Backgrounder](#) (Jan 2013)
- [Palestinian Christians in the Holy Land](#) (Dec 2012)
- [25th Anniversary of the First Intifada](#) (Dec 2012)
- [The UN Partition Plan for Palestine](#) (Nov 2012)
- [The Right of Return & Palestinian Refugees](#) (Nov 2012)
- [Israel, Gaza & International Law](#) (Nov 2012)
- [The Dahiya Doctrine & Israel's Use of Disproportionate Force](#) (Nov 2012)
- [Palestinian & Israeli Casualties Since the First Intifada](#) (Nov 2012)
- [The "Neighbor Procedure" & Israel's Use of Palestinian Human Shields](#) (Nov 2012)
- [The Sabra & Shatila Massacre: 30 Years Later](#) (Sept 2012)
- [American & Israeli Policies on Jerusalem](#) (Sept 2012)
- [Lehava: State Sponsored Incitement](#) (Sept 2012)
- [Nonviolent Foreign Activists & Others Injured & Killed by Israeli Military Since Rachel Corrie's Death](#) (Aug 2012)
- [A Culture of Impunity: Violence Against Non-Jews in Israel & the Occupied Territories](#) (Aug 2012)
- [Palestinian Culture: 64 Years Under Israeli Assault](#) (Aug 2012)

- [Are the Palestinian Territories Occupied?](#) (July 2012)
- [45 Years of Occupation](#) (June 2012)
- [Israel's Blockade of Gaza: Is it Legal?](#) (June 2012)
- [Self-defense or Provocation: Israel's History of Breaking Ceasefires](#) (March 2012)
- [Operation Cast Lead](#) (Jan 2012)
- [Discrimination Against Palestinian Citizens of Israel](#) (Sept 2011)

## HUMAN RIGHTS REPORTS

### ADALAH: THE LEGAL CENTER FOR ARAB MINORITY RIGHTS IN ISRAEL

- [Discriminatory Laws in Israel](#) (Database)
- [The Inequality Report: The Palestinian Arab Minority in Israel](#) (March 2011)

### AL HAQ

- [Water: For One People Only: Discriminatory Access and 'Water-Apartheid' in the OPT](#) (June 2013)

### AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

- [Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories Annual Report](#) (May 2013)
- [Operation 'Cast Lead': 22 Days of Death and Destruction](#) (July 2009)
- [The Right to Return: The Case of the Palestinians](#) (March 2001)

### ASSOCIATION FOR CIVIL RIGHTS IN ISRAEL (ACRI)

- [The State of Human Rights in Israel and in the Occupied Territories 2012](#) (Dec 2012)

### BADIL RESOURCE CENTER FOR PALESTINIAN REFUGEE & RESIDENCY RIGHTS

- [Israeli Land Grab and Forced Population Transfer of Palestinians: A Handbook for Vulnerable Individuals and Communities](#) (June 2013)

### B'TSELEM: THE ISRAELI INFORMATION CENTER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

- [Acting the Landlord: Israel's Policy in Area C, the West Bank](#) (June 2013)
- [By Hook and By Crook: Israeli Settlement Policy in the West Bank](#) (July 2010)

## GISHA: LEGAL CENTER FOR FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

- [Gaza 2013: Snapshot](#) (June 2013)

## HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH

- [World Report: Israel/Palestine](#) (2013)
- [Israel/West Bank: Separate and Unequal](#) (Dec 2010)
- [Rain of Fire: Israel's Unlawful Use of White Phosphorus in Gaza](#) (March 2009)
- [White Flag Deaths: Killings of Palestinian Civilians during Operation Cast Lead](#) (Aug 2009)

## ISRAELI COMMITTEE AGAINST HOUSE DEMOLITIONS

- [Israel's Policy Of Demolishing Palestinian Homes Must End: ICAHD submission To The UN](#) (March 2013)

## OXFAM

- [On the Brink: Israeli Settlements and Their Impact on Palestinians in the Jordan Valley](#) (July 2012)
- [The Big Uneasy: Israel's easing of the Gaza land, air and sea blockade: promises and realities](#) (Dec 2011)

