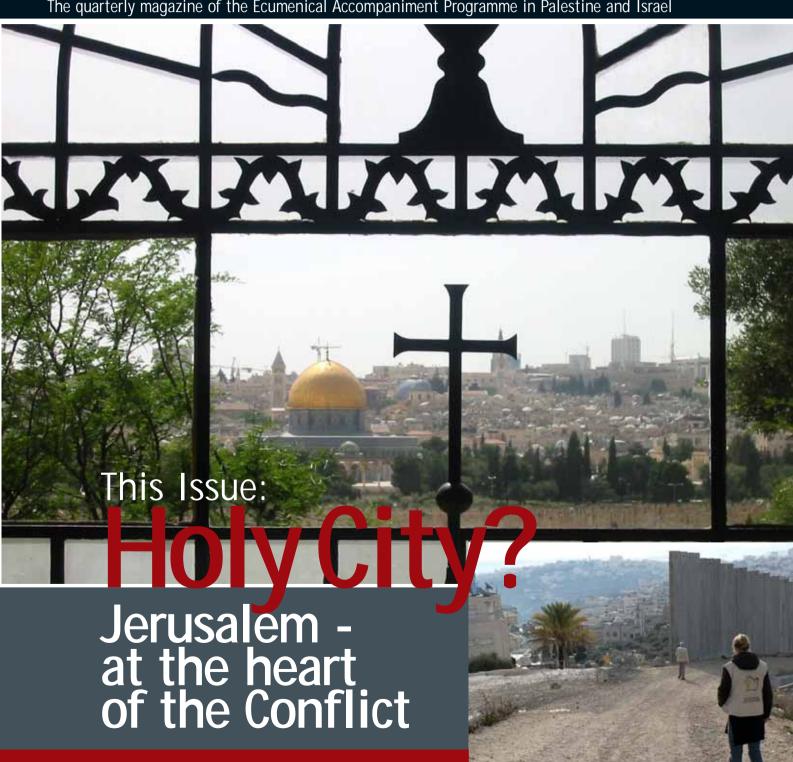


## Issue No 4, 2006 React

The quarterly magazine of the Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme in Palestine and Israel



The EAPPI is a World Council of Churches programme

### Editorial



By Rifat Odeh Kassis EAPPI International Programme Coordinator and Project Manager

### Dear friends and readers.

This issue of ChainReaction deals with Jerusalem, which is at the heart of the Arab-Israeli conflict. There will be no permanent peace between the two nations unless the issue of Jerusalem is settled satisfactorily for all. The major failure in the Oslo Agreement was that the issue of Jerusalem was left pending and it was agreed to determine the future of the city at the end of the negotiations which never came. Despite the agreement between the two parties in Oslo to not change any of the facts on the ground, especially in Jerusalem, Netanyahu, the former Israeli Prime Minister opened a tunnel leading to the Al-Agsa Mosque, which resulted in armed clashes between Palestinians and the Israeli forces in 1996. Again in September 2000, Sharon marched provocatively with 2000 soldiers to the Al-Agsa Mosque; Palestinians confronted this visit and clashed with Sharon's guards. Seven Palestinians were shot dead in these clashes and this triggered the Intifada.

Since the creation of Israel in 1948 and despite the numerous resolutions taken by the United Nations concerning Jerusalem, whether the partition resolution 181 in 1947 or those taken after 1948, no resolutions were implemented or respected by Israel. Israel illegally annexed the eastern part of the city and managed to transfer illegally around 400,000 of their citizens into Jerusalem in an attempt to change the face of the city and deny the access of Palestinians to Jerusalem. This annexation was not recognized by any country in the world. Israel has made it impossible for Palestinians to build inside Jerusalem or even to renovate their already existing homes. Israel has done all it can to isolate Jerusalem from the rest of the West Bank and to disconnect relations between Jerusalemites and their brothers and sisters in the surrounding areas. The most obvious signs of this have been the settlement enterprise in the Jerusalem area and the erection of the Separation Barrier.

It is becoming more obvious now that the key to peace in this region is that Israel should recognize the rights of the Palestinians on their land occupied in 1967 and to work on solving all outstanding issues, such as the

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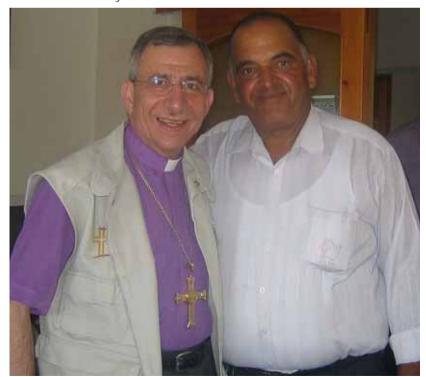
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## **Palestinian** Christians in Jerusalem

An interview with **Bishop Munib Younan**, Head of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Jordan and the Holy Land (www.holyland-lutherans.org)

By Gemma Abbs

Christians currently make up less than 2% of the Palestinian population. In this interview we cover some of the issues being faced by Christians in particular, and why many of them choose to leave the Holy Land.



Bishop Munib Younan with EAPPI partner, Abu Azzam

Photo:Gemma Abbs

Q: With the number of Christians in the Holy Land dwindling, what do you see as the future for Palestinian Christians, particularly in Jerusalem?

A: Jerusalem is the core of the conflict. The Heads of Churches in Jerusalem have very clearly stated that the future of Jerusalem must be Jewish, Christian, Muslim, Palestinian and Israeli. If there are any of these elements missing, then peace cannot be attained in Jerusalem and Israel and Palestine as a whole. The future must involve a shared Jerusalem: a united Jerusalem. without walls or barriers. We must allow the inclusive nature of the city to be seen.

When we speak about churches, we mean not only the Heads of Churches, but the grassroots; the community of believers. We need to address their needs and concerns. It is difficult to serve them when they are not in a comfortable situation; for example, they are worrying about their identity cards or health insurance.

The future of the Palestinian Christians here is dependent on the kind of solution which is sought for Jerusalem. It's difficult to see this in the current

The Augusta Victoria hospital on the Mount of Olives, East Jerusalem Photo:EAPPI

situation. The kind of policies which are being carried out affect everyone, and the Christians are no exception. You can take the division of families as just one example. Christians are the ones living in Ar Ram and Dahiyat al Bareed (East Jerusalem) and who now find themselves on the 'wrong' side of the Wall in the West Bank. Many young people from Jerusalem fall in love with West Bankers, but it is illegal for their spouse to live in Jerusalem, so they end up moving to the West Bank, and then losing their Jerusalem status. Their children will also then be considered West Bankers. Israeli law needs to change for West Bankers to be allowed to marry Jerusalemites.

