

## Transcript: *The Law and the Prophets*

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0:02

(emotional violin music)

0:22

I grew up not far from here. I used to come here as a kid and play and climb and run around.

0:27

It always seemed to me sort of an ancient, strange place. I never really knew who had built it,

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when, who had lived here. - The story here is an uncomfortable one, I think,

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for Western audiences to hear, because it has such strong echoes, parallels

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with the Western story: colonizing so much of the world, creating these colonies in other people's countries,

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and then the local population being displaced. This is what the scholars called settler colonialism.

0:59

- I had a very strange experience maybe 15 years ago, more or less here, walking here.

1:05

And I met a guy who was walking here and also he was giving a tour, and I listened to him,

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and he said, "That's the house we used to live in, and that's where my uncle lived,

1:17

and that's where we made the olive oil." And suddenly this place, which seemed to me like an ancient thing.

1:24

I knew it was an Arab village, but I didn't know which Arabs and when and what happened to it.

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Suddenly, houses that people lived in and places that they played and where they planted, and it suddenly came very much alive.

1:39

For me, that was a very powerful experience, suddenly thinking of this place as a real place

1:44

where people lived not so long ago, people who are still alive. That sort of changed the meaning of Lifta for me,

1:51

from a playground to... a place that reminds me also of the Nakba,

1:57

of the catastrophe that happened to Palestinians here. (moving orchestral music) - The difference between colonialism and settler colonialism

2:04

is colonial societies, Britain being a good example of one, went there to exploit the native population.

2:11

Settler colonial societies go there to replace the native population. That's the difference.

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It comes at a terrible price for the local population. It can lead to genocide, ethnic cleansing, to apartheid,

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where people are herded into reservations or Bantustans, as they were called in South Africa. And Israel's story really has

2:31

very strong parallels with this. It's a very Western story.

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- For the last few centuries, this was an Arab, a Palestinian village,

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and in the 1948 war, this is one of the first places together with a chain of other villages

2:48

along the Jerusalem-Jaffa road, that was forcefully depopulated by the Israeli forces.

2:54

- To create a Jewish state here, it had to expel 80% of all the Palestinians

3:00

who were living here. Palestinians pushed out of their homeland, their villages razed to the ground, turned into rubble,

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hundreds of these villages all over what we today call Israel. It's just full of these destroyed villages,

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Palestinian villages. And this story, to tell this part of the story involves looking at our own history, looking at our role,

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our responsibility over the last few hundred years in colonizing large areas of the world. And that's a difficult story for people to hear,

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and it's a difficult for one for them to process in the context of Israel, which we've been told is a story simply of the Jewish people

3:38

fleeing the horrors of Europe. Now, of course, they did flee the horrors of Europe,

3:43

but it came at a terrible price for the Palestinians, and that's one that we allowed to happen. As Westerners, we turned a blind eye to it

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because it wasn't the price that we paid. (somber orchestral music) - This place has become unofficially

3:56

a sort of park for the Jewish neighborhoods around here. People come here to walk, to picnic.

4:06

- To remind people of that price, of the horrors that occurred here, is a difficult one.

4:12

It's one that involves our complicity in those crimes.

4:18

If we look at the story of Palestine, we see something, an echo of our own story.

4:26

(emotional orchestral music)

4:41

(ethereal orchestral music) - I thought that the Israeli  
Palestinian conflict

4:48

was complicated, but it's not complicated, not anymore.

4:53

One people group sees itself as superior to another people  
group, and this superiority breeds contempt,

5:01

which leads to systems of oppression. In the 21st century  
those systems must be given a veil of legitimacy,

5:09

especially when the group that deems itself as superior  
claims to be democratic and morally upright.

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Thus, the mechanisms of oppression are hidden behind the  
veil of security, of law and order.

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And because Western audiences are prone to sympathize  
with the Jewish people, this veil is sufficient.

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But once you see behind the veil, you cannot unseen what  
lies there.

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You cannot unseen the ugliness of Israel's oppression of the  
Palestinian people.

5:45

And for the sake of the millions of Palestinians who suffer  
these indignities, I urge you not to look away.

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(dramatic orchestral music) It was the voices of some brave  
and determined individuals,

5:59

people I am proud to call friends, who showed me the  
destructive,

6:04

unjust and often invisible ways in which Israel exploits and oppresses Palestinians.

6:13

They deserve your attention. (somber orchestral music)

6:19

(metal door clanking)

6:31

- I'm trying to tell a story nobody wants told. My background is with The Guardian,

6:38

so when I come here, I'm writing for The Guardian newspaper. I'm also writing for the International Herald Tribune,

6:43

which is today the International New York Times. I'm a very mainstream journalist. My background is very mainstream. But when I come here, I'm trying to tell a story

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that isn't mainstream, and that leads me into a lot of conflict with the editors that I'm writing for, and in the end,

6:58

it means that I have to make fundamental choices. Am I treating this as a stepping stone to a bigger career,

7:05

a bigger journalistic move, or am I trying to tell the story as I can see it myself?

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And I think that those choices, well, they were difficult ones, but in the end, I decided to tell the story

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as I could see it, and it led to me burning a lot of bridges with the newspapers.

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And today, I write mainly for what I call the Arab media in English, places like Al Jazeera.

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I write for a paper based out of Abu Dhabi. I write for a website in the UK.

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But I've gone from being a very mainstream journalist with a big voice to a marginalized journalist with a small voice,

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and that's inevitable if you try and tell the real stories here.

7:58

- I never bought fully the story of the Jewish state

8:03

in constant parallel with the Arabs around us, always trying to kill us, and everything we're doing is self-defense,

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just because that's a personality type or it's ADHD, or never properly socialized,

8:18

but I never accepted really any of the stories

8:23

about why I should be in school or about why we should follow rules. And then this one sort of stuck with me.

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I can say, looking back 20 years ago...

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when I was sort of coming of age, and I was looking a little bit into immigration,

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because, I said, this country is crazy and... maybe I should go elsewhere.

8:49

And I tried a little bit traveling and moving different places, but pretty soon I came to feel that this is the only place

8:57

I really feel at home. This is where my family is, my places, my friends are. This is where I want to be.

9:03

And deciding that, with that came the decision, well then, if I'm staying here, I should try to do something

9:09

about the most disturbing parts of this. Demonstrations against the wall, which was being built then.

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And we were standing and getting tear gassed and getting beaten and getting chained to bulldozers and very exciting stuff.

9:26

And then what happened to me is... I talk a lot, and that's how I came to what I'm doing now,

9:33

which is mostly really tours, and advocacy, and explaining and showing this

9:43

with the hope that that somehow leads to a wider understanding that somehow leads to change,

9:49

although I cannot say I see clearly how. (somber orchestral music)

9:54

Israelis don't want to hear, don't want to deal with any of this stuff. Talking about the occupation to Israelis

10:00

is like talking with Americans about where their shirts and cell phones are made. It's just, you change the subject.

10:08

You disinvite to your next dinner party. You don't even argue about it. You just shove it aside.

10:14

(somber orchestral music) - In the first half of the 20th century,

10:19

the desires of two people groups collided. One group was Palestinian, the other Jewish.



10:27

The British, who controlled what would become Israel, The West Bank and Gaza were failing to manage

10:33

the aspirations of these two groups. After World War I, the League of Nations created

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the Mandate for Palestine and Trans-Jordan and gave control of these two areas to the British.

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The British were to administer these territories for the benefit of the native population,

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which by 1947 was about 65% Palestinian

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and 35% Jewish. But the British were not able to manage the competing claims

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of the Palestinian people and the Jewish people. So in 1947, the British left the problem of Palestine

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to the newly created United Nations. The United Nations tried to divide the land

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between the Palestinian people and the Jewish people, but the UN was unable to do so

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in a way that both groups could accept. Some claim that the Palestinians

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forfeited their chance at a state when they rejected the UN's plan.

11:35

The Palestinians were offered 45% of the land, though they accounted for 65% of the population.

11:44

The Jewish people were offered 55% of the land, though they accounted for 35% of the population.

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Nonetheless, on November 29, 1947, the UN General Assembly passed

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the proposed division of Palestine. The opposition of the Palestinians and the Arab nations

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meant an armed conflict was inevitable. The Jewish armed forces began forcibly expelling Palestinians

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immediately after the vote, expelling almost 200,000 Palestinians in four months.

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Over the course of two years, the Jewish forces defeated the Arab forces and succeeded in taking control of not 55%

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but nearly 80% of Palestine. Egypt controlled Gaza,

12:36

Jordan controlled the West Bank and East Jerusalem, the Palestinians controlled nothing.

12:46

(plucky string music)

12:58

From December of 1947 to January of 1950,

13:03

over 750,000 Palestinians lost their towns and villages,

13:08

neighborhoods, their homes. This is a fact.

13:13

They refer to it as the Nakba, "The Catastrophe". They left their homes due to a variety of pressures.

13:22

Many were forcibly expelled by Jewish armed forces.

Some left because they were living in a war zone,

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No Palestinians left because they desired to live somewhere else.

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They planned to return to their homes and to their land. But the Jewish forces did not allow Palestinians to return.

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Palestinians became refugees in East Jerusalem, the West Bank, Gaza, and in neighboring Arab countries,

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The Jewish leadership, headed by David Ben-Gurion, wanted as many Palestinians as possible

14:03

out of what would become Israel. This is also a fact.

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Historians debate whether or not the Jewish leadership devised and carried out a systematic plan

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of ethnic cleansing. The result, however, is clear. When the fighting between the Jewish forces

14:21

and the Arab forces stopped, 80% of the Palestinians

14:26

once living in what would become Israel were gone. Their land, and in some cases their very homes,

14:35

were given to Jewish immigrants from around the world.

Again, these are facts.

14:41

(somber string music) - Well, there are serious problems

14:47

when you try and talk about this story of what is Israel, what is a Jewish state?

14:52

When it declares itself a Jewish state, it has no room for people aren't Jewish, as would be true anywhere else.

14:58

It makes their lives very, very difficult. And that's why I argue that Israel is not a liberal, democratic, Western-style state.

15:06

It claims to be, but it isn't. It can't be when it declares itself, defines itself, in terms of its Jewishness.

