2002 Arab and Jew: Wounded Spirits in a Promised Land Study Guide

2002 Arab and Jew: Wounded Spirits in a Promised Land by David K. Shipler

Contents

Plot Summary

2002 Arab and Jew: Wounded Spirits in a Promised Land, a work of non-fiction drawn from the author's five years of service as the *New York Times* bureau chief in Jerusalem, was originally published in 1986. He wrote it as a trained, neutral, but concerned observer, motivated by a combination of sorrow and outrage - repulsed by the zealous intolerance of both sides, but mostly sympathetic to the personal lives of everyday people affected by the violence. He wanted to clarify how Palestinian Arabs and Israeli Jews see one another and to expose the emotions with which they face each other. He wrote it at a time when the reality of an Israeli state and the reality of Palestinian people were both accepted as fact. The focus had changed to the question of *how* they would coexist.

This is the people's story, the contents of and commentaries on a reporter's meticulous notebook, recording interviews on the street, in office, and in homes. He summarizes historical, political and religious situations to establish the context for the subjects he examines. He cites opinion polls and official studies, examines textbooks, adult and juvenile fiction, poetry, theater, and film, and calls in experts for their opinions, but for the most part allows individual Arabs and Jews to speak of joys and sorrows, hopes and fears, biases, hatreds, misunderstandings, reconsiderations, and yearnings in their own voices. Fortunately for the reader, Shipler has an ear for ironic humor and sprinkles examples liberally throughout the otherwise heavy text.

Within a few years, Shipler deemed his book "on the verge of becoming outdated" (Foreword to the Revised Edition, pg. xix), because the Oslo accords (1993) and the beginning of direct negotiations appeared to offer hope of a genuine political settlement. Too quickly, however, the dispute "circled back to its basic elements of enmity," and by 2002. Shipler felt obliged to revise his study because "this book was originally written in a more innocent time" (Foreword to the Revised Edition, pg. xiii).

While keeping the original narrative intact, Shipler added notes and postscripts to deal with monumental events that demanded treatment. He notes the political process that had brought Arabs and Jews to "the brink of resolution"; Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin's assassination in1995 and the instability that this act introduced to Israeli policy; Israeli prime minister Ehud Barak's take-it-or-leave-it-offer in 2000 of sovereignty over 96 percent of the West Bank and Gaza to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) - and chairman Yasser Arafat's rejection of it. He recounts the ostentatious visit by Barak's successor, Ariel Sharon, to the disputed Temple Mount, which provoked a violent Arab reaction - a second bloody *intifada* - and Israeli retribution, equally bloody; and the internationalization of the conflict, launched by the World Trade Center/Pentagon massacre on 9/11/2001.

Introduction

Introduction Summary

The introduction opens with a lyrical wandering through the streets of Jerusalem from sunrise to high noon, painting word pictures of a myriad of buildings and people. It continues with meditations on the author's final weeks in the city before his 1984 reassignment. Shipler focuses on the variety of life at the Damascus Gate. Four thousand years of history pass in compact summary, helping the reader feel how Palestinians and Israeli Jews experience the past.

After his brilliant sketch of history, Shipler declares his plan for the book: first, he will reveal the broad forces that contribute to aversion and serve to scar the minds of individual Arabs and Jews; second, to catalog the images by which individuals on each side perceive their neighbors; and third, to unravel the complexities of interaction by which the tiny minority of high-minded individuals on each side strive to bridge the gap of ignorance. This task is shown massively to surpass anything that the casual observer might expect, since both sides have so many facets. There is no monolithic Israel, no monolithic Palestine.

The 2002 postscript shows that the situation is growing steadily more complex and explosive. It concludes with a touching vision of the late King Hussein of Jordan vowing to work for peace and security, but "his life was ended by cancer in 1999."

Introduction Analysis

The introduction is extremely dense, rich, even-handed, sensitively and movingly written. The careful reader - one willing to read and re-read the text several times - will be rewarded with an appreciation of both sides head-and-shoulders above anything that can be gleaned from nightly television. Clearly, this book promises true revelations about a tiny region of the world too easy to stereotype and dismiss as a place run by a bunch of fanatic nut cases.

Part 1, Chapter 1

Part 1, Chapter 1 Summary

Part 1 is entitled, "Aversion." Chapter 1 deals with "War: Earth of Brass." It opens with a depiction of spring's brief flowering in Israel and the Jews' two-day celebration of the Day of Remembrance, honoring the country's war dead, and Independence Day. War, Shipler states, has produced sorrow and glorification on both sides. Open warfare waged in 1948, 1956, 1967, 1969-71, 1973 and 1982. In general terms, Israeli Jews have mixed feelings about war's morality, whereas Arabs allow the Islamic concept of *jihad* (holy war against the infidel) to set their focus.

A series of touching personal narratives develops the theme. An Auschwitz survivor who flourished in academia in Israel only to perish in the1967 war leads to Shipler's conclusion that where one side celebrates the "liberation of Jerusalem," the other laments and condemns its "conquest." He relates several incidents where humanity - even humor - survive, here and there, on both sides. Veterans' children hear stories repeatedly; some grow bored and skeptical, others will pass them on as verity.

Both sides are represented by the stories of families reaching back in the disputed land for generations. Some retreat into dogmatism: the enemy has no individual face, making hatred and bigotry easier. Some are tormented by participating in activities that depart from the warrior's high standard of honor. Nostalgia is present on both sides, and introduces false elements: on the Israeli side, that there had been a golden period during the fight for independence when strong-arm tactics had not been employed against the Arabs; and, on the Arab side, an idyllic time before 1948 when Arab and Jewish neighbors had celebrated life as friends.

The official Israeli myth, that 700,000 Arabs fled their homes in 1948 and thereby freely gave up their rights, is dissected. Particular attention is given to the April 1948 massacre at the Arab village of Deir Yassin. The author discusses censored passages from the field commander's memoirs showing that the brutality was hardly unintentional, as officially portrayed. He cites exhaustive research by a fellow journalist that irrefutably documents forced expulsions from many parts of the country, and how politicians used this to taint the prime minister's reputation as a leader in the violence.

Shipler is just as meticulous discussing later massacres at Kfrar Kassem, Qibya, Sabra and Shatila. He quotes participants' testimony from legal sources about the first incident in 1956, where border police summarily executed non-combatants. Eight of eleven participants drew short terms in prison for these atrocities. Qibya on the Jordanian border was preemptively attacked in 1953 by Ariel Sharon to discourage further terrorism; twenty years later Sharon as defense minister was held "indirectly responsible" for massacres in two refugee camps in Beirut, Sabra and Shatila. The author deals with the aftermath of official whitewashes, stricken Jewish consciences

and political gamesmanship. He also deals with the Jewish stereotype of Arabs as violent, uncivilized primitives.

Shipler ends the original chapter by discussing treatment of the battle fatigue that afflicted many Israeli soldiers who fought in Lebanon in 1982, setting them radically apart from veterans of earlier, "just" defensive wars.

His 2002 postscript returns to the Israelis' spring celebration of Independence Day, which in 2001 the Arabs began to celebrate in their own way, as *al-Nakba,* usually translated "The Catastrophe," but also as "Holocaust." Schools on both sides, Shipler says, continue to deal selectively with the 1948 creation of Israel, "the original sin" of the conflict. Euphemism is the medium of discussion. Historical revisionism and dogmatism are both at work.

Part 1, Chapter 1 Analysis

Shipler subjects every topic to careful, balanced journalistic inquiry. He has set the tone for the book. If readers feel overwhelmed at this point, there is no cause for fear. In Part 1 the author is sketching the sources of aversion between Arabs and Jews, and will return in Part 2 to examine all of the topics introduced here - and many of the characters - to help us gain a fuller appreciation as he examines the stereotypes that war, nationalism, terrorism, and religious absolutism feed. One should note that Shipler refers to the 1967 war as the "Six Day War" and the 1973 fighting as the "Yom Kippur War." These have become standard terms in Western journalism and they are most likely used innocently. Arabs, however, are offended by the bias they reveal: Arabs are so weak that they can be humiliated in just six days and so cowardly that they chose the one day in the year when Jews would be reluctant to fight, Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement. It overlooks the fact that in 1973 Muslim soldiers were fasting every day, for the fighting fell during Ramadan.

Part 1, Chapter 2

Part 1, Chapter 2 Summary

In Chapter 2, entitled, "Nationalisms: Paradise Lost," Shipler depicts life in the squalid refugee camps established in 1948 for Arabs expelled from their villages. It opens with a description of a twelve-year old Palestinian in Jabaliya in the occupied Gaza Strip. He has "no past and no future," because he clings to an idealized village in Israel that he never saw and never will. Shipler offers vignettes of a bent old woman picking through debris in the Rashadiye camp in southern Lebanon, after Israeli tanks demolished half the slum in 1982. He reveals life in the Dheisheh "ghetto" on the occupied West Bank, where every aspect of life, specifically including classroom and literature, instills yearning for a lost homeland and a militant determination to return instills militancy in youth.

The longing to return is central to the refuges of 1948 and to generations of their descendants. "Palestinianism" for them is more intense than for those Arabs who remained in Israel and accepted citizenship. For those who were forced out and relocated in refugee camps, permanent settlement in the West Bank or Gaza - even under a Palestinian flag - would not assuage the pain. Shipler discusses the naivety of the official Israeli strategy of destroying the PLO as a means of evaporating Palestinian national aspirations. He relates the Palestinians' calculated adoption of the psychological, linguistic, and political selling points of Zionism and Holocaust and the Palestinians' fierce devotion to education, which parallels the Jews' and sets them apart from most of the rest of the Arab world, making their permanent absorption elsewhere problematic.

Shipler discusses the modern concept of nationalism with the more ancient - and equally inflammatory - allegiance to clan and faith. He briefly investigates Zionism as a nationalistic movement, whose political agenda is in continuity with the lamentation of the Jews exiled to Babylon in biblical times and was brought into a permanent competition for territory by survivors of Hitler's genocide. He examines the ugly connotation that "Zionism" holds for Arabs and the inability of educated young Jews and Arabs to understand how the other side might understand its emotional and practical meaning. This leads to a discussion of Israelis' rejection of Palestinianism, shown in textbooks and opinion polling. Displaying the Palestinian flag is outlawed (at the time of the first edition) and the name "Palestine" is prohibited on legal documents; in 1982 Israeli troops denuded the shelves of the PLO research center in Beirut in an effort to erase Palestinian history. Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir's denial that there was any such thing as a Palestinian is now seen as simplistic and outdated. However, the existence of Palestinianism as a rival dream raises Jews' emotional defenses, making difficult if not impossible bi-cultural cooperation - and a political solution. Conflict, furthermore, is "comfortable to both sides." Everyone knows unambiguously whom to hate.

The 2002 postscript finds no lessening of the fervency of the Arab dream of return. Opinion polls fluctuated around the fifty percent mark among Israelis over whether they could accept an independent Palestinian state next door. Fresh interviews conducted with Palestinians showed widespread disappointment with efforts to improve the people's plight by the Palestinian Authority, established through the Oslo process. To improve conditions in the camps would lessen the tension necessary to achieve statehood. Teens in the Dheisheh and Shatila camps use the Internet to arrange a meeting at the fence separating Israel from Lebanon; the northern refugees return home with a bottle of soil from Palestine - which is also the soil of Israel. The labeling on maps published by both sides in textbooks continues to make clear that neither side yet accepts the reality that neither side can covet the whole of the cherished and disputed land.

Part 1, Chapter 2 Analysis

Chapter 2 examines the "great divide" of 1948 and the confrontation of "Zionism" and "Palestinianism," which caused the wars described in Chapter 1 to be fought and subjects both sides to the horrors of terrorism, to be examined in Chapter 3. Note that here as in most of the book, the focus is on Jews and Palestinians in the occupied territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, where confrontations are most violent and opportunities for peaceful contact least abundant. He will deal with the Israeli-Arab experience separately in Chapter 16.

Part 1, Chapter 3

Part 1, Chapter 3 Summary

Chapter 3 is entitled "Terrorism: the Banality of Evil." It opens with a depiction of an incident in April of 1984 on King George Street, at the heart of the Jewish part of Jerusalem. Four heavily armed young Arabs seize a hostage, and then release him; two are pursued by an armed Jewish mob. One is gunned down, while the second blows himself up with a grenade. Israeli soldiers and police arrive, but the frenzied mob is still in control. Arabs are rounded up for questioning. Rumors spread of a female accomplice - either Scandinavian or Japanese - and foreign tourists fitting the description are assaulted. Jews who employ Arabs are denounced. The expulsion of all Arabs from the city - if not their extermination - is demanded.

Shipler claims Jerusalem at the time he and his family lived there was a safer place than New York City - although everyone was taught to be cautious about unattended packages, which could be bombs. The author reveals that he and his son were only blocks away from the King George incident, and he wonders what he would have done, had they been in the midst of it. Had Michael been injured or killed, he asks himself, would he hate all Arabs and crave revenge?

Shipler begins an extended analysis of terrorism as practiced by both Arabs and Jews. It is theater, aimed not at harming individual victims, but at impacting attitudes in society - the victims' and the perpetrators'. Statistics are not important; emotions are. Rarely has terrorism been an effective tool, because it quickly becomes routine.

He chronicles some of the ugliest terrorist events, the retribution that followed, the reactions of survivors whom he interviewed and the ineffective public statements of officials. He shows how a shift in tactics to assaults on select individuals, which had helped effect an Israeli withdrawal from southern Lebanon, backfired when applied by Palestinians in the West Bank. The Israeli right wing only grows in strength.

Shipler focuses on a 1984 commuter bus hijacking, upon which Israeli military censors imposed a complete blackout while commando forces prepared for an assault. One hostage and two terrorists are killed. Two surviving terrorists are taken into custody and later are reported to have died of their wounds. Persistent journalists eventually break through the cover-up and bring the truth to light: the hijackers had been brutally tortured by authorities and killed on orders from high-ranking officers. Legal prosecution of those responsible is lackluster and the president of Israel officially pardons cabinet-level officials implicated in the cover-up. Shipler cites earlier examples of the government turning a blind eye towards illegal acts by Jews against Arabs.

Violence and counter violence have become not byproducts of the political battle between Arabs and Jews in Israel, but also the origin of new rifts. Shipler interviews a young American-born linguist who laments the materialism that has swept over Israeli

society, moving it away from the earlier pioneering ethos. Most Israelis had grown too grand to perform manual labor, so that is relegated to the Arabs, creating a dangerous underclass denied of any hope of advancing itself. This makes them potentially dangerous, and fear reinforces popular images of Arabs as savages.

Shipler next tells the poignant story of two Israeli school girls who perished when a bomb destroyed the bus taking them home in 1983. Their brother rejects condolences from an Arab friend, who pleads he had nothing to do with the bombing and could just as easily have been a victim: "Hatreds can do so much." An American convert to Judaism and follower of the radical Rabbi Meir Kahane, inflamed by the girls' deaths, opens fire on a bus filled with Arab workers near Ramallah, wounding seven. He receives only a three-year prison term.