## UNITED NATIONS

- [Access Restricted Areas \(Ara\) In The Gaza Strip](#) (July 2013)
- [The Gaza Strip: The Humanitarian Impact Of Movement Restrictions On People And Goods](#) (July 2013)
- [East Jerusalem: Key Humanitarian Concerns Update](#) (Dec 2012)
- [Humanitarian Atlas](#) (Dec 2012)
- [Barrier Update](#) (July 2011)
- [East Jerusalem: Key Humanitarian Concerns](#) (March 2011)
- [Fact Finding Mission on the Gaza Conflict \(The Goldstone Report\)](#) (Sept 2009)

## WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION

- [Initial Health Assessment Report: Gaza Strip](#) (Dec 2012)

# 12. Maps

- [PLO's Historic Compromise](#)
- [West Bank settlements, the wall](#) (Aug 2010)
- [Map of Settlements Around Jerusalem](#) (March 2010)
- [Strangling Bethlehem](#) (Dec 2005)
- [Zionist and Palestinian Land Ownership](#) (1945)

## UNITED NATIONS OFFICE FOR THE COORDINATION OF HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS: OCCUPIED PALESTINIAN TERRITORY (OCHA)

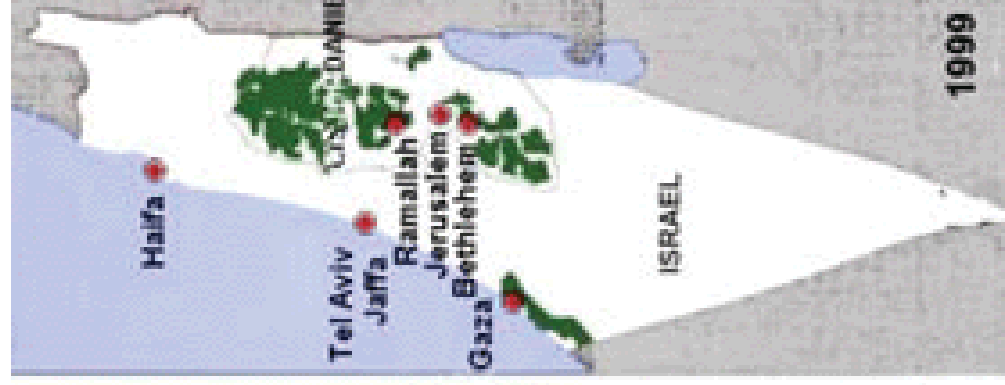
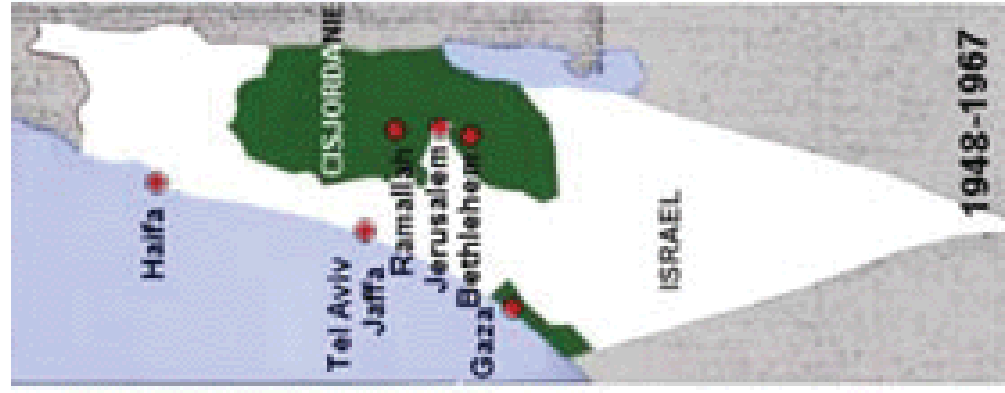
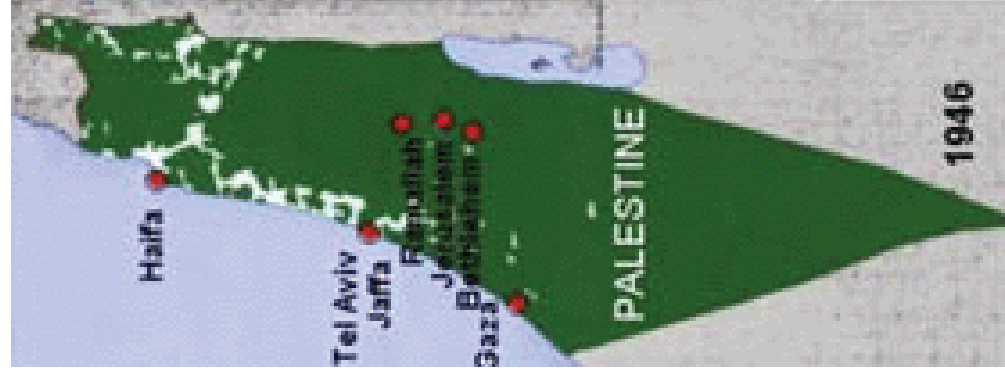
- [Gaza Strip: Access and Closure](#) (Dec 2012)
- [West Bank Access Restrictions](#) (Dec 2012)
- [Palestinian Communities Affected By The Barrier](#) (Dec 2012)
- [Humanitarian Impact of the Barrier](#) (July 2012)
- [Five Years of Blockade: The Humanitarian Situation in the Gaza Strip](#) (June 2012)
- [Jordan Valley and Dead Sea Area](#) (Feb 2012)
- [Land Allocated to Israeli Settlements](#) (January 2012)
- [Settler Violence Incidents in 2011](#) (2012)
- [The Barrier Route in the West Bank](#) (July 2011)
- [West Bank Communities on the 'Jerusalem' side of the Barrier](#) (July 2011)
- [West Bank Area C Map](#) (Feb 2011)
- [Restrictions on Palestinian Access in the West Bank](#) (June 2010)

