Chapter 6

It's a Place of Conflict in Search of Peace

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Introduction

Enduring Understanding:

Conflicts in the Middle East are continuous and complex, with real implications for Israelis in their day-to-day lives. As Israel works toward peace, it must balance the need for security with measures to de-escalate conflict.

Chapter Overview:

This chapter covers Israeli military history and the peace process from 1948 to the present day. Students will learn about the Israel Defense Forces, review a timeline of Israel's wars, and examine critical events in the search for peace. Students will discuss some of the ethical dilemmas associated with Israeli settlements on the West Bank.

Words to Know:

Hamas: formed in 1987 to
represent Palestinians;
provides everyday services
to Palestinians, such as
schools and hospitals,
and also calls for the
destruction of Israel and
engages in attacks against
Israelis; is considered
by many to be a terrorist
organization

Israel Defense Forces (IDF): Israel's military; most men and women are required to join at age eighteen.

Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO): a group created by the Palestinians in 1964; its original goals included the destruction of Israel

- piku'ach nefesh: "saving a life"; one of the highest values in Iudaism
- settlements: communities built in the West Bank by Israeli citizens

Two-State Solution: a common suggestion for solving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict; calls for the West Bank and Gaza to separate from Israel and become a separate country called Palestine

Chapter 6 Lesson 1 The IDF, Conflict, and Peace

Essential Question: What conflicts has Israel faced, and how have Israelis continued to work toward peace?

Learning Objectives: Students will be able to:

- Identify some of the conflicts that Israel has experienced since 1948.
- Name key points in the peace process.
- Articulate the IDF's role in keeping Israelis safe and upholding its humanitarian duty to protect civilians on all sides.

Materials:

- markers and/or crayons
- video of *A Day in the Life of the IDF* found at bhlink.me/israel6 (optional)
- video about the Sderot Indoor Playground at bhlink.me/israel6 (optional)

Activities

Getting Started (5 minutes)

With partners or in small groups, have students study the photos and captions on page 62 of *Israel...It's Complicated* and discuss the three questions in "What Do You See?":

- 1 How do these photos make you feel? (The top photo makes me sad and scared about the level of violence and hatred that exists between Israelis and Palestinians. The bottom photo makes me hopeful that the two groups can work together for peace.)
- 2 What conclusions might you come to about the Israeli–Palestinian relationship based only on the first photo? On the second photo? (From the top photo, it is hard to imagine a time when we might have peace. From the bottom photo, it appears that the two groups can find things in common, a shared love of music, for example. That might be the first step toward building a meaningful and productive relationship.)
- **3** Using both photos as your information source, how would you describe the relationship between Jews and Palestinians in Israel? (*Like a lot of other things discussed in this book—it's complicated. There are many times when Jews and Palestinians are colleagues, neighbors, and even friends. There are many other times when a fiercely adversarial relationship exists.)*

After High School (10 minutes)

Ask:

What are some things you'd like to do after you graduate high school?

Distribute blank paper and markers, and have students draw two pictures, one depicting what they might do when they graduate high school in the US or Canada, and the other imagining that they live in Israel and will be serving in the IDF after high school, as required of most eighteen-year-olds.

After students have completed their drawings, invite them to show their pictures to the class and share their feelings about both possibilities (*The first picture may depict them excitedly or nervously going to college, taking a gap year, traveling abroad, getting a job, missing their families, or even joining the US or Canadian army. Students in Israel might be excited about the prospect of serving in the military on behalf of the State of Israel, living in a new place, making new friends, or gaining new skills and training. They might be frightened about getting hurt or killed, or watching a loved one be hurt or killed. They might be scared about keeping up with the rigorous demands of army life or worried about missing their friends and family at home.*)

Building Activity: A Day in the Life

Show the video A Day in the Life of the IDF found at bhlink.me/israel6. Ask students:

What did you find most interesting about the video? Was anything surprising? What does this show you about what life is really like for a soldier in the IDF? (Students might find the range of activities the soldiers do in a day interesting—everything from physical training to helping people who have been injured, even though the injured are not Israelis. They might be surprised by the strong comradery between the soldiers, who clearly enjoy spending time together, singing and working as a team. Soldiers work hard in preparation for the challenging tasks ahead of them.)

If you could talk to an IDF soldier, what would you ask him or her? How do you think he or she might respond? (Students might want to know what the soldiers have learned in their army experiences or whether they object to enlistment being mandatory. Soldiers may share how proud they are to serve their country, their concerns or fears about army life, and how they think army life is preparing them for future careers.)

Text Study: The Values of the IDF (10 minutes)

Working in pairs, ask students to read and discuss the two texts found on page 63 of their books. Then, pose the following questions to the class:

The IDF's job is to keep Israel's citizens safe. Do you think the IDF code of ethics makes that job easier or harder? Why? (In some ways, it makes it easier because IDF soldiers are operating with shared values and intentions for how to do their jobs. It also is easier to make tough decisions when you know you are doing so with the ultimate goal of keeping fellow Israeli citizens safe and protecting all innocent human life. In other ways, the code of ethics makes the job harder: IDF soldiers often are placed in greater danger as they work to protect innocent civilians.)