A "season of Jewish terrorism" continues the retribution. Churches, mosques, and Arab homes are bombed, led by a shadowy organization called Terror against Terror (nicknamed "TNT"). Non-religious Jews join fundamentalist groups filled with "angry piety" aimed at Arabs in their midst. Their highest aspiration is to raze the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem in order to clear the way for construction of a third Jewish temple. Shipler describes actual assaults, after briefly surveying the biblical and modern history of the disputed Temple Mount. He notes that the Israelis since capturing the site in 1967 had been more tolerant of Muslim and Christian holy sites than earlier sovereigns had been of Jewish interests, and that Muslims had grown paranoid about archaeological diggings, seeing them as sinister preparations for an onslaught. The most serious attack, by Gush Emunim followers, was thwarted in 1984. The terrorists' military training and political ties to the governing right wing in Israeli government are discussed.

This outrage against Muslim holy places, though unsuccessful, does not go unavenged. Arab terrorists ambush Jewish worshipers returning home from Sabbath services in Hebron. Seven die and seventeen are wounded. Fearing reprisals by Jewish settlers, the Israeli government exiles prominent Arab leaders and demolishes Arab buildings implicated in the attack. This is not enough. Jewish terrorists maim three West Bank mayors with bombs planted in their cars. Zealous Jewish settlers hail their actions. When an Arab stabs a yeshiva student to death in Hebron, settlers plan and carry out an assault on the Islamic College in Hebron, killing three and injuring thirty-three. The terrorists are sentenced to life in prison for their crime, and it is revealed that their group had earlier bombed Arab schools, mosques and buses.

Bouts of rejoicing follow most attacks. Shipler next tells about a gruesome 1980 Arab attack on a children's home at the kibbutz Misgav Am in northern Israel. Five Palestinians penetrate the extensive security system and take hostages. Israeli army forces surround the building and lay siege, killing the criminals and one innocent child in his crib. Shipler drives to the scene and finds a battle-seasoned photographer for the *Times* in deep shock. Later, he travels around the West Bank to interview people and is himself shocked by the anger and pleasure expressed by adults and children. No one believes in violence in principle, but no one will retreat from the stand that the Palestinians must exact revenge in kind for the injustices done to them.

Shipler finds this same intractability among Jewish and Arab students whom he observes gathering at Hebrew University in Jerusalem to discuss the conflict. The most moderate and tolerant young people on campus cannot bring themselves to condemn terrorism. Amazed, Shipler tries to discuss with a professor at Bir Zeit University on the West Bank what he considers an elementary question of morality: the killing of innocents. The anonymous academic will not be swayed: Palestinians have been dehumanized by Israel. They are helpless. They use the only tool they have as a "reminder" that they have something to say. "I'm not justifying it, I'm trying to explain it." A Jewish journalist, Danny Rubinstein, supports the premise: "It's a war between both of us, and each side wields the best weapon it can. There is nothing wrong in terrorism." Both sides use it.

Shipler next returns to a now-familiar theme: the "painful soul-searching and self-flagellation" that incidents of Jewish terrorism create in the Israeli public. Since the 1970s, there has been a growing feeling that terrorism against Arabs is a legitimate method. The government reflects this perception, prosecuting all terrorists and imprisoning them, but generally giving Jews sentences far shorter than the mandatory life term for murder. Arabs receive no mercy. The president often commutes sentences for Jews. The government-controlled media inevitably characterizes Arab acts as "terrorism," but long forbids application of this word to Jewish vigilantism, which was a reality since at least 1929. He quotes one settler who dismisses the moral question, likening it to life in the American west in the nineteenth century.

Shipler tells the story of a violent American expatriate, a convert to Judaism and follower of Kahane. He dies in the gunfire at Hebron, and he is hailed as a military hero during his funeral.

Jewish terrorism against Arabs in the West Bank is carried out with impunity during Menachem Begin's six years as prime minister; he considered them justified in defending themselves, living fearful in a sea of lawlessness. The Arabs, however, are also fearful, remembering the Deir Yassin massacre. Rumors are rife that Begin and Shin Beth, the Israeli security agency, are overlooking acts of terrorism against Palestinians. When the government is forced by journalists to deal with the assaults against the Palestinian mayors, it becomes clear that there is truth to the rumors; the attackers had not been fringe elements, but central figures in the settler movement, backed by cabinet members. Revelations by journalists only increase support for right-wing politicians. An elementary school teacher, Sandra Stengel, expresses to Shipler admiration for Arab culture and resignation to the danger of life on the West Bank - but will not condemn Jewish terrorism before her students, who admire their father's handiwork. Fellow teachers reveal that the Jewish schools are doing nothing to reduce tensions. Students are taught that Arabs are descendents of Amalek, whom the Old Testament demanded be utterly destroyed as the Israelites took possession of the land, and they learn a lesson. If Arabs want to live in their midst, they must accept being ruled by the commandments.

The 2002 postscript focuses on the elevation of violence introduced by the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon. "Conventional military force is not usually called 'terrorism,' but it

terrorizes the target population nonetheless," Shipler observes. Extremists on both sides use violence to derail the peace process. "Icons of hatred" emerge on both sides: a twelve-year-old Palestinian cowering behind the body of his dead father, and a young Arab reveling in the blood of two Israeli soldiers he had helped to stomp and stab to death. Replays of the videotape flame passions. Israel responds to the latter incident by using helicopter gunships for the first time on the West Bank. Palestinians begin for the first time adopting the weapon of the suicide bomber; a thirst for martyrdom is added to feelings of victimization. Shipler is careful to point out that anxiety exceeds statistics. Terrorist attacks continue to trail automobile fatalities among Israelis, and Palestinian victims of retribution always greatly outnumber Jewish casualties. Shipler closes with stories of how the Jewish settlers are coping with life in the West Bank.

Part 1, Chapter 3 Analysis

"Banality" signifies something trite, obvious, predictable and commonplace. Both sides are still shocked by incidents of terror and take an "eye for an eye," as both their religious traditions accept - indeed, demand - but they are no longer surprised by the events. Terror has entered the fabric of regular life and it degrades life. Shipler does not deal here with the phenomenon of Jewish terrorism against British authorities during the Mandate period, but will discuss it in later chapters. Nor does he allow the discussion to include PLO atrocities committed against foreigners, events widely covered in the press and figuring prominently in Jewish arguments opposing any contact with the PLO. Here he is describing the present situation, and most readers will be surprised to see that terrorism has not been one-sided and that suicide bombers are a recent development.

Part 1, Chapter 4

Part 1, Chapter 4 Summary

The final chapter of Part 1 is entitled, "Religious Absolutism: Isaac and Ishmael." Shipler opens it with an interview with Rabbi David Hartman, a Jerusalem philosopher. Hartman begins frankly: "Biblical people are extremists." The Torah does not permit pluralism. Religion, he admits, is naturally reactionary, and the past can be bent to serve any purpose. Therefore, it can become a force of evil.

Shipler develops Hartman's theme. The Arab-Israeli dispute is secular, but fundamentalism in Judaism and Islam fan the flames. Shipler interviews Bernard Lewis, a renowned Jewish scholar of Islam and Muslim culture, who states that politics and religion are one in Islam, unlike Christianity, where God and Caesar each enjoy its own sphere. Judaism after the Biblical period never had an opportunity to work out a system of its own; it is experimenting now, in the State of Israel. Only a small percentage of Israelis identify themselves as religious, and even among the extreme West Bank settlers, Biblical arguments carry little weight. Israel was founded by non-ideologues, by mad dreamers determined to build something from nothing in the Negev Desert. The war of 1967 created a sense of triumph and complacency and offered a new frontier for committed Zionists to explore. Messianists arose, determined to expand modern Israel by incorporating the ancient components of Judea and Samaria - the Arab West Bank.

Shipler traces three waves of settlers, none of whom felt any mystical attraction to the land. The first established successful farms and the third sought nothing more than cheap real estate. Between them came the Gush Emunim activists, who claimed Biblical authority for their actions. The government encouraged them because once they had put down roots, they would more readily defend themselves against aggressors. There was plenty of underdeveloped land for Jews and Arabs to coexist, if either had been willing. Those who moved into Hebron - and referred to it by the name more often encountered in the Old Testament: Kiryat Arba - pointed to its primacy over Jerusalem as a city of King David. Settlers referred to their occupation of the territories as "liberation" and were determined to establish a "purely Jewish way of life." They treated the Arab population with violent bigotry. They would die for their new lands like the ancient zealots did at Masada, and they would surely erect a Third Temple in Jerusalem.

Again recalling discussions with Rabbi Hartman about Judaism's failure to live in dialogue with the world, rather than in defensive exclusion, Shipler examines both sides' abandonment of the common "culture of the desert," which requires generous treatment of strangers. He describes the powerful influence of Judah Halevy's writings on the Gush Emunim movement, engendering ethnocentrism and religious arrogance in the youth. Modern humanistic explanations of difficult texts have no place, no debate about policy or possibility of reform. The Torah must be enforced in Israel. Arab terrorism

against Israelis must be punished with violence. Even small provocations require massive reactions.

The Arab side is equally radicalized, but lacks a spokesman for reason like Rabbi Hartman (moderates are frequently assassinated). Their culture is naturally less introspective than the Jewish, and they generally adopt the most direct answer: fight Israel with the weapons Israel uses. To date, this has resulted in military failure and moral degradation. The Koran's literal interpreters are faced with positive passages about Judaism and, more frequent, negative ones about Jews. Shipler outlines the history of Muslim-Jewish relations, dating back to the Arabian Jews' original rejection of Muhammad's new creed. Islam views the Old and New Testaments as authentic revelations, but the practitioners of Judaism and Christianity perverted the truth and failed to submit to the final revelation -- Islam. Some scholars with whom Shipler speaks note that most Muslims have an incomplete understanding of their own holy book and that they often do not behave in keeping with its tenets.

Israeli authorities monitor Friday prayers in the mosques, warning imams not to preach on controversial subjects. Arab textbooks and newspapers smuggled into the West Bank use religious symbols and metaphors as propaganda against Israel. The violence and immorality in the Old Testament are particularly vilified. Israel's treatment of the residents of Palestine is read onto the modern Zionist policies and labeled racism, against which the only allowable response for Muslims is *jihad,* holy war. Shipler describes the classical division of the world in Islamic thought between the "Abode of Islam" and the "Abode of War," and how "People of the Scriptures" (Jews and Christians) were accommodated during the Islamic centuries, as *dhimmis,* tolerated but required to accept subservience. This is the precise opposite of the present situation and, therefore, deeply offensive to Muslims. Islamic fundamentalists use the Biblical - and later, with editing, Koranic - genealogies and histories to prove that their ancestors pre-dated the Israelites. Veneration of Moses and Jesus within Islam is a point of pride. Shipler shows how this is inculcated into children through their textbooks. He samples the back-and-forth polemics between religious extremists over how the sides portray their opposites' religion. There are no dialogues, just simultaneous inflammatory rhetoric.

The 2002 postscript resumes with the question of education, focusing on the failure of the Palestinian Authority to improve the textbooks. They are still tools of political indoctrination. He next turns to the question of Jerusalem, which outweighs all the concessions in the Oslo negotiations. In 1993, a rabid right-winger, Ehud Olmett, replaces the diplomatic mayor of Jerusalem, Teddy Kolleck, and the Arab population understands the significance. Their fear of assault against their holiest shrines increases, and benign archeological projects near the West Wall lead to rioting. Martyrdom in their defense grows as a theme, and prominent Islamic figures begin denying that there exists any hard evidence for any of the Jewish claims about Jerusalem - of a first or second temple. The city cannot be shared because the other side has no legitimate claim. Muhammad visited heaven from Jerusalem, and his followers erected the al-Aqsa Mosque to commemorate his only earthly miracle. Before the rise of Zionism, Muslims had never advanced such arguments. Shipler is told by a

prominent Islamic scholar, Sari Nusseibeh, that to deny that Christianity and Judaism are part of Muslim history is simply stupid. Hartman is cited again: the peoples' destinies are intertwined, and they need to develop the theological tools to make it possible to discuss this. The first part of the book ends with an Israeli tour guide ignorantly dismissing Muslim claims to tourists seeing with their own eyes the splendor of the Dome of the Rock.

Part 1, Chapter 4 Analysis

Shipler deals with Christianity in this section because a small minority of Arabs are Christians, and because of the historical ties and conflicts among the three faiths. He gives a skillful overview of a complex topic, and he will return to its themes in the last two parts of the book, Chapter 13, "A Mingling of Cultures," in particular.

Part 2, Chapter 5

Part 2, Chapter 5 Summary

Chapter 5, entitled "The Violent, Craven Arab," opens with an introduction to what Shipler hopes to achieve in Part 2, "Images." He will examine the "interlocking stereotypes that Jews and Arabs use to categorize and explain each other." Power is decidedly one-sided; the Jews have it and the Arabs do not. Prejudice abounds on both sides, established by decades of war and terror, and individuals vary in how bigoted or tolerant they are.

How Jews stereotype Arabs is examined first. They are fearsome, violent, immensely strong, duplicitous, cruel, and (paradoxically) cowardly. Israeli hardliners play up the Arabs' power, strength and wealth, lest the masses pity them and try to understand their motives.

Shipler examines how these supposed traits are depicted in textbooks, juvenile literature and adult literature. For adults, Arab persecutors replace the gentile persecutors found in paranoid ghetto literature.

He examines the widespread Jewish view that Arabs understand only the language of force, and that soft-handed policies are, destined, therefore, to fail. Arabs must be cowed. Voices are raised calling for expulsion and in some cases Nazi-like liquidation. Shipler talks with several participants in a program called Interns for Peace, which brings young Arabs and Jews together live for extended periods among the opposite community. Interns experience fears at the outset, and they must overcome these to perform their task of creating understanding.

Critics, including government officials charged with dealing with the Arab population, see no need to meet the enemy personally; they already *know* what Arabs are like. A sense of risk deters Jews from entering Arab towns and neighborhoods. Acts of violence lead to speculation, worst-case assumptions and calls for retribution. Rumors create unjust fear, which leads to the kind of inflamed rhetoric that keeps alive the stereotypes.

Shipler examines survey data that demonstrate Jews differentiate among Arabs based on the level of danger they pose (those who are citizens of Israel are less feared than those people in the West Bank, in Jordan, Syria, and Egypt). Another survey shows that Israeli Arabs are even less prone to violence than Jews perceive them.

A tiny number of Israelis understand Arabic, which leads to paranoia about what might be being said on television and radio.

Children taught only caution in dealing with Arabs more often grow to fear and hate them. The original chapter ends with a story about Ze'ev Chafets, director of the Government Press Office who resigned in protest when Prime Minister Begin was reluctant to name a state commission to investigate the Sabra and Shatila massacres.

He hoped to raise his one-year old son to be "ferocious enough to be a soldier, and gentle enough to be a citizen."

The 2002 postscript picks up with that son, Shmulik, coming to draft age and opting to serve as a paramedic rather than a combatant; his father was proud to have raised a son "ferocious and gentle enough to put people back together."