## AMERICANS FOR PEACE NOW

- [Facts on the Ground West Bank settlement map](#) (Interactive)

## TERRESTRIAL JERUSALEM

- [Jerusalem and its Environs](#) (Interactive)





# 13. Films, Books, Speakers & Performers

## DOCUMENTARY FILMS

- [5 Broken Cameras](#)
- [Arna's Children](#)
- [Bil'in Habibtu](#)
- [Budrus](#)
- [The Great Book Robbery](#)
- [Infiltrators](#)
- [The Iron Wall](#)
- [Jaffa, the Orange's Clockwork](#)
- [Jenin Jenin](#)
- [The Law in These Parts](#)
- [Occupation 101](#)
- [Palestine Blues](#)
- [Palestine is Still the Issue](#)
- [Peace, Propaganda and the Promised Land](#)
- [The People and the Olive](#)
- [Roadmap to Apartheid](#)
- [Route 181: Fragments of a Journey in Palestine-Israel](#)
- [Reel Bad Arabs](#)
- [Slingshot Hip Hop](#)
- [Tears of Gaza](#)
- [To Gaza with Love](#)
- [To Shoot an Elephant](#)
- [Tragedy in the Holy Land - The Second Uprising](#)

## FEATURE FILMS

- [Bab El Shams \(The Gate of Sun\)](#)
- [Divine Intervention](#)
- [Laila's Birthday](#)
- [Omar](#)
- [Paradise Now](#)
- [Pomegranates and Myrrh](#)
- [Rana's Wedding](#)
- [Salt of This Sea](#)
- [The Time That Remains](#)
- [West Beirut](#)
- [When I Saw You](#)
- [Zindeeq](#)