Judaism teaches that piku'ach nefesh, "saving a life," takes precedence over almost anything else. How do you see this value reflected in the IDF's code of ethics? (The code of ethics instructs soldiers to protect civilians and always to be guided by the supreme value of human life.)

Building Activity: My Personal Code of Ethics

Say:

Many companies and organizations—including the IDF, as we've learned—operate under codes of conduct or organizational ethics. People do too. Think of your own personal code of ethics. What are five values that you always try to uphold? (*Examples might include: do not lie, do not cheat, do not use drugs or alcohol, do not gossip, stand with your friends against bullies, ask a trusted adult for help if somebody makes your or your friends feel physically or emotionally uncomfortable.*)

With a partner, have students choose one of the following ethical dilemmas, and discuss what they would do:

- 1 You're about to take a big history test. No matter how hard one of your good friends studies, she can't remember all the material and is afraid she's going to fail. After the test, she tells you that she cheated, sneaking into the test a slip of paper with names and dates. What does your personal code of ethics tell you to do?
- 2 Your friend drinks alcohol at a party and looks sick. He goes to bed before his parents get home. You see his mom that next day, and she asks if the two of you had fun at the party. What does your personal code of ethics tell you to do?
- **3** You buy a new pair of jeans. The salesperson gives you twenty dollars change instead of the ten dollars you were supposed to get. What does your personal code of ethics tell you to do?

Teacher Tip: Ask students to make up their own scenarios or ask each group to create a scenario for another group to discuss.

Explore the Timeline (20 minutes)

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Have students study the timeline that begins in their books on page 64. Then instruct students:

Draw a star next to times when Israel was at war or in a conflict. Draw a circle next to times when steps were taken toward peace. (Stars: 1948-9 War of Independence, 1956 Suez War, 1967 Six-Day War, 1973 Yom Kippur War, 1982 First Lebanon War, 1987 First Intifada, 2000 Second Intifada, 2006 Second Lebanon War, 2007 Hamas Take-Over of Gaza, 2008 Operation Cast Lead, 2014 Operation Protective Edge.

Circles: 1979 Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty, 1991 Madrid Peace Conference, 1993 Oslo Accords, 1994 Israel-Jordan Peace Treaty, 2000 Israel Withdraws from Lebanon, 2000 Camp David Summit, 2005 Israel Withdraws from Gaza.)

Compare the quotes from Nedal Zahran and Carmit Malka (pages 67 and 68). What concerns do they share? How are their perspectives different? (Both Nedal and Carmit are concerned for their safety and the safety of their peoples. They are both worried about what the future might hold.

There may never have been a time when Nedal felt safe and secure where she was living. Carmit worries that her children will not have the same safe childhood that she was able to enjoy.)

Imagine you are extending the timeline into the future. What possibilities could you imagine between Israel and its neighbors: Will Israel sign new peace treaties? Might there be another intifada? Will Israel ally with neighboring countries to fight a shared enemy? What kinds of new Israeli and Palestinian leaders may emerge? Will the United States or other countries help broker a two-state solution between Israel and the Palestinians? Will technological advances increase the risk of war or the possibility of peace? In the boxes on page 69 write and illustrate what you think will happen in the next five years. The next ten years. The next twenty-five years.

Teacher Tip: In the next lesson, students will learn about Israeli settlements on the West Bank and discuss whether the settlements enhance Israel's security or are obstacles to peace. You may wish to have students hold off on completing the timeline—"What do you think will happen between Israel and its neighbors in the next five years, ten years, and twenty-five years?"—until the end of lesson 2.

Building Activity: Bomb Shelter Playground

Say to the class:

To help kids like Carmit, the Jewish National Fund built an indoor playground for the children of Sderot. It is built inside a bomb shelter, to help keep the kids safe in case of rocket attacks like the one that destroyed Carmit's home.

Watch the video about the playground (bhlink.me/israel6). Then discuss:

How do you think the children of Sderot feel when they are playing in this playground? Do you think they can forget why they are playing indoors? How would you feel if you and your friends had to play in a facility like this one?

Building Activity: Help the Kids of Sderot

If you were inspired by the kids in this video, consider helping to fund the program! Work as a class to raise some money to send to JNF to help keep this playground open. You can decide whether you want to use your tzedakah money or hold a fundraising event like a bake or book sale.

Teacher Tip: Check with your education director to follow appropriate fundraising rules for your organization.

Chapter 6 Lesson 2

Do Settlements Promote Security or Conflict? It's Complicated

Essential Question: What role do the West Bank settlements play in the quest for peace and security in Israel?

Learning Objective: Students will be able to:

Explain the key arguments for and against the West Bank settlements and begin to form their own opinion about the legitimacy, importance, and future of the settlements.

Activities

Getting Started (10 minutes)

Distribute blank paper, and say to the class:

Imagine that, because of limited resources, your class and another class have to share your classroom. Using paper and pens or pencils, draw a quick sketch of your classroom, including desks or chairs, tables, bookcases, bulletin boards, and other objects in the room. Now, without moving furniture and objects around, draw a line showing how you could share the room.