A decade of peacemaking had forced all Israelis to face the necessity of such a blend. Shipler describes Dubak Weinstock, a West Bank settler who explains that Arabs use violence as a form of language - they are simply telling people what they want. He adopts this method in dealing with his Arab neighbors to achieve peaceful coexistence. He now takes seventh and eighth grade Jewish students on outings on his property, to work and to enjoy candle-lit Middle Eastern dinners. His intent is to instill in them a sentimental attachment to the land, which, he admits, will not be good for the Arabs.

Part 2, Chapter 5 Analysis

Part 2 is entitled "Images," and Shipler begins showing that the historical, cultural, and religious facts that have planted mutual aversion in the two people are less an obstacle to understanding and coexistence than the poisonous stereotypes they hold. Each sees the other as essentially "violent and craven." Chapter 5 documents the Jews' feelings; Chapter 6 will do the same for the Arabs. The reader should pay careful attention to how the two sides' perceptions match and contrast, and heed Shipler's warning that on both sides various communities and individuals vary in what portion of the stereotypes they hold. The details differ, but the phenomenon is identical: people prejudge individuals by what their minds and hearts have absorbed from family and friends. They do not give individuals a chance to show that they do not fit the mold. The lion's share of Part 3 will examine how the biases can be cracked, if not completely broken down.

Part 2, Chapter 6

Part 2, Chapter 6 Summary

Chapter 6, entitled "The Violent, Craven Jew," deals with the other side of the coin: how Arabs demonize Jews. Jews are aggressive, brutal, remorseless and cowardly. A major difference, however, is that through contact with individual Jews, Arabs often soften their views and even realize the danger of stereotyping. Israeli censorship is only partially effective in keeping away from the Arab population the most virulent propaganda published in the rest of the Middle East; smugglers make sure that young Palestinians receive an unhealthy dose of indoctrination as to the cowardice of the Jew. The massacre at Deir Yassin is kept luridly current. Palestine is romanticized and Zionist expansionism is hypothesized. Shipler finds many moderate West Bank Arabs concerned that textbooks are causing their children to drift into radicalism. He reviews a series of provocative examples.

Whereas most Jews are able to avoid contact with individual Arabs, Arabs are continually forced into contact with individual Jews, and this often results in their questioning the myths they were taught. Shipler tells of a Syrian prisoner of war who wept when he was shown that the kibbutzim were not the war camps he had *known* them to be. Many Arab families enjoyed intimate contact with Jews before 1947, and were nostalgic about the good old days. As the Israelis took control of the West Bank and Jerusalem in 1967, Arabs fully expected to be massacred and - despite some incidents of unwarranted violence - many recall that they were surprised at the humane treatment they received. They realize that Jews do not form a monolith. Many Arabs move from image to reality through contact. Others, however, find their initial impressions darkened by subsequent conditions of occupation, with frequent arrests and the punitive destruction of private property when relatives are accused of terrorism. Shipler finds much bitterness among the Arabs he visits, but little of the systematic vindictiveness described in the previous chapter.

He relates the story of a college-age Palestinian who was cut off from his family by the 1967 war and forbidden re-entry to the West Bank. Hearing rumors that his parents had been slaughtered, he joined four fellow students in being smuggled across the Jordan River, and was taken prisoner by an Israeli patrol. He describes his initial fear of being slaughtered, amazement at the informality of the Israeli army and his realization that bribery works on Jews as well as Arabs. He comes to reject the standard Arab slogans as just so much "blah, blah, blah, blah, blah."

Shipler is concerned at the malleability of Arab youth. Off-hand stereotypical comments are frequent in adult speech, and the Israeli police too frequently use strong-arm tactics in their sight. They parrot the generalizations they hear and see; thus, all rabbis are Kahane and all Jews kill Arabs in refuge camps.

Shipler is touched by an encounter in war-ravaged Tyre, Lebanon. Mordechai Bar-On, an anti-war historian whom the army mobilized to guide journalists through the battle zone, accompanied him across the border. They met a twenty-one year old Lebanese woman, Zainab Haraf al-Din. She has dared to oppose her father's diplomatic speech, thanking the Israeli army for liberating them from the PLO, and spouting standard Arab rhetoric before the Jewish colonel. She expects to be arrested. Instead, Bar-On asks her to expand on her comments without fear of repercussion. Zainab feels that the Palestinians were justified in using violence because they had been badly treated and were homeless. They have grown hardened. She opposes a peace treaty between Israeli and Lebanon because this would result in an expansion of the Jewish state. She captivates the colonel. He praises her spirit and agrees that Palestinians deserve self-determination. He disagrees on the peace treaty, however. "If you have an enemy, you must try to find a way to make peace, not to keep that enemy an enemy," he states. Zainab is amazed to hear that he does not want to eliminate the Palestinians from this world. Bar-On urges her to free herself from prejudices by getting to know more Jews like himself, dedicated to peace and justice. She smiles "in a glow of revelation, as if some curtain had been lifted." They exchange addresses before parting.

Shipler speaks next with an Israeli-Arab journalist, Atallah Mansour, who surprises him with the remark that Jews are so used to having enemies that they are suspicious when someone tries to be their friend. This reticence in turn feeds the Arabs' conviction that all Jews are violent and malevolent. Shipler shows how unfounded rumor gains undying currency among the Arabs. In 1969, an Australian Christian set a fire in the al-Aqsa Mosque, and this incident would for decades be embellished and remembered as a Zionist plot to drive Muslims from Jerusalem. In 1983, a mysterious outbreak of dizziness, headaches and stomach pains in schools across the West Bank (studied and diagnosed as "hysteria" by the U.S. Centers for Disease Control) become for radical Arabs another Zionist plot.

The 2002 postscript revisits the "gas libel" and al-Aqsa "plot," still alive in the era of peacemaking. At the height of the 2000 Intifada, Arab rhetoric reverts to the language of the 1940s and 1950s: "Israeli" again becomes "Zionist"; "settlers" become "colonizers." Some radical Palestinian leaders work to reinforce the stereotypes, as do some radical Jews. Rabbi Ovadia Yosef calls for Arabs to surrender or face extermination. "[T]hey are evil and cursed," he declares and should be shown no mercy. Some Israelis are shocked by this rhetoric and brand him a "racist."

Part 2, Chapter 6 Analysis

Most readers will reach the end of the two-chapter examination of stereotypes depressed by the utter futility of the situation. They will wonder if there can be any hope for disengaging such hardheaded and hardhearted people from conflict. The remaining chapters of Part 2 contain much more negativity, but do not approach the bitterness of the discussion here. The sun will peek out of the clouds from this point onward.

Part 2, Chapter 7

Part 2, Chapter 7 Summary

Chapter 7, entitled "The Primitive, Exotic Arab," examines the fear - but also fascination - with which Israeli Jews view the Arab. They are backward, vengeful, passionate and wily, and this image alternately disgusts and infatuates the Jews. Most Jews, even well educated and liberal ones, are so completely isolated from contact with Arabs that they cannot deal with those modern Palestinian Arabs who do not fit the stereotype of colorful Bedouin. Shipler provides examples from newspapers, textbooks, fiction and humor that keep alive the stereotype and the racial slurring this encourages. A recurring theme is that Arabs in daily life are practical and clever, but in their spiritual life unable to escape overstatement and exaggeration. A Jewish lawyer tells Shipler that polygraphs will not work on Arabs, since they show no "psychological signs of mendacity."

Shipler moves next to the widespread theme of how the Jews have helped the backward Arabs advance into the modern age. The author observes, "a great tangle of nonsense grows from a seed of truth." The Palestinians were never as backward as the Jews choose to believe; they do not practice polygamy and enforce veiling of women. He mentions studies that have shown that Westernized Arabs tend to be most susceptible to political radicalism, which Israeli officials on the West Bank use to promote the traditional rural life of the stereotype they so degrade. Shipler reviews a number of works of Hebrew fiction dealing with how thankful the Arabs ought to be for the Jews' coming. He observes that Israeli classrooms teach little about Arab civilization, and what they do touch upon is anachronistic. Israeli children grow up with the lasting impression that Arabs are a colorful, menacing "breed apart."

Shipler discusses how phrases, epithets and images flicker through Israeli life, among journalists, army reservists and religious settlers. He cites a celebration in Damascus, Syria, marking the tenth anniversary of the 1973 war. Arab television shows teenage girls performing disgusting acts, and many Israelis are disappointed that this was not broadcast in the West, so people there would see how subhuman their opponents are. He tells of graffiti he was shown in a woman's restroom at Hebrew University, which called for the death or deportation of all Arabs, in the rawest of terms. He relates visits to Israeli medical facilities where nurses remark that Arabs require less anesthesia medication than Jews because they are by nature tougher. He notes the reluctance of Jews to turn to Arab hospitals during a 1983 doctors' strike, because either they were ignorant about Arabs having hospitals, or for fear that they would be too primitive. After relating two tasteless anti-Arab jokes prevalent in Jerusalem, Shipler examines the results of a 1980 survey on how Jews rate Arabs, Americans and themselves on a scale of progressive-to-primitive. The only surprise is that they put Americans above themselves as most advanced.

Shipler next turns to an examination of how the Arab stereotype has affected relations between Ashkenazim (Eastern European Jews) and Sephardim (Oriental Jews). The

Ashkenazim are the Zionists who founded Israel and control the government. They treat their co-religionists with scorn for their cultural similarity to Arabs. Many Sephardim respond by downplaying this affinity and degrading the Arabs, in order to have someone over whom they can feel superior. Shipler observes that as Sephardim self-esteem rises by advancing in education and employment, their opinion of Arabs rises and they return to their Oriental heritage. Many remember fondly their close relations with Arabs in the countries of their birth and are saddened that they cannot live naturally at peace with them in Israel. Shipler concludes this discussion by telling the surprise of a former Palestinian prisoner who was unable to discern any difference between Ashkenazi and Sephardic guards, having been told that the former would be far more tolerant.

Finally, Shipler states that the primitive, tribal stereotype is fed by the nineteenth century European Orientalists who were fascinated by the Biblical images they painted and photographed. Some Israeli Jews become like the famous Englishman T. E. Lawrence ("Lawrence of Arabia"), infatuated with Bedouin life; they avidly collect desert folklore and, like some American pioneers of the Wild West, sometimes identify with the "noble savage." They grow comfortable with the storybook Arab, but are troubled by the modern Palestinians who inhabit their world. He concludes that "at the heart of darkness dwells a cold doubt about Jewish belongingness" in Palestine. He quotes Gershon Shaked, "To some extent the Arab becomes the authentic Jew - the ancient pre-exilic Jew - before he was tainted by his wanderings."

The 2002 postscript returns to Dubak Weinstock, the old West Bank settler who employed Arab-like vengeance to make "peace break out" with his Arab neighbors, and to the feeling in Israel that material envy was becoming prominent in the Arab mind. He notes that after the Oslo Accords, the Israeli press adopted less-provocative vocabulary.

Part 2, Chapter 7 Analysis

The reader finds in this chapter some glimmer of hope, for the Jews' view of the traditional desert Arab is not entirely negative. Some aspects of their culture are potentially useful if still not laudable. We will see much more of this in Chapter 14, where Bedouin culture is examined at length in the Sinai and Negev deserts. The degree of risk and fear in dealing with this exotic culture, we will see, determines how Israelis treat them. It is possible to find a good Arab.

Part 2, Chapter 8

Part 2, Chapter 8 Summary

Chapter 8, entitled "The Alien, Superior Jew," presents the other side of Chapter 7's coin. It opens with the moderate Palestinian mayor of Bethlehem, Elias Freij, sitting at his home in Beit Jala, "a portrait of Middle Eastern antiquity." He sees growing on the crest of the hills a new Jewish neighborhood, Gilo, whose architecture is not at all rooted in the land. Freij tells Shipler that he does not hate Jews, just what they do: introduce foreign culture that contaminates the Arabs' ancient culture. Jews are aliens, outsiders and trespassers.

A fellow West Bank mayor, Muhammad Milhem, differentiates Jews like General Moshe Dayan, who feel close to the land and respect their Arab neighbors, from arrogant, alien immigrants like Prime Minister Menachem Begin.

Shipler explains that Middle Easterners have always felt the need to pigeonhole new acquaintances by their religion, in order to determine how intensely to hate them. Sometimes being an outsider is advantageous, because there is no legacy of long-standing antagonism. Because they need to understand others' backgrounds, many Arabs cannot deal with Jews whose own prejudices prevent contact and study. They resent the fact that Jews have made no effort to understand the culture they entered, and the post-1967 occupation has taught them to fear the unknown Jews.

Some Arabs make an intellectual effort to discredit Jewish claims to authentic heritage in the land. Some use a religious argument. For breaking their covenant with God, they were exiled. Others use pseudo-history, saying the Jews are descendants of non-Semitic Khazar tribes whom they converted. Many Arabs are most offended by the fact that Jews are in charge; the two peoples lived peacefully for centuries when Muslims held power - far better than did Jews and Christians in Europe. Imperialism changed the Jews. Some Arabs are convinced that only criminal Jews fled to Palestine, to escape punishment in their homelands. Others hold that the Jewish enclave divides the Asiatic and North African halves of the historic and sacred Muslim homeland. Others charge that Jews are agents of materialism, whether capitalistic or communist, and will distance Arabs from religious life.

Reviewing samples of how Jewish foreignness is portrayed in textbooks, fiction, and journalism, Shipler points out that illiteracy is so high in the Arab world that it is unlikely that the virulent bigotry portrayed there has much effect on individual Arabs' minds.

The author turns next to relating interviews with some Arabs who have made an effort to live in contact with Israeli Jews. An Egyptian girl says she was amazed at how Middle Eastern she found Tel Aviv - not at all the foreign European enclave she had expected, based on standard propaganda. Reciprocal home visits by Israeli and Palestinian children often leave the latter offended because the reception was not as lavish as they

expected, based on their own culture. Failing to understand the more reserved nature of the Ashkenazim, they were unable to recognize authentic hospitality. Arabs easily take offense at such small matters.

Another aspect of Western intrusion into Arab culture is the efforts some young upper class Arabs make to escape their "backward" ways and emulate the West. Shipler discusses an Armenian teen who first copied Western culture, even parts he did not enjoy, then transcended it, and vacillated back and forth before finding a zone of comfort.

Immediately after the 1967 takeover of the West Bank, many young Arabs were filled with admiration for the military might that Israel wielded. "The Jew was something unreachable, a superman," recalls a mayor; the behavior of the soldiers who supervised the occupation, however, deflated the image over the years. So many seemed lost, incompetent, and illiterate that the Palestinians regained confidence in their own superior cleverness. Arabs find techniques to "stay afloat" when dealing with their governors and work to better themselves even though they are doomed to menial jobs.