15:13

What we saw in 1948 was a very fast, quick ethnic cleansing project. But what we've been seeing since,

15:19

Palestinians refer to this as what they call the ongoing Nakba. In other words, the ethnic cleansing that happened in 1948,

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they say it's continuing continuously, but in slow motion. Everything here is seen in terms of demography,

15:31

in terms of numbers. Who has the majority here and how do you maintain it?

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Israel will violate some fairly fundamental rights of Palestinians to maintain its Jewish majority.

15:43

(somber orchestral music)

15:52

I was trial lawyer in Sydney, Australia. I saw some of the issues relating to...

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children in the military court system. I was very interested in the interplay between law and politics.

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And then that sort of interest grew from there. And then in 2013, a group of lawyers, mainly lawyers

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and myself founded an organization called Military Court Watch.

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The focus is just on one issue: children prosecuted in military courts in the West Bank.

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Each year, we collect up to about 150 testimonies from children who are prosecuted

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in military courts in the West Bank. Those children, their ages range from about 12 to 17,

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mainly 17, 16, and 15, a few 12-year-olds. And the idea behind the organization is to see

16:46

if you can get a group of professionals together, focus on one issue,

16:52

whether you can have any sort of impact on trying to improve that situation.

16:58

- I'm a Palestinian citizen of Israel. I was born in Nazareth.

17:03

My father was a priest in the Protestant church, so he was moved around a lot.

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So we moved from Nazareth to Haifa,

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a progressive city inside the Israel. As a child, I mean it was palpable,

17:21

the fact that I was a second-class citizen, I spoke a different language than my neighbors.

17:27

There was like an undercurrent of tension all the time. But I never felt my life was in danger.

17:35

And then my father and my family were moved to Nablus in the early '70s, just after the 1967 war.

17:46

And the only Israelis I saw in Nablus, the only Jews I saw in Nablus, were soldiers with big guns.

17:57

(artillery firing) - [Joshua] In June, 1967, Israel and the neighboring countries of Egypt,

18:02

Jordan and Syria fought another war. Israel easily overwhelmed the military forces

18:09

of these three countries in a matter of six days. The consequences of this war have been tremendous.

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Israel took control of the West Bank from Jordan, Gaza and the entire Sinai Peninsula from Egypt,

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and the Golan Heights from Syria. The Sinai Peninsula was eventually returned to Egypt

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as a part of a peace treaty. Israel has illegally annexed the Golan Heights.

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On June 7, 1967, the Israeli military declared Gaza and the West Bank,

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which included the Old City and East Jerusalem, closed military areas.

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Thus began the longest military occupation in world history.

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The West Bank and every Palestinian in it, roughly 600,000 after the war in 1967

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and now nearly three million, has been under the control of the Israeli military

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for over 50 years. (emphatic string music) - Obviously you had the Six-Day War back in June, 1967.

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By the third day of that war, Israel had occupied the West Bank. And on the 7th of June, 1967, the third day of the war,

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they placed the whole of the West Bank under military rule, martial law. And Israel was perfectly entitled to do that

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under international law. The convention that covers such a situation

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is the Fourth Geneva Convention, which Israel has signed and pretty much every state in the world has signed.

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And basically what that convention does is it regulates occupations, the thinking being,

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if you have a military occupation or a war, it's better that the aftermath of that war

20:00

is regulated than unregulated. It's an unsatisfactory situation,

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but it's better that there is some form of regulation. And under that body of law,

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a military power that's found itself in a position of occupying another area, another territory,

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can place that area under military rule. It can establish military courts,

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and it can prosecute civilians in those military courts who violate that military law.

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As you would expect, there are a number of conditions.

One condition is that the military courts and the prisons

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have to be in the occupied territory. They can't be someplace else. Another condition, perhaps the most important condition,

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is it's supposed to be temporary. Now, there's nothing in international law, there's nothing in the Fourth Geneva Convention,

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which says what temporary is supposed to be. But look at some of the big occupations in history:

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the Allied occupation of Germany in 1945,

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the U.S. occupation of Japan in 1945, and more recently the occupation of Iraq,

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they all lasted less than 10 years. So I think as a rule of thumb, if you have an occupation that lasts more than 10 years,

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you probably have to start asking some serious questions. Is this still a temporary military occupation,

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or is something else going on, like annexation of territory, which is illegal under international law?

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- You might say that, in 1967, Israel completed the conquest of what was British Palestine.

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But that is not the way the Israeli government sees it. In their minds, completing the conquest

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would have meant conquering the West Bank and somehow removing its population.

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This became, going forward, the problem of Israeli politics: what to do with the West Bank and its population,

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what to do with land that we want for many historic, religious, strategic reasons,

22:00

and the people that we don't want. (crowd chattering)

22:07

- An interesting detail, I think, is the military order that established the military courts on the 7th of June, 1967,

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expressly referenced the Fourth Geneva convention in that military order. So Israel itself was relying on the Fourth Geneva Convention

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as the legal basis upon which it was acting on the 7th of June, 1967.

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Then what happened following the war, in 1967, '68, mainly '67,

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is a debate took place inside Israel as to what to do with that territory.

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- The decision of the Israeli government following the 1967 war is basically the decision not to decide.

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They say, we're not gonna leave the West Bank, we're not gonna annex it, we're going to hold it. All the other governments of the world

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say the West Bank is Israeli-occupied. Israel says it is Israeli-held...

23:00

under Israeli military government, which is almost the same thing. We basically agree the West Bank

23:05

is held by Israel and is not Israel. What we disagree about is 1% of the West Bank,

23:13

East Jerusalem, which the rest of the world says is occupied territory,

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just like Bethlehem, Ramallah, Nablus, the rest of the West Bank, but Israel, after the 1967 war,

23:23

officially annexed to the state of Israel. So that's all the area we see behind me,

23:29

the Old City, the Mount of Olives, and a few miles south of us to Bethlehem and a few miles north of that to the edge of Ramallah.

23:37

It's a funny, squiggly line that follows the logic of pretty much every Israeli line.

23:42

We want to leave on the Israeli side more land, less Arabs. (somber instrumental music)

23:58

- By September, 1967, the first Israeli settlers started to move into the West Bank

24:05

and start building towns and villages, et cetera.

24:12

- [Joshua] Over 440,000 Jewish Israeli civilians live in the West Bank,

24:17

with another 225,000 Jewish Israelis living in East Jerusalem.

24:22

These Israeli civilians are known as settlers. Likewise, the communities that they live in

24:28

are called settlements. There are over 130 settlements in the West Bank,

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ranging in size from a few hundred Israelis to over 70,000 in the biggest settlement.

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Settlements are modern cities and towns with all of the expected infrastructure and amenities

24:47

of any modern city: roads, electricity, water, parks, bus lines, schools,

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grocery stores, restaurants and more. There are roads in the West Bank

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that only Israeli settlers can use. Though settlers live in occupied territory,

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often with Palestinian villages nearby, they are not subject to the military laws

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that govern their Palestinian neighbors. Settlements are not only illegal;

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they are the manifestation of Jewish supremacy and the continuation of Palestinian catastrophe.

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- If you are gonna move 600,000 Israeli civilians

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into occupied territory in violation of international law and against the wishes of the three million Palestinians

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already living there, will there be security issues? Of course there will be security issues.

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And the question is, in order to guarantee the protection of those 600,000 Israeli civilians,

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how are you gonna achieve that? (somber instrumental music)

27:27

- As a soldier, when you control a population without rights you will always have to enforce your...

27:36

the rule of military, the military rule by force, meaning you have to make people afraid,

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meaning that you have to treat them all as enemies and therefore undermine their humanity.

27:51

- Probably one of the best ways of intimidating these communities living next door to settlements

27:56

is night raids into that community.

28:03

You wake people up, everyone is lying in bed, sort of traumatized, not knowing whether their house

28:09

is gonna be raided, whether someone in their family will be arrested. No one sleeps. It has a very disruptive, traumatizing impact

28:17

on these communities, but it is very effective.

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(dramatic orchestral music) - So imagine the West Bank has been divided up into military jurisdictions.

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Imagine within one military jurisdiction, you have an Israeli settlement, maybe a small settlement,

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maybe just 500 settlers living there. And that will be surrounded by a number of Palestinian communities.

28:47

And in charge of that will be in Israeli military commander.

Now imagine for a moment you're that commander,

28:54

so it's your job guarantee the protection of those 500 settlers.

28:59

Let's say you get a telephone call from the settlement you're responsible for. Someone tells you they've seen a group of Palestinians

29:07

on the side of the road in your territory, chucking rocks at settler vehicles, settler buses.

29:14

And the question for you as the commander is what will you do in response to that act of resistance?

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(dramatic string music) Basically what this commander does is he makes a couple of assumptions.

29:26

The first assumption is that the stone throwers were Palestinian males

29:31

aged between about 10 and 30 years old, which would generally be the case.

29:37

Assumption number two: the stone throwers came from the nearest Palestinian village, and that, too, is probably going to be the case.

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What he then does is he takes those two assumptions, and he will pass those along to the local Israeli intelligence officer.

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For the last 52 years, every Palestinian village central population in the West Bank has had a designated intelligence officer.

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The kinds of intelligence that officer will have access to are obvious things like how many Palestinians

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live in that village, political affiliations, who's a member of Hamas, who's a member of Fatah,

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who's not political at all. Perhaps more importantly, who's been arrested from that village before,

30:23

particularly for stone throwing if this is a stone throwing incident. The final thing the intelligence officer does

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is probably the most important, and this is basically at the heart of how the West Bank is controlled by the military.

30:37

The intelligence officer will look to see who are the Palestinian informants or collaborators in that village.

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For understandable reasons it's difficult to get hard data on how many collaborators there are,

30:50

but I can tell you, over the years, the amount of evidence we've collected, it's quite clear the society has been thoroughly infiltrated.

30:58

So if you live in one of these communities, and the military came to your community last night

31:03

and started making arrests, the talk of the community today will be, which one of my neighbors told the intelligence officer

31:10

that my children or family members were involved in something with throwing stones, protesting, whatever it might be.