Ask:

What obstacles might stand in the way of learning? What are some ways you could work together? What additional challenges might arise if there was a history of conflict between some members of each of the classes? What if each class believed that the classroom space was rightfully theirs and the other group didn't belong?

Invite students to share their thoughts. After the discussion, tell students:

This activity can give you a glimpse into how challenging it has been for Israelis and Palestinians who are living together in the West Bank.

On Your Feet: West Bank Settlements (10 minutes)

Have students read aloud "Do the Settlements Promote Security or Conflict?" on page 70 of their books. Distribute and have students read the Settlements, Peace, and Security Source Sheet found on page 128 of this guide. Then, say:

I'm going to read a series of statements to you. When I finish each statement, I want you to stand if you agree with it and remain seated if you disagree. There are no right or wrong answers, so go with your initial response.

After you read each statement, call on one sitting and one standing student to explain their opinions. Once students have heard both sides, students can change their minds, sitting or standing accordingly. Here are the ten statements:

- **1** All Israeli settlers should leave the West Bank immediately.
- **2** Israeli settlers have the right to live on the West Bank.
- **3** Israel should make the Jewish settlements legally part of Israel.
- 4 Israel should make the entire West Bank legally part of Israel.
- **5** All of the West Bank, including the Jewish settlements, should be made into a Palestinian state.
- **6** The Jewish settlement should become part of Israel, and the rest of the West Bank should be a Palestinian state.
- **7** The status quo of the settlements and the West Bank should remain frozen until it is clear that there will be no rockets or other terrorist attacks launched from the West Bank by Palestinians.
- 8 Israel should expand and build as many settlements in the West Bank as it wants.
- **9** If I lived in Israel, I would move to a settlement.
- **10** If I lived in Israel, I would never visit a settlement.

Debate It! Where to Live? (15 minutes)

Invite a volunteer to read "Debate It!" on page 71:

Your friend Adi's family is planning to move to Israel. Her dad wants to live in the West Bank because it's more affordable. Her mother thinks Jewish people shouldn't live in the West Bank because it makes the peace process more challenging. Adi doesn't know what to think.

Then ask:

Should Adi's family move to the settlements?

Working in pairs, thinking about whether the settlements promote peace or conflict and their own feelings about the settlements, have students take a side and debate the issue. Or invite pairs of students to role-play Adi's parents for the class. After listing the main points in their books, discuss the following questions as a group:

What ethical or moral concerns came up for you as you debated this issue? How did it make you feel? (Students may worry that every new family moving to the West Bank makes the peace process more difficult. They might be concerned about the safety of Adi's family. They might worry that the rights of Palestinians living in the West Bank are being ignored or violated.)

Adi's father wants to live in the West Bank for economic reasons. Would you feel differently about their potential move if he wanted to live on the West Bank for a different reason, such as a religious belief in the Jewish connection to the land or a desire to create positive relationships with Palestinians living there? (Students might feel that an altruistic reason is a stronger one for moving to the area than an economic one. They might feel that Adi's family has the right to live anywhere they wish, no matter the reason.)

Building Activity: Go Team!

Say to the class:

Imagine that Adi lives in a community like ours and attends a school like yours. Over the last few years, Adi's community has welcomed several new immigrant families. Adi and her friends love playing soccer. They invited the children from these immigrant families to join a new soccer league that would bring everybody in the community closer together. Adi hopes that when she and her family move to Israel, she'll be able to join a sports league that includes both Israeli and Palestinian kids, whether or not she lives in the West Bank.

Now imagine that you and your friends wanted to launch a soccer league like Adi and her friends. Think about some of the steps you would need to take to make this happen. Let's start by working as a class on ground rules for the league. What needs to be in place to make this league successful? (Ground rules might include: respecting individual differences, providing food that is respectful of dietary restrictions, not having games on religious holidays, treating all league members with kindness.)

Once the class has agreed on a set of ground rules, divide the students into three groups:

- 1 Creative. Come up with a name for the league. What do you want the name to reflect? Then, design a logo for the league. What image represents the idea behind the league? (Possible names include: Removing Barriers, All In, One Family, Equality. Name should reflect the importance of everyone being included. The logo might include images like teammates holding a soccer ball, a group of people from a variety of backgrounds, or a globe.)
- **2** Fundraising. What are some ways you can help raise funds for uniforms and equipment the teams will need? (*bake sales, car washes, solicit donations from local businesses, babysitting services, coaching younger kids, doing chores in exchange for donations*)
- **3** Social opportunities. How can you create programs that will help the soccer players and their families get to know one another? (*Have potluck dinners at one another's homes, have coffee meet-ups for parents, create a group on social media that people can follow, play icebreakers before each game.)*

When all the groups have finished, give each group a few minutes to present their ideas to the class. Then ask:

How do you think a sports program like this could help bring Israeli and Palestinian kids together? Why is that important?