## BOOKS

### GENERAL HISTORY OF THE CONFLICT

*The Accidental Empire: Israel and the Birth of the Settlements, 1967-1977*

by Gershom Gorenberg

*All that Remains: The Palestinian Villages Occupied and Depopulated by Israel in 1948*

by Walid Khalidi

*The Arabs in Israel*

by Sabri Jiryis

*Before Their Diaspora: A Photographic History of the Palestinians 1876-1948*

by Walid Khalidi

*Beyond Chutzpah: On the Misuse of Anti-Semitism and the Abuse of History*

by Norman G. Finkelstein

*The Birth of Israel: Myths and Realities*

by Simha Flapan

*The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949*

by Benny Morris

*The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited*

by Benny Morris

*Bitter Harvest, Palestine Between 1914-1979*

by Sami Hadawi

*Blaming the Victims: Spurious Scholarship and the Palestinian Question*

edited by Edward Said & Christopher Hitchens

*Collusion Across the Jordan: King Abdullah, the Zionist Movement, and the Partition of Palestine*

by Avi Shlaim

*The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*

by Ilan Pappé

*Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of Transfer in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948*

by Nur Masalha

*The Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel and the Palestinians*

by Noam Chomsky

*The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood*

by Rashid Khalidi

*The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World*

by Avi Shlaim

*Jewish Terrorism in Israel*

by Ami Pedahzur & Arie Perlige

*Lords of the Land: The War for Israel's Settlements in the Occupied Territories, 1967-2007*

by Idith Zertal and Akiva Eldar

*The New Intifada: Resisting Israel's Apartheid*

edited by Roane Carey

*One Palestine, Complete: Jews and Arabs under the British Mandate*

by Tom Segev

*The Origins of Palestinian Nationalism*

by Muhammad Y. Muslih

*The Palestinians: Eyewitness history of Palestine under British Mandate*

by Izzat Tannous

*Palestinians: From Peasants to Revolutionaries*

by Rosemary Sayigh

*Politicide: Ariel Sharon's War Against the Palestinians*

by Baruch Kimmerling

*The Question of Palestine*

by Edward Said

*Sacred Landscape: The Buried History of the Holy Land Since 1948*

by Meron Benvenisti

*War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948*

edited by Avi Shlaim & Eugene Rogan

*Watershed: The Role of Fresh Water in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*

by Stephen C. Loneragan & David B. Brooks

## THE OCCUPATION

*Occupation Diaries*

by Raja Shehadeh

*Palestine Inside Out: An Everyday Occupation*

by Saree Makdisi

*Israel's Occupation*

by Neve Gordon

*Separate and Unequal: The Inside Story of Israeli Rule in East Jerusalem*

by Amir S. Cheshin, Bill Hutman, & Avi Melamed

## THE PEACE PROCESS

*[Brokers of Deceit: How the U.S. Has Undermined Peace in the Middle East](#)*

by Rashid Khalidi

*[Dishonest Broker: The US Role in Israel and Palestine](#)*

by Naseer Aruri

*[The End of the Peace Process: Oslo and After](#)*

by Edward Said

*[One Country: A Bold Proposal to End the Israeli-Palestinian Impasse](#)*

by Ali Abunimah

*[Palestine Peace Not Apartheid](#)*

by Jimmy Carter

*[Peace And Its Discontents: Essays on Palestine in the Middle East Peace Process](#)*

by Edward Said

*[Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict since 1967](#)*

by William Quandt

*[The Roadmap to Nowhere: Israel/Palestine Since 2003](#)*

by Tanya Reinhart

*[Shattered Hopes: Obama's Failure to Broker Israeli-Palestinian Peace](#)*

by Josh Ruebner

## GAZA

*[Drinking the Sea at Gaza: Days and Nights in a Land Under Siege](#)*

by Amira Hass

*[Footnotes in Gaza: A Graphic Novel](#)*

by Joe Sacco

*[Gaza in Crisis: Reflections on Israel's War Against the Palestinians](#)*

by Noam Chomsky with Ilan Pappé

*[‘This Time We Went Too Far’: Truth and Consequences of the Gaza Invasion](#)*

by Norman G. Finkelstein

*[The Gaza Kitchen: A Palestinian Culinary Journey](#)*

by Laila El-Haddad & Maggie Schmitt

## NONVIOLENT RESISTANCE

*[A Quiet Revolution: The First Palestinian Intifada and Nonviolent Resistance](#)*

by Mary Elizabeth King

*[Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions: The Global Struggle for Palestinian Rights](#)*