The 2002 postscript likens the Arabs' view of the Jews as outsiders to boulders that even a raging river cannot dislodge. It can barely wear it away. The Palestinian Authority did nothing to change the tenor of textbooks or the media, while the Israelis made no efforts to foster coexistence. The number of Jewish settlers on the West Bank grew during the peace process from 70,000 to nearly 200,000 in settlements increasingly isolated from the Arabs. "Colonial" is the key word in Palestinian textbooks, political speeches, and newspaper stories.

Part 2, Chapter 8 Analysis

Chapter 8 offers hope, because many Arabs want only to be treated justly. If Jewish authorities could bring themselves to lessen the humiliation of occupation, they might expect a positive response. The remaining chapters will reinforce this feeling, while showing the unlikelihood of any breakthrough.

Part 2, Chapter 9

Part 2, Chapter 9 Summary

Shipler begins Chapter 9, entitled "Segregation and Class," with a statement that there is too much bitterness among Arabs and Jews for them to generate jokes about themselves or each other. Arabs in Israel are manual workers, performing the tasks Jews detest. Any dirty or menial work is called "Arab work," and the phrase has a secondary meaning - shoddy work -a ubiquitous slur against anyone who does anything inadequately. Arabs resent the Jews as exploiters who arrogantly rest on membership in the "chosen people." Wealthy Jews deride Arabs as dirty and lazy but also detest the "uppity" attitude they adopt when regularly employed. Poverty-line Jews who are unwilling to perform the jobs Arabs accept seethe over the Arabs' willingness to accept lower wages. Linked with this feeling is a profound resentment that Arab youth are exempt from military service, and so gain a three-year advantage over them in the job market.

Shipler tells the story of a thirteen-year-old Jewish boy who is upset by anti-Arab bigotry in his school. When he voices his objections, he is labeled a traitor, a PLO sympathizer and a communist. His parents find sympathy among some of the school staff. One teacher is trying to restore the non-Jewish civilizations on antiquity to the curriculum. "Arab work" is frequently found in juvenile literature, reinforcing the stereotype.

Laura Franklin of Interns for Peace says that, of course, Arabs are dirty and sweaty at work, but their homes are immaculate. Public opinion polls show that over a third of Israeli Jews labeling Arabs "dirty," but far fewer "lazy." Walid Sadik, an Israeli-Arab social studies teacher confirms to Shipler that the Jewish attitude is "we can do whatever we want with the Arabs." There are no social contacts between the two peoples. When he lectures in Haifa, Sadik is often the first Arab that Jewish listeners have ever met.

The dirty, smelly, "uppity" Arab is unwelcome in the Jews' midst. The Arab birth rate is dangerously high. Unless a two-state solution can be found, Arabs will outnumber Jews by 2012-2015. The Labor Party's opposition to outright annexation of the West Bank has less to do with concern about the Arabs' just rights and welfare than about the strain of administering such an enormous hostile population. Liberal Jews speak of "fears for the integrity of the Zionist enterprise" were the Arabs to be absorbed; right-wingers call for their expulsion or elimination.

Ghettoization, apartheid, segregation, dehumanization are all deplored but practiced in a variety of ways. Jews do not welcome Arabs moving into their communities. A Jewish reporter, Yoram Binut, disguises himself as an Arab and reports on reactions. "People move away from me as though I have AIDS." In 1983, Chief Rabbi Yosef Yashar of Akko decrees segregation as a tenet of religious orthodoxy. Sociologist Akiva Deutsch reports that in Akko's integrated neighborhood there is no tension but notable hesitancy,

particularly on the Jewish side. "People wanted their cultural autonomy." A 1983 survey examines how readily Jews would accept integration; a bare majority (52.7%) would allow it in the workplace, but only 3.7% would tolerate mixed marriage with one of their relatives. A 1980 survey of Israeli Arabs showed 41.9% favoring integrated neighborhoods.

Shipler turns his attention to Israel's only integrated community: Nazareth. In the 1950s, Jews moved onto a high bluff overlooking the overcrowded historic Arab city and founded Upper Nazareth. As affordable housing grew scarce in the old neighborhoods, Arab families looked there, and resentful Jews began applying all the stereotypes of Arabs and organizing to kick them out. Shipler shows the Arabs growing bitter about the treatment they receive, and counter wielding the well-worn stereotypes of conspiratorial violence and lack of communal concerns. The community has become "a crucible of Arab-Jewish antagonism." The author tells about Arabs denied mortgages, of Arab children finding few Jews willing to become friends; the few who will play are punished for this by their rabbi. An Arab mother grieves that her daughter is maltreated at a nearby Jewish summer camp and must attend a distant Arab one instead; counselors shrug, "children are children." Tewfik Abud, an Arab supervisor, manages to keep relations at work fairly well, keeping the attitude that "A man who's a fool is a fool, whether he's an Arab or a Jew."

Shipler observes that the Arabs in Upper Nazareth take greatest offense when their honor is assaulted. Jewish gibes about the Arab filthiness especially nettles. "Cleanliness," Tewfik Abud exclaims, "is in our blood." One of the most strident opponents of Arab integration is Rafi Finkelstein; he differentiates Judeo-Christian culture from Muslim, rails against Muslim smells and noise, and worries that Arabs' willingness to pay more for an apartment will drive down property values and eventually cause the Jews to sell out. Shipler describes the Finkelstein apartment as a scene of "filth and disorder," dirty, worn, and cluttered.

The author notes an even greater irony: the Israeli government's discrimination against Arabs in housing, coupled with financial aid for Jewish housing has created marketplace forces that made integration inevitable. Finkelstein rages that Arabs have taken over 40% of the real estate, but official government figures place it at just 12%. Facts aside, Arabs are damned for conspiring to lower property values with money doubtless provided by the PLO. It infuriates militant Jews that the Arabs have "gotten airs." They don't serve in the military. They receive health insurance bought for them by contributions from Jews all over the world. They spread PLO poison against Israel. Finkelstein's characterization of individual Arabs ("can be very nice, quiet, cooperative, humble, submissive") contrasted with their self-confident behavior when in a group, is reminiscent of sentiments expressed in Europe about Jews in their midst.

Another Jewish resident of Upper Galilee surprises Shipler by turning from a handsome, well-groomed, articulate woman into a red-faced, screaming fanatic. If Jewish and Arab children become friends, she spouts, political resolve will be softened. She forbids her older boys to play with Arabs, relating fights a friend has daily with her twelve-year old over the issue; the boy is too napve to understand politics. Galila Barkai is a high school

teacher and takes pride in having convinced a pupil that if Arabs are allowed to continue moving into their city, the Jews will eventually be disposed of and have to flee to Europe or Tel Aviv. The child's mother came to thank Barkai for having set her daughter straight.

Finkelstein and Barkai agree that Arab youth enjoy advantages over their Jewish contemporaries. Freedom from conscription allows them to grow wealthy. Shipler lets Finkelstein introduce the topic of the next chapter: rich Arab boys want to seduce innocent Jewish girls. Israel is threatened by thousands of intermarriages. "[L]ove is more dangerous than hate. It's dangerous to our existence."

In the 2002 postscript, Shipler revists Upper Nazareth. Barkai still thinks integration is unnatural, but organized Jewish opposition to it has disintegrated. People have grown accustomed to coexistence. At Yom Kippur in 2000 Barkai panicked, hearing Arab youth at the mall near the edge of town rioting with shouts of "Kill the Jews!" Her son, taught by her to shun friendships with Arabs, was in the center of the melee, throwing stones. "He said, 'What, if they shout, why can't we?'"

Part 2, Chapter 9 Analysis

Shipler generally avoids comparing the Arab-Jewish conflict to similar situations, but in Chapter 9, he examines the universal phenomenon of majority populations being defensive of their privileged status and minorities seeking a larger portion of society's benefits. This, of course, requires greater interaction with the reticent majority. Arab youth are growing tired of being rebuffed by Jews and dismiss them as hopelessly prejudiced; Jewish youth are, again, "somewhat less fixated on what Arabs think of them." The author also scrupulously keeps a neutral tone, but the utter hypocrisy of Rafi Finkelstein's living in filth is too tempting to resist. The passage is most memorable and effective, as is the postscript showing how badly prejudice can backfire.

Part 2, Chapter 10

Part 2, Chapter 10 Summary

Chapter 10, entitled "Sexual Fears and Fantasies," plumbs the depths of Rafi Finkelstein's thesis. There are two dangers in interracial mingling: the "obscenity of intermarriage" and the "risk of rape." Shipler says that a "powerful fear of the alleged sexual prowess of Arab men" is intermixed with all the other stereotypes Jews hold.

Sexual experimentation with Jewish girls is attractive to Muslim males because of tough strictures of their religion against premarital intimacy for Muslim females. Police in Upper Nazareth are unable to provide documentation to Shipler to back up claims of "many" Jewish girls being impregnated by Arabs, but they assure him that, freed from military service, Arab boys do troll for Jewish girls in their cars. An Arab woman shifts the blaming, sniffing, "A loose girl doesn't have to wait for an opportunity to move next door."

Shipler reproduces several Meir Kahane leaflets warning Jewish girls of the dangers of involvement with Arabs, both personally and communally; it is a sinister method of watering down the Jewish bloodline. Assimilation through marriage is a major concern among Orthodox Jews, but is particularly painful when the partner is a "filthy" Arab. Rumors and myths circulate in place of facts. Shipler interviews Yehezkel Carthy, chief of investigations for the Israeli national police, but is unable to extract any more than Carthy's "impression" that almost half the rape cases taken to court are committed by Arabs against Jews. The investigator explains this by the fact that Arab society is more sexually restrictive than Jewish, so Jewish women present a greater opportunity to the rapist. There is no fear of vendetta by the victim's family, and Jewish victims are more likely to report the crime, since Arab women keep silent, fearing death for having soiled the family's honor by losing their virginity. Police and prosecutor bias, Shipler believes, results in more prosecutions of Arab rapists than Jewish.

Shipler relates anecdotes about the brash, erotic annoyance of women by Arab workmen, taxi drivers' efforts to keep Jewish women out of Arab neighborhoods and villages, and police stopping and threatening mixed couples whenever they encounter them.

He discusses how Israeli films and literature deal with "Arabs as phallic symbols." A film critic, Gershon Shaked, holds that Jewish audiences yearn for the "masculine strength" of the Arabs not only in sexual terms, but in using sex as "possession and power."

Far less frequently, Muslims complain about inappropriate sexual overtures by Jews, most often by border guards stationed outside the Dome of the Rock. Arabs do believe, however, that Jews yearn to rape their women. Shipler relates at some length the story of Jamil Hamad, who is determined to get to the bottom of a rumor being spread in the Arab world about an alleged women's prison in Ramallah, where all 6,200 inmates were

said nightly to be violated by the guards. Hamad offends an unnamed Arab prime minister by informing him that the story is unfounded, pure imagination. Shipler quotes Paragraph 5 of the classified instructions to Israeli troops on the West Bank about how to deal with women detainees. Jewish veterans downplay tales of sexual contact with Arab women, whom they considered sufficiently disgusting and filthy to counteract youthful lust.

Shipler transitions to a discussion of love and intermarriage by describing the irritating dusty wind called hamsin ("fifty") that blows across Palestine in the spring and covers everything with sand. *Hamsin* is, fortuitously, the title of a powerful motion picture depicting Arab-Jewish friction, comradeship and lust, addressing sensitively the "pathology of hatred." Like other Israeli artistic works that touch upon cross-cultural romance, it ends in tragedy. After critiquing a few, he notes that pre-1948 Hebrew stories were often more nuanced and truer to life. Arabs and Jews had not yet bound themselves to ideological hatred.

Shipler shifts focus to an Arab village in northern Galilee. In Peqi'in Christians, Muslims, and Druse live in mutual toleration, with minimal friction. As a young man, Samir Sabag escaped boredom by driving to Tiberius to meet Jewish girls. "Scoring" with Arab girls was far less certain and far more dangerous. Fluent in Hebrew, Sabag had no difficulty finding dance partners, but if they discovered he was an Arab (albeit Christian), they backed off in horror. "You're not dancing with an Arab," he recalls saying. "You're dancing with a person." Shipler states that in interviewing young men intent on the "joy of conquest," he got the impression that Israeli women soldiers were particular favorites.

Shipler notes research in the late 1960s showing that sexually repressed Arabs and Ultra-Orthodox Jews both frequented Jewish prostitutes in East Jerusalem.

Love affairs between Arabs and Jews are generally short-lived as ethnic tensions wear them down and tear them apart. Shipler speaks with one Arab who was shocked and pained when his girlfriend hurled a common epithet in his face. He could never have talked like that about her Jewishness, he laments.

This sensitivity, Shipler notes, is hardly representative of the Arab side. Most are concerned with the attraction the Jewish cities hold for young men "to try to get laid." An Intern for Peace worker, Deborah Reich, tells him she was reminded of middle-class American Jews in the 1950s who had to turn to Gentiles to experiment on sexually, keeping Jewish girls virginal for marriage.

Jewish and Arab youth most frequently intermingle in the universities. Most Arab males want Jewish girlfriends (but not wives), but few succeed, because the negative stereotype of the oversexed Arab repels would-be dates. Female Arabs rarely leave their rooms, unable to free themselves from the traditions, no matter how strong their libidos might be. Some do experiment, but without actual intercourse. Many Arab males frequent prostitutes and a few engage in homosexuality.

Shipler returns to Deborah Reich to conclude this chapter on sexual mores. She outlines the strict guidelines laid down for Interns for Peace, then states, "Guys are guys." She gets identical looks on the bus from Arabs in Kfar Qara as she does from Jews in Tel Aviv.

Part 2, Chapter 10 Analysis

In Chapter 10, Shipler again seeks a wider context, noting that sexual stereotyping of minorities is common around the world. Treatment of blacks by segregationist whites in the South is most relevant. He also introduces the experience of Orthodox Jews in the United States decades earlier, who were unwilling to taint Jewish girls and so gained experience with gentile girls. We will return to the theme in even greater detail in Chapter 17, "The Sin of Love."

Part 2, Chapter 11

Part 2, Chapter 11 Summary

Chapter 11, entitled "Mirrors of Semitism," opens with a history of the innocuous linguistic/anthropological term "Semite," coined in 1781, and later turned into a vitriolic political weapon. Shipler recalls a witty Palestinian who claimed that he was a victim of anti-Semitism when targeted by anti-Arab bigotry. After all, Arabs and Jews are both Semites.

Shipler maintains that "conventional" anti-Semitism is a minor undertone in Arab rhetoric against Jews, confined for the most part to professional propagandists. The average Arab sticks with the stereotypes already depicted in this book. He reviews the history of an infamous publication, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion,* and discusses its use by Egyptian President Nasser and in Jordanian textbooks. Another import from the West is the blood libel, which holds that Jews mix the blood of innocent Christian children into the dough for the Passover matzo. It surfaced repeatedly in the Middle East during the nineteenth century, and survived into the mid-twentieth century in isolated texts. A 1958 publication claimed that since so many Christians over the centuries had converted to Islam, Muslim blood was an acceptable substitute in a pinch.