31:17

(somber instrumental music) If it is a night raid, it usually occurs

31:23

between anywhere from about midnight to five o'clock in the morning. It will usually start with very aggressive banging

31:30

at the front door. (banging on door)

31:37

If you don't open up the front door quickly, typically it will be blown off its hinges.

31:42

(explosion) - The Israeli military themselves say that each year they will arrest 1,400 Palestinians

31:49

in the middle of the night. (screaming)

31:54

So that is 1,400 Palestinian families subjected to terrifying night raids each year.

32:00

This figure of 1,400 night raids is quite conservative,

32:06

because it doesn't include the many times when the military will go into the village or maybe into a house and not make any arrests.

32:13

Nobody's keeping track of those types of raids.

32:23

(ominous instrumental music)

32:44

- If you send heavily armed soldiers into a civilian center of population at two o'clock in the morning,

32:50

unsurprisingly, it has a tendency to terrify people.

33:23

- So the mothers and fathers go about their lives with this nightmare hanging over their heads.

33:30

In their mind it's not a question of if their house will be raided; it's a question of when.

33:36

And it has a profound effect.

33:42

(dramatic orchestral music) Entire communities are...

33:49

Scared day and night. They constantly worry. They cannot even sleep at night. They cannot relax.

33:56

They wake up in the morning exhausted.

34:33

- Now, that officer in charge, typically he'll be about 25, 26 years old. The soldiers he's in command of,

34:40

typically are 19-year-old conscripts. They're nervous too.

They've had a briefing from the intelligence officer,

34:46

telling them this is a really dangerous village. So, as I mentioned, it's a volatile situation.



34:52

The dilemma for that 25-, 26-year-old officer now is he needs to identify who he's come to arrest

34:59

and get that person and his soldiers out of there as quickly and safely as possible.

35:05

At some point, either inside the house or outside, that person, whether it's a child or an adult,

35:11

will be blindfolded and zip-tied. So the military use those plastic, one-way zip ties.

35:17

A lot of security services use them. They're very convenient, you can carry lots of them, and they're quick and easy to put on.

35:24

The downside to these zip ties is, if you put them on quickly, it's very easy to over-tighten them, and that's generally what we find, that these ties,

35:32

people complain that these ties are very tight. Sometimes they restrict the blood flow to the wrists. Occasionally they even cut into the wrists.

35:40

Over 90% of the children are also blindfolded. And the reason over 90% of the children at blindfolded,

35:47

and adults, is that it softens you up for interrogation. So what that officer frequently does

35:53

is he will say to the father, parents, "We're gonna take your son away for a couple of hours.

35:59

We'll ask him a few questions. Then we'll bring him back."  
No one is ever brought back in a couple of hours, but the  
reason the officer will say that

36:06

is just to try to settle everyone down so he can extract the  
detainees and his soldiers

36:12

as quickly and safely as possible.

36:19

- Mothers tell me how they will be prisoners in their own  
house. They will be hearing commotion, shouting, things  
smashing,

36:26

unable to go and interfere or even keep an eye. And they're  
not allowed to leave the room

36:34

to get a glass of water to a crying child or to bring a blanket  
to wrap someone.

36:40

And then, within half an hour, someone is taken away in  
the middle of the night.

36:51

- Eventually that child will be taken to one of the largest  
settlements in the West Bank, where the interrogation  
centers are.

36:58

You are psychologically in a fairly weakened state, sleep  
deprived, possibly nothing to eat or drink,

37:04

zip-tied that entire period of time, maybe physically  
assaulted. You'll be led into a room, you'll be sat on a chair,  
37:11

your blindfold will be removed, and basically you're sitting  
in a small office, There'll be a desk, a computer, and an  
interrogator.

37:21

The interrogator typically will begin by making a very broad allegation against you.

37:27

Why do you throw stones at Israelis? The accused person will almost certainly deny

37:32

they've done anything wrong, whether they have or they haven't. And then essentially the interrogator goes to work.

37:38

What that usually involves is combining threats with intimidation.

37:44

"You're gonna go to prison for a long time if you don't confess. We'll arrest your mother and sister if you don't confess."

37:50

One technique that pretty much all the interrogators use, and it's not unique to this jurisdiction,

37:56

is the interrogator will say to the person, "Listen, all of your friends who we arrested with you,

38:02

they've all confessed, and they all said that you were with them when they were throwing stones,

38:07

and because they've confessed, we sent them all home."

And when you're sitting there in such a stressed situation,

38:14

the implication is that all you have to do is confess, give up a few names of your friends.

38:20

Why not? They gave up your name. And then you, too, can go home so So, often that's what you do, you confess,

38:25

whether it's accurate or not. You give up a few names of your friends. Turns out you're actually the first person

38:32

to have provided a confession. No one has confessed against you. And the interrogator will go from one interrogation room

38:38

to the next, getting everybody to provide a confession against everyone else. Those confessions might be accurate,

38:44

they might be completely inaccurate, but that's generally the evidence in these cases, is this confessional evidence obtained in this manner.

38:51

Then, within a number of days, you're brought before one of two military courts in the West Bank.

38:57

Often that's where you're gonna see your lawyer for the first time. And it's fairly limited what your lawyer can do for you.

39:03

If you tell your lawyer you're innocent, what are your options? Your lawyer will probably still advise you to plead guilty.

39:10

And the reason for that is, if you do plead guilty, whether you are or not, your lawyer will go to the prosecutor,

39:16

and they will negotiate a plea bargain. Now, depending on the prevailing situation here,

39:23

if you're a child accused of throwing stones, first offense, you're looking at about three to four months in prison.

39:29

It's quicker to plead guilty, get a three month sentence, and then go home than to try and challenge the system

39:37

and wait for a trial date for six months. - So the boys who end up pleading guilty

39:42

to something they did not do, because this is the advice they get from their lawyer,

39:47

the advice they get from their parents, their understanding of the world is turned upside down.

39:54

Nothing any longer makes any sense. The red line has been erased.

39:59

There's no link between their behavior and the punishment they get or lack of punishment.

40:06

- Officially the current conviction rate for children is 95%. It's come down from 99.74%.

40:13

In addition to the custodial sentence, a number of months in prison, your parents will also be fined.

40:19

It can be anywhere from two to four thousand shekels, typically, for throwing stones, assuming no one was injured

40:25

or there wasn't any property damage. What we find is that these fines, too,

40:31

are very good way for the military to control these communities. So if you have a village, Palestinian village,

40:36

where people engage in protests-- whether they're violent or peaceful, all protests are illegal in the West Bank--

40:43

the military will go in constantly, make arrests, prosecute people in the military courts, and essentially bankrupt that village into submission.

40:52

The final component of the punishment is everyone will also get a suspended sentence. So in addition to, say, three months in prison,

41:01

you also get on average another five months or so in prison, suspended for up to about five years.

41:07

And the effect of that is, once you're released from prison after three months, you will still have this suspended sentence of five months

41:14

hanging over your head for the next five years. So what that means is, if you're arrested again and convicted,

41:21

you'll have to first serve the suspended sentence before you serve any new sentence.

41:26

The impact of that is it makes people who live in these communities with suspended sentences

41:32

very cautious about even leaving their home, because if they go out of their house and a couple of military jeeps come into the village

41:39

and other young people start chucking rocks at that jeep, in the general confusion, you may be picked up,

41:46

accused of throwing stones. You may not have been involved in anything, just in the wrong place at the wrong time,

41:51

but you run the risk then of having to go back and serve that suspended sentence.

41:58

- You know, these boys spend time in prison and go home, and they want to pick up their lives and reintegrate.

42:05

And they find the exact opposite, that they are ostracized, that they are isolated, people don't trust them.

42:12

- This is a very effective system. Most people come out intimidated, traumatized.

42:18

They never want to see another Israeli soldier again. They never want to see another settler again.

42:24

Now, for the commander next door who's been given this mission,

42:29

he's basically achieved that mission. He's taken that generation of young people,

42:36

15-, 16-, 17-year-olds, and he's intimidated them into submission. He's taught them a very strong lesson:

42:43

not to resist in any way, shape, or form, and if they do the price will be very heavy.

42:48

- For settler mothers and fathers to sleep all night and wake up fresh in the morning and go to work and take children to school.

42:56

Palestinian mothers and fathers have to be kept awake all night, and a very strong message has to be sent to them,

43:03

day in and day out, that they should not even think about objecting

43:09

or protesting to land being taken and given to the nearby settlement.

43:17

- [Gerard] That's one of the main reasons why settlement construction is illegal, because inevitably you will have to...

43:25

engage in techniques like this to make it work. - And this old creates a lot of resentment,

43:31

a lot of anger among the Palestinian communities. It creates hopelessness.

43:41

(birds whistling)

43:59

- Born and raised in Youngstown, Ohio. I come from a mixed family.

44:04

My father is a Palestinian Muslim, actually born in the house that we're sitting in.

44:10

And my mother is a Maronite Christian. Growing up, we were very close to what was happening here.

44:18

So I was following the news all my life in terms of the occupation,

44:24

the military occupation and what life was like here. I decided to come here and get married

44:29

to a Palestinian woman, which I did. I took her from Ramallah to Youngstown.

44:37

Then there was this historic announcement that was made, that the Oslo Accords were signed,

44:42

a peace agreement, as people understood it, between the Palestinian side and the Israeli side.

44:51



- The Oslo Accords were negotiated in secret in Norway, beginning in January of 1993.

44:57

They were preceded by a Palestinian uprising. Intifada, in Arabic.

45:02

Palestinians organized a mostly non-violent campaign of civil disobedience.

45:07

It garnered international attention and surprised Israeli leaders.

45:13

The uprising highlighted the plight of Palestinians and put pressure on Israel and the international community.

45:20

Without it, it's unlikely that the Oslo negotiations would have happened.

45:25

Palestinian and Israeli leadership signed the first round of the Oslo Accords on the White House lawn on September 13, 1993.