by Omar Barghouti

## MISCELLANEOUS NON-FICTION

*The General's Son*

by Miko Peled

*The Great War for Civilisation: The Conquest of the Middle East*

by Robert Fisk

*A History of the Arab Peoples*

by Albert Hourani

*Homeland: Oral Histories of Palestine and Palestinians*

edited by Staughton Lynd, Sam Bahour, and Alice Lynd

*I Saw Ramallah*

by Mourid Barghouti

*Image and Reality of the Israel-Palestine Conflict*

by Norman G. Finkelstein

*In Search of Fatima: A Palestinian Story*

by Ghada Karmi

*I Shall Not Hate: A Gaza Doctor's Journey on the Road to Peace & Human Dignity*

by Izzeldin Abuelaish

*The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*

by John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt

*My Father was a Freedom Fighter*

by Ramzy Baroud

*A Mountainous Journey: A Poet's Autobiography*

by Fadwa Tuqan

*Once Upon A Country: A Palestinian Life*

by Sari Nusseibeh

*Out of Place: A Memoir*

by Edward Said

*Palestine*

by Joe Sacco (graphic novel/journalism)

*Palestine in Israeli School Books: Ideology and Propaganda in Education*

by Nurit Peled Elhanan

*Palestinian Identity*

by Rashid Khalidi

*Palestinian Walks: Forays into a Vanishing Landscape*

by Raja Shehadeh

*The Palestinian People: A History*

by Baruch Kimmerling & Joel S. Migdal

*Palestinians in Israel: Segregation, Discrimination and Democracy*

by Ben White

*Pity the Nation: The Abduction of Lebanon*

by Robert Fisk

*Prophets Outcast: A Century of Dissident Jewish Writing about Zionism & Israel*

edited by Adam Shatz

*Reel Bad Arabs*

by Jack Shaheen

*The Rise and Fall of Palestine: A Personal Account of the Intifada Years*

by Norman G. Finkelstein

*This Side of Peace: A Personal Account*

by Hanan Ashrawi

*The Third Way*

by Raja Shehadeh

*Wrestling with Zion: Progressive Jewish-American Responses to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*

edited by Tony Kushner and Alisa Solomon

## FICTION/POETRY

*Born Palestinian, Born Black*

by Suheir Hammad

*Gate of the Sun*

by Elias Khoury

*I Saw Ramallah*

by Mourid Barghouti

*J'accuse*

by Aharon Shabtai

*Men in the Sun and other Palestinian Stories*

by Ghassan Kanafani

*Poetic Injustice*

by Remi Kanazi

*Poets for Palestine*

edited by Remi Kanazi

*Mornings in Jenin*

by Susan Abulhawa

## SPEAKERS



**Ali Abunimah**, analyst, media commentator, co-founder of the [Electronic Intifada](#), and author of [\*One Country: A Bold Proposal to End the Israeli-Palestinian Impasse\*](#).



**Susan Abulhawa**, commentator and author of the best-selling [\*Mornings in Jenin\*](#).



**Anna Baltzer**, National Organizer with the [US Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation](#), author of [\*Witness in Palestine: A Jewish American Woman in the Occupied Territories\*](#).



**Omar Barghouti**, independent Palestinian commentator and human rights activist, and a founding member of the [Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel \(PACBI\)](#), and the [Palestinian Civil Society Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions \(BDS\)](#) campaign. His commentary has been featured on CNN, the BBC, Al Jazeera, and in *The Guardian*. (Lives in Palestine.)



**Mustafa Barghouti**, a leading figure in Palestinian civil society. Dr. Barghouti has long been an outspoken advocate for the non-violent Palestinian protest movement against Israeli occupation and is one of the founders of the [Palestinian National Initiative](#). He formerly ran as an independent candidate for the presidency of the Palestinian National Authority. (Lives in Palestine.)



**Hatem Bazian**, co-founder and Academic Affairs Chair at Zaytuna College, the first Muslim Liberal Arts College in America; senior lecturer in the Departments of Near Eastern and Ethnic Studies at the University of California, Berkeley; visiting Professor in Religious Studies at Saint Mary's College of California, and Chairman of [American Muslims for Palestine](#).