Building Activity: West Bank Bar Mitzvah

Read to students the following story:

As Yosef prepared to become a bar mitzvah, he looked forward to having his whole family celebrate with him. He had attended the b'nei mitzvah celebrations of many of his cousins, and now it was his turn. But, then, some relatives threatened to boycott his celebration.

Yosef's family lives in a small settlement called Migron, on the Israeli West Bank. It is disputed territory, and some of Yosef's relatives do not think Jews should be living there. These relatives refused to attend Yosef's bar mitzvah, as a political statement. "Their refusal [to come to the bar mitzvah] made me feel a bit miserable," says Yosef. "Like I was a second-class citizen."

Ask the group:

If you were Yosef, how would you have felt? Why do you think some of Yosef's relatives chose not to attend his celebration?

Based on their understanding of the reading on page 70 and the source sheet, have them work in pairs or small groups to discuss the following questions:

- If you were Yosef, how would you feel about Keifa? Carmit?
- If you were Keifa, how would you feel about Yosef? Carmit?
- If you were Carmit, how would you feel about Keifa? Yosef?

Reflections: Talk about It! (10 minutes)

Ask for a volunteer to read the story of Rabbi Hillel in "Talk about It" on page 71. Then ask students to share their answers to these questions with the class:

Teacher Tip: If you wish, you can encourage students to give their answers while actually standing on one foot. Be mindful of any students with any physical limitations that would prevent them from answering the questions in this way. It might help to advise students to think through their answers carefully before standing on one foot.

- 1 Imagine someone asked you to explain the conflicts described in this chapter while standing on one foot—in other words, to sum them up very briefly. What would you say? (The Israeli and Palestinian people both believe they have a historical and religious claim to the land of Israel. As a result, there have been decades of conflict as each group tries to claim ownership of the land.)
- **2** How do you think the people who live in the Middle East might benefit from Rabbi Hillel's advice? (For many people living in the region, there is an undercurrent of distrust and even hatred toward the other group in the conflict. If more work was being done to help reduce hateful or hurtful behavior, there might be a greater chance for peace in the region.)

If your students have not yet completed the timeline on page 69 of the student book, have them fill in what they think will happen between Israel and her neighbors in the next five years, ten years, and twenty-five years. Invite students to share their predictions with the group.

Additional Resources

The following activities and information can supplement the lessons or be used on their own to enrich learning about Israel as a place of conflict.

United Nations Partition Plan for Palestine

U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Resolution 181 (II). Future Government of Palestine

29 November 1947

A

The General Assembly,

Having met in special session at the request of the mandatory Power to constitute and instruct a special committee to prepare for the consideration of the question of the future government of Palestine at the second regular session;

Having constituted a Special Committee and instructed it to investigate all questions and issues relevant to the problem of Palestine, and to prepare proposals for the solution of the problem, and

Having received and examined the report of the Special Committee (document A/364)¹ including a number of unanimous recommendations and a plan of partition with economic union approved by the majority of the Special Committee,

Considers that the present situation in Palestine is one which is likely to impair the general welfare and friendly relations among nations;

Takes note of the declaration by the mandatory Power that it plans to complete its evacuation of Palestine by 1 August 1948;

Recommends to the United Kingdom, as the mandatory Power for Palestine, and to all other Members of the United Nations the adoption and implementation, with regard to the future government of Palestine, of the Plan of Partition with Economic Union set out below;

Requests that

- (a) The Security Council take the necessary measures as provided for in the plan for its implementation;
- 1 The Mandate for Palestine shall terminate as soon as possible, but in any case, not later than 1 August 1948.

United Nations Partition Plan for Palestine (continued)

- (b) The Security Council consider, if circumstances during the transitional period require such consideration, whether the situation in Palestine constitutes a threat to the peace. If it decides that such a threat exists, and in order to maintain international peace and security, the Security Council should supplement the authorization of the General Assembly by taking measures, under Articles 39 and 41 of the Charter, to empower the United Nations Commission, as provided in this resolution, to exercise in Palestine the functions which are assigned to it by this resolution;
- (c) The Security Council determine as a threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression, in accordance with Article 39 of the Charter, any attempt to alter by force the settlement envisaged by this resolution;
- (d) The Trusteeship Council be informed of the responsibilities envisaged for it in this plan;

Calls upon the inhabitants of Palestine to take such steps as may be necessary on their part to put this plan into effect;

Appeals to all Governments and all peoples to refrain from taking action which might hamper or delay the carrying out of these recommendations, and

Authorizes the Secretary-General to reimburse travel and subsistence expenses of the members of the Commission referred to in Part I, Section B, paragraph 1 below, on such basis and in such form as he may determine most appropriate in the circumstances, and to provide the Commission with the necessary staff to assist in carrying out the functions assigned to the Commission by the General Assembly.

B

The General Assembly

Authorizes the Secretary-General to draw from the Working Capital Fund a sum not to exceed \$2,000,000 for the purposes set forth in the last paragraph of the resolution on the future government of Palestine.

Hundred and twenty-eighth plenary meeting 29 November 1947

Source: United Nations, www.un.org/unispal

Partition Plan Map (1947)



Map courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.