45:35

The first round of the accords was a declaration of principles. Both sides affirmed their commitment

45:42

to significant UN resolutions on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and both sides agreed to a five-year interim period,

45:50

in which the details of a peace plan would be finalized. It called for the creation of the Palestinian Authority

45:57

to handle the civil administration and security in the areas of the West Bank and Gaza

46:03

that were to be evacuated by the Israeli military. The logic of the accords was to resolve

46:09

the easiest issues at the beginning, and then hope that the resolution of these simpler issues

46:14

would create momentum towards solving the truly difficult issues, such as the fate of Israeli settlements

46:21

and the status of Jerusalem. In 1995, two years after signing

46:27

the declaration of principles, Israeli and Palestinian leaders agreed to a second round of accords.

46:34

These accords were dominated by seven annexes that covered issues like security, Palestinian elections,

46:41

economic relations, civil affairs, and more. These annexes covered essentially all spheres

46:48

of Palestinian life and development and Israeli control loomed over all of these spheres.

46:55

Negotiations dragged on for years, and as they did, impatience and resentment built.

47:02

In the summer of 2000, a last-ditch effort to reach a peace agreement was held at Camp David.

47:09

But Palestinian and Israeli leaders were unable to reach an agreement. Regardless of who is to blame

47:15

for the failure of the Oslo Accords, and as you might imagine, there was no end to the finger-pointing,

47:22

the end result is not debatable. The Oslo Accords did not end the Israeli occupation.

47:31

They systematized it. (somber music)

47:36

- I read the agreement, and I was not pleased with what I read. Every sphere of life had an annex.

47:44

Before I tell you the one I found, let me just make a footnote here. Why were these annexes needed?

47:50

And I would claim boldly that these annexes were needed

47:56

because not one sector was totally transferred from the Israeli side to the Palestinian side

48:03

in the Oslo process. Only partial sectors were transferred.

48:09

The annex that I found that caught my attention was annex number 36. This was the telecommunications annex,

48:16

and I have a minor in telecommunication, so it caught my attention. And the annex started with a paragraph that was great.

48:25

I couldn't have written it better myself. It said the Palestinian side has the right to build, operate and maintain

48:32

separate and independent networks. Separate and independent. Those are powerful words.

48:39

Those were the words that were used. Why would they use the words separate and independent

48:44

if we were not heading to statehood? I was hired by a group of investors

48:50

that were planning to put together the first Palestinian telecommunications company, and I relocated to be able to be part

48:56

of creating that company. I was employee number 0001.

49:02

When I started to get working into the details of how to create that network, what did I find in the rest of that annex number 36?

49:09

First paragraph, great. The rest of it was all the "buts". For example, it said you can build

49:16

separate independent mobile networks, but when you want your mobile network to actually work, what do you need?

49:22

You need frequencies. You need airwaves. And the agreement basically said the airwaves remain totally in Israeli control.

49:30

It meant for us, as a telecom company, we want to build a new network. And the engineers told us that we needed

49:35

for sake of our discussion, six lanes of frequencies in the air, airwaves.

49:42

So we had to go to the Israeli side and request airwaves. So we said we needed six lanes of air.

49:48

And they said, "Well, do you have a report?" We gave them a very detailed radio report, and they came back to us with an answer after one year.

49:57

This is significant, because time is a weapon in this conflict. It's a very sharp weapon.

50:03

We're a company, we're hiring people, we're in offices,  
money in the bank waiting to be invested,

50:09

and we're waiting for an Israeli decision. And that decision  
came and it said,

50:14

"You can have frequency access, but you can't have the six  
lanes that you requested. You can have two and a half,

50:20

and the half is gonna be shared by an Israeli company so  
they can provide telecommunication services

50:25

to the settlers." So what did that mean for us? In an optimal  
network,

50:30

we were gonna to build a tower here and a tower here and  
connect them with six lanes of frequency.

50:36

When they said you can only have two and a half, it meant  
that we had to build additional towers here, here, and here.

50:43

Every time I say the word tower, think half a million  
dollars. And we had to connect them with a lower amount  
of frequency.

50:52

Whether you're the Palestinian Authority, Sam's company  
or Sam's family,

50:57

we are all under the influence of Israeli military occupation.  
So the question that asks itself

51:05

is who's in charge of the pace of our development?

51:10

Ultimately, Israel calls the shots on how we will develop  
our economy.

51:16

So, in light of all of this interim period called Oslo that did not work, people are losing hope.

51:27

(gunfire) - The failure of the Oslo Accords

51:33

led to the second Intifada, a second Palestinian uprising in September 2000.

51:40

As their hopes for dignity and self-determination were dashed, Palestinians rose up in opposition

51:46

to the Israeli occupation. Israel responded forcefully.

Things quickly spiraled out of control,

51:53

as militant movements within Palestinian society reacted violently.

51:58

Over the course of roughly five years, Israeli forces killed almost 3,200 Palestinians,

52:05

and Palestinian militants killed about 1,000 Israelis. In both cases, the majority of those killed were civilians.

52:14

Israel often use deadly force on Palestinian protesters in the West Bank and in Israel.

52:20

Israel also carried out assassinations of members of Palestinian militant movements, like Hamas, and Islamic jihad.

52:28

These militant Palestinian movements organized car bombings and suicide bombings

52:34

that targeted Israeli civilians and Israeli security forces.

There were more than 100 such bombings

52:41

in a three-year period. Though the Israeli military killed three times as many Palestinians

52:46

as did these Palestinian militants, the suicide bombings made a lasting impression.

52:53

The violent resistance of Palestinians was seen as barbaric,

52:58 while the state violence Israel was viewed as legitimate.

Global sympathy for the plight

53:04

of the Palestinian people plummeted. The prospects for peace evaporated.

53:11

Israel used these bombings as a pretense for the construction of a wall between the West Bank and Israel.

53:18

The project began in 2002, and about 50% of the wall was finished when the suicide bombings stopped in mid-2006.

53:26

Though the suicide bombings stopped, the construction of the wall did not.

53:32

And the wall has become an essential and surprisingly complex mechanism of control

53:38

in the Israeli arsenal. - When I arrived at Tel-Aviv airport in 1995, relocating,

53:48

I got a visa, and they allowed me to come in as a tourist. So I got in for three months,

53:54

actually came to this home, and set up shop. After three months, the visa was going to end.

54:00

What did I need to do? I had to leave the country and come back in to renew my visa.

54:06

Worked for three more months. Three months ended, what did I have to do? Leave the country and come back in.

54:13

You get the point. I did that for 15 years, in and out of the country every three months

54:18

to be able to renew my visa. (somber music)

54:24

When I got married in July 1993, my wife, she went to the Israeli military,

54:31

and she asked for me to be able to have a residency status here.

54:37

The Israelis gave her a small receipt in Hebrew. She tucked that away in her wallet. We went to the States.

54:43

That was July 1993. The telephone call comes in May 2009.

54:50

"Ah, no wonder. Yes, okay, I remember. It's only been 16 years. No wonder I almost forgot. I'll be right there to pick it up."

54:56

And they said before they hung up, "When you come to pick it up, bring your passport."

55:02

I hung up the phone and told my wife, "This doesn't sound right." I know the difference between a passport,

55:08

which is a citizenship, and a residency card. As a U.S. citizen, we can have 10 residency cards

55:15



of places around the world, but we're only a citizen of one country. I took my chances.

55:21

I drove to the Israeli headquarters next to my house here, stood in line for about an hour.

55:27

And when I got to the counter, who am I talking to? I'm talking to a soldier. A soldier. I'm talking to a 17-year-old high school graduate

55:35

who is there because of a forced Israeli conscription policy. She doesn't want to be sitting there

55:40

any more than I want to be talking to her. I said, "Someone called me and told me my ID is ready,

55:46

and they told me to bring my passport." She took my passport. It took one second. She took the passport and stamped it...

55:54

and handed me my newly printed ID, and gave me both back.

56:01

First, I looked at my passport. What did you stamp in my passport? It turns out it's a black stamp in Hebrew.

56:09

I don't read Hebrew, but it turns out that it says the holder of this foreign passport

56:14

has been issued a West Bank residency card. And they take the number out of this card,

56:20

and they hand write it in the stamp. So what does that mean? I'm still a U.S. citizen.

56:26

I have a new passport, and it has the same stamp in it. It means I can't get in the car and go to Jerusalem,

56:32

because anybody who has this stamp in their passport is not viewed as the citizen of their country.

56:42

Let me say that a different way. The only country in the world that refuses to recognize me

56:48

as an American citizen that I am is the state of Israel.

(somber instrumental music)

56:54

What I have to carry is the Palestinian, what we call the Palestinian ID. Actually, I don't care how many Palestinian flags

57:02

they print around the border. There's nothing Palestinian about this ID. This is an Israeli military-issued residency card.

57:11

It's written in Arabic and Hebrew, Arabic so we can understand, Hebrew so the issuer can understand.

57:17

My four-part name, my place of birth, my date of birth, my religion, interestingly,

57:23

and at the end, it says what's my cage. It doesn't say cage. It says what's my place of residence.

57:31

My place of residence is Al-Bireh, the neighborhood I'm in, the city that I am in, next to her Ramallah.

57:37

And that means I'm not allowed to be in the cage of East Jerusalem, which is just as occupied. I'm not allowed to be in the cage of Gaza,

57:44

which is just as occupied. Why do I call these cages? In my opinion, every Palestinian city is an open-air cage,

57:52

surrounded by fences, walls, checkpoints, and settlements.

So because I'm from the cage of the Ramallah area,

58:00

I'm not allowed to be in the other cages. So with this, my life became very constrained.

58:05

Can't use the Israeli airport anymore. Can't go back to Tel Aviv University where I graduated from,

58:11

unless I have a permit, and to have a permit, you have to take this and go to the Israeli military and request a permit.

58:19

I've become an expert in requesting permits. I've promised my kids that one day

58:25

I will actually wallpaper my office in my permits. And I have many, many more.

58:31

Every time you want to go to a different cage, you have to request a permit from the Israeli military.

58:37

What is a permit? A permit is a sheet of paper... that allows you to go somewhere in Israel

58:44

or east Jerusalem for one day, from five o'clock in the morning to seven o'clock at night.

58:51

By seven o'clock you have to be back into the West Bank. Otherwise you may be blacklisted and never get a permit again.