**George Bisharat**, Professor at the University of California Hastings College of the Law in San Francisco and a senior fellow at the [Institute for Palestine Studies](#). His op-eds have appeared in publications such as *The New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *Wall Street Journal*.



**Max Blumenthal**, journalist and author whose articles and video documentaries have appeared in various outlets, including *The New York Times*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *The Daily Beast*, *The Nation*, *The Huffington Post*, [Salon.com](#) and on Al Jazeera English and the [Independent Film Channel](#). He is a writing fellow for the Nation Institute. His book, *Republican Gomorrah: Inside The Movement That Shattered The Party*, is a *New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times* best seller.



**Diana Buttu**, analyst, former legal advisor to Palestinian negotiators, and Policy Advisor to [Al-Shabaka: The Palestine Policy Network](#).



**Noura Erakat**, human rights attorney, Freedman Teaching Fellow at Temple Law School, adjunct professor at Georgetown University, co-editor of [Jadaliyya](#), and member of the legal support network of the [Badil Resource Center for Palestinian Refugee and Residency Rights](#).





**Laila El-Haddad**, Palestinian freelance journalist, writer, [blogger](#), and media activist from Gaza City, currently based in the United States. Author of [Gaza Mom: Palestine, Politics, Parenting, and Everything in Between](#) and [The Gaza Kitchen: A Palestinian Culinary Journey](#).



**Nadia Hijab**, Director of [Al-Shabaka, The Palestinian Policy Network](#), Senior Fellow at the [Institute for Palestine Studies](#).



**Andrew Kadi**, human rights and digital media activist, member of the steering committee of the [US Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation](#), a coalition of over 400 organizations nationwide. He has been published in The Guardian, Left Turn magazine, the Electronic Intifada, and Mondoweis.



**Remi Kanazi**, Palestinian-American poet, activist, and member of the organizing committee of the [US Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel](#). Author of [Poetic Injustice: Writings on Resistance and Palestine](#), and editor of [Poets for Palestine](#).



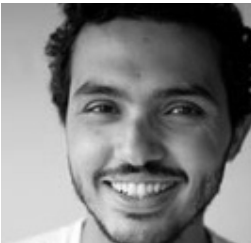
**Rashid Khalidi**, [Edward Said Professor of Arab Studies](#) and the Director of the [Middle East Institute at Columbia University](#), former advisor to Palestinian negotiators, and author of numerous books including, [The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood](#), [Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness](#), and [Brokers of Deceit: How the U.S. Has Undermined Peace in the Middle East](#) (2013).



**Abir Kopty** is a feminist and political activist born in Nazareth in the West Bank. Ms. Kopty is a former Nazareth city councilwoman and works as a media analyst. She was a key organizer of the Bab al-Shams protest village in “E-1” area of occupied East Jerusalem in early 2012, and is a former media coordinator for the Popular Struggle Coordination Committee. She blogs at [abirkopty.wordpress.com](http://abirkopty.wordpress.com).



**Saree Makdisi**, author of [\*Palestine Inside Out: An Everyday Occupation\*](#) and [professor](#) of English and Comparative Literature at UCLA.



**Ahmed Moor** Palestinian-American freelance journalist, Soros Fellow and a co-editor of *After Zionism: One State for Israel and Palestine*. His commentaries have appeared in the *Washington Post*, *LA Times*, *The Guardian*, Al Jazeera English, and the Huffington Post.



**Yousef Munayyer**, Executive Director of the [Jerusalem Fund](#) and the [Palestine Center](#) in Washington DC.



## PERFORMERS

### Checkpoint 303

Musical collective based in the occupied territories.

### DAM

Palestinian rap group based in Lod, Israel.

### Lowkey

Iraqi-British rapper.

### The Narcicyst

Iraqi-Canadian rapper.

### Palestinian Rapperz

Palestinian rap group from Gaza.

### The Philistines

Palestinian-American hip hop group.

### Rafeef Ziadah

Palestinian-Canadian poet and spoken word artist.