## Q: What are the main causes for Christians emigrating?

A: Christians are leaving Palestine because of the unstable political situation and the difficulties they face under occupation. For example, they need permits simply to move around just to drive four or five miles up the road requires a permit. Things will become even more difficult if the rumour is true that Jerusalemites need permits to travel in the West Bank. In certain cities, this is already being implemented.



East Jerusalem, where most Palestinian Christians are living, has a problem of a lack of affordable housing. It is measures such as these that are making life difficult. Christians think that their life will be better if they emigrate. Anyone in their position would do the same. The Church has a duty to provide affordable rented accommodation, especially for young couples who are just starting out. Housing is after all, not a luxury but a social necessity.

There are so many issues that people have to face, like the Wall and the checkpoints. In the end people think, why should I have to deal with this? To give you an example, I know a family in Bir Nabala, which is part of the Jerusalem municipality. The father had built a very nice house there. He would drive his children to the Rosary Sisters school in Beit Hanina (about a five minute drive) and he owned a shop in the Old City (a ten minute drive).

There are so many issues that people have to face, like the Wall and the checkpoints. In the end people think, why should I have to deal with this?

But now the Wall has been erected. and he has to drive half way to Ramallah, all the way to the Qalandiya checkpoint, where his children have to get out of the car and walk through the checkpoint. This means leaving the house at 5.30am just to get his children to school on time. What kind of life is this? These measures are driving people crazy.

O: What measures are the churches taking to help the Christian community?

A: Christians now number only 7000-8000 maximum. If the Wall succeeds in separating us, half of the Christians will be inside the Wall and half outside. We don't know what else can be done. We have tried as Heads of Churches to focus on four key elements to help our communities, and others:

- 1. Community based education
- 2. Employment opportunities
- 3. Housing
- 4. Stablising Christian institutions

The Christian institutions serve people regardless of religion, gender, political affiliation or social status. We are serving 25% of the population, despite the fact that we make up only 2% of the population.

Q: How have the measures taken by the Government of Israel affected the institutions of the Lutheran Church in particular?

The Augusta Victoria Hospital run by the Lutheran Church, serves 22,000 people each year. It particularly specializes in cancer treatment, pediatrics and dialysis. Our main problem is that we used to be exempt from taxation by the Government and no longer are. We are dealing with the issue, but if an out of court settlement cannot be reached, the institution is going to severely suffer. We are trying to find out if a settlement can be made so that we can continue offering these essential services.

Q: Jerusalem is said to be the most sensitive issue, at the heart of the conflict. Do you still feel hope that one day Jerusalem will be the capital of a Palestinian state?

A: Jerusalem is a city of suffering and of the resurrection. Sometimes during times of suffering, people don't see hope. But as a Church we are called to give hope in a hopeless situation. If we don't move from the power of resurrection which gives us that hope, we will be the most hopeless people in the world.

Justice will come to this city. We want to live side by side with our Israeli neighbours. We don't want Jerusalem to become the centre of any form of extremism - from any religion. The pluralistic nature of Jerusalem needs to be accepted and maintained. Our duty is to implant the hope that our people have and to remain steadfast. God will not let this day last forever. We want the local Church in Jerusalem to be stronger. This poses a real challenge for the World Council of Churches and its member churches to work to help strengthen the local churches.

Q: What would you call on Christians around the world to do?

A: To not leave us alone. We represent the continuity of the early church. by preaching the Gospel and administering the sacraments. Christians should stand with us in order to allow the witness of justice, peace and reconciliation to continue in Jerusalem. We are thankful to those churches who have tried to strengthen the local churches. We are asking them to do more, in order for a just peace to be implemented more quickly. This is a message not only for Christians, but all people of conscience. The world must know that the security of Israel is dependent on freedom and justice for the Palestinians.

We also call on the Israelis to see God in us, and for the Palestinians to see God in the Israelis. Only when we accept each other's humanity can we recognize the others' national, religious and social rights. Only then can this become a land of milk and honey for all.

The future of Christianity is not in war or under occupation or in any form of violence, it is only in justice and peace. However, if God wants us to be part of the mystery of suffering, we are ready for that.

What the Christian world particularly needs to work towards is for Jerusalem to be an inclusive city for everyone.



By **Madeleine Dahl**, Ecumenical Accompanier

Photo: a soldier stopping a woman from passing into Jerusalem By Eric Fistler

Beautifully situated, on a hill between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, lies the small village of Nuaman. The village has 200 residents, all of whom belong to one of two families: Shawarwa and Darawi. When Israel annexed East Jerusalem in 1967, the village was annexed and thus became part of the State of Israel<sup>1</sup>. The residents however, were registered as living in Umm at-Tala, a nearby village which became Occupied Palestinian Territory. Therefore the

land of Nuaman became part Israeli, although the residents were denied Israeli citizenship (blue identity cards). Until 1992 this paradox was not a problem. This year however, representatives from the Israeli Government came to the village and declared that all new construction there was forbidden. This was the first time the residents of the village knew that their land (but not themselves) had been annexed to Jerusalem. Some tried to get Jerusalem



By Eric Fistler

citizenship, but didn't succeed. It became evident that the Government of Israel wanted the land and not the people.2

In 1994 the Israeli army blocked the road that leads north from Nuaman towards Jerusalem, thereby denying the residents access to Jerusalem their major economic, health, and educational centre. In 1996 the children of Nuaman were forced to leave their school in the village of Umm Tuba, which belongs to Jerusalem, and move to a school in Al Khas, part of the Occupied

Palestinian Territories. In 2003 the road from Nuaman towards Bethlehem, Abu Dis (and thus the rest of the West Bank) was blocked. These roadblocks preceded the construction of the Separation Barrier.<sup>3</sup> For the time being, this consists of razorwire, and Nuaman's formerly cultivated land east of the village is full of excavators busy building a checkpoint. Today, this checkpoint consists of a few soldiers in a jeep, who decide if people can pass or not. As residents in the Occupied Palestinian Territories, the people of Nuaman should be able pass the checkpoint without any problems, but in reality they are humiliated and often harrassed.

By isolating Nuaman, the Government of Israel has started to systematically freeze out the people whom, for generations, have lived in and cultivated this land where there are now plans to enlarge the illegal settlement of Har Homa. According to the Fourth Geneva Convention it is forbidden for an occupying power to annex, build on, or to move civilians into occupied territory. 4 The construction of Har Homa started in 2000, after the Israeli authorities had burnt down the last forest in the Bethlehem district. This settlement. which has 30,000 inhabitants, is, together with the Wall, dividing Bethlehem from Jerusalem.<sup>5</sup> In order to put food on the table, many residents of Nuaman are forced to work on the construction of houses in the Har Homa settlement - a somewhat surprising and sad paradox. The settlement has a range of modern facilities, but in Nuaman the garbage collection is not being



A demolished home in Nuaman By: Madeleine Dahl



Garbage collection in Nuaman! The settlement of Har Homa can be seen in the background. By: Madeleine Dahl

done properly and the residents are forbidden at times to bring food in to the village. In connection with the building of the Wall, the power and water supply for the village has been cut off for periods of up to two weeks.