United Nations Resolution about Territories (1967)

SECURITY COUNCIL

Resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967

22 November 1967

The Security Council,

Expressing its continuing concern with the grave situation in the Middle East,

Emphasizing the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by war and the need to work for a just and lasting peace in which every State in the area can live in security,

Emphasizing further that all Member States in their acceptance of the Charter of the United Nations have undertaken a commitment to act in accordance with Article 2 of the Charter,

- **1** Affirms that the fulfilment of Charter principles requires the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should include the application of both the following principles:
 - (i) Withdrawal of Israel armed forces from <u>territories</u> occupied in the recent conflict;
 - (ii) Termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force;
- 2 Affirms further the necessity
 - (a) For guaranteeing freedom of navigation through international waterways in the area;
 - (b) For achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem;
 - (c) For guaranteeing the territorial inviolability and political independence of every State in the area, through measures including the establishment of demilitarized zones;
- **3** *Requests* the Secretary–General to designate a Special Representative to proceed to the Middle East to establish and maintain contacts with the States concerned in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement in accordance with the provisions and principles in this resolution;
- **4** *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the progress of the efforts of the Special Representative as soon as possible.

Source: United Nations, www.un.org/unispal

Palestine National Charter, 1968

The Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) was founded in 1964. Its original covenant was amended in 1968 by the Palestine National Council.

Resolutions of the Palestine National Council July 1-17, 1968

Article 1: Palestine is the homeland of the Arab Palestinian people; it is an indivisible part of the Arab homeland, and the Palestinian people are an integral part of the Arab nation.

Article 2: Palestine, with the boundaries it had during the British Mandate, is an indivisible territorial unit.

Article 3: The Palestinian Arab people possess the legal right to their homeland and have the right to determine their destiny after achieving the liberation of their country in accordance with their wishes and entirely of their own accord and will.

Article 4: The Palestinian identity is a genuine, essential, and inherent characteristic; it is transmitted from parents to children. The Zionist occupation and the dispersal of the Palestinian Arab people, through the disasters which befell them, do not make them lose their Palestinian identity and their membership in the Palestinian community, nor do they negate them.

Article 5: The Palestinians are those Arab nationals who, until 1947, normally resided in Palestine regardless of whether they were evicted from it or have stayed there. Anyone born, after that date, of a Palestinian father—whether inside Palestine or outside it—is also a Palestinian.

Article 6: The Jews who had normally resided in Palestine until the beginning of the Zionist invasion will be considered Palestinians.

Article 7: That there is a Palestinian community and that it has material, spiritual, and historical connection with Palestine are indisputable facts. It is a national duty to bring up individual Palestinians in an Arab revolutionary manner. All means of information and education must be adopted in order to acquaint the Palestinian with his country in the most profound manner, both spiritual and material, that is possible. He must be prepared for the armed struggle and ready to sacrifice his wealth and his life in order to win back his homeland and bring about its liberation.

Article 8: The phase in their history, through which the Palestinian people are now living, is that of national (*watani*) struggle for the liberation of Palestine. Thus the conflicts among the Palestinian national forces are secondary, and should be ended for the sake of the basic conflict that exists between the forces of Zionism and of imperialism on the one hand, and the Palestinian Arab people on the other. On this basis the Palestinian masses, regardless of whether they are residing in the national homeland or in diaspora (*mahajir*) constitute—both their organizations and the individuals—one national front working for the retrieval of Palestine and its liberation through armed struggle.

Article 9: Armed struggle is the only way to liberate Palestine. This it is the overall strategy, not merely a tactical phase. The Palestinian Arab people assert their absolute determination and firm resolution to continue their armed struggle and to work for an armed popular revolution for the liberation of their country and their return to it. They also assert their right to normal life in Palestine and to exercise their right to self-determination and sovereignty over it.

Article 10: Commando action constitutes the nucleus of the Palestinian popular liberation war. This requires its escalation, comprehensiveness, and the mobilization of all the Palestinian popular and educational efforts and their organization and involvement in the armed Palestinian revolution. It also requires the achieving of unity for the national (*watani*) struggle among the different groupings of the Palestinian people, and between the Palestinian people and the Arab masses, so as to secure the continuation of the revolution, its escalation, and victory.

Article 11: The Palestinians will have three mottoes: national (*wataniyya*) unity, national (*qawmiyya*) mobilization, and liberation.

Article 12: The Palestinian people believe in Arab unity. In order to contribute their share toward the attainment of that objective, however, they must, at the present stage of their struggle, safeguard their Palestinian identity and develop their consciousness of that identity, and oppose any plan that may dissolve or impair it.

Article 13: Arab unity and the liberation of Palestine are two complementary objectives, the attainment of either of which facilitates the attainment of the other. Thus, Arab unity leads to the liberation of Palestine, the liberation of Palestine leads to Arab unity; and work toward the realization of one objective proceeds side by side with work toward the realization of the other.

Article 14: The destiny of the Arab nation, and indeed Arab existence itself, depend upon the destiny of the Palestine cause. From this interdependence springs the Arab nation's pursuit of, and striving for, the liberation of Palestine. The people of Palestine play the role of the vanguard in the realization of this sacred (*qawmi*) goal.