The Jews' scheming enmity against Muhammad and hard-hearted, arrogant, treacherous abandonment of their covenant with God is more frequently portrayed. Religious opposition to their practice of usury (forbidden in Islam) is fused with the Western theme of scheming to control international banking, news and politics. Children's texts and street jokes depict the Jew as greedy and easily tricked. Such expressions are muted on the West Bank, under Israeli censorship.

Shipler reports incidents from Lebanon where merchants turned the tables on the invaders through price gouging and incidents in Jerusalem where Arab shopkeepers get the better of Jews in dickering.

Times colleague Tom Friedman tells Shipler that he encountered far more anti-Semitism as a boy in Minneapolis than in five years in the Arab world. He finds Sunni Muslims particularly tolerant. Tom never hid his Jewishness, but generally avoided the subject of religion. He cannot disabuse Arabs of stereotypes like the Jews controlling America, but finds this innocuous. The most hurtful comment he ever heard came from a Maronite Christian, remarking that a Palestinian victim of a bombing must be dead because his hand was not grasping for money. The Maronite was unaware that Friedman is Jewish.

Shipler concludes Chapter 11 by showing how other minority populations have been treated precisely as the Jews in Europe. He demonstrates a minor undercurrent in Israeli belief towards the Arabs that bears the traits of anti-Semitism, and reviews a series of books in which Jewish authors insensitively portray Arabs in terms that Europeans had used to characterize Jews - down to the hooked, eagle nose

Part 2, Chapter 11 Analysis

Untouched in this Chapter is the success Zionists have enjoyed in wielding the term "anti-Semite" as a weapon to silence opposition, particularly in the United States. This prevented for decades any conversation about Palestinian rights on the merits, at least until the 1973 invasion of Lebanon and suppression of the First Intifada outraged the Western media. Given Shipler's strict focus on the situation in Israel and the occupied territories, this is understandable, but the reader should be aware that the term has a much broader and more volatile application in the wider world.

Part 2, Chapter 12

Part 2, Chapter 12 Summary

Chapter 12, entitled "The Holocaust," completes Shipler's consideration of "Images." It opens dramatically, watching as a stark prison camp is constructed in southern Lebanon. The author tells about his visit to Ansar in September 1983, accompanied by *Times* photographer Micha Bar-Am and *Svenska Dagbladet* reporter Cordelia Edvardson, a survivor of the Nazi concentration camps Theresienstadt and Auschwitz. Israeli officials had steered journalists away from Ansar and tried to place restrictions on Shipler, but finally agreed to an open visit.

Shipler describes the 4,700 prisoners' haunting stares, dark anger, vacant defeat, tough, weak, aging and boyish. Ansar is a "squalid sore" - stinking of sewage and garbage, dusty in summer and in winter muddy, raw, and miserable. Israeli guards range in temperament from brutal to humane. The prisoners grow restive and organize a grievance committee to seek protection under the Geneva conventions regarding prisoners of war. Salah Taamari led the committee.

Shipler is shocked to hear the prisoners chant, "Ansar is Auschwitz! You are Nazis!" as his team nears the fences. He reveals the inner turmoil he endures, knowing Edvardson's background, which she calmly conceals in the face of Taamari's likening of the Palestinian's plight with the Holocaust. She refuses to enlighten him because this would be unfair to inflict on a man behind bars. Shipler's friend, Irene Eber, another survivor of Nazi terror, agrees that it is unfair to throw Auschwitz in the face of political prisoners; one must empathize with their plight. With this as background, Shipler investigates the role that the Holocaust has played in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Prime Minister Menachem Begin routinely refers to the Holocaust for political purposes; the PLO, he holds, is intent on a second genocide against the Jewish people. Arab diplomats at the United Nations criticize Holocaust survivors for turning Hitler's tactics against an innocent nation. Arab scholars strive to show that the figure of six million victims is exaggerated; the most radical dismiss the death camps as self-serving Zionist myth. Arabs realize that the symbols of the Holocaust can be turned into potent psychological weapons to serve their cause. Irene Eber is infuriated by the parallel, but admits that the Palestinians need some way of expressing their plight. Trivializing the Jewish tragedy is obscene but understandable.

Shipler states that very few Arabs know anything about the Holocaust. It receives little or no coverage in school and university, and this void prevents Arabs from grasping the Jews' deepest fears and motivations. He returns to Raja Shehadeh, author of *The Third Way,* revealing that Shehadeh had in mind a quotation from a survivor of Treblinka - "faced with two alternatives - always choose the third" - in titling his novel. University students generally first encounter the Holocaust in films and begin to awaken to the scope and severity of the event. Shipler tells of a vehemently anti-Jewish Arab who is

taken to museums by members of Interns for Peace and is so transformed that relations with Jewish co-workers are opened. Even the most militant nationalists seem to become more understanding and soften the stereotypes after attending classes on Israeli society and Jewish history at al-Najah University on the West Bank.

Some, however, have had their minds so corroded by the ongoing conflict that they harden their hearts against knowledge of the atrocities, and turn the events of the 1940s into psychological weapons for their own struggle. Albert Aghazarian finds abundant parallels between Nazi policies and the Israelis'; he only concedes to Shipler that genocide against Palestinians is an exaggeration, and suggests "mass brutality against a people" as an alternative. Many feel that they are the ultimate victims of Hitler's policies, for the Holocaust led the world to tolerate the survivors' expulsion of an innocent people from their homeland. Shipler quotes a moving passage from *The Third Way,* dealing with this theme. "It is impossible to see Jews as victims when you are being victimized by them, even when your suffering has no parallel to theirs," Shipler concludes.

He discusses Jamil Hamid, who screens out the Jews' pain by dismissing the Holocaust as exaggeration and self-provoked. He is tired of the Jews' "wallowing in their grief and suffering," suggesting that other people have suffered severe traumas but moved on.

Shipler examines this premise: that Jews themselves frequently cheapen the Holocaust by using it for political gain. Menachem Begin rarely spoke or acted without genocide being on his mind; President Reagan's use of the word "holocaust" in the context of the shelling of Beirut caused Begin deep personal pain. Irene Eber says that for Begin, the Holocaust was "an underlying ghost," and so it was for most Israelis. Nevertheless, in the conflict between Sephardic and Ashkenazi Jews, deeply offensive and insensitive images from the Nazi era are flung at opponents.

Survivors occupy all positions on the political spectrum, and cannot, forty years after the horror, pinpoint within themselves how the experience has affected them. May are embittered that Jews are using terrorism against Arabs, precisely because they had founded Israel to be a moral society, the opposite of the regime that had persecuted them. Dov Yeremiya, a veteran, laments, "The victim has gained some of the character of the victimizer. And it's hard to believe, but I see it." The Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 proved the turning point for many participants; many necessary but ugly methods were employed there. Ran Cohen said, "I feel bad, not guilty. Bad."

Hillel Goldberg, a lecturer in Jewish ethics and intellectual history at Hebrew University discusses the notion of "ultimate evil." It has two parts: the killing of innocents and the indifference of bystanders. Sabra and Shatila remind him of the Nazi death camps, albeit on a tiny scale. Jews and the world are guilty of crimes of omission there, and Israel will pay the moral price. Forgiveness for sins against man requires rectification, not just confession of guilt before God, for which Jews are absolved annually at Yom Kippur. Begin, he felt, by dragging the Holocaust in to justify every act of his government, had ignored the greatest lesson of the Holocaust, the universal side of Jewish thought, linking the Jew to mankind. Shipler ends the chapter by sharing with

Hillel the story of a Jewish mother he had met in Jerusalem. She had a son serving in Lebanon, and when she heard about Sabra and Shatila, immediately saw this as a reenactment of the Holocaust she had survived; she would not allow her son back into her house until he swore he had taken no part.

In the 2002 postscript, Shipler reveals what happened to Salah Taamari and Cordelia Edvardson in the intervening years, and how Holocaust denial came to be a major feature of Palestinian rage at the frustrating peace negotiations. They wanted to be seen as victims, and could not allow the Jews to preempt this.

Part 2, Chapter 12 Analysis

Shipler seems amazed at the survivors' ability to transcend their own pain and commiserate with another people's loss. He structures the interview with Taamari as an alternation between formal questions and answers and his inner mental turmoil. He wants desperately for Edvardson to set the smug prisoner straight. It is one of the most moving parts of the book. We will learn more about the Holocaust plays in the post-Oslo period in the book's overall Epilogue.

Part 3, Chapter 13

Part 3, Chapter 13 Summary

Part 3 is entitled "Interaction," and begins with the theme, "A Mingling of Cultures." It opens with Shipler describing the striking similarity between an everyday hand washing ceremony he had experienced among the Bedouin of the Negev desert and a Passover ritual experienced in a Jewish apartment. "Suddenly," he observes, "the images merged and time collapsed; history touched the present." Modern scholarship has debunked the myth that Jews and Arabs are ethnically related, he says, but centuries of cultural contact have exerted considerable influence on both societies. The first historical contact between Arabs and Hebrews was as allies fighting the Assyrians in the ninth century B.C.E. The etymology of "Arab" and "Hebrew" is similar. Talmudic literature is filled with references to Arabs, and Israeli archeologists have carefully excavated ruins of Nabatean (Arab) settlements in the Negev.

With the rise of Islam in the seventh century, an "Arab-Jewish symbiosis" flowered. Shipler holds that this was the most significant external influence on the Jews because it was culturally the closest and religiously the least threatening. Ancient Greeks and modern Europeans both sought to assimilate the Jew; Muslims allowed them to retain an autonomous culture. He outlines the early religious influence of Judaism on Muhammad and the reasons why he turned away from the older religion, when its leaders rejected his new revelations. Islam, Shipler shows, has a greater affinity to Judaism than its other daughter, Christianity, does in matters of morality and custom. Under Muslim control, Jews adapted their customs to fit local conditions, and there were many instances of shared devotional and practical contacts, even when these were opposed by the religious authorities on both sides.

Jews were rarely oppressed or exterminated by Muslims as they were by Christians, and practice was often more liberal than official doctrine. Like Christians, Jews had to endure outward signs of their second-class citizenship, but they were well tolerated until the Islamic Empire began to deteriorate in the Middle Ages.

Jewish scholarship flourished under Islam, influenced and influential to Muslim thought. Shipler devotes several pages to Maimonides (1135-1204), who interpreted Greek philosophy for Jews through the filter of the Arab mind. David Hartman offers his opinion that Maimonides presents an enormous opportunity for Jews and Arabs to enter into dialog.

Shipler discusses how the two cultures have enriched one another over centuries - modern Hebrew owes much of its vocabulary, grammar and secular poetry to Arabic. In modern times, before and after 1948, there has been much sharing of slang and obscenities (which are lacking in the Bible). Individuals in both communities in close contact with one another have adopted variants of their names in the other language - something Israeli police discourage, fearing security breaches. Arabs and Jews who

claim they can easily spot members of the opposite camp are shown frequently and humorously to be wrong.

One of the most fertile areas of cooperation between Arabs and Jews is in crime, be it robbery, drug smuggling, or prostitution. Most often, released felons who discove useful traits among their fellow prisoners and team up practice this. Usually the Jew commits the crime and the Arab fences the spoils in Jordan.

Ultra-Orthodox Jews, who generally reject Zionism as premature until the Messiah arrives and the Third Temple is restored, are of one mind with traditional Arabs in taking offense at skimpy Western dress. Shipler quotes signs advising American tourists not to enter their neighborhood improperly attired.

Even the most nationalistic Arab merchants happily sell Jewish artifacts to Jewish tourists, and many Jews have acquired a taste for Arab arts, embroidery and food. Although some Arabs cannot resist claiming Israelis are "stealing" their culture; Shipler prefers to soften this to "acculturation, interaction, symbiosis." Interaction can soften the two side's rigidities. Shipler tells of Orthodox Jews using Arabs as *shabbas goy* ("Sabbath Gentile"), so that necessary enterprises can continue on the Sabbath. He relates a comical situation when his son Michael was hospitalized in a Jewish hospital with pneumonia; the Jewish doctor was allowed to examine him and make a diagnosis, but not to write it down on the Sabbath. An Arab nurse, poorly schooled in Hebrew, had to perform that task. Jews often call upon Arab neighbors to hold for them all the wheat products that must be removed from their homes during the week of Passover. Devout Jews and devout Muslims, Shipler feels, quite often respect each other's religiosity.

Shipler visits East Jerusalem and examines interactions between the Muslim and Jewish quarters. He tells a touching story of neighborliness, when an Arab preserved the invaluable contents of a synagogue after the Jews abruptly fled the Arab League forces in 1948. He delivered the keys to Israeli troops entering in 1967, amazing them. Less peaceful have been relations of Orthodox Jews who established yeshivas in the Muslim Quarter during the 1970s and 1980s, to prepare for the coming of the Messiah and re-establishment of the Temple. Some live with the Arabs in "benign courtesy," but others, "pious thugs," Shipler calls them, terrorize the Arabs. Both sides feel they have a right to ownership in the Muslim Quarter, and there cultures clash in everyday life. Citing research by psychiatrist Gerald Caplan, the author describes how Arabs and Jews differ in their approach to haggling with Arab merchants; one leads to mutual satisfaction over the transaction while the other leads to bruised feelings.

Israeli administrators in the West Bank refuse to accommodate the Arabs' sense of honor and class-consciousness in dealing with them, sometimes through adhering to bureaucratic procedures that they fail to realize are humiliating, but sometimes as a conscious psychological effort to whittle Arabs down to size. Shipler follows this with detailed guidelines issued to those organizing school and home visits among Arab and Jewish youngsters. They make clear the differences in modes of hospitality, in order to ward off unintended tensions.

Finally, Shipler talks about the spirit of coexistence that existed between the two societies before 1948. He portrays at length Rafi Horowitz, a political hardliner who takes great pleasure in practicing Oriental closeness. This is briefly contrasted with the reactions of a young Arab-American who felt smothered by the closeness of his relatives in Nazareth.

Part 3, Chapter 13 Analysis

"The Mingling of Cultures" begins the author's look at the instances where the stereotypes do not win the day. By now, the reader is familiar with the basic facts, and is gaining deeper understanding through new narratives.

Part 3, Chapter 14

Part 3, Chapter 14 Summary

Chapter 14, entitled "Fire in the Desert," relates the experience of the Bedouin in contact with Israelis. The first image of fire is the small campfire that nomads light as soon as they stop in a given place, in order to help focus and delimit the vast expanses. Shipler experiences several of these, traveling with Clinton Baily in the Sinai. The world-renowned expert on Bedouin culture, which he sincerely and intimately appreciates, gets lost in a maze of wadis (dry riverbeds). They are led to an oasis by a sixteen-year-old lad named Salim - not given directions, but accompanied and fed over the campfire. At dawn, a father and son approach their resting place on camelback, looking as though they stepped out of the Bible, except for a few accoutrements of modern life that they carry. Driving Baily home, they encounter a teenage Bedouin girl who asks for a ride back to the herd of goats she tends. She too lights a fire and prepares tea first thing for her benefactors. She tells them she would like to learn to read, but is too old for coeducational schooling; herding is not to her an attractive life.