How long can a human being stand to live as a prisoner in his or her own home? However, the residents of Nuaman know that the punishment is severe against those who oppose the rules of the 'prison guards'. On the 16th of December 2005, Mahmoud and Daúd Shwarma from Nuaman were on their way to Jerusalem. They were stopped by the border police, who accused them of being illegally present in Israel. Mahmoud refused to go with them to the police station. Several hours later, he was found tied to his donkey, badly beaten and unconsious. He died five days later, without regaining conciousness. Remaining in the house on the coveted land on a hill between Jerusalem and Bethlehem are his widow and eight children living an existence where every day is a struggle for survival.6 A struggle to provide food for the children and a struggle to be able to feel human dignity in a home that has became a prison.

2 http://al-nueman.tripod.com

3 http://al-nueman.tripod.com

4 http://www.icrc.org

5 Palestine and Palestinians 2005: p.186

6 http://al-nueman.tripod.com

Dressed in your white and blue checked school uniform You warily walk down the dusty village road. You know that behind the next corner the soldiers will be in sight and you slow your steps even further. The sun is unmercifully boiling Your fear forces you to approach the opening in the temporary razorwire fence. From the military jeep one can hear music and in his language the soldier is requesting you and your friends to dance for him. The humiliation lies heavy on your tiny shoulders when you realise that to obey is your only chance to get to school. On the other side of the opening in the barbwire fence you begin to run, run away from humiliation, from opression

This poem is based on conversations with residents of Nuaman and with people from Israeli peace organisations working in the village. The article has been translated from Swedish.

and from the home

that has become your prison.

# A Demographic Threat

By Goren Buren, **Ecumenical Accompanier** 

There is a key word to the understanding of what is happening in East Jerusalem. Why the separation barrier winds to and fro in curious loops, leaving one half of a family on one side and the rest on the other. Why hundreds of fully inhabitable houses are demolished every year, their occupiers left in the open air without shelter.

The word is demography. A crucial fact in Jerusalem's demography is that Arab families are growing much faster than Jewish ones.

For the Israeli authorities, this is a problem. The population of Jerusalem today consists of 70 % Israelis and 30% Palestinians, but it is predicted that in the next 10 years, the Palestinians will grow to 42%. If both groups were given the same preconditions, the Palestinian population would grow rapidly at the expense of the Israeli. Thus, soon, the Palestinians will be the majority. There is great unanimity inside the political establishment on the premise that Jerusalem is the 'eternal and undivided capital' of the State of Israel. Unanimity also prevails that this capital must have a solid Jewish majority.



Ecumenical Accompanier, Osten Gunnarsson inspecting the wreckage of a demolished house in East Jerusalem.

By Marisa Johnson

The consequence is that Palestinian population growth must be kept back. This is obtained by means of the route of the Wall, where it sometimes turns far into the city, in order to leave a Palestinian neighbourhood outside Jerusalem, sometimes bends in the opposite direction to locate a Jewish settlement inside the barrier.

It is also obtained by administrative means. Documentation on this is available from many different sources<sup>7</sup>. The most devastating method is to make it utterly difficult and expensive for Palestinians to get a building permit. It often ends up with the person giving in to the legal process, taking a chance and building illegally. It worked fairly well for many years, but in recent times the authorities have, in their struggle against the increasing Palestinian population rate, taken to house demolitions on a grand scale. In the year 2004, 150 houses were demolished, in 2005, 100 were demolished.

The process is that the owner of the house receives a demolition order. This means that he is ordered to demolish his own house. The order is almost never obeyed. Instead people wait and hope, while working hard, in order to be able to pay the fines, which follow the demolition order. What a pressure to live under! Any day, a day when the children are on their way to school, maybe before the family has even woken up, the bulldozer might be outside. Usually the families receive no warning, affirms the Israeli lawyer Eitan Peleg. Suddenly one morning at six o'clock the police will arrive, he says. One hour later all the belongings are thrown outside and the machine gets going. "It's legal", says Peleg, "but it is not fair".

It is true that it's in accordance with Israeli law. But East Jerusalem is Occupied Territory. This is unambiguously stated in UN Resolution 242. Israel has no other right to jurisdiction here, other than the self-assumed.

7 For example: Meir Margalit 'Discrimination in the heart of the holy city', Jerusalem 2006 and John Dugard, UN Special Raporteur on Human Rights in the Occupied Palestinian Territories, UN Report 20050818

## Home Demolitions in Al-Walaja

by Goren Buren
Photos by Goren Buren

The soldiers didn't allow us into the village of Al-Walaja, but a taxi-driver took us around the settlement outpost on paths through the famous Cremison vine-yards. A crowd had gathered on a slope. Some hundred yards down the

The family and neighbours inspecting the damage



hill was a half-demolished house. Next to the house stood a bulldozer with the letters VOLVO painted on its arm. A big unit of policemen ensured that nobody could walk down.

We were told that one house in the village had already been destroyed. The demolition here had been stopped temporarily, after the owners succeeded in obtaining a court order. If they would now pay the sum of 80.000 shekels, (more than 14,000 Euros), the demolition would be postponed while waiting for further consideration. A huge amount of money, and a very risky investment, because if the decision is taken to demolish the house anyway, there would be no guarantee of a refund. At the same time, an inspector was on his way. Since the house was already half-demolished, there now

had to be an investigation as to whether it was in such bad condition that it had to be completely destroyed for security reasons.

About an hour passed, the bulldozer stood waiting. In a distant office the fate of a family was decided on. The spectators stood waiting. Some women sat crying, shouting, waving their arms in distress. Then something happened. The policemen formed a long chain and immediately the arm of the bulldozer started to move. It pecked at the roof, which soon cracked into a mess of concrete, steel reinforcements and dust. The spectators silently watched the home of their neighbours being annihilated.

Why did the demolition suddenly start? It seems that the inspector had condemned the house. The bulldozer was working for half an hour, before it tread away. The work had apparently been terminated, although the house was still partly standing. Some walls remained, but the whole roof had been pulled down. It's hard to understand why the house would now be more safe than before the bulldozer's efforts.