58:57

And then, over time, the system changed, and the system said now, to get a permit,

59:04

you have to be able to have a magnetic card. And I went and I said, "What's a magnetic card?"

59:12

And they said, "Oh, that's a different card. It's not this. It's another card that you have to apply for."

59:19

So now I have a magnetic card issued by the Israeli military

59:25

and a residency card issued by the Israeli military. What's the difference between these two?

59:30

This says I'm a resident of the West Bank based on marriage. This says I've been security cleared,

59:37

so now I can apply for a permit. Over time, the system changed again.

59:42

Now, look where the Israelis have me. They have me in this maze of waiting in lines,

59:48

getting cards, getting permits, going through checkpoints.

So I went back to this Israeli office,

59:53

and I took all my cards with me, and I said, "I'd like to ask for a multi-month permit."

59:58

And they said, "Do you have a BMC?" BMC card is another card that the Israeli military issues.

1:00:06

This says I'm a Palestinian. This says I've been security cleared. The third card, which I've applied for over two years ago

1:00:13

and I still don't have, proves that I'm a businessman. And with those three cards, I can apply for a permit

1:00:21

that's good for three or six months. (somber orchestral music)

1:00:30

- So the Israeli government would say, "the wall is like everything we do, only and forever about security.

1:00:38

There was attackers coming at us, suicide bombers and others, and we built this war to stop them."

1:00:45

So Israel doesn't talk about a separation wall. Israel talks about a security barrier. That very short story: there was attackers coming at us,

1:00:54

we built this wall to stop them, is a short story with very many holes in it.

1:01:00

There's many ways we can take that story apart. One is, ask the Israeli government today,

1:01:05

how many people every day are getting across this wall without permit? Climbing over, crawling under, hiking around.

1:01:13

And the answer is at least several hundred a day. There are special units of the Israeli police

1:01:19

looking for people from the West Bank without permit.

They are there, There are thousands of them at any given time.

1:01:27

So then we can ask, who is the wall stopping? And the answer is easy. The wall is stopping the hundreds of thousands.

1:01:33

The people who used to come to work, to school, to hospital. Who is it not stopping? Determined individuals willing to take

1:01:40

physical and legal risks. Which of those two categories does a suicide bomber belong in?

1:01:45

Or, how can you tell us this is stopping suicide bombers, when you tell us hundreds of people a day

1:01:50

are getting through this without permit? When we ask those questions, then the Israeli government has to talk about

1:01:58

what they don't really like to talk about: secret police and surveillance.

1:02:03

(anxious instrumental music) You see, there in the middle of the roundabout?

1:02:10

That is not a lamp post. That is all cameras and surveillance technology.

1:02:19

There's cameras which are connected to a screen in the police cars, which are connected to a system which tracks

1:02:25

the physical location of phones, which, you know the Israelis, unlike the NSA,

1:02:30

we don't have to say we just use metadata, because Palestinians don't have civil rights.

1:02:35

We can say we read every email, listen to every phone call. That is, artificial intelligence does.

1:02:42

And follow every social media post. Palestinians are regularly arrested for social media posts.

1:02:49

They're under very intense electronic surveillance. But that is not enough.

1:02:56

People could go whispering in a field, so Israel also has a very large number of Palestinian informants and collaborators.

1:03:04

Why are those people doing that? Generally not because they love Israeli military government. Mostly not for money.

1:03:11

Usually because of what the system calls leverage.

1:03:22

(somber piano music)

1:03:27

- The unemployment rate is pretty high in the West Bank. In some refugee camps, it can rise to as high as 70%.

1:03:35

If you can get a work permit as a Palestinian in the West Bank to work inside Israel

1:03:40

or inside a settlement, that's obviously a very valuable commodity. But understandably, if Israel is gonna give a Palestinian

1:03:46

from the West Bank a work permit to enter Israel, they're gonna have to put them through a security check.

1:03:52

If you pass that security check, typically you'll get a work permit for about three months,

1:03:58

and then it can be renewed time and time again. What will often happen is you'll apply for that work permit,

1:04:04

and assuming you pass the security check, you're issued with that three-month permit.

1:04:09

And often no attempt will be made to recruit you at that point in time. You go off to work inside Israel.

1:04:16

The idea being you get used to the money, you get used to the job.

1:04:21

You start making plans for the future based on that income stream, on the expectation that your work permit will be renewed.

1:04:30

Then after three months, you have to go back and apply for a renewal. And it's at that point, typically, that the attempt to recruit the person will be made.

1:04:38

Person will say, "We can renew your work permit, but this time we're gonna need something

1:04:43

in return from you. You go to different communities, you hear different stories.

1:04:48

In one town near Bethlehem. The population told us they thought about 20% of their town were collaborators.

1:04:55

In one refugee camp, also near Bethlehem, the figure we were given was nearer 90%.

1:05:01

It's impossible to know what it is. And the effect of that is basically twofold.

1:05:08

The first is that, if you thoroughly infiltrate a society with collaborators, you'll get a lot of information.

1:05:14



Some of it will be good, some of it so-so, some of it completely inaccurate. That's a problem for the intelligence service.

1:05:21

The second aspect, though, is much more important. And that is these Palestinian communities all know

1:05:26

that they've been infiltrated, and that has a profound psychological effect on them.

1:05:32

The effect of that after 52 years is essentially to unravel the social fabric.

1:05:38

No one knows who to trust. And in the 12 years or so that I've been here,

1:05:43

this is the best evidence I've been able to find as to why you see very little coherent resistance

1:05:49

in the West Bank, whether it's political, peaceful, or military: because it's so difficult to organize,

1:05:55

because the society has been thoroughly infiltrated.

1:06:00

- In that sense, this wall is a part of Israel's security system.

1:06:05

In the sense of it's part of a much larger system that aims to control every possible aspect

1:06:10

of people's daily lives in order to minimize resistance.

(somber orchestral music)

1:06:22

- The second Intifada for many of us was, I mean, for my generation, it was, that was our teenage years,

1:06:28

That was the foundation of our identity. I was, you know  
12, 13,

1:06:34

when we started kind of getting buses blowing up on the  
streets on a regular basis, especially here in Jerusalem.

1:06:39

It's obviously a big deal. And having that as part of your  
growing up,

1:06:46

obviously is a huge part of your narrative, right. That is  
what we knew of Palestinians for the most part.

1:06:53

But I think the other interesting thing that happened with  
that period, with my generation is that it's not just the  
second Intifada.

1:06:59

It's not just suicide bombings. It's also the complete failure  
of the peace processes.

1:07:06

So, people a little bit older than me, 10 years older than me,  
there was a moment in their lives

1:07:12

that it looked like there's going to be a peace support. The  
Oslo agreements were happening.

1:07:18

People were kind of optimistic. There was a feeling that  
something can change. (singing in foreign language)

1:07:26

We're a generation that doesn't remember that. We grew up  
with the closest thing to a negotiation

1:07:32

being Camp David, where [Prime Minister] Barak came  
back from Camp David negotiations saying there is no  
partner for peace.

1:07:38

That is what we grew up with as a concept: there is no partner for peace. And so it's not just a question of remembering the pain

1:07:45

and violence of the second Intifada from the Israeli side. We don't remember the pain and violence of the second Intifada from the Palestinian side,

1:07:51

which was obviously way, way worse. But it's not just a question of that. It's a question of having a generation that does not have alternatives,

1:07:58

that doesn't believe that peace is possible. It's not part of our discourse at all. And on top of that, an extremely segregated generation.

1:08:05

The checkpoint system started in the mid-90s. It means people, both Israelis and Palestinians growing up after that

1:08:11

don't remember a time where you could just interact. We grew up into a completely segregated system.

1:08:21

- Growing up and also in the military, Palestinians are not spoken about so much as...

1:08:30

as real people. They're spoken about as kind of this mass of Arab sea

1:08:36

that we are an island of entrepreneurship and development and democracy.

1:08:44

When I was young, I never had any interactions with any Palestinians, with any Palestinian.

1:08:51

I think the only ones were like workers that were construction workers in my house.

1:08:59

When I actually went to the military, I encountered for the first time settlers. I didn't know any settlers.

1:09:05

Not only that I didn't know any Palestinians growing up, I didn't know settlers, I didn't know Ultra-Orthodox. I didn't know almost any Mizrahi Jews.

1:09:12

I didn't know almost... I think none of Ethiopian Jews.

1:09:17

I grew up very segregated in my kind of elite society. But I think in the end there was a very clear,

1:09:25

we are all here for the same cause. It doesn't matter if you're a little bit to the right, little bit to the left, even radically to the right or radically to the left.

1:09:33

What puts us together is the need to defend the Jewish state. Later, today, I can say that it's defending

1:09:41

the Jewish majority and maybe Jewish supremacy. (somber orchestral music)

1:09:46

My father was a pilot in the Israeli army. He was 20 years in the military.

1:09:52

He fought in '67, '73, '82. And...

1:09:59

And on that side, we were very militant. And this is what had me want to really go

1:10:04

and become a militant hero. Also my brothers, one of them was a pilot,

1:10:10

and the other one was in a high secret unit, a very known one.

1:10:16

On the other hand, my mother was always...

1:10:21

holding that kind of moral position of... the Jewish state that we have here,

1:10:27

Israel, is the most moral state, the most moral army in the world,

1:10:32

because we are always conscious of... of the need of freedom and equality and so on,

1:10:38

and we choose to use force only as a necessary means of defense.

1:10:44

So the two things went together. You want to serve, you want to be a military hero, while you also very much want to be justified.

1:10:55

The Holocaust was always in the background of my consciousness, and I think everyone around me,

1:11:03

as one of the justifications why we really need a state, and also the justification of why we are morally...

1:11:14

better somehow, because we take that lesson as Jewish people, and we will never discriminate against others, and so on.

1:11:24

- Early Zionism, in a way, was a militarized solution to antisemitism. It was a solution that said

1:11:31

the way for us to deal with anti-Semitism is to have our own state, is to have our own military, is to have our own way to protect ourselves.

1:11:38

So really militarization is in the DNA of the identity of the state.

1:11:43

And that has a lot of different consequences. So obviously, conscription is one of its main consequences.