Shipler describes the conditions under which the Bedouin of the Sinai live during the Israeli occupation from 1967 to 1982. Because these tribesmen have no quarrels with Jews, they are treated kindly, remarkably generously in the opinion of many Bedouin. Shipler is introduced to Elia Sides, an Israeli ecologist who travels up and down the Gulf of Aqaba, collecting the oral tradition of sea stories. Clinton shares with the author what he admires about these desert people: their lack of materialism and their emphasis on social values that harkened back to (and illuminate for him as a believer) the culture of the Bible. He perceives in their social structure the chemistry that drives Arab governments' actions: the appearance of strength as a deterrent to aggression. Justice means balance.

Sinai Bedouin are better treated by Israelis than by the defeated Egyptians. Israelis have built for them roads and housing, paid them for manual labor, and offered opportunity for commerce with tourists. This is a mixed blessing. Sheikh Abu-Abdallah remembers when camel caravans took eighteen days to reach Cairo to purchase needed supplies; it was so arduous a trip that it was undertaken only three times a year. People knew what little they had to survive on and were content. They had the one thing all-important: peace of mind. The younger generation has lost this most prized experience of the desert, and they require immediate gratification of their material desires.

As the Israeli occupation ends, the Bedouin fear the Egyptians' return. Regally attired sheikhs are required to stand motionless beneath the broiling sun, awaiting Egyptian president Anwar Sadat's helicopter to inaugurate an interfaith house of prayer at the foot of Mount Sinai. Egyptian soldiers scornfully force them to remain silent.

The scene shifts to the Israeli town of Beersheba in the Negev desert, where similarly attired Bedouin men seek justice in an Israeli courthouse. Members of the Green Patrol, an arm of the Agriculture Ministry, have been conducting a war of attrition against their traditional life style. They have been terrorized by toughs, driven from their pasturelands, seen their flocks hauled off for slaughter. The Bedouin stand no chance in court; they have no legal deeds to the lands they wander; the Israeli military, kibbutzim, and preservationists all stand against them. The Israeli government views sedentary life as a positive advancement over the nomadic, "squatter" way of life, and "moves history along" by building substandard housing, forcing youth into the wage economy, and enlisting them as trackers for the army. The head of the Green Patrol, Allon Galili, derides Bedouin culture as one based on theft, murder, and polygamy; "if we want a proper country, then there's no room for nomads," he states. A Bedouin leader, Swaylim Abu-Bilaya, with whom Shipler and Baily meet in his goat-hair tent, criticize the Green Patrol patrolmen as childish pests disrupting their life and causing damage to Israeli-Bedouin relations. He asks how a legitimate government can scare children, shoot dogs and steal flocks.

Abu-Bilaya had another overnight visitor to his tent. A neighbor, Muhammad el-Khishkar, has been out searching for two camels that wandered off when night overtook him. He is offered hospitality, and in the morning, before resuming his search, tells long stories about the old days of tribal feuds. He does not know that Green Patrol had overnight attacked his encampment and drove the people away with just one blanket each to protect them from the December weather. His two-month-old baby has died of exposure. News of this causes an uproar in Israel, but the police encourage the coroner not to elaborate on his findings. Other Jewish physicians cannot refrain themselves and speak out against the outrage. No one, however, is prosecuted or reprimanded by the state, and the Green Patrol "announces triumphantly that its practices will continue."

Shipler begins his 2002 postscript by showing how this had, indeed, been the case. Most of the 120,000 Bedouins of the Negev had been forced into squalid settlements by 2000; those who resisted going to officially sanctioned settlements were denied building permits, fined for illegal construction and charged for the destruction of the homes they built. Essential services were miniscule; unemployment was high; dropout rates, crime, and drug abuse soared; nearly the entire population subsisted below the poverty level. A culture was destroyed without offering a replacement, and the Bedouin joined fellow Arabs in hostility against the State of Israel. "Another kind of fire in the desert," Shipler observes wryly.

Part 3, Chapter 14 Analysis

Bedouin culture may well be the parent of all Arab culture, but in the modern world, it stands apart from Palestinians, traditional and modern, in Israel proper and in the occupied territories. Shipler has wisely chosen to examine their situation in a single contained narrative. The way Israelis deal humanely with nomads outside their borders and brutally those in their midst is telling. Fear is the differentiating factor. Lowering fear with other Palestinians should result in greater harmony. We will see this in Chapter 16,

which deals specifically with Israeli-Arabs, but have first to examine the greatest cause of Arab fear.

Part 3, Chapter 15

Part 3, Chapter 15 Summary

Chapter 15, entitled "Secret Police in an Open Society," examines the violent, arbitrary and judiciously unrestrained activities of Mossad and Shin Beth. The former is Israel's main overseas intelligence agency, while the later handles internal police matters. They work hand-in-hand and both report directly to the prime minister.

Shipler begins with the story of a young Palestinian, who for fear of additional torture asked to be called "Gamal." He was seized at Ben-Gurion International Airport after returning from studies in Chicago. The police knew every detail of his time in America, making it clear that Mossad had tailed him. They demanded to know why he had associated with a known PLO sympathizer. After forty-five days of imprisonment and torture, during which time he swore he had merely enjoyed dinner with an old family friend, he was released, but kept on a short leash by Shin Beth for several months more. He had been refused a laissez-passer (travel permit) the first time he applied to go abroad when he declined to keep his eyes and ears open and report anti-Israeli activities upon his return. A year later, he again refused but was given his traveling papers. His arrest on returning appeared to be revenge.

Gamal's is not an isolated case. An Israeli-Arab, Zohar Endrawos, was seized after returning from studies in Rome, and was informed that while there was no legal basis for holding him, physical and psychological torture would be applied to get him to change his mindset. He tells Shipler that had his parents not remained in Israel in 1948, he would doubtless have become a guerrilla in the refugee camps.

Palestinians assume that their schools, jobs, villages, and even the refugee camps are filled with informants. That explains the police's ability to capture individual terrorists and entire cells so rapidly. They are far less able to deal with Jewish terrorists, for officials have not invested in a network of informers among them - and the system is unlikely to prosecute or punish them with any vigor.

West Bank Arabs are powerless before Beth Shin. Legislation is an amalgam of Turkish, British, Jordanian and Israeli regulations, administered whimsically. Ninety percent of Palestinian political defendants are broken under torture and confess to extra crimes by the time they are allowed to speak with an attorney, and few Jewish attorneys will accept such clients. Capricious arrests, summary punishments and collective intimidation are standard tools used to keep the Arabs in tow. Polls show that West Bank Arab children when asked what happened in school respond that soldiers burst into the classroom again; Jewish children respond, "Nothing special."

Shipler tells of an Arab youth grabbed and beaten on the street by two Jewish settlers brandishing Uzi submachine guns. All three are taken to jail for questioning. A small force of army reservists had witnessed the event; they were told by their commander to

testify as soon as they got off duty. The police refused to take their statement. They already *knew* that the Arab had been throwing stones as the settlers claimed. They had enough evidence to convict the boy. The reservists knew better, but left the station.

A Palestinian construction worker watches the oldest of his thirteen children dragged out of their house at 8:30 PM, and does not see him for over a month. Jittery about demonstrations and graffiti, the police are indiscriminately grabbing Arab boys and detaining them in order to scare them into informing on others and to deter them from illegal actions. Shipler summarizes the official position: "If you can't co-opt, terrify. If you can't find the guilty individual, harass and punish the society in which he operates." Beatings are often not serious, just enough to teach a lesson. Humiliation is a potent psychological tool, wielded freely.

Shipler next examines the impact this policy has on Israeli society. There reigns a "strain of shame," although continuing fear of Arab terrorism tempers Israelis' hand wringing over this unjust system. Veteran soldiers are pained by having to take part. New recruits are armed without receiving training in crowd control.

While it is rare that Jews come to the defense of Palestinians wrongly accused, Shipler tells of one such incident. In 1984, an entire kibbutz objected to the sentence imposed on Abdul-Aziz Ali Shahin, arguing that he was precisely the kind of moderate Palestinian whose search for coexistence with Israel ought to be encouraged.

Older Palestinians admit that Israeli oppression is less intense than Jordanian before 1967, but many of its measures are counterproductive. As a democracy, they allow colleges to operate, authors to publish, and artists to paint, but then censor all three, driving them underground. Shipler includes many stories of Arabs arrested and beaten without provocation. A student tells a reporter, "The guys on the base prepared me by saying that you have to beat Arabs because Arabs rape girls and are a criminal nuisance. When you beat them, they go away."

One of the most oppressive practices is the biannual rounding up of twelfth-grade Arab boys in order to prevent them from taking the *tawjibi,* the matriculation examination that is their key to higher education or professional jobs. Palestinians debate how it is decided whom to arrest and whom to allow to take the test, but Shipler says it appears that activists are singled out.

Israeli newspapers, even the most acerbic, underreport the situation. State-controlled television glosses over it.

Meron Benvenisti, former deputy mayor of Jerusalem, tells Shipler how he twice faced situations in which he had to decide to call the police and thus bear responsibility for a rash of response against Arab neighbors. In one case, when vandals broke his windshield, he spoke directly with the local *mukhtar* and he was thereafter left in peace; in the second, his next-door neighbor while gardening unearthed an unexploded shell left over from the 1967 war. The police would have arrested the man's teenage son as a PLO operative, but they would do nothing to Benevenisti, so he accepted the very real

danger of triggering a explosion that might have ended his life in order to relocate the shell across the property line to his own yard.

The toughness of Israeli policy has resulted in a generation of West Bank youth coming of age, never having known anything but occupation, censorship and official violence. The result is increased enrollment in terrorist organizations. Shipler ends the chapter with the story of Husam, a soft, napve youth whose involvement in a Palestinian theater troupe helped raise his political sensibilities. He was moved to do something for his people. At the University of Beirut in 1980, he is surrounded by PLO sympathizers. He reads their literature and joins the radical Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). When he returns to Palestine, three friends immediately ask him to help them join the party. He welcomes them and speaks openly about other friends. He does not know that one of the three is a plant by the rival al-Fatah. From Damascus, Syria, al-Fatah orders the three to carry out an operation. One friend is killed and two badly wounded when the bomb they are building explodes. Husam is arrested several days later and charged with being the ringleader. He is tortured for sixty-three days before being tried by a military court and sentenced to three years imprisonment, having admitted to membership in the PFLP, but nothing more.

Husam and other former inmates tell Shipler that they enjoyed greater freedom of political expression inside Israeli jails than outside. There they sang banned songs, celebrated banned holidays, organized committees, heard news and read books they could not have accessed while free. They bonded as a community. In addition, they mastered English and Hebrew in prison; "you must learn your enemy's language to know what he says."

Part 3, Chapter 15 Analysis

This is a truly harrowing chapter, filled with detail of personal pain and frustration. It is the only chapter in which it is hard to see the fault on both sides. It is not, however, biased, for Shipler finds Palestinians who admit that conditions were no better under Jordanian rule, and he finds Jewish voices that oppose within their country a practice that is a routine part of Middle Eastern police work. There is no 2002 postscript: status quo ante.

Part 3, Chapter 16

Part 3, Chapter 16 Summary

Chapter 16, entitled, "Arab Citizens of the Jewish State," opens by quoting the solemn pledge made by the newborn State of Israel in 1948 to "uphold the full social and political equality of all its citizens, without distinction of religion, race or sex." The Proclamation of Independence called on Arab inhabitants to preserve the peace and work to build the new state as equals with the Jews. This chapter illustrates the failure of Israel to honor its pledge.

Shipler cites statistics proving that Israeli-Arabs, on the other hand, have kept their part of the bargain. They rank below the national average in petty crime. They go to the ballot box. At least ninety-nine percent have never been involved in a terrorist act. Nevertheless, they are kept at the fringe of Israeli society, aliens in their own land, constantly suspect, disappointed and often angry.

Terrorism by non-Israeli Arabs has sharpened the government's security concerns, and Arab citizens are kept under close scrutiny by Shin Beth. They are subjected to humiliating checkpoint stops and airport frisking. Their mail is obviously intercepted and read. Their phones are tapped. They are, as we saw in the preceding chapter, intimidated by routine police harassment. Their efforts to revive crumbling neighborhoods (as in Jaffa) are blocked by the bureaucracy. Efforts to organize political parties to fight for their rights are thwarted, forcing them to join existing Jewish parties for whom Arab concerns have no priority or immediacy. Making up 9% of national voters in 1984, Arabs could have exercised pivotal power over who controlled the Knesset - had they been able to unify as a bloc. They were scattered all over the political spectrum, however, and proved ineffectual.

Some Jews oppose any vote for Israeli-Arabs, since they are exempt from military service. Few Jews realize how closely watched the Arabs are and limited in employment opportunities because of "security concerns." All teachers, professors and government workers are required by law to receive clearance by Shin Beth, but only Arabs are regularly investigated. Teachers who dare discuss even mildly controversial Arab matters find their jobs threatened.

Israeli-Arabs are doomed to a culture of poverty by exclusion from the defense-oriented economy, inferior education, impoverished living conditions, lack of motivation and unavailability of investment capital. They compare their living conditions not to fellow Arabs in the occupied territories and abroad (which they generally exceed), but to fellow citizens of Israel with whom they are in constant contact. They feel deprived. Only in medicine do Israeli-Arabs have a chance of professional success. Most have to go overseas for training; those accepted to Jewish medical schools are ostracized, according to the stereotypes already discussed. Israeli-Arabs trained as engineers have to emigrate to find decent jobs, because defense-related industries are closed to them.

Fear that they will sabotage products intended for Jewish consumption (as trivial as toothpaste) bars them from non-security jobs.

Muslim Israeli-Arabs are exempt from the universal draft, and those who volunteer are not accepted. Since military service is the key to success in later life - through the connections made and government subsidies and grants to veterans - this is a major handicap. Arabs were long suspicious that the government was conspiring to use lowered public payments as a means of inducing them to emigrate; in 1976, an internal memorandum, the Koenig Report, when leaked to the press, supported the claim. Arab leaders branded the policies in Migdal Ha'emek, described in the document as pure racism. A survey in 1980 confirms that Israeli-Arabs are severely underrepresented in every area: education, private employment, public jobs, housing subsidies, social security and loans. Jews endorse equal obligations for Arabs by 60.3%, but equal rights for them by just 47.8%.

Shipler next considers the disparity between Jewish and Arab towns as a "journey between privilege and neglect." Arab villages have received electricity and water services since 1948, but are routinely undersubsidized by the government and cut off, naturally, from overseas Jewish philanthropy. They are banned from making up the shortfall by seeking subsidies from Palestinian organizations considered hostile by Israel. Arab officials cannot lobby as effectively as Jews, and are generally unwilling to raise local taxes to undertake capital construction. They are caught in a cycle of decline.