Now the policemen disappear and we can go down to look at the devastation. The family's sofa suite is out in the street. A group of women walk down with the owners of the house, embraced in a circle of sympathy. We peace activists try to blink away our tears. The father of the house goes up to the entrance and looks into a room without a roof. where the cables from the electricity meter hang like a black bouquet. The Rabah family, consisting of two parents and nine children no longer have a place to live.

On the other side of the house is a big pile. Cupboard doors, blankets, kitchen equpiment, a box filled with shoes, pans, clothing...a home. Everything was thrown out without any care. When the police came this morning the family had one hour to leave the house. They refused any kind of cooperation, so it was the police who threw out their belongings.

So where are they to go now? That's up to them to decide. The state of Israel takes no responsibility whatsoever for their destiny. They are not offered any alternative place to



What is left of the families belongings



live, they receive no compensation; on the contrary, they will have to pay for the demolition.

Later we meet Ata Araj from the Popular Resistance Committee against House Demolitions in Al Walaja. He wants to show us something. He takes us to a newly constructed house, which is raised out of the remains of another. This other house was demolished two months earlier. For two months the family of five has been living in a tent. The Committee raised the money and labour, and in three weeks the new house was built - in turn, it received its demolition order.

The family has moved in anyway, the

furniture is in place, the water supply is on. It is well built. Windows have been installed, the walls are plastered and in the floor are stone tiles professionally laid.

As usual we are heartly received and offered tea. The teenage sons seem to be delighted with the nice house. The mother also tries to look happy, but she looks tired and empty-eyed. It seems she doesn't really believe in this.

Any day a bulldozer could come and give them one hour to move out. They will probably not be notified in advance. Months and years could pass, but the demolition order is always there, hanging over their heads like a big black cloud.

The bulldozer at work

The village of Al-Walaja is south east of Jerusalem, close to Bethlehem. Its neighbour is the settlement of Har Gilo.

# The E1 Plan A Step towards a Dead End

By Suhail Khaliliah, Research Assistant, Applied Research Institute of Jerusalem (www.arij.org)

#### Greater Jerusalem and the E1 plan

In 1980, Israel declared Occupied East Jerusalem as part of the 'unified and eternal capital of the State of Israel'. The international community, however, has never accepted Jerusalem as the capital of the state. For that reason, foreign embassies are not situated here, where all the government bodies are, but in Tel Aviv.

After this declaration, however, Israel realized that it would not be able to combat the demographic parity that favours the Palestinians of the city in the long term. This issue made the Government of Israel recognize the need to establish new facts on the ground and ensure a Jewish majority, thus making any future negotiation over the city's fate utterly infertile. For that purpose, Israel worked to inflate the population of the Israeli settlements on the outskirts of Jerusalem, also known as the 'outerring' settlements, which are set to be inside the 'Greater Jerusalem' parameter. This includes the settlements of Giva't Ze'ev in the North, Ma'ale Adumim in the East and the Gush Etzion bloc in the south. The expansion of the Ma'ale Adumim settlement and that unholy guest for 'Greater Jerusalem' comes with an abundance of pain and tribulation to the Palestinian Jerusalemites' who stand not only to lose their lands for the settlements' future expansion

(from the villages of Abu Dis, Eizariya, Isawiya, Anata, Tur and Za'aim), but also to lose all association with Palestinian East Jerusalem

Furthermore, Israel has sliced the West Bank to ensure greater accessibility for settlers to Jerusalem, by constructing bypass roads that interconnect at Ma'ale Adumim, but most importantly to restrict



The settlement city of Ma'ale Adumim

Photo: Gemma Abbs



Maale Adumim
Photo: FAPPI

Palestinian movement between the northern and southern districts of the West Bank. The bypass roads encircle Jerusalem, the first of which is Road 45 that swaddles Jerusalem from the north-west at the settlement bloc of Modi'in and continues north of Jerusalem to the Ma'ale Adumim bloc, and all the way east to the Jordanian border. Another bypass road, number 7, encircles the southern Gush Etzion bloc, which continues eastward to join road 45 and includes the settlements of Mishor Adumim, Kefr Adumim and Allon as well as Ma'ale Adumim.

### Background to the E1 Plan

The E1 plan was originally conceived by none other than the late Israeli Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin back in 1995, as a precautionary step against a possible future fallout regarding the Ma'ale Adumim settlement. Ma'ale Adumim, established in 1975 is the largest Israeli settlement in the Occupied Palestinian Territories, currently housing 30,000 people. As such, it is the most controversial Israeli settlement of all.

On May 27, 1999, Israel's Defense Minister Moshe Arens spoke of the E1 plan and declared that an additional 6400 dunums (1 dunum = 1/4 of an acre) of Palestinian land would be annexed to Ma'ale Adumim, bringing the total area set to establish the E1 plan to 12,500 Dunums. Including the E1 plan, the Ma'ale Adumim bloc with the settlements of Giva't Ze'ev and Gush Etzion, comprise the so-called 'Greater Jerusalem envelope' which featured in the proposed map by the then Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak, published in the Israeli newspaper, Haaretz on May 27, 1999. The E1 plan aimed to hamper Palestinians from expanding the built-up areas of their towns and villages and instead increase Jewish

"Everybody has to move, run and grab as many hilltops as they can to enlarge the settlements because everything we take now will stay ours... Everything we don't grab will go to them." Ariel Sharon, Israeli Foreign Minister, addressing a meeting of militants from the extreme right-wing Tsomet Party, Agence France Presse. November 15, 1998.

presence in the area through the planned 3500 extra housing units. but more importantly to create links between the Ma'ale Adumim settlement bloc and other Israeli settlements in East Jerusalem (Pisgat Ze'ev, Pisgat Omer, Neve Ya'acov, and French Hill).

These new additions to the Ma'ale Adumim bloc will constitute a physical barrier that will cut off Jerusalem from the West Bank and break the geographical contiguity of the West Bank into two separate entities: one to the north of Jerusalem and the other to the south. The E1 plan is taking shape on lands confiscated from the villages of Abu Dis, Eizariya, Isawiya, Anata, Tur and Za'aim.

#### What's New with the E1 Plan?

In June 2004, former Israeli Prime Minister, Ariel Sharon and his Defense Minister Shaul Mofaz approved a declaration proclaiming hundreds of dunums as "State Lands" in the area designated for the E1 plan. At the same time the Israeli government approved the Gaza disengagement plan, only to confirm Sharon's statement that reinforcement of West Bank settlement blocs will parallel the Gaza disengagement plan. According to the plan, the route of the Separation Barrier around the Ma'ale Adumim bloc would stretch for 33 km, thus isolating some 39,000 Dunums (39 Km2), which comprises 0.7% of the occupied West Bank area, out of which, 11,500 Dunums (11.5



Map of the E1 plan. By ARIJ

Km2) colonized by Israeli settlements; Ma'ale Adumim, Mishor Adumim and several Israeli military bases.