1:11:49

The fact that there is mandatory military service and always has been since the creation of the state.

1:11:54

But it has a lot of other implications. When Israelis think about a solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict,

1:12:00

the first thing that we think about is security. And we think about security not in the sense of possibly security

1:12:06

being something that is based on peaceful solutions; it has to be based on the might,

1:12:11

on strength, on military ideas. And I think that that's something that's built. That's something that's structured.

1:12:17

We study about how different generations of people from 4,000 years ago in Egypt, to the Holocaust, to today

1:12:26

are trying to kill us and how we need to defend ourselves from that. We don't study about how peaceful solutions

1:12:32

with Egypt and Jordan actually managed to prevent further conflict

1:12:37

and actually give us sustainable security. And those are the kinds of things that I think are really crucial. What are the narratives that we tell?

1:12:44

And as long as we continue to tell these narratives that are about militarized solutions, those are the solutions we'll keep choosing.

1:12:51

(ethereal music) There are many examples of how this narrative is created.

1:12:58

And I think it's a lot about kind of building a narrative of fear. One of my favorite examples for that is a month in the Hebrew calendar that starts around April,

1:13:07

April to May, that starts with Passover, which is obviously an extremely important holiday

1:13:12

within Judaism. It is a holiday celebrating the Exodus from Egypt,

1:13:18

and it is commemorating a liberation from persecution.

That's what the exodus fundamentally is.

1:13:24

And the main commandment of the holiday is to remember and to tell the story from generation to generation.

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And one of the ways to tell the story is in one of the songs that we sing in the Passover dinner,

1:13:36

there's a song that translates into, "In every generation, someone tries to exterminate us, and then God saves us from them."

1:13:42

You have this narrative of constantly needing to be saved from persecution. (siren ringing out)

1:13:52

And a week after Passover ends is the Holocaust Memorial Day. A week after that is

1:13:58

the Soldiers and Victims of Terror Memorial Day. -

[Itamar] In that same evening of the Memorial Day

1:14:04

turns into the day of independence. (planes buzzing)

1:14:09

- Independence day has kind of presented as the answer to this thousand-year-long history

1:14:16

of a persecution, which is still ongoing and we still have to continue to fight for it and all these things. But that is kind of the fundamental solution to it.

1:14:26

- Then you go from the reason why you need a state, the Holocaust. A week later is mourning your soldiers,

1:14:32

but understanding that their death brought us... this magnificent miracle of the state of Israel.

1:14:39

- That's a lot of how our narrative is built. It's the same through the education system. In history our final curricula is Second Temple period,

1:14:47

so the last time Jews lived on this land before exile, and then the exile, and then Holocaust,

1:14:54

and then the creation of the state. And it's kind of that same narrative of historical religious persecution, the continuance of that in modern day through the Holocaust,

1:15:01

and then the creation of the state is the solution to that.

(somber piano music)

1:15:07

- I am here to fulfill my ancestors' promise to defend the Jews wherever they are,

1:15:15



and going to the military was considered to be contributing to the society,

1:15:21

and not going would be a harsh... spit in the face off my country and what it stands for.

1:15:32

(shouting in Arabic and Hebrew)

1:16:05

- What is this doing to these 19-year-old Israeli conscripts?

1:16:10

One particular story really sticks in my mind. It was about this 19-year-old soldier

1:16:17

conscripted into the army. Very excited, proud to be serving in the Israeli military,

1:16:22

protecting Israel from any manner of threats. But then, several months into his service,

1:16:28

he found himself in the West Bank, in the back of a troop carrier, where the detainees are tied and blindfolded on the floor,

1:16:35

and there was a degree of abuse going on. Other soldiers were slapping and kicking the detainees.

1:16:40

And the soldier said he had a real crisis moment at that point. This is not why he thought he was joining the Israeli army,

1:16:47

to slap around a few tied and blindfolded Palestinians on the floor of a military Jeep. But the dilemma for that 19-year-old

1:16:54

is what is he supposed to do? If he starts lodging complaints against his commanding officer or the other soldiers,

1:17:02

that's gonna be a pretty tough three years in the military if he's lodging complaints in the first few months.

1:17:07

But then what was quite striking is he said by the time he got to his third year in the military,

1:17:13

he was slapping the detainees around as well. It's dehumanizing. And this is not unique by any stretch of the imagination

1:17:20

to the Israeli army, that you give any military in the world, no matter how well-trained they are, no matter how professional they are,

1:17:27

the job of policing civilians, you will probably find this stuff happening after six months or so.

1:17:32

And this has been nearly 53 years. (shouting in Arabic and Hebrew)

1:17:46

(children chattering)

1:17:51

- West Jerusalem over there is the part that the state of Israel conquered in 1948

1:17:56

and Palestinians were driven out of. So there's neighborhoods there that were originally Jewish,

1:18:01

neighborhoods that were originally Palestinian. Now it's all Jewish. Everybody there is Israeli Jewish citizens.

1:18:07

That's where I live. That's where the streets are well-paved,  
the parks work, the schools work,

1:18:14

the municipal system works. Then we have the area from  
the Old City

1:18:20

and further to the east. Most of what we see here is what we  
call East Jerusalem.

1:18:26

That is under the Jerusalem municipality since 1967,  
populated mostly with Palestinians.

1:18:33

And you can see there's less roads, less parks, less public  
buildings. We're talking about, about, 10% of the city  
budget

1:18:42

spent in these neighborhoods, where a little bit more than  
one third of the city's residents live. So 90% of it is spent  
where I live,

1:18:49

in the Jewish neighborhoods, where two-thirds of the city  
population lives, and only 10% here where the other one-  
third lives.

1:18:57

What is the legal status of these people? Some people in the  
Israeli government said,

1:19:03

"If we annex this, we have to give these people  
citizenship." Other people said, "But we don't want to."

1:19:10

And in the end, they came up with the legal solution, which  
was giving these people Israeli residency,

1:19:16

but not citizenship. So since that time we have, basically,  
we have more, but we have three, at least, separate legal  
categories

1:19:24

of Palestinians under Israeli rule. We have those who remained within 1948 Israel.

1:19:30

They have Israeli citizenship, in theory the same rights that I have as an Israeli Jewish citizen.

1:19:36

We have the Palestinians in most of the West Bank and Gaza who are under a military government and therefore have basically no legal rights.

1:19:44

And then we have these people in East Jerusalem who are somewhere in between. They are under Israeli law, not military government,

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but they do not have Israeli citizenship, only residency. Residency is a little bit like having a green card in the states.

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It's a status usually meant for immigrants. Here we're using it for people who are from here.

1:20:07

The next thing the Israeli government did is a survey of the land, and they marked a line around the existing neighborhoods,

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and all the land that was unbuilt up, they said no building is allowed. And also inside the neighborhoods,

1:20:22

they very much restricted any new building. Then they started confiscation.

1:20:29

Confiscating the big tracts of open land that's mostly outside the center, closer to Bethlehem,

1:20:34

closer to Ramallah. And they brought in companies to build on them big new residential neighborhoods.

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Now comes a certain legal trick, because the state appropriates the land,

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the farmers who owned it get some money, but no choice. The state brings in companies to build housing.

1:20:53

Those companies then sell the apartments. The state never sells the land. And many governments have a policy like this.

1:21:00

You buy an apartment, you sign a 99-year lease with the state for the land that apartment is on.

1:21:06

But in order to sign a lease with the Israeli government for Israeli state land, one must be...

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or at the time, at least, had to be an Israeli citizen or eligible for Israeli citizenship by the law of return,

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which means also a Jew from anywhere in the world, but not a Palestinian from Jerusalem.

1:21:23

So the land is expropriated from Palestinians for public use, and then they are told basically you are not the public

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intended in that statement. You cannot buy apartments on the land confiscated from you. So those neighborhoods become, in the first phase,

1:21:37

exclusively Jewish neighborhoods. Today we have over 200,000 Jews living in the annexed area of East Jerusalem.

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That's about one third the total settlers in the West Bank are in this 1% of the West Bank

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that is the most important for both sides. And Israel says, "They're not settlers,

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because this is absolutely Israel, we've annexed it." The rest of the world says, "No, this is occupied territories

1:22:00

like the rest of the West Bank. We don't recognize that annexation." In these neighborhoods, in the Palestinian neighborhoods,

1:22:06

which is pretty much everything we see here, the Israeli government places very severe restrictions on new building.

1:22:14

They never say, "We don't allow new building because we don't want more Palestinians in Jerusalem."

1:22:19

They do say in separate documents, "We don't want more Palestinians in Jerusalem." That's called the demographic policy.

1:22:25

But here they say, "We don't allow new building because the infrastructure is not ready because the slopes are too steep,

1:22:31

because we want to protect the rural character of the neighborhood," a whole range of technical and other excuses that they give.

1:22:39

But in the end, very few permissions for any kind of new building in Palestinian neighborhoods, which very soon becomes a problem,

1:22:46

because people here are having a lot of babies. So 70,000 people in '67 becomes over 300,000 today.

1:22:53

(soft music) Where are all those people gonna live?

1:22:59

You want to live here, you can't get a permit to build here, you build anyway. When you build without permit, you generally do get caught.

1:23:07

The important question is when. Do you get caught while you're building or once you've built?

1:23:13

In the neighborhoods that are behind me now, the level of inspection is such, you basically cannot get away with digging foundations

1:23:20

to build a new building, but you can, if you're clever and lucky, get away with building over weekends, over holidays,

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when inspectors are not working, with creating distractions, working under tarps so you can't see it from the air,

1:23:33

build incrementally rooms, floors, on top of existing houses.

1:23:39

(tool clacking) That is probably the case with most of the buildings. now behind me. They existed in 1967.

1:23:46

Therefore they are legal in the Israeli system and they have a legal electric connection and water connection. And they have had mostly over the last 25 years

1:23:53

rooms and floors added without permit. The great majority of those people have been caught

1:24:00

and they've been given fines. The fine is estimated cost of building.