Shipler examines a unique case in the far north, five miles from the hostile border with Lebanon. The Jewish town of Maalor and the Arab village of Tarshiha formed, in 1963, a joint municipal council and they operate as a single entity of local government. In terms of social interaction, the experiment is a failure, but strategically it has bettered them both. Maalor, site of an infamous terrorist attack in 1974, has not been shelled since the merger, for fear of damaging Tarshiha; and Tarshiha has benefited financially by Maalor's ability to obtain government and overseas contributions. The political fragmentation of Arab voters in Tarshiha has prevented them from attaining proportional representation on the joint council. The Arabs recognize that in the short run they receive better services than other villages, but they are bitter that they are discriminated against in the services they do receive. Moreover, they fear they are losing their Arab identity. There is no hatred between the villages, but no closeness either. "It's like a paper partnership." Shipler ends with Arab calls for human-to-human friendship, and the familiar lament that those who have suffered discrimination ought not to discriminate.

Israeli-Arabs at large long for an end to discrimination. Halim Endrawos says he wants to live in Israel as Jews live in America - not as second-class citizens. Susan Bandler describes how a bus ride from Jewish Haifa to Arab Tamra makes clear the emotional gap. Arabs are not allowed to feel secure in their own homes.

Shipler tells of Arabs who feel suffocated by village life and flee to the Jewish cities, only to feel put in their place by biases and fearful of everything that fills the new environment. Right-wing rhetoric about their being merely guests in Israel stings. Jews

refuse to differentiate between them and their militant West Bank relatives. Nakhle Shakar declares, "I am an Arab - a Palestinian Arab. I am an Israeli. I have rights."

They do their best to help their children strike a balance, but are disappointed to find that so few open Jews exist that the next generation sees little hope of finding a place in Israeli society. The official curriculum in their schools downplays Arab literature and culture while extolling Jewish culture and religion. When combined with the ill treatment they experience every day, there exists a dangerous void. Psychologist Sami Mari claims that the educational system deliberately de-Palestinizes Arab youth in hopes of creating conformist, submissive yes-men. Imitation creates assimilation.

Shipler examines a sardonic essay on Arab education by Hana Abu-Hana. A boy named Said tells his teacher that when he grows up he wants to be a pilot as they advertise all the time on television. He is delivered a lesson in being a realist. While the boy might be an Israeli, he is not Israeli enough to aspire to a profession closed to him.

Young Israeli-Arabs must imitate and falsify their culture. They are at home with seventh-century Arabic poetry, but not contemporary verse. Frustration over self-image moves them closer to identification with West Bank Palestinians but polls reveal that they remain far more moderate than Jews think they are.

Shipler examines the unique situation of the Druse, a closed Arab minority separate from both Muslims and Christians, from whom their mysterious doctrine developed. They have succeeded in retaining cultural integrity while appearing sufficiently submissive to Jewish authorities to be allowed to serve in the Israeli army and border police - inevitably assigned the nastiest jobs. He relates several stories demonstrating how Druse still suffer from Arab stereotypes and discrimination, and one where being Druse proves advantageous.

Shipler looks next at cases where "lines of discrimination are blurred" in mutually profitable joint business ventures ("the wave of the future," one Jewish entrepreneur feels), sports (Rifat Turk, a professional Arab soccer star, shares his Jackie Robinson-like saga), and education (Hashem Mahameed).

In the 2002 postscript, Shipler revisits Hashem Mahameed, now an avid partisan of the Palestinian Authority. The arrival of the PLO leadership in the West Bank and Gaza, the frustrating peace negotiations, and the new intifada have all complicated the question of identity for Israeli-Arabs. They realized material gains in the 1980s under Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, but lost ground under his successor, Binyamin Netanyahu. Much remains to be done to achieve equality with their Jewish neighbors. Official data bear out the claim. Arabs lead in unemployment, despite "corrective preference" (affirmative action) policies, and cannot rise in the professions. Discrimination in government jobs - even in those bureaus most responsible for the welfare of the Arab population - continue. Arab politicians were in a position in 1999 to swing the election, and backed Ehud Barak against the hostile Binyamin Netanyahu. The victor showed no gratitude, and did nothing to restore funding cuts made under Netanyahu.

Polls reveal that during the First Intifada, Jews viewed Israeli-Arabs as fifth columnists and favored limiting their political rights. Israeli-Arabs self-identification is more complex than before Oslo, but all see a clear advantage to holding Israeli citizenship. This attitude, Shipler concludes, caused the Israeli police's violent response to the October 2000 demonstrations that opened the Second (al-Aqsa) Intifada. Israeli-Arabs realize that they are viewed as no different from Palestinians in the occupied territories. "The Green Line has been erased," one observed.

Part 3, Chapter 16 Analysis

Israeli-Arabs deride the education they receive as "Bialik and the Bible." Hayyim Nahman Bialik (1873-1934) is the Ukrainian-born Zionist poet revered by Jews as their "national poet." His writings, lamenting the degeneration of the people in exile and trying to motivate a renaissance in Israel, fills the curriculum from kindergarten through university. The saying encapsulates the feeling that Israel is primarily a home for Hasidic Jews; everyone else is second-class. We earlier saw this view shared by Sephardic Jews.

Part 3, Chapter 17

Part 3, Chapter 17 Summary

Chapter 17, entitled "The Sin of Love," touches upon the most sensitive subject in the Arab-Jewish conflict. Israel keeps no statistics on intermarriages. They are illegal and must be conducted outside the country; when one of the partners converts, the ceremony is recorded as taking place between two co-religionists. Rumors on the subject, however, abound. Right-wing Jews use scare tactics to dissuade any contact. Shipler is able, however, to find many happily married Arab-Jewish couples, but he usually disguises their identities at their request.

There is no middle ground in Israel between Arab and Jewish societies, so couples must decide in which camp to live. Knowing that what they do is an act of defiance against bigotry, they are buoyed, but they endure opposition that taxes their relationships.

Almost all mixed marriages involve Arab men and Jewish women. Jewish women suffer more overt opposition from their parents than do Arab men and quite a few convert to Islam to lessen tensions in their new family.

Shipler tells the story of Nazzi Dabbour and Judy Greenberg who met at Hebrew University. Dabbour made it clear from the outset that they could never marry, as that would ostracize him from his extended family and bring shame on his parents. Druse do not accept converts. They dated seriously for a year, and then she left.

On the opposite extreme, a Muslim family wanted their son to marry Susan London, an Arabic-speaking Israeli Jew he met during a school trip, but they were forbidden contact by the army during his term of service. Susan isn't overly attracted to him physically and wants to raise her children Jewish. Her parents would not have seriously opposed a marriage, unlike other cases Shipler relates.

He tells of a remarkable interview broadcast by Israel Radio in 1983, where an anonymous, despairing Arab woman tells of life with a right wing Jew. They encounter one another first in competing demonstrations at Hebrew University, eventually speak and fall in love. Her firm position is, "I, I am just I," not a representative of the Arabs he viscerally hates. They avoid politics as they set up household together, but she is branded a whore by fellow Palestinian students. Her parents reject them. For two years, they struggle to remain together, but eventually fail. She spends months in a mental hospital; he enters a yeshiva (religious school) and becomes a religious zealot. Seeing him on the street tears her apart for a week each time. Memories haunt her and she feels her life is one big question mark, because at twenty-eight, she is too old be an attractive prospect as a bride.

Mordechai Bar-On supports his oldest daughter's decision to marry an Arab, even though he understands how difficult a life they and their children will face. The couple solves problems as they come. They come to Mordechai's home for Shabbat dinner, and the husband endures the chauvinistic prayer that Mordechai does not believe but feels obliged to recite, unchanged.

Tami and Daoud (pseudonyms) settled in a leftist Israeli-Jewish neighborhood, figuring it would be most open to a mixed marriage. They work hard to retain relations with both sets of unenthusiastic parents. Tami gives up dreams of entering politics and curtails contact with Jewish society. She finds the Arab community unwelcoming, and tells Shipler about the distasteful political ritual she must endure with every Arab she meets. Daoud feels himself treated as not-a-Palestinian by West Bank Palestinians. The birth of their first child presents an immediate problem, since Muslim theology decrees that religion is determined by paternal descent while Jewish theology plots it through the maternal line. Mai was claimed by both sides, so the parents decide to raise her as neither and allow her to decide when she grows up. "'She should learn karate,' exclaimed Daoud. 'I'm serious.'" Tami wants to leave Israel; "it's a horrible place. People are mad." Daoud thinks Nazareth might offer them hope.

Celia (pseudonym), a non-religious immigrant from Argentina, wants to integrate completely into Arab society. She converted to Islam to marry Ahmed (pseudonym), a doctor in Taibe. Both families appeared to welcome their marriage and they lived together for four years. She describes to Shipler the difficulties thrown up by Muslims and Jews as she tried to convert, and confesses discomfort at having to fit people's neat compartments and biases. After earning a Ph.D., she moves to her husband's village so he at least can succeed; she languishes in boredom. She is determined their children will be raised as Arab and is resigned to the fact that they will endure slander about their mother's background.

Lilly Solomon, known as Leila by the Arabs among whom she settled in 1960, tearfully tells Shipler of a brutal, unhappy union she endured with a married Arab who divorced his wife to marry her. Although they had nine children together, religious tension between husband and wife is strong. Her observances are limited to a Yom Kippur fast; Shabbat was out. She wants out of the marriage, but has no money of her own and will not give up her children.

In the same village, Shipler meets a smiling, laughing Sarah (pseudonym) who has strongly connected with the Arab community. She had converted to Islam and registered her children as Muslim, although she confides that by Jewish law they are Jews. Jalal's brother earlier married a Jew and converted to her faith and adopted her surname - quite a rarity. It took Sarah a long time to learn proper Arab etiquette and to remain silent on political matters. She identifies herself as a Muslim but is regarded in Tamra as a Jew. Her father cut off contact with her and she lost friends after the marriage. Shipler learns from some of Sarah's friends that she secretly reconverted to Judaism and registered her sons as Jews. She keeps this secret in the village, although Jalal knows of it. The children are heckled about their Jewish mother, but Sarah hopes society will continue to learn.

Jalal's brother seems content with his complete cultural shift from Arab to Jew. He holds right-wing political views and served in the intelligence unit in the army. When he met Orfa (pseudonym), an Egyptian Jew, she had not realized he was an Arab. When he converted, he changed his name to Avraham, the unifying father of both faiths. Neither practices religion, so many of the common tensions in mixed marriages are eliminated. They work to remain stay close to both extended families. Cultural compromise appears to be working. Avraham, however, cannot forget the Arab mentality on matters of propriety. He feels part of both communities, and likes "any man who doesn't hurt me." He identifies himself as simply a human being and hates racism on both sides of the divide.

Shipler turns next to the crisis of identity inevitable for the children of mixed marriage. He describes Juliano Mer, a film actor who must role-play in real life as well. He was born Sputnik Hamis, the middle of three sons. The oldest became a radical in Jerusalem, and the younger an Israeli soldier. Juliano rejects all ethnic, religious and national labels, identifying himself simply as a human being. The world, however, will not allow this. As a child in Eastern Europe and later in Israel, he could not avoid pigeonholing; "I'm a Jewish face to Jews in Russia, a f***ing Arab here," he broods. He finds himself a linguistic and cultural stranger in Israel. His communist father enrolled him Arabic school, feeling he would be taunted less there, but he was viewed as a foreign hippie, so his mother moved him to Jewish school and problems were fewer. He changed his name to Juliano to hide his Jewish identity, but it came out when a teacher insisted he tell the class about his father. Surprisingly, his fellow students found this fascinating, but their parents would no longer allow "this Arab" in their house. Before entering the army, Juliano dropped Hamis in favor of his mother's maiden name, Mer, and tried to identify solely with his Jewish heritage. He was posted to the West Bank and Gaza and required to take part in the routine beatings of Palestinians. Recognizing his father's relatives in one car they stopped, he rebelled and accepted imprisonment for desertion. He went abroad and flirted with the PLO, but rejected terrorism as a solution to the Arab-Israeli problem.

Back in Israel, he cannot escape his paternal roots; he is always part of the enemy. He finds much of Arab culture repulsive, and he is angered by the fact that his father spouts communism and equal rights on the streets but treats his mother in the traditional male-dominating way. He went abroad a second time to study acting in London, and now enjoys a successful career playing Arab and Jewish roles. He has never felt at home in Israel and thinks about emigrating to New York. Shipler learned after leaving Israel that Juliano Mer's roommate's face was slashed by thugs who demanded he stop living with an Arab. "Police," said the newspaper account, "are investigating."

Part 3, Chapter 17 Analysis

As Shipler mentioned in Chapter 8, mixed marriage is a hot topic in many cultures. He brings out the particular tragedy for Muslim-Jewish lovers: both religious traditions lay claim to the children. There is no free choice. They can only play down the religious aspect until the children grow up, but officially, the children will be enrolled in one

community. Both sides will taunt them as they taunt the parents. Economic cooperation in legal and shady enterprises may offer a bridge, but marriage cannot. Emigration is the only way out of the dilemma.

Part 3, Chapter 18

Part 3, Chapter 18 Summary

Chapter 18, entitled "The Dream," interweaves a report on a four-day encounter between Israeli-Arab and Jewish teens at Neve Shalom with the author's concluding thoughts on the chances for peace in the Middle East.

Neve Shalom was conceived in 1970 as an interfaith community. When Shipler visited in 1984, it had failed to attract many permanent settlers. Muslims were underrepresented. The founders were more successful in organizing workshops for mixed Arab-Jewish groups. It and like-minded programs, which Shipler briefly summarizes, ran on shoestring budgets, without support from the government, which poured millions of dollars into abusive, belligerent settlements on the West Bank. Small American grants alone kept Neve Shalom in business.

Its program runs four days, three to allow the teens to break down barriers and confront stereotypes, then one day for intense confrontation over the political issues that tear their peoples apart. Shipler shows the two groups arriving, nervous, self-conscious, identically dressed and therefore indistinguishable by sight. None of the Jews speaks Arabic; some of the Arab males speak passable Hebrew, the Arab girls have had less exposure. At first, they are told to do nothing more than pass by each other and make eye contact. On the second day, they are divided into mixed focus groups led by experienced therapists, who ask each to name something they like. They are next asked to recall each other's names and what they had mentioned. Then each is to tell what his or her name means. Next, they pair up and spend a few minutes discussing what they share in common; then as a group, they relate what they learned about their partner.

Next, they are paired up and given large sheets of paper on which to paint; invariably Jews and Arabs begin working independently, on opposite sides of a sheet, and move towards the center. Next, they are asked to discuss differences between their cultures. Next, they tackle the question of the stereotypes they hold of each other's culture. Finally, they confront the maze of politics that is the Middle East. For this session alone, they face each other from benches segregated across the room. Questions are more interesting than answers, which are often evasive. "Is Zionism a racist movement?" The heart of the conflict is reached. The youngsters are in a somber mood after Questions and Answers, and play a game called Ping-Pont to end with positive affirmations of what their time together at Neve Shalom has meant; they pass an orange person to person and say one thing; the recipient may not respond, but turns to the next person and has his or her say. On the fourth morning, they prepare to go home. All are changed. Many fear losing this spirit of camaraderie as soon as they return to the world. There are tears and hugs. Then Neve Shalom is empty again.