Early in 2005, the Israeli government published a revised map of the Separation Barrier, based on strategic and security considerations. The new map shows an alteration to the route in several areas of the West Bank, particularly in occupied East

Jerusalem, to become 46km in order to annex some 62,000 dunums of land. This constitutes 1% of the entire West Bank.

Since then, Israel initiated procedures that include land surveying for the remaining area designated for the E1 plan as a preliminary step before declaring the entire area as 'state land'. The Israeli

Defense Minister has also given the green light to build the planned E1 3500 housing units. The Palestinians and the international community described the Israeli decision to be provocative at this point; especially when all eyes were fixed on the disengagement from Gaza. The Palestinian Authority demanded the Quartet and the US to rebuff the Israeli plan, on the basis that they constitute grave violations of all signed accords, which stipulate that neither of the conflicting parties shall take any step that might alter the outcome of future negotiations.

Former Israeli Prime Minister, Ariel Sharon has consistently articulated his intention to continue with the expansion plans set for the large settlement blocs using any possible instrument, including the unleashing of the Israeli settlers to mountain hills near settlements blocs. As he expressed on many occasions, it (the large settlement blocs) will remain within Israeli jurisdiction under any final status negotiations with the Palestinians.

## The E1 Plan, Settlement Expansion and the International Community

Israeli settlement expansion is illegal under international law (under the fourth Geneva convention). The E1 plan drew highly critical responses toward Israel's ongoing settlement expansion policy from the Middle East Quartet. The expansion policy not only undermines the peace process, but makes any hope of a viable

Palestinian state impossible.

The US position on the E1 plan, has been less than helpful. A statement made by the US President on April 14, 2004 during a press conference with Israel's Prime Minister stated that the Israeli settlements in the Occupied Palestinian Territories were "realities" that must be taken into consideration in future negotiations.

In light of new realities on the ground, including already existing major Israeli populations centers, it is unrealistic to expect that the outcome of final status negotiations will be a full and complete return to the armistice lines of 1949, and all previous efforts to negotiate a two-state solution have reached the same conclusion. It is realistic to expect that any final status agreement will only be achieved on the basis of mutually agreed changes that reflect these realities.

US President Bush's letter to Israeli Prime Minister; April 14, 2004.

The above quote shows a clear breach by the US President of his status as an 'honest' mediator when he described Israel's return to the 1949 armistice lines as 'unrealistic', thus legitimizing Israel's right to maintain authority over territories occupied during the 1967 war. Although the US President and Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice have constantly declared their restlessness with settlement expansion, they have made it abundantly clear that the US will not pressure Israel with regard to the expansion carried out in large settlement blocs.

Israel has shown nothing but apathy for international law and the international community, resting assured that criticisms or the odd statement of condemnation would not translate into action.

The envisioned E1 plan may not see the light of day until mid-2007, according to Israeli officials. However, the blue-print of the plan is complete and on stand-by for final approval. The separation barrier began to be constructed in this area in May 2005. It is planned to be completed by the end of 2007, by which point the settlement bloc will be encircled and the barrier will extend 14 km into the West Bank. (UNOCHA\* Preliminary Analysis of the Humanitarian Implications of the April 2006 Barrier Projections, www.ochaopt.org)

"Every time we do something you tell me America will do this and will do that. .. I want to tell you something very clear: Don't worry about American pressure on Israel. We, the Jewish people, control America, and the Americans know it."

Israeli Prime Minister, Ariel Sharon, October 3, 2001, to Shimon Peres, as reported on Kol Yisrael radio.

\* United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian **Affairs** 

## Accessing medical care in Jerusalem

By Karen-Elizabeth Heskja, Ecumenical Accompanier Photos by Karen-Elizabeth Heskia

Under the Fourth Geneva Convention, Israel as the occupying power bears the responsibility for the welfare of the Palestinian population. Since the beginning of the Intifada, however, numerous incidents have been reported of ambulances and medical supplies being held up at checkpoints and roadblocks, ambulance staff or medical personnel being attacked, and women giving birth at checkpoints. The issue of access to medical care has intensified since Israel began constructing the Separation Barrier. No where is this more evident than in Jerusalem, where approximately half a million Palestinians living within a 20 kilometer radius of the Old City need to access the city for health care services.

Augusta Victoria Hospital, located on the Mount of Olives, is the primary hospital serving the Palestinian refugee population in the Occupied Palestinian Territories. There are some procedures, such as radiation therapy for cancer patients and pediatric dialysis, which are only carried out at the Augusta Victoria.8 I met with

William, who is responsible for the hospital buses holding up a permit.





Staff and patients of the Augusta Victoria at the checkpoint where the ambulance has been denied entry to Jerusalem.

Michel Bahbah, Director of Patient Services at the hospital, to ask him about the situation for the patients.

The situation is becoming more and more urgent, Michel says, especially at the Zeitun checkpoint in East Jerusalem. Every morning, excluding Fridays, the hospital bus picks up patients and staff from the areas around Abu Dis in East Jerusalem and drives them to the checkpoint where they have to walk through. 9 The bus is not permitted to go through this checkpoint as it has a yellow (Jerusalem) license plate. This checkpoint is for West Bank ID holders only. Instead, the bus has to drive almost an hour around the eastern outskirts of the city, and access via a different checkpoint (Za'ayam). Then it comes back to pick up the patients who wait on the other side of the Zeitun checkpoint. "I am fighting

every day with them to get a permit for the hospital bus to drive through the checkpoint, so that the patients do not have to walk through, but until now I have not got it," he says.

It is not unusual for the bus to be denied entry altogether. This leaves the patients stranded and they have to find alternative transportation to get to the Augusta Victoria.

Nobody is permitted to pass through checkpoints into Jerusalem unless they have the necessary permits. Although all the patients and staff on the hospital bus have permits, often some are told to go back. As one of the nurses at the Augusta Victoria expressed, it all depends on the soldiers at the checkpoints. Some days they will deny one of the staff members to go through, some days three of the staff and one patient,

Approximately 1/4 of those holding Jerusalem ID cards are located east of the Separation Barrier and need to access Jerusalem via the four major crossing points deemed 'terminals' by the Government of Israel'. (UNOCHA Preliminary Analysis of the Humanitarian Implications of the April 2006 Barrier Projections, www.ochaopt.org)





Right: Volunteer, Acram, (whose name means 'someone who has a lot to give') who works with the Augusta Victoria hospital bus and goes six times a week to Hebron at 7:30 am to pick up children who are receiving cancer treatment or dialysis. Next to him sits one of the patients, 15 year old Annam. Left: The driver of the bus, Abu Jihad.

and some days seven of the staff. It is very random, she says. Living with the unpredictability of life is part and parcel of living with the occupation.