Article 15: The liberation of Palestine, from an Arab viewpoint, is a national (*qawmi*) duty and it attempts to repel the Zionist and imperialist aggression against the Arab homeland, and aims at the elimination of Zionism in Palestine. Absolute responsibility for this falls upon the Arab nation—peoples and governments—with the Arab people of Palestine in the vanguard. Accordingly, the Arab nation must mobilize all its military, human, moral, and spiritual capabilities to participate actively with the Palestinian people in the liberation of Palestine. It must, particularly in the phase of the armed Palestinian revolution, offer and furnish the Palestinian people with all possible help, and material and human support, and make available to them the means and opportunities that will enable them to continue to carry out their leading role in the armed revolution, until they liberate their homeland.

Article 16: The liberation of Palestine, from a spiritual point of view, will provide the Holy Land with an atmosphere of safety and tranquility, which in turn will safeguard the country's religious sanctuaries and guarantee freedom of worship and of visit to all, without discrimination of race, color, language, or religion. Accordingly, the people of Palestine look to all spiritual forces in the world for support.

Article 17: The liberation of Palestine, from a human point of view, will restore to the Palestinian individual his dignity, pride, and freedom. Accordingly the Palestinian Arab people look forward to the support of all those who believe in the dignity of man and his freedom in the world.

Article 18: The liberation of Palestine, from an international point of view, is a defensive action necessitated by the demands of self-defense. Accordingly the Palestinian people, desirous as they are of the friendship of all people, look to freedom-loving, and peace-loving states for support in order to restore their legitimate rights in Palestine, to re-establish peace and security in the country, and to enable its people to exercise national sovereignty and freedom.

Article 19: The partition of Palestine in 1947 and the establishment of the state of Israel are entirely illegal, regardless of the passage of time, because they were contrary to the will of the Palestinian people and to their natural right in their homeland, and inconsistent with the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations; particularly the right to self-determination.

Article 20: The Balfour Declaration, the Mandate for Palestine, and everything that has been based upon them, are deemed null and void. Claims of historical or religious ties of Jews with Palestine are incompatible with the facts of history and the true conception of what constitutes statehood. Judaism, being a religion, is not an independent nationality. Nor do Jews constitute a single nation with an identity of its own; they are citizens of the states to which they belong.

Article 21: The Arab Palestinian people, expressing themselves by the armed Palestinian revolution, reject all solutions which are substitutes for the total liberation of Palestine and reject all proposals aiming at the liquidation of the Palestinian problem, or its internationalization.

Article 22: Zionism is a political movement organically associated with international imperialism and antagonistic to all action for liberation and to progressive movements in the world. It is racist and fanatic in its nature, aggressive, expansionist, and colonial in its aims, and fascist in its methods. Israel is the instrument of the Zionist movement, and geographical base for world imperialism placed strategically in the midst of the Arab homeland to combat the hopes of the Arab nation for liberation, unity, and progress. Israel is a constant source of threat vis-a-vis peace in the Middle East and the whole world. Since the liberation of Palestine will destroy the Zionist and imperialist presence and will contribute to the establishment of peace in the Middle East, the Palestinian people look for the support of all the progressive and peaceful forces and urge them all, irrespective of their affiliations and beliefs, to offer the Palestinian people all aid and support in their just struggle for the liberation of their homeland.

Article 23: The demand of security and peace, as well as the demand of right and justice, require all states to consider Zionism an illegitimate movement, to outlaw its existence, and to ban its operations, in order that friendly relations among peoples may be preserved, and the loyalty of citizens to their respective homelands safeguarded.

Article 24: The Palestinian people believe in the principles of justice, freedom, sovereignty, self-determination, human dignity, and in the right of all peoples to exercise them.

Article 25: For the realization of the goals of this Charter and its principles, the Palestine Liberation Organization will perform its role in the liberation of Palestine in accordance with the Constitution of this Organization.

Article 26: The Palestine Liberation Organization, representative of the Palestinian revolutionary forces, is responsible for the Palestinian Arab people's movement in its struggle—to retrieve its homeland, liberate and return to it and exercise the right to self-determination in it—in all military, political, and financial fields and also for whatever may be required by the Palestine case on the inter-Arab and international levels.

Article 27: The Palestine Liberation Organization shall cooperate with all Arab states, each according to its potentialities; and will adopt a neutral policy among them in the light of the requirements of the war of liberation; and on this basis it shall not interfere in the internal affairs of any Arab state.

Article 28: The Palestinian Arab people assert the genuineness and independence of their national (*wataniyya*) revolution and reject all forms of intervention, trusteeship, and subordination.

Article 29: The Palestinian people possess the fundamental and genuine legal right to liberate and retrieve their homeland. The Palestinian people determine their attitude toward all states and forces on the basis of the stands they adopt vis-a-vis to the Palestinian revolution to fulfill the aims of the Palestinian people.

Article 30: Fighters and carriers of arms in the war of liberation are the nucleus of the popular army which will be the protective force for the gains of the Palestinian Arab people.