1:24:06

So they say, "You built 100 square meters. We estimate that cost you a 400,000 shekels to do,

1:24:11

so we fine new 400,000 shekels." At this point, people normally say,

1:24:16

"I do not have 400,000 shekels. In fact, I never had them." 400,000 is what it would cost them

1:24:22

if they hired a company to do it. But a lot of people here do the labor themselves.

1:24:27

They say, "I don't have 400,000 shekels." The state says, "All right. Let's do an assessment of your income.

1:24:33

You're gonna to make a down payment of 20,000 shekels, and then you're going to pay us 1,000 shekels a month for the next 30 years or so."

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That's a very common situation here. People are paying the normal city taxes, plus the fines for unpermitted buildings in installments.

1:24:49

All that money that is going to the Jerusalem municipality in West Jerusalem, in theory should be coming back here

1:24:55

to become schools, roads, hospitals, public buildings, parks. Where are the main roads? Where are the parks?

1:25:01

Where are the schools? Where is the municipal public investment in Palestinian neighborhoods of East Jerusalem?

1:25:07



There are some things, but they are few and far between and hard to spot.

1:25:13

(emotional piano music) When you build without permit, you generally do get caught.

1:25:20

If you get caught while you're building, it's just very bad for you. They're gonna come knock down what you built,

1:25:26

confiscate machines that are in use, give you a big fine to pay, you're left with less than nothing.

1:25:36

Sometimes it seems like the inspectors are waiting.

1:25:41

so you're almost done, so you've put all your money into it, but it's not yet completely finished,

1:25:48

there's not yet people moved in, and then they can just swoop in with a bunch of bulldozers and a bunch of armored Jeeps

1:25:56

and armored men securing them, and they'll come in, and they'll surround the house,

1:26:02

and they'll evacuate everybody who's near it, and they'll just roll in the bulldozers and knock it down.

1:26:09

(speaking in Hebrew) That is really a tragedy for the people it happens to,

1:26:16

because the people own this land, obviously. It's their family land. They need the housing, and they've put all their savings

1:26:24

and often all their savings and more into building. And then they're just watching that

1:26:31

from behind a cordon of armed man, watching that get wiped away in an hour or two

1:26:38

by a bulldozer or two, leaving them with a pile of rubble

1:26:44

and mangled steel like this. They're demolishing in East Jerusalem

1:26:52

something like 100 structures a year. So about two a week.

1:26:57

(rapid explosions)

1:27:04

Sometimes, sometimes the demolitions will also happen to houses after they've been built.

1:27:11

Then the municipality has to go through a court and get an eviction order, and that can take some years.

1:27:16

And so you're living in a house which you know has an outstanding demolition order, but it has for years.

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And then one morning bulldozers roll into your neighborhood, and people are looking at them,

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and people are calling each other on the phone. And when the boulders has come in, most often people still don't know which house they're coming for.

1:27:35

And then one house gets surrounded by 100, sometimes 200 armed men.

1:27:42

And as I said, usually it's an unfinished house, but sometimes it's not, there's a family inside. (crying)

1:27:48

And there'll be somebody with a megaphone standing outside saying, "This is an illegal structure.

1:27:54

You have half an hour or one hour to evacuate." And people will be rushing

1:27:59

to take out their favorite things. And then they have some workers come in and throw out the furniture.

1:28:05

And then the bulldozers roll in and knock it down, and a family is left homeless.

1:28:11

Sometimes kids in the neighborhood might throw some stones at the police,

1:28:16

and the police might shoot back tear gas, and it might become like a mini-riot. But it never stops the demolition.

1:28:24

The demolition happens. It happens very publicly, very dramatically. It sends a very powerful message

1:28:31

to everybody living around here that life, home is precarious.

1:28:38

We have many stories of kids who they find when they go to school, they don't have their school books in their bag.

1:28:44

They just have all their favorite toys. Because, they say, "I'm worried that I leave home

1:28:50

and it's gonna be demolished by the time I come back."

Home demolitions, even witnessing them around you,

1:28:58

leave scars on children, on family. To the family that it happens to, it's really...

1:29:06

it's losing all your savings. It's usually then crowding in with relatives.

1:29:13

As I said, there's many thousands of illegal structures, and which one gets demolished seems like a lottery.

1:29:18

They do it often enough to keep everybody on their toes, to keep everybody with the sense of, it could happen to me.

1:29:26

So it seems like we're keeping people at a certain simmer of tension.

1:29:31

If you demolish too many houses, you'd got an uprising. If you demolish not enough houses, people would feel secure,

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and maybe you'd have more organized political resistance.

But if you do this often enough, just often enough,

1:29:45

deny people residency, demolish homes, and you leave this here as a reminder

1:29:51

this could happen at any moment, there is some balance there of keeping people here who are very unhappy with the government they are under

1:29:59

mostly quiet, mostly not putting up any kind of active opposition.

1:30:05

(somber orchestral music)

1:30:14

- One of the legacies of the Oslo Accords is the division of the West Bank into three areas,

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areas A, B and C. Israel was to slowly hand over control of the West Bank

1:30:26

to the Palestinian Authority, beginning with area A, which consists of the major Palestinian cities.

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Civil matters and security issues are handled by the Palestinian Authority in area A.

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That said, the Palestinian Authority coordinates extensively with Israel on security

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and is seen by many as a subcontractor of the Israeli military.

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The responsibilities of area B are split. The Palestinian Authority handles civil matters,

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and the Israeli military manages security. Areas A and B are home to roughly 90% of the Palestinians

1:31:06

living in the West Bank. Area C is entirely under the civil

1:31:11

and security control of the Israeli military. Here's the catch.

1:31:16

Area C accounts for 60% of the land area of the West Bank.

1:31:22

Area C is also home to virtually all of the Israeli settlements.

1:31:28

Area A, where the Palestinian Authority has relative independence, accounts for only 20% of the West Bank.

1:31:37

Area B accounts for the last 20% of the land in the West Bank.

1:31:43

Though most Palestinians live in areas A and B, there are roughly 300,000 Palestinians living in area C.

1:31:52

The Israeli occupation makes life difficult for all Palestinians, but this is especially true

1:31:59

for the Palestinians living in area C. Here, Palestinians not only face

1:32:05

the usual restrictions of the occupation; they also face aggression and harassment

1:32:10

from settlers and soldiers. Instead of slowly handing over control of the West Bank to Palestinians,

1:32:18

Israel is trying to rid the West Bank of Palestinians, beginning with area C.

1:32:23

It is the Oslo Accords in reverse. (shouting in Hebrew)

1:32:30

(birds whistling) (emotional piano music)

1:32:39

(vehicle rumbling) - Our story with this land started in 1916,

1:32:46

when my grandfather bought this piece of land. So, my grandfather was a farmer.

1:32:52

He was connected with the land, so he wanted a space, a place to create a better future for his children.

1:33:03

The land is located on the hilltop, about 3,000 feet above sea level.

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The land today is surrounded by five Israeli settlements that are growing,

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and some of them are becoming like towns, like small cities. We are located in an area that is considered to be area C

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after the peace agreement [Oslo Accords], and area C is a Palestinian territory but under Israeli military control,

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which makes it also difficult for us to improve the land.

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To tell you a background of our story, the country was under the Ottoman rules,

1:33:46

and the Ottomans wanted to get property taxes from the local land owners, and they demanded that every land owner should register land

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in order to pay property taxes. Many did not do it. But my grandfather did it the other way.

1:34:02

So he first registered the land. So we got papers. Now, in 1991...

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we heard that the Israeli authorities declared our farm as state land. And the idea is to take the land

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and maybe build another settlement. In our case, we thought, of course, this is unjust,

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because we have the documents. Then land is a private property. And we reacted legally,

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and we went to the military court, because the West Bank is under Israeli military control. And we thought with one session,

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we will finish the case, because we have papers. The Israeli military judge was surprised to see documents.

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But instead of closing the case, as we were hoping for, they postponed it.

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And because of our location in the center of settlements, they started to make it difficult for us to prove ownership.

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So we spent that 12 years in the military court. And after 12 years, our lawyer received a paper:

1:35:07

the family does not have enough proofs of ownership.

(delicate piano music)

1:35:13

We brought this case to the highest score in Israel, the Supreme Court. So today we are in about almost 30 years, still in court,

1:35:24

between military and Supreme Court, but the positive outcome so far, we are still here,

1:35:32

and we did not lose any part of the land. Now, parallel to the legal battle

1:35:38

which is going on until today, we had difficulties from Israeli settlers

1:35:45

who are living in the settlements. They cut our trees, they damaged our water tanks,

1:35:51

they threatened us with guns, and they tried many times to build roads in our land.

1:35:57

We stopped all those road constructions by court. And one time after we stopped the settlers



1:36:03

from digging the road, they were very angry, and they destroyed 250 olive trees from our farm.

1:36:10

(emotional orchestral music)

1:36:22

In what is so-called area C, we always find demolishing orders for structures, for tents, for trees.

1:36:29

And in 2014, one of our volunteers, he found a paper in the valley where we planted 19, 20 years ago hundreds of fruit trees.

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The claim was those trees we planted were planted on state land.

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We responded legally, and our appeal was accepted, because we have documents. But then, two or three weeks later,

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they came with bulldozers and the trees were destroyed, the terraces were destroyed,

1:36:55

and this time, from the military. And this was done without a court decision.

1:37:05

And now we are becoming here more isolated. The main access to the property is blocked for us

1:37:10

since 2001. The construction of a new religious school

1:37:15

might also affect our situation here. The expansion of the settlements is going on and on.

1:37:22

We might be squeezed in the center of the settlement. And also the wall, when it's finished around Bethlehem area,

1:37:31

will make it difficult for us, and especially because this wall will disconnect us from going the six miles to Bethlehem.

1:37:42

We have difficulties or restrictions on our own land. We are not allowed to build anything.

1:37:48

So we have to apply for a building permit that we'll never get.

1:37:54

We have no access to running water on the farm and no electricity,

1:38:00

But we try always to transform our anger or transform this pain and invest it in a constructive way,

1:38:08

in a way that will build something, not destroy something.

So the question was, how can we develop the farm without electricity?

1:38:15

We installed a solar power system. We started collecting green water inside systems.

1:38:20

And since we are not allowed to build on the ground, we started renovating caves.