The permits in and of themselves are a huge issue. Every Palestinian with a West Bank ID card needs a permit to go to Jerusalem. People requiring medical treatment are no exception. The process to get a permit can sometimes take weeks or even months. Having the permit still does not guarantee that the patient can pass through the checkpoints. One of the requirements for a person to get a permit is that he or she does

not present a security threat to Israel, and thus does not have a security file.

The Health Coordinator of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), Randi Jensen says that incidents show however, that only minutes after having received the permit, and therefore having been 'security checked', the patient can still be denied entry for 'reasons of security'. When asked what the ICRC can do in these cases. Jensen answers that the only organization she knows about which handles cases of denied Continued on Page 29

8 Physicians for Human Rights report: 'A Wall in the Heart: Report on East Jerusalem: The Separation Barrier and its Impact on the Right to Health and on Palestinian Hospitals in East Jerusalem, 14th December 2005, www.phr.org.il 9 There are usually between 120-150 people waiting to cross the checkpoint. The average waiting time for the staff and patients to be processed is 1 hour. 10 In 2005 the PA received \$60 million in VAT and customs.

The villages of Abu-Dis and Izariveh, east of Jerusalem, are located some five to ten minutes' drive from the Mukassed, Augusta Victoria and Red Crescent hospitals in East Jerusalem. These villages have four clinics that provide primary health care during the day. From ten o'clock at night until eight o'clock in the morning, however, there are no local medical services available to the residents of either village.

During the night or in emergencies, residents of these villages need to access the Palestinian hospitals in East Jerusalem. Now that the barrier in the area is completed, this option is not possible. In order to get to medical treatment in Jerusalem, they must submit a request for entry into the city to the Israeli District Coordination Office (DCO). If a permit is ultimately given, the patient must then drive at least 25 minutes, across the Za'ayam checkpoint, and go through Jerusalem's a-Tur neighborhood to one of the three hospitals. When an ambulance is needed to transfer a patient from either of these villages, it takes at least forty minutes from the moment the ambulance is called until the patient reaches the hospital in Jerusalem.

(Physicians for Human Rights report: 'A Wall in the Heart: Report on East Jerusalem, 14th December 2005, www.phr.org.il)

## We refuse to be enemies

By Goren Buren,
Ecumenical
Accompanier
Photos by Goren Buren

If you are standing on the Mount of Olives looking towards the north-east, you can see on a slope not so far away a lonely house with a red roof. This house has an astonishing history.

In 1990, Salim Shawamreh, a Palestinian Jerusalemite bought land here and applied for a building permit. He payed US\$5,000, but there



Since 1967, 12,000
Palestinian homes
have been destroyed
across the Occupied
Palestinian
Territories, including
East Jerusalem.
Between 1988 and
2003, 398 homes
were demolished in
East Jerusalem.
(Israeli Committee
against House
Demolitions,
www.icahd.org)

Salim Shawamreh

was no permit. He applied again, five thousand dollars more and was refused once more. The neighbours said, you are throwing your money away. In 1995, after a third rejection and \$15,000 poorer, Salim decided to build without a permit.

The house was completed and the family moved in. What a great joy to have a house of your own for the growing family. One day, however, they found a demolition order from the Israeli authorities outside the door. The paper had been put under a stone. This was the only way the family were informed that they were under the obligation to demolish their own house. So they went to court, but it was confirmed that they did indeed have to destroy their own property.

But as so many others had done before them, they tried to carry on as normal. They set themselves up in the house and little by little got used to the dark cloud hanging over them. Perhaps they will leave us alone, they thought. Time passed and more children were born.

Five years later, on the 9th July 1998, at noon, the family was at the dinner table eating, when they heard a noise outside. Soldiers were surrounding the house and a bulldozer was on its way. An officer knocked at the door and the family were told they had fifteen minutes to leave the house.

Salim pushed the officer out of the house and his wife, Arabiya, locked the door. While Salim was beaten and handcuffed outside, she phoned Jeff Halper, from the Israeli Coalition Against House Demolitions (ICAHD). As it happened, he was on a tour with two busloads of volunteers not very far away and they arrived in ten minutes. Many of the neighbours came as well. The soldiers smashed the windows and threw teargas into the house to force the family out.

Arabiya lost consciousness and was taken to hospital.

Turmoil broke out, the soldiers fired and seven people were injured by bullets. It took the soldiers eight hours to restore control and eventually the bulldozer teared the house to the ground. The bulldozer also destroyed most of the fifty-two olive trees the family had planted. The Red Cross contributed a tent as emergency housing.

After this, most people would have been broken and hopeless, but not the Shawamreh family. They accepted an offer from ICAHD to build the house again together. They worked for three weeks and had the shell completed when the bulldozer arrived again. The soldiers also brought the tent with them.

There was nothing else to do but to start again, Israelis and Palestinians together. This time the house was left alone long enough for Salim to finish





Left: The bulldozer working on the family's home. Right: Salim during the first demolition of his home



the interior. The family moved in on the 3rd of April 2001. The next day, at eight o'clock in the morning the bulldozer came. The children had left for school. When they arrived back home they no longer had a place to live. This was the third time their house had been destroyed.

"When you destroy a house, you also destroy the family," Salim says. "The house is the place where the children should feel they are safe, where you can rest and enjoy having your loved ones around you. My wife was depressed, the kids couldn't do well in school."

They built the house again, and again it was destroyed. This time it was decided to rebuild the house again as a Peace Center, and it was named 'Beit Arabiya'. And as such, it's still standing. The Shawamreh family doesn't live there, but it is used among other things for lodging during ICAHDs summer camps.

Volunteers from all over the world come there to help rebuild destroyed houses in the West Bank. There are now also plans to turn Beit Arabiya into a high school with the support of the Swedish Church.

"We resist the occupation by working together, Palestinians and Israelis", says Salim. "We refuse to be enemies".

The Peace Center.

"When you destroy a house, you also destroy the family," Salim says. "The house is the place where the children should feel they are safe, where you can rest and enjoy having your loved ones around you. My wife was depressed, the kids couldn't do well in school."