### Ramallah Underground

Palestinian hip hop collective from Ramallah.

### Remi Kanazi

Palestinian-American poet, author of Poetic Injustice.

### Shadia Mansour

Palestinian rapper based in the UK.

### Shusmo

New York-based Arabic, jazz, funk band led by Palestinian Tareq Abboushi.

### Suheir Hammad

Palestinian-American poet, author, and performer.

# 14. Further Resources

## NEWS ORGANIZATIONS / BLOGS / WRITERS

### PALESTINIAN / PALESTINIAN-AMERICAN / ARAB

- [Al Jazeera English](#)
- [Electronic Intifada](#)
- [Ma'an News Agency](#)
- [The National](#) (United Arab Emirates)

### ISRAELI / JEWISH-AMERICAN

- [+972](#): Independent reporting and commentary from Israel & the Palestinian territories
- [Haaretz](#): Israeli daily newspaper, English edition
- [The Jerusalem Post](#)
- [The Jewish Daily Forward](#)
- [JTA \(Jewish Telegraphic Agency\)](#)
- [Mondoweis: The War of Ideas in the Middle East](#)
- [Tikun Olam: Make the World A Better Place](#)
- [Ynet News](#): English edition of Yedioth Ahronoth, Israel's most read newspaper

### PALESTINIAN-ISRAELI

- [Alternative Information Center](#)

### GENERAL AMERICAN

- [The Christian Science Monitor – Middle East](#)
- [The New York Times – International News – Iraq, Israel, Lebanon](#)
- [Foreign Policy magazine – The Middle East Channel](#)
- [Time Magazine](#)

## HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS / NGOS

### INTERNATIONAL

- [Amnesty International: Israel and Occupied Palestinian Territories](#)
- [Defence for Children International: Palestine Section](#)
- [Human Rights Watch: Israel and the Occupied Territories](#)
- [International Crisis Group: Palestine/Israel](#)
- [Military Court Watch: Monitoring the treatment of children in Israeli military detention](#)
- [United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs: occupied Palestinian territory \(OCHA\)](#)
- [United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights: Occupied Palestinian Territory](#)
- [United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East \(UNRWA\)](#)

### PALESTINIAN

- [Adalah: The Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel](#)
- [Addameer: Prisoner Support & Human Rights Association](#)
- [Al-Haq: An affiliate of the Geneva-based International Commission of Jurists](#)
- [Al Mezan Center for Human Rights](#)
- [The Arab Association for Human Rights: Association in Service of the Palestinian Arab Minority in Israel](#)
- [Badil Resource Center for Palestinian Residency & Refugee Rights](#)
- [BDS: The Palestinian BDS National Committee](#)
- [Gaza Community Mental Health Programme](#)
- [Miftah: The Palestinian Initiative for the Promotion of Global Dialogue & Democracy](#)
- [Mossawa Center: The Advocacy Center for Arab Citizens in Israel](#)
- [Palestine Red Crescent Society](#)
- [Palestinian Centre For Human Rights](#)
- [Stop the Wall](#)

### ISRAELI

- [Anarchists Against the Wall](#)
- [B'Tselem: The Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories](#)
- [Breaking the Silence](#)
- [Gisha: Legal Center for Freedom of Movement](#)
- [Gush Shalom: Israeli Peace Bloc](#)
- [Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions](#)
- [Machsom Watch: Women Against the Occupation and for Human Rights](#)
- [Physicians for Human Rights - Israel](#)

## AMERICAN/PALESTINIAN-AMERICAN/JEWISH-AMERICAN

- [Adalah-NY: The New York Campaign for the Boycott of Israel](#)
- [Al-Awda: The Palestine Right to Return Coalition](#)
- [American Association for Palestinian Equal Rights](#)
- [American Muslims for Palestine](#)
- [Churches for Middle East Peace](#)
- [How Much Aid to Israel?](#)
- [Jewish Voice for Peace](#)
- [U. S. Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation](#)
- [United States Palestinian Community Network](#)