1:38:25

And for us, it's not about building electricity or water.

1:38:31

No, it's about showing other people that things are possible.

(emotional orchestral music)

1:38:51

(delicate string music) - I knew Nazareth was an oddity in the state of Israel.

1:38:56

It was a Palestinian city. These were Palestinians who were citizens of Israel.

1:39:02

They were unlike their fellow Palestinians in the West Bank, who lived under military occupation.

1:39:07

They were also unlike Palestinians in East Jerusalem, who had residency but not citizenship.

1:39:14

I did not know that Nazareth was an accident, a city that should have been forcibly depopulated

1:39:21

by the Israeli forces in 1948. Instead, a Canadian Jew, Benjamin Dunkelman,

1:39:27

made a truce with the Palestinians of Nazareth. He was fired from his post for doing so.

1:39:35

I did not know that Israel had purposefully neglected Nazareth. I assumed that these Palestinians, citizens of Israel,

1:39:44

were in control of their own destiny. When I met Jonathan Cook, he pulled the scales from my eyes.

1:39:52

Israel's mechanisms of control and oppression extend even to Palestinian citizens of Israel.

1:40:02

- What's interesting about Nazareth, as well as being the capital of Palestinians inside Israel,

1:40:07

and the reason it's effectively... It's not officially the capital of Palestinians inside Israel, but the reason it's effectively the capital

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for Palestinians inside Israel is because it's the only  
Palestinian city that survives the 1940 events, the Nakba,  
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the great dispossession of Palestinians. So Israel is stuck  
with Nazareth.

1:40:27

It's got no choice now. It's stuck with a Palestinian city, the  
only one. But that leads to all sorts of other consequences,  
1:40:33

and those are things I think a great deal about and I write  
about, which is, once you have a Palestinian city in Israel,  
1:40:39

you have the danger that it might become a proper cultural  
and political space for Palestinians,

1:40:45

a capital for them, a proper capital. And so Israel has been  
working ever since to try and undermine Nazareth's status  
as a city.

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It's been employing a policy called Judaization. That's not  
some weird word I just made up. That's an official  
government term.

1:41:02

For many years here, there was a Judaization Ministry  
whose job was to Judaize the land, to make it Jewish.

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This is seen very much, sadly, in zero sum terms. So  
everything that's good for the Jewish people

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must be bad for the Palestinian people. What we gain, they  
lose.

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Now this is a slightly different way of understanding the  
conflict, because instead of seeing it as a military issue,

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which is you have that veneer of military issues in the occupied territories. You have soldiers, you have checkpoints,

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you have military bases and so on. You also of course have settlements and you have walls and all the rest of it, but you don't have those issues here.

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You don't need soldiers here. We don't have soldiers here. We have a paramilitary police force, but you don't need the soldiers here. You don't have an insurrection.

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You don't have armed force Palestinian groups trying to take on the army or the police here.

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So you actually have a civil society here. You have a peace, what should be a peaceful environment.

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But Israel is using the same techniques it uses in the occupied territories here against Palestinians. It's denying them resources, denying them land,

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denying them development. And Nazareth is a very good illustration of those problems, where it's being surrounded by Jewish development.

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We even have a city built right next door to us, which is its job... It took the name from Nazareth.

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It was called Nazareth Illit for many years. It recently renamed itself Nof HaGalil. But it's built a city to surround Nazareth

1:42:27

so that Nazareth can't expand, it can't develop. We're trapped, ghettoized, literally ghettoized by this city

1:42:33

and denied land for future development. We don't have green spaces. We don't have public parks here.

1:42:39

The next generation has nowhere to build. So people are now building illegally.

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People are trapped. (bells clanging)

1:42:55

One of the strengths of Nazareth is its tourism, its tourism potential.

1:43:00

We've got these holy places. We've got a large Christian population. It's the obvious place for pilgrims to come and visit.

1:43:05

Now, Israel was aware of that strength. Now, there were dangers here for Israel, because if you get lots of pilgrims and tourists

1:43:12

visiting Nazareth, well, two things happen. One is you get a lot of financial independence for Nazareth.

1:43:18

It becomes a strong, economically independent city based on its tourism. But also, if you have a lot of tourists staying in Nazareth,

1:43:26

they're going to interact with the local population. You're gonna get restaurants, bars, clubs, and so on, where people are going to meet.

1:43:32

And those tourists, those pilgrims, are going to hear something of the Palestinian story. Now, Israel didn't want that.

1:43:38

It didn't want people coming here on vacation and coming back to America or Europe,

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being able to tell the story of what had happened here, about the mass expulsions and so on. So what it did is it created a series

1:43:48

of tourism priority areas to encourage the tourists to stay in certain places. The number one tourism priority area

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in this region is Tiberias. Why Tiberias? Because it's a Palestinian city before 1948,

1:44:02

which becomes an entirely Jewish city after 1948. So when the tourists are staying there, they're not meeting any Palestinians at all.

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It would have been logical to make Nazareth a tourism priority area, but it didn't happen. (intriguing instrumental music)

1:44:14

There's a strip, a pedestrian street where people walk up to the Basilica of the Annunciation,

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and there are a few shops there, which are the only chance those shopkeepers have to make some money from the tourists.

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But if you stand around there and you hear the tourists coming up, the odd one might buy a bottle of water. And when they go into those shops,

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they will say Shalom, the Hebrew word for hello. None of them know that they're in an Arab community,

1:44:38

and that's exactly the way Israel wants it. It doesn't want them knowing they're in a Palestinian community, because that might start them thinking about:

1:44:46

Well, why are there Arabs living in this city? What was the story before this became a Jewish state?

1:44:51

These are questions that 99.9% of the pilgrims here never ask, it never occurs to them.

1:44:58

So what happens is that the tourists come up, they come up on a coach,

1:45:04

they come and spend an hour going around the Basilica of the Annunciation, our major church here.

1:45:09

They get back on the bus, and they leave. And they rarely spend a shekel here. They don't buy a bottle of water.

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That don't talk to anybody. And then they go to Tiberias, and that's where the hotels are, the restaurants. That's where the city of Tiberias profits massively

1:45:22

from the tourists, but Nazareth doesn't. And that's intentional, to deny us the tourist income

1:45:28

and also to deny us the chance to interact. So Nazareth has lost out massively. It could have had huge income,

1:45:35

it would be a rich, wealthy, successful, modern city, if it had had all of that income over those many decades.

1:45:42

Instead, it lost that income, and it lost it to Jewish cities. (somber instrumental music)

1:45:47

What's going on here is making life so difficult, denying Palestinians the chances to prosper,

1:45:52



to be successful. When you do that, you force people to look elsewhere, to look outside the state.

1:45:58

People are being pushed out by denying them the ability to subsist, to live, to find success in their life, to even have dignity.

1:46:09

(delicate string music)

1:46:15

- There is a heritage, a beautiful heritage of the prophetic.

1:46:21

There are the names we all know: Moses, Jesus, Muhammad, the great prophets of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

1:46:29

But just as important as these three are the countless names lost to history:

1:46:35

dissidents, activists, journalists, lawyers, farmers, slaves, musicians, sisters, brothers, mothers, fathers,

1:46:44

daughters, sons, friends, each one willing to risk, to lose something:

1:46:51

lose respect, lose influence, lose money, lose relationships,

1:46:57

a life of choosing to lose. The life of most prophets is a life shaped by defeat.

1:47:06

This is the secret of the prophets: They find meaning, joy even, in a worthy struggle,

1:47:14

a struggle rooted in honesty, decency, integrity, courage, and service.

1:47:21

Victories are satisfying, but they are fleeting. The worthy struggle is timeless.

1:47:31

- For me, Israel isn't just about a conflict between Jews and Palestinians.

1:47:36

For me, this is a story, a Western story.

1:47:42

It's a story of our dividing the world.

1:47:48

- I don't think the Israelis hate every single Palestinian in the world. They just don't want Palestinians in Palestine.

1:47:56

- Local populations, native populations, have always lived under this,

1:48:01

or for centuries have lived under this Western, imperial kind of rule. They've always been seen as the other, the barbarian.

1:48:11

- I do remember children looking at me. "You destroyed my home. You raided my village.

1:48:20

People were killed here. Maybe you didn't do it, but other people were killed here

1:48:25

that didn't do anything, just because they were Palestinians." That was the moment that I started seeing myself

1:48:34

as a possible... as a possible villain. (dramatic orchestral music)

1:48:43

- This is so much the background of our thinking. It's really a racism, but it's not a overt racism,

1:48:50

it's not a racism we think about. It's just there, the background noise to our lives. - You grow up with this idea that soldiers

1:48:56

are there to protect you, that is their job in life. And Palestinians are kind of a threat, that's part of their job in life.

1:49:03

And you go to a protest where soldiers shoot at you and Palestinians offer you shelter in their homes,

1:49:08

and it kind of shatters your understanding of the world. (dramatic orchestral music)

1:49:14

- So we really don't count these people who are not like us. We don't think of them as the same as us,

1:49:19

and we don't think of them as having the same rights. I see Palestine and the Palestinian story

1:49:24

as a way for us to confront our own history, our own unthinking racism

1:49:30

towards those who we think of as lesser.

1:49:36

- Privileged populations do not volunteer away their privilege for ethical reasons. - Israel doesn't have an interest to end the occupation.

1:49:43

There's no reason for us as Israelis... We actually live pretty comfortable lives. So why? - If change, when change does occur,

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it will be in response to some pressure. - Israel/Palestine can be a way for us to see this story,

1:49:59

it's an ugly story. It's a story that we're responsible for and that we need to confront.

1:50:07

- So in every human being, including what we might call an enemy, there is something good and something bad,

1:50:15

The good thing we want to respect, but the bad thing we don't want to accept.

1:50:21

- Most of us kind of either become either radical or turn our face away from it.

1:50:28

And it's a fine balance to say, "I don't like what I see,

1:50:34

but I'm going to address it." - So I have to stand up for my rights

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until tell other, "What you're doing is unjust."

1:50:45

Of course, that doesn't mean that we have to succeed in one day.

1:50:51

This is our contribution. (solemn orchestral music)

[35:02](#)

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