Salim and his wife, Arabiya



# Leaving Jerusalem

By Ian Alexander, Ecumenical Accompanier

Rizek Abusharr devoted his entire working life, 46 years, to working with the Jerusalem International YMCA in West Jerusalem in furthering aims of dialogue and reconciliation between Christians, Jews and Muslims. He became the first Palestinian General Director. He was awarded the Martha Laube Prize for Tolerance and Democratic Values, set up after the murder of Yitzhak Rabin. He has been an elder in the Presbyterian Church for over 30 years. Now he and his wife are packing up the family home to move to America.

"I have never before felt this level of alienation from Israel," Rizek Abusharr told me, sitting in the elegant West Jerusalem home that was built as his wife Alice's family home in 1926. "I have been a good citizen of this state. I have friends now in the Supreme Court and Knesset, in all areas of Israeli life, I am well known in Israeli society, but still I am not accepted as a full citizen."

It was not always like this. Rizek was hugely hopeful of Israeli and Palestinian co-existence. At the establishment of the State of Israel. his family found themselves on the Israeli side of the new border. After 1948 he had to move school and it was going there every morning that he saw Alice going to The French School, where she studied, having also had to move schools. It was a long courtship! Alice was from a distinguished Jerusalem family. Her grandfather, Garabed Krikorian was an Armenian who became the most famous photographer in Palestine, entrusted with preparing the Sultan Abdul Hamid albums on Palestine and was the official photographer for the visit of the German Kaiser Wilhelm II in 1895. The album he presented to the Kaiser sits today in the Israel Museum.

Alice was brought up in their family home near the German Colony, off the Bethlehem Road, which is where we sit talking today. It was to this house they came after their wedding in 1962; and here brought up their two boys while also looking after Alice's infirm, but very sharp, mother. They guess that in 1948 there were about 1000 families living around here. By 1949 there were only around 500. All the men who could be found had been taken into Jewish interment camps. (Rizek's family hid in a nearby convent, where the American consul had an office. Each time the Hagganah came to search the building the nuns would pull a large cupboard in front of the door to protect them.) Rizek assesses that most home owners eventually returned to West Jerusalem, but those renting houses never came back. They heard many similar stories of what happened to them: when hostilities ceased they were released into East Jerusalem and a truck sent round to the family home to "help" the women and children go to their father who had "sent" for them having "chosen" to leave West Jerusalem.

It is a home with many happy memories. And Jerusalem is where their parents and grandparents are buried. It is difficult to leave, but they say the time has come. They have contemplated it for the past six years and it has been a painful decision. They are pulled by their sons and grandchildren who live in the US, but feel very strongly pushed by the State



It is a home with many happy memories. And Jerusalem is where their parents and grandparents are buried. It is difficult to leave, but they say the time has come. They have contemplated it for the past six years and it has been a painful decision. They are pulled by their sons and grandchildren who live in the US, but feel very strongly pushed by the State of Israel. They are not alone. Many Christian families are leaving, forced out by the same factors of discrimination and racism which have pushed Rizek and Alice.

of Israel. They are not alone. Many Christian families are leaving, forced out by the same factors of discrimination and racism which have pushed Rizek and Alice.

Rizek expanded: "Just going in and out of the airport is an abuse. I am harassed and interrogated while Jewish friends are fast tracked. At times these kids want me to strip off and stand naked in front of them, I tell them, 'vour equipment will show I am carrying nothing.' I will not do it. Once, the Chief of Police gave me a note on his business card to show to the airport staff. The young woman asked me about the card. I told her he was my friend in Jerusalem. She let me go straight through with no questions. Sitting in the lounge I thought about it. Why should I go straight through? Others cannot. Perhaps they will think I am a collaborator. I tore up the card. And I told the Chief of Police what I had done."

"I tell my Jewish friends and neighbours I am moving to be nearer my family, but really I have had enough of the racism. There is an increasing anti-Arab feeling in the society. It is not always overt racism, often it's subtle. Constantly I am reminded I do not belong: the words of the National Anthem, the symbolism of the flag, friends in rotary excluding me from visits to 'sensitive' places, new neighours who are uncomfortable with us being here. I am constantly told that the identity of the nation is to be Jewish, and I am Christian. It has become impossible, especially with the developments of the Wall and the separation, the abuses of the Palestinian people by Israel, the desire to humiliate rather than cooperate. It makes me more and more angry."

It could have been very different. Rizek recollects how his commitment to encounter started. He remembers being allowed to go out of school to help at the YMCA in West Jerusalem. James Sutton, a Quaker, was working there and one day invited seven local boys to come and help in the grounds. He remembers they were asked to return two days later. In the meantime, Sutton had seven Jewish boys come and do the same the next day. When the Arab boys returned they were paired with the Jewish boys to go and work the grounds. They could not speak each other's language, but had to perform tasks and play with each other, so learned to be together. It is from that moment that Rizek realised the necessity of encountering the other in a nurturing environment. Today the Y runs a variety of programmes to help different communities encounter each other. including a kindergarten.

He knows that those who have met through the Y programmes have been changed. Their experiences have made an impact on their lives in treating the other with respect, whether on the street or, when the Jewish Israeli's become soldiers, at a checkpoint. Many have gone on into leadership positions within their communities. As well as his work, Rizek has also been active in the church. Alice's



Photo: Mohammed Alatar

family became Anglican after leaving the Armenian Church, but could not get to their church after 1948. The Church of Scotland was nearby, and to avoid snipers they came in by the back door. Rizek began attending with Alice and in 1975 he was made an elder.

Rizek says, "By creating indignities for the Palestinians, Israel is perpetuating the conflict into future generations. Israel is also hurting itself, its own people, by its treatment of others." It is this kind of treatment that Rizek feels is fuelling the turning to the Islamic parties as offering hope to a population starved of prospects for the future. Hamas and others are offering to return the dignity and honour to people who feel let down by secular

politicians in their negotiations with Israel. He adds, "The Palestinian people will never give up the struggle to be free. If Israel jails 6,000, 12,000 will follow in their steps. There will always be a commitment to struggle for freedom."

Rizek Abusharr remains convinced of the future possibilities if Israel would stop taking Palestinian land and negotiate with the Palestinian elected representatives to bring a negotiated end to the occupation. "Like a jigsaw, things will begin to fit into place once there is an end to occupation. Despite Judaism and Islam believing only God will forgive, the people will move on and co-exist. Friendships which have been frozen because people cannot cross the wall will rejuvenate."

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### Coninued from Page 2

Israeli illegal settlements, the final borders, the refugees' right of return and – perhaps most important of all - Jerusalem.

The Palestinians demand that Israel give back the eastern part of the city, which was occupied in June 1967 to make it the capital of their independent State to be. However, Israel is determined to keep Jerusalem as its united and eternal capital.

Meanwhile, Israel continues its policies to create facts on the grounds and works on implementing a policy to Judaise the city and to wipe out all the city's Islamic and Arabic heritage, including the transfer of its Palestinian citizens.