Article 31: The Organization shall have a flag, an oath of allegiance, and an anthem. All this shall be decided upon in accordance with a special regulation.

Article 32: Regulations, which shall be known as the Constitution of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, shall be annexed to this Charter. It will lay down the manner in which the Organization, and its organs and institutions, shall be constituted; the respective competence of each; and the requirements of its obligation under the Charter.

Article 33: This Charter shall not be amended save by [vote of] a majority of two-thirds of the total membership of the National Congress of the Palestine Liberation Organization [taken] at a special session convened for that purpose.

Source: Center for Israel Education; The Avalon Project of Yale Law School

Camp David Accords: Egyptian-Israeli History

By Jimmy Carter

Camp David Accords were agreements between Israel and Egypt signed on September 17, 1978, that led to a peace treaty between those two countries, the first such treaty between Israel and any of its Arab neighbours. Brokered by U.S. President Jimmy Carter between Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Egyptian President Anwar el-Sādāt and officially titled the "Framework for Peace in the Middle East," the agreements became known as the Camp David Accords because the negotiations took place at the U.S. presidential retreat at Camp David in Maryland. Sādāt and Begin were awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1978 for their contributions to the agreements.

Background

The United Nations (UN) voted in 1947 to partition Great Britain's Palestine mandate—to be established were a Jewish state, an Arab state, and an independent Jerusalem under a UN trusteeship. Arabs opposed partition. When the mandate ended on May 15, 1948, and Israel proclaimed its independence, the first Arab-Israeli war erupted. No separate state for Arab Palestinians (i.e., Palestinians) was established. Egypt took control of the Gaza Strip along the Mediterranean Sea, and Jordan assumed sovereignty over the territory between Israel's eastern border and the Jordan River (the West Bank), including East Jerusalem. During the Six-Day War of June 1967, Israel occupied those territories as well as the Golan Heights—a patch of Syrian land on Israel's northeastern border—and Egypt's Sinai Peninsula. Following his election as U.S. president, Carter committed himself to working toward a comprehensive Middle East peace settlement based on UN Resolution 242 (November 1967), which called for the withdrawal of Israel from the occupied territories, Arab recognition of and peace with Israel (stipulations that the Arab states had refused to agree to), and a just settlement to the problem of Palestinian refugees displaced by the establishment of Israel and the 1967 war.

In November 1977, Sādāt initiated direct contacts with Israel and made a dramatic visit to Jerusalem, where he spoke to the Israeli Knesset. However, a reciprocal visit by Begin was unsuccessful, and no progress was made toward peace. Rosalynn Carter, the U.S. first lady, then suggested to her husband that he invite Sādāt and Begin to Camp David, in rural Maryland, where the relative privacy and seclusion might provide a setting for a breakthrough.

The Summit

The two leaders accepted Carter's invitation, and the summit began on September 5, 1978, and lasted for 13 days. It was extremely unusual for heads of state to engage in a summit meeting at which the outcome was so much in doubt. Not only had Egypt and Israel been at war for decades, but the personality differences of the leaders promised to complicate the dialogue. Begin, always formal in dress and manner, was extremely detail-oriented and careful about the possible ramifications of any agreements. He was pessimistic about what he believed could be achieved at Camp David and insisted that the objective be limited to developing an agenda for future meetings. By contrast, Sādāt wore fashionable sports clothes, was relaxed and forthcoming, and was willing to join in comprehensive negotiations aimed at settling all controversial issues during the few days of the summit.

All three men were accompanied by their leading foreign policy advisers, but Carter preferred that the three men work together in private sessions in a small office at Aspen, his cabin at Camp David. He also insisted that there be no direct press coverage of the meetings, fearing it would have a negative

effect on negotiations. A humorous situation arose right before the first meeting, an awkward moment that nonetheless shed light on the personalities involved. After President Carter and the first lady entered the cabin, Begin and Sādāt hesitated over who should follow through the doorway. Both men laughed, and Begin insisted that Sādāt proceed first. As the first lady noted later, "Jimmy said to me that Begin would never go ahead of Sādāt, being perfectly proper according to protocol—president above prime minister."

After three days of negotiations, the heated discussions reached an impasse, and direct discourse between Sādāt and Begin became impossible. Carter then compiled a single document that encompassed a resolution of the major issues, presented the proposals to each leader in separate meetings, assessed their comments, and redrafted the manuscript some two dozen times, shuttling the manuscript back and forth for their review.

As the days passed, prospects for a settlement at Camp David appeared so bleak that Sādāt threatened to leave, and Carter began planning to return to the White House and suffer the likely political consequences of failure. An agreement was reached on the final day.

A Framework For Peace

The eventual outcome of these talks, the "Framework for Peace in the Middle East," had three parts: (1) a process for Palestinian self-government in the West Bank and Gaza, (2) a framework for the conclusion of a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel, and (3) a similar framework for peace treaties between Israel and its other neighbours. The prime minister and the Israeli Knesset agreed that a transitional self-governing Palestinian authority was to be elected to replace Israeli political and military forces in the occupied territories.