## ACADEMIC

- [The Applied Research Institute – Jerusalem \(ARIJ\)](#)
- [Center for Contemporary Arab Studies \(CCAS\) – Georgetown University](#)
- [The Center for Middle Eastern Studies \(CMES\)](#)
- [Harvard University Center for Palestine Studies](#)
- [Center for Palestine Studies – Columbia University](#)
- [The Middle East Institute – Columbia University](#)
- [Middle East Studies Association \(MESA\)](#)
- [PASSIA: Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs](#)
- [The Program on Humanitarian Policy and Conflict Research: International Humanitarian Law in Israel & the Occupied Palestinian Territory – Harvard School of Public Health](#)

## PALESTINIAN UNIVERSITIES

- [Al-Quds University](#)
- [An-Najah National University](#)
- [Bethlehem University](#)
- [Birzeit University](#)
- [Hebron University](#)
- [Islamic University Gaza](#)
- [Palestine Polytechnic University](#)

## 15. Appendix: Draft Media Policy for Public Events

When holding a conference or public event that may garner media attention, it is important to have a media policy in place ahead of time. Enclosed below are some suggested points to consider when putting together a media policy. Individual policies will vary depending on the size and nature of the event, as well as the level of media coverage desired by organizers.

- Designate one or more (depending on the size of the event and amount of media interest) individuals, preferably with some experience with media, to assist journalists on site. They should be available to help direct reporters to spokespeople and otherwise facilitate their work. These individuals should always be friendly and helpful to reporters, even to those whose coverage is deemed negative or unsympathetic.
- With the exception of events that are open to the public, members of the media should be required to register with organizers, submitting their name and the names of all media outlets they work for. They should also be required to sign a form agreeing that organizers can remove them if they disrupt the proceedings in any way or in any way misrepresent themselves to organizers or participants. This is recommended to deal with hostile individuals who may enter the event under false pretenses and attempt to disrupt or deliberately misrepresent organizers or participants in their coverage (See below for more on handling disruptions.)
- Before being approved, reporters who register should be vetted by organizers to ensure they work for legitimate media outlets. In general, reporters from all legitimate media outlets, even ones deemed unfriendly, should be allowed to attend as long as they agree to whatever policies have been put in place. Vetting can usually be done simply by Googling the reporter's name to verify that they work for who they say they do, and that the outlet is legitimate, meaning that it is an actual professional news organization and not simply a hardline right-wing website, for example.
- Upon arrival all media must have appropriate credentials to show organizers in order to confirm that they are who they say they are and are working with/for the outlet they registered under. They should be given press credentials and instructed to wear them at all times when on site.



- While interviews with designated spokespeople should be granted to all legitimate reporters, interview requests should be considered on a case-by-case basis.
- Any reporters or filmmakers who request greater access to the conference or organizers should be considered on a case-by-case basis and vetted (assuming organizers are willing to grant greater access) based on their previous work to ensure as much as possible that they will be fair and professional.
- If possible, all approved media should be given a media-friendly information packet upon arrival with information about the conference, the participants, and relevant background information/sources to help inform them and provide context for the issues being addressed.
- If possible, have a lawyer be on call leading up to and during any large events or conferences in case any legal questions arise.

## HANDLING CRITICS, PROTESTERS & DISRUPTIONS

When organizing an event, you should have a clear policy in place laying out how to deal with potential protesters and disruptions. The following are some guidelines.

- Individuals, whether journalists or non-journalists, can be ejected by organizers, however only individuals who are actually disrupting an event should be asked to leave. This means that they are actively interfering with the proceedings and/or bothering other attendees in an unreasonable manner and refuse to stop. Normally, a warning should be given first, prior to asking anyone to leave, so that the offending party/parties have a chance to rectify their behavior.
- If invective or unpleasant remarks are directed at organizers they should not be met in kind. Keep a calm and professional demeanor at all times.
- Individuals should NOT be asked to leave an event because of any of the following:
  - They work for a media outlet deemed unfriendly.
  - They are known or suspected to be opponents of Palestinian rights.
  - Their known or suspected political beliefs.
  - The suspicion or belief that they may cause trouble.