This issue of ChainReaction deals with some of the issues facing Jerusalemites today, including: the division of families, home demolitions, the difficulty of accessing medical care, education and places of worship, and the impact of the settlements and the Wall in the eastern part of the city, as Israel pursues its plan for a 'Greater Jerusalem'.

# No ordinary English lesson

By Karen-Elizabeth Heskia

It's Sunday and I am on my way out to Al Eizariya, a suburb next to the Jerusalem city boundaries, to meet with Tamara, Linda, Manal and Mana for English conversation classes. Every Sunday for the last two months we have been meeting for a few hours to practice their English. The women take out their books and pens and we are ready to begin.

But this is not just a regular English class, not for me. After going through some grammar and working through some exercises, the women start telling me about their lives, and what it's like to live under occupation.

#### Divided families

One of the women in the class is Manal, she is married and has three children. Manal's family is from Jerusalem and thus she holds a Jerusalem (Israeli) identity card, but her husband is from Hebron and is therefore registered with a West Bank ID. This means that he cannot visit his wife's family without a permit,

> Karen-Elizabeth with the English class. Photo: Karen-Elizabeth Heskja

because all Palestinians over the age of 16 with West Bank IDs have to have a permit in order to be able to enter Jerusalem. Permits are issued by the IDF - the Israeli Defence Forces - and the process to get one can take up to weeks or months.

Manal's children are registered as West-Bankers too, but since they are all under the age of 16, they are still allowed to enter Jerusalem without a permit. "My oldest son is 14, which means that in two years he will no longer be able to visit his grandparents in the Old City without a permit," Manal explains to me ".....and to get a permit is very difficult," she adds. It is not only complicated for them to visit Manal's family. When they want to visit her husband's family in Hebron, he has to cross one checkpoint and Manal another. Because of their different identity cards - and classification they have to use different routes to the same destination.

We start doing exercises to practice the interrogatives. I ask the women



to write three sentences each, using different interrogatives. The women start reading their sentences out; "When will we be free?" "When will the occupation end?" "Why do Palestinians have to pass checkpoints when we move around in our own country?"

For me this is much more than just an English lesson. It is a way to get to know the daily struggle for Palestinians living under occupation. A reality filled with checkpoints, movement restrictions, Israeli soldiers and separation barriers.

The lesson is over and we leave the classroom. I say "good bye" and "see you next Sunday", the women tell me "inshallah" - God willing. Although this is a common expression in Arabic, it means so much more in this context. The landscape is changing rapidly; new restrictions of movement are being implemented, the building of the separation barrier continues, and it is about to be built on the other side of the road to the classroom where we meet every Sunday.

Inshallah we will meet next Sunday.

For me this is much more than just an English lesson. It is a way to get to know the daily struggle for Palestinians living under occupation. A reality filled with checkpoints, movement restrictions, Israeli soldiers and separation barriers.

### Coninued from Page 20

entrance to patients despite having a permit, is the Israeli organization, Physicians for Human Rights, who sometimes manage to bring cases to court. The ICRC nevertheless can be helpful in the process and will try to intervene where it can.

The humanitarian situation in the Occupied Palestinian Territories has intensified since the victory of Hamas in the Palestinian Legislative Council elections in January, when the Government of Israel stopped transferring VAT and customs taxes to the Palestinian Authority which it collects on its behalf. This in turn has had a knock-on effect on the provision of health care. Clinics and hospitals in the OPT have not been paid by the Palestinian Authority since January for the patients that they have treated. Most of the staff at the public hospitals and clinics have not received their salaries for the last four months. "This situation is forcing the staff to choose between paying for transport to get to work, or putting food on the table", says Jensen. At some clinics and hospitals, the staff now only come every second day.

On April 19th this year, the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), presented the paper 'Assessment of the future; humanitarian risks in the Occupied Palestinian Territory'. It warns of an "extremely bleak humanitarian situation for the Palestinian people." Unless action is taken soon, the warning in the UN assessment will become a reality.

#### World Council of Churches (WCC)

is the broadest and most inclusive among the many organized expressions of the modern ecumenical movement, a movement whose goal is Christian unity.

The WCC brings together more than 340 churches, denominations, and church fellowships in over 100 countries and territories throughout the world, representing some 400 million Christians and including most of the world's Orthodox churches. scores of denominations from such historic traditions of the Protestant Reformation as Anglican, Baptist, Lutheran, Methodist, and Reformed, as well as many united and independent churches. While the bulk of the WCC's founding churches were European and North American, today most are in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, Latin America, the Middle East, and the Pacific.

The Roman Catholic Church is a full member of many national ecumenical and several regional ecumenical organisations and has a regular working relationship with the WCC.

## The Churches Commission on International Affairs (CCIA)

comprises 30 people nominated by churches and regional ecumenical organisations to advise the WCC in international affairs. The staff of the WCC International Affairs, Peace and Human Security team - experienced professionals from around the world - engages with and supports churches and ecumenical bodies on these urgent priorities:

- peace-making and peaceful resolution of conflicts
- militarism, disarmament, and arms control
- human security and the root causes of terrorism
- human rights, religious liberty, and intolerance
- impunity, justice, and reconciliation
- international law and global governance

The Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme in Palestine and Israel (EAPPI) supports Palestinians and Israelis working for peace by monitoring and reporting violations of human rights and international humanitarian law, offering protection by accompanying local communities in daily activities, and by advocating with churches for a peaceful end to the Occupation. The programme, which began in 2002, is coordinated by the World Council of Churches (WCC) within the Churches Commission on International Affairs (CCIA).

#### OTHER PUBLICATIONS FROM THE EAPPI

- ChainReaction No.1: "The EAPPI Confronting violence with presence"
- ChainReaction No.2: "While The World was Watching Gaza"
- ChainReaction No.3 "Children and the Conflict"
- "EAPPI a general introduction", a 12 minute DVD
- "Theological Reflection on Accompaniment"
- Sawahreh Against the Wall The Struggle of a Palestinian Village, dealing with the Infringements on Freedom brought about by Israel's ever-tightening Occupation
- Separated Families: A Report by Anna Seifert, Ecumenical Accompanier (September-December 2004) www.quaker.org/eappi
- The Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme in Palestine and Israel: Two Years of Nonviolent Witness and Active Presence for Peace
- Security or Segregation? The Humanitarian Consequences of Israel's Wall of Separation
- Video: End the Occupation Voices for a Just Peace (21 minutes)

All the above can be ordered by writing to eappi-co@wcc-coe.org. More articles and further information on the programme can be found by going to www.eappi.org.