The peace treaty that Israel and Egypt signed in March 1979. Israel agreed to withdraw from Sinai, and Egypt promised to establish normal diplomatic relations between the two countries and open the Suez Canal to Israeli ships (which until then had been banned from the waterway). These provisions were duly carried out. However, most Arab countries, rather than following Egypt's lead, ostracized Egypt and expelled it from the Arab League. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), professing to speak for the Palestinian people, also rejected the accords. Nonetheless, the next major advance in Middle East peace negotiations, the Oslo Accords signed by Israel and the PLO in 1993, included provisions with regard to the West Bank and Gaza that were similar to those in the Camp David Accords.

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How to Communicate in Conflict

Encounter is an organization that focuses on forging relationships between American Jewish leaders and Palestinians so they can be a positive force for communal change around the subject of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Encounter's approach to communicating in conflict aims to create a framework in which deeply contentious and charged topics can be explored respectfully by people of diverse ideological viewpoints.

This approach helps us:

- hear and learn things we might otherwise miss, and
- ask challenging questions in ways that can be heard by the person being addressed.

While it may feel counterintuitive at first, using this framework can actually liberate us. First, we are forced to clarify for ourselves and for others the burning question at the heart of our discomfort or curiosity; second, we are able to communicate more openly because we are no longer afraid of offending. Encounter's approach enables us to ask the most challenging questions in ways that are respectful, genuine, and open.

Encounter's approach to communicating in conflict enables us to speak with כבוד / kavod (honor) and אמת emet (truthfulness) in all our conversations. It serves as a guiding framework for conversations with other participants as well as with Palestinians.

We encourage participants to:

- 1. Speak for yourself, not as a representative of a group. Do not ask others to represent, defend or explain an entire group. Make "I" statements rather than "we" statements.
- 2. Avoid making broad generalizations and grand pronouncements. Instead, connect what you know and believe to your experiences and sources of information.
- 3. Express your different viewpoints in a thoughtful manner and without an insulting spirit. Keep in mind your goals of learning and reflection. When you disagree with others, respectfully express your opinions, but resist the urge to persuade them to "your side."
- 4. Listen with resilience, "hanging in" when you hear something that is hard to hear. Take personal time if you find that you are no longer able to listen with a clear mind and an open heart.
- 5. Share airtime and refrain from interrupting others, except to indicate that you cannot hear a speaker. Participate within the time frames suggested by the facilitators.
- 6. "Pass" or "pass for now" if you are not ready or willing to respond to a question, no explanation required.
- 7. Keep all small-group conversations and listening pairs confidential. Outside those, if asked to keep something confidential, honor the request. In conversations outside of the group, do not attribute statements to individuals by name or identifying information without permission.
- 8. During question and answer time periods, **avoid making lengthy statements.** Do not argue with speakers or other participants. Instead, ask questions that express your genuine curiosity.

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1

And I will give to you and your children after you the land of your sojournings, the entire land of Canaan, for an everlasting holding. I will be their God. (Genesis 17:8)

2

Hillel says: "Be among the disciples of Aaron, loving peace and pursuing peace...." (Pirkei Avot 1:12)

3

One of the biggest problems that all Palestinians complain about is the lack of a clear future. Over the past 20 years, we have lived through periods of hope, violence, anticipation, concern....We do not know what the future holds for us. Every single event that happens on the political side can flip all your plans. (Nedal Zahran, Palestinian on the West Bank)

4

Living here is a major part of our patriotism. By building our homes and raising our children here, we are reviving the historical connection of our people with our land. That is what Zionism is all about.

(David Ha'ivri, Israeli settler, Kfar Tapuach, West Bank)

5

From the Palestinian village of Tuwani

For their protection, Keifa Jundiyye and other Palestinian children are escorted to school each day by international volunteers and Israeli soldiers. In the past, rock- throwing Jewish settlers have thrown rocks at students. In some cases, families have chosen to no longer send their children to school in order to avoid injury. "Education is a mighty weapon. It is the only weapon we have," says Jundiyye.

6

From the Jewish settlement of Amona

Yair (18) used text messaging to organize teens to protest against the government's evacuation of Amona, his settlement. The Israeli government considered Amona illegal and had struck a deal with the settlement's elders to close Amona and resettle its residents. But when soldiers came to evacuate Amona, the teenagers refused to leave and barricaded themselves in buildings. Most of the teens eventually left peacefully, but some threw rocks, paint, and bleach at the military. "I think the fight for Amona is not finished," said Yair, and explained that he felt it was important that the world know that Jews were being uprooted from land that he believes God had granted them.

7

From the Israeli town of S'derot, near Gaza (not in the West Bank) Carmit Malka and her husband, Oshri were born and raised in S'derot, and now raise their sons, Noam (age 6) and Idan (age 4), there. The family had left just a half-hour earlier to take the children to school and head to work when a rocket launched from the nearby Gaza Strip destroyed their home. "I remember growing up, feeling safe and secure in S'derot. I was happy. Why can't my kids have that kind of childhood?" Carmit wonders.

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