Shipler describes how the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 and the election of Rabbi Meir Kahane to the Knesset on a platform of hatred affected the willingness of the two communities to take part in joint activities. Greater need balanced with increased fear. The Sabra and Shatila massacre stung Jewish consciences and enabled them for the first time to see Palestinians as people, not a faceless mass of terrorists; and the massive demonstration Jews mounted in Tel Aviv to protest the government's actions - fully one tenth of the Israeli population - touched many Arabs. Jews spoke out, some declaring that if they had endured refugee camps, they too would have become terrorists.

The nearer the front Shipler comes in Lebanon, the more peaceful he finds the soldiers. He shows an Israeli commander putting himself in personal danger rather than disobey his conscience. Golda Meir's statement that she could not forgive the Arabs for the evil they forced Jews to do to them is discussed. In Lebanon, Jews found themselves for the first time overt aggressors.

Within a year the bloody Lebanese quagmire and the advent of suicide bombings snapped Israelis back to the stereotypes, and a poll of Jewish young people shows support for Kahane's simple solution - expel all Arabs. Israeli policy makers have to choose between remaining pure by withdrawing from Lebanon or becoming "more Arab" - more brutal and less honorable. Old-time Zionist pioneers grieve the loss of their ideal of a just society; youngsters on both sides recall stories of heroic struggle told by grandparents. Programs like Interns for Peace found more acceptance as the need for reconciliation became more obvious.

Jewish authors, poets and playwrights turn Jewish symbols against the violence. Israeli censors delete some of the most shocking images, but Arab characters are now being portrayed as kinder, more tolerant and less hostile than Jews. There is widespread yearning for humanness. Arab literature, Shipler says, has no comparable moral agony, possibly, he suggests, "because it is easier to be the oppressed than the oppressor." They continue their shallow polemics, but, writes Ed Grossman in *The Jerusalem Post,* they show Jews "here's what you look like to the people who clean your streets and bake your bread."

Shipler sees Israeli society at large beginning to notice the ugliness of the bigotry they routinely spout about their Arab fellow citizens. He recounts college memories shared with him by journalist Danny Rubenstein of friendship with a few Arab students. One asked him for help with homework and Danny obliged. A nearby study group grew loud and included the common phrase, "You are doing an Arab job." Danny's friend asked whether that meant that Arabs could never do anything well. He challenged the speaker and he was told that if he didn't like it, he should study in Damascus or Cairo. Israel was *their* country and Arabs had no rights. Danny defended his friend and got into a shoving match that had to be broken up. "I became more and more liberal," he concluded.

He tells next of Karen (pseudonym), an American Jew whose parents marched for Blacks' civil rights in the United States, but allowed her in Hebrew school to imbibe disinformation and stereotypes about the Arabs. She was, therefore, skittish about

rooming with a Lebanese-American girl during a high school seminar. She was even more uncomfortable about going to a Lebanese restaurant with her, but lost her biases, and, after immigrating to Israel, became a political activist with many Arab friends.

Shipler describes several Arabs whose views had opened toward Jews. The writer Raymonda Tawil speaks to him rosily of hopes for intellectual and emotional contacts and sympathy on a human level. The playwright Muhammad Bakri hates all religion and admires true Sabras (Jews born in Israel) because they love the land. He points to the fact that Arabs learn Hebrew as proof of their acceptance of Israel. He co-wrote an allegorical film with a Jewish actor about Arab and Israeli inmates confined together in prison. They realize that they share a common plight and common cause, and that there is a similarity between extremist Arabs and right-wing Jews.

Only a tiny number of Jews, Shipler remarks, have bothered to learn Arabic. He describes in some detail plans to reform the Jewish and Arab curricula from kindergarten through high school, to remove the ethnocentricity, battle stereotypes and to promote civic equality. The Arab program aims at showing how other minorities have adjusted; the variety that exists within the Jewish people, how they can balance their identities as Arabs and as Israeli citizens. Its goal is to make students more optimistic about the future.

Shipler laments the miniscule budget allotted this massive enterprise, noting that contributions from Jewish and American sources have been disappointing. Several polls of Jewish adolescents' views on democratic principles find grave deficiencies. Predictably, religious students score lower than secular ones.

Fear of political and sexual closeness between Arabs and Jews loomed at a meeting of thirty district school superintendents called to introduce a new curriculum that had been successfully piloted in 1983-84. They are defensive about Jews being encouraged to live with ambiguity. They raise the specter of turning nice Jewish boys soft on Arabs; the name of Udi Adiv was bandied about as a charged code word following his 1973 conviction for espionage with Syria.

The results of trial classes are examined. The course begins with exercises designed to expose eleventh-graders' existing prejudices about Arabs. The teacher informs them that Arabs' stereotypes of them are far milder than theirs of Arabs. Liberal students, who deny holding prejudices, are more difficult to open up than right-wingers, who take pride in their attitudes. Liberals want only to deport the Arabs; right-wingers favor extermination. Four months are required to analyze and debunk the stereotypes and clarify the Arabs' legal rights as citizens in Israel. Students fight the new ideas the whole way. The turning point is a reading assignment of essays by Israeli-Arabs about their experience under the Jews. The students begin to realize that Palestinians feel the same strong attachment to the land as Jews do and that they will inevitably have to live together. At the end, the students admit that they had known nothing about the Arabs in Israel and now know they have to be differentiated from those in the occupied territories. Follow-up studies suggest that attitude changes may not be durable, that they will have but added drops to a bitter sea.

Shipler describes encounter sessions that began to be employed in the 1970s, using methods that had proven successful in the United States, Northern Ireland and other western societies. Ricky Sherover-Marcuse offers such a course in 1983, helping Arabs and Jews come to terms with their personal bigotry.

Shipler returns to Rabbi Bruce Cohen and his Interns for Peace project, which gradually gained respect and spawned other practical programs throughout the region. Like the U.S. Peace Corps, Shipler says, it probably benefits interns more than the people they work among on construction, recreation and educational programs. He recognizes points of resistance that are constantly raised, but concentrates on the truth that children are born without opinions and can be molded for good or bad. He describes the positive results of a meeting of Arab and Jewish fifth-graders in Tamra. By high school, purity and simplicity have soured, he observes.

Face-to-face programs between Jews and Arabs in the occupied territories are rarely attempted, for practical and political reasons.

Shipler ends with a discussion of the unique success of Hadassah Hospital in Jerusalem in bridging the gap between Arabs and Jews. Arabs come to it from across the Arab world, a fact that administrators would love to publicize, were it not for the ethic of patient confidentiality. Tensions in the hospital are rare, although Shipler does relate the story of the furor that erupted when news leaked that an outspoken Palestinian girl received the kidney of a murdered Jewish settler slain in Hebron. Doctors at Hadassah deny that they are an oasis or that peace is near. Their job is strictly medical. Newborn babies may grow up to be terrorists, but that matters nothing at the moment of his birth.

Part 3, Chapter 18 Analysis

This chapter concludes the original 1986 edition, and its interweaving of the gradual progress of the teens at Neve Shalom with concluding observations on the themes that have filled the book is skillful and bittersweet. The transcripts of the teens' sessions bear careful reading; there are lots of names and it is easy to get lost, but the psychology is fascinating. Clearly, in 1986, only a wide-eyed optimist could look forward to a happy ending to the story, and Shipler's eyes are too observant and realistic for this.

Epilogue

Epilogue Summary

The Epilogue, written fresh in 2002, is entitled "Twilight War, Twilight Peace." It focuses on the kind of encounter groups that were used in Chapter 18 decades earlier. Shipler visited Israel twice, in 1993 and in 2001, just after the Oslo accord was signed and just after the al-Aqsa Intifada demolished all hopes for peace. Each time he spoke with Jewish students in Jerusalem and Palestinian students in Ramallah.

In 1993, he finds both groups hopefully skeptical, trying to change their way of thinking, retaining old stereotypes, but working to superimpose surprisingly positive images over them. By 2001, they feel angry and personally betrayed.

In 1993, Shipler asks both sides four questions: How did you react to the Rabin-Arafat handshake on the White House lawn after signing the Oslo Accords? What comes to mind when you hear Arab / Jew? Are Arabs / Jews cowards? Who are the victims in the conflict? Transcripts show movement away from sloganeering towards true contemplation.

While the peace talks continued, an appetite for interpersonal contact grows inside Israel and, for the first time, in the West Bank and Gaza. Meetings change some minds and forge bonds. The Internet allows young people to keep in contact.

In early May of 2001, at the height of the Second Intifada, Shipler asks his last three questions to the latest class of eleventh graders in the two schools. Responses to the first two questions were negative and dogmatic, so he follows up by asking how they would have responded six months before; responses are better. To the question of who the victims are, the nearly unanimous answer was "everyone." Shipler shares with them the results of his 1993 survey, where "only us" had been the norm.

Martyrdom grips Muslim students' imaginations. Shipler offers vignettes, including scenes of the horror with which Jews viewed parents' celebration of their children's deaths - strengthening the stereotype of Arab as heartlessly cruel. He tells of Arab parents who drag their children away from demonstrations and argue that it is through education that they will fight the good fight.

Shipler follows the story of Tala, one of the Palestinian participants who had attended camp with Jewish girls in August. Her hard line parents had only reluctantly permitted her to attend, in order to enlighten the Israelis. She rejoiced to find herself bonding with the girls as human beings, and was sad when the program ended. They kept closely in touch through the Internet for two months, until the Intifada began. The Jewish girls send emails to find out how she is, but cannot understand that Ramallah is under daily siege by tanks and gunships, and Tala is in danger of her life. The random victims of suicide bombers cannot be compared in scope. Email contact dwindles, and then drops

off. An icy phone call from near Haifa ends their friendship. When pressed to think about what her ex-friend might say or do to help and what Jewish friends might need to hear from her, Tala is confused and remains belligerent. She joins other Palestinian students in rejecting the idea of meeting again with Jewish teens; she wants to preserve the good memories she had rather than risk hearing things she will not like.

Shipler next relates the tragic death of seventeen-year-old Asel Asleh, a promising student, adept at bridging cultural and linguistic chasms, a model graduate of the Seeds for Peace program. He joins a protest mob in Arabeh, but stands apart from the rock-throwers. An Israeli policeman hits him in the head with the butt of his rifle, and then pursues him into the woods as he tries to flee. Asel is shot dead through the back of his neck. Fifty Jewish teens join the mourning. One judges himself a failure as a "Seed"; his parents had been right about the foolishness of cooperation.

Shipler reviews the failures of the PLO leadership to capitalize on the goodwill of Oslo. They did nothing to improve education or politics. They remained intransigent and squandered the dream, feeding the people a "toxic diet of angry rhetoric and phony history." Neither side could agree on what "incitement" needed to be removed when Palestinians, Israelis and Americans form an Anti-Incitement Committee. Palestinian schoolbooks have not been purged of venom, Israeli settlements were not curtailed and checkpoints were engineered to snarl Palestinian traffic and humiliate the occupants with "little games that had nothing to do with security." Palestinians felt increasingly powerless and subservient. Naturally, checkpoints became favorite targets for rock-throwers.

Shipler ends the 2002 edition by interviewing four Jewish seniors who will soon be drafted into the army. Three are scared and morally conflicted. One hopes to join the paratroop elite. A seventeen-year-old Palestinian worries about confronting one of his Seeds of Peace friends, armed and in uniform, confronting him and his militant friends. Will he be able to talk him out of shooting? Will he be able to throw a stone at him?

A twilight peace is the best that can be hoped for after this twilight war.

Epilogue Analysis

Interviews in the Epilogue are more pointed and probing than those in the original volume. Shipler refuses to let the students off with platitudes. He rephrases questions to force answers, often bringing them to the point of frustration and affront.

Characters

Amal Abu al-Jamiyya

A cute, freckle-faced Palestinian girl whom Shipler interviewed about the views on Jews that she had picked up in the Dheisheh camp. Her name means "hope," but she claimed never to have seen a Jew without a gun. Shipler refers to her several times as a tragic symbol of the conflict.

Majdi and Suhbi Abu-Jumaa

Two Palestinian terrorists, cousins, responsible for a 1984 attack on a commuter bus in the Gaza Strip. They were taken prisoner by Israeli commandos and tortured to death in captivity. Their murder was covered up by the government, but journalists brought it to light, causing a furor among liberal Jews.

Albert Aghazarian

An Armenian living in the Old City of Jerusalem, who considers himself by culture and affinity a Palestinian. He teaches and does public relations work at Bir Zeit University on the West Bank. He describes the process during his teen years of copying Westernized Jewish culture, then transcending it to embrace the opposite, and eventually finding a comfortable balance.

Jamil Ahmed

A survivor of the Deir Yassin massacre, he was interviewed by the author during a pilgrimage to his home, and painted a naive idyll of conditions before the war of independence set opposite an ideologically correct depiction of the Jews acting like Nazis in 1948 and still.

Shimon Avidan

An Israeli veteran of the 1982 invasion of Lebanon, Avidan is a representative of Israelis who see their society eroded by offensive operations against their enemies.

Micha Bar-Am

Photographer for the New York Times who freqently worked with Shipler.

Mordechai Bar-On

A veteran of the Israeli army, he became a historian and anti-war activist. He was mobilized in 1982 to guide journalists through the battle zone, where he met Shipler. He was subsequently elected to the Knesset on the leftist Citizens' Rights slate, and helped organize anti-war demonstrations for the Peace Now movement. His daughter married an Arab. Shipler records a conversation he had with a fiery Lebanese girl, Zainab Sharaf al-Din, patiently helping her see that her stereotypes were not entirely valid. They exchanged addresses before parting.

Menachem Begin, (1913-1992)

The sixth prime minister of Israel (May 1977-1983). For nearly thirty years he led opposition to the dominant Labor party in the Knesset, and in 1977 became Israel's first non-Labor cabinet. In 1981, he ordered the bombing of Iraq's nuclear reactor, and in 1982 invaded Lebanon, to secure Israel's northern border. During his six years as prime minister, Jewish settlers in the West Bank were able to kill Arabs with impunity. Shipler betrays very little patience with or sympathy for Begin's confrontational administration.

David Ben-Gurion, (1886-1973)

The first prime minister of Israel (1948-1953 and 1953-1963). He was more moderate than and strongly opposed to the Revisionist Zionist movement led by Menachem Begin. He led Israel during the War of Independence and, as prime minister oversaw the establishment of new institutions and rapid population growth. He collaborated with the British and French to plan the 1956 Sinai War, which prevented nationalization of the Suez Canal. He retired from office in 1970.

Meron Benvenisti

Deputy mayor of Jerusalem, he convinced mayor Teddy Kollek to allow Palestinians in East Jerusalem to erect a monument to Arabs killed in the 1967 battle for the city; his motivation was to provide a focal point for Arab emotions that could be easily controlled. Shipler has frequent conversations with him.

Irene Eber

A professor of Chinese philosophy at Hebrew University in Jerusalem, she survived the Nazi occupation of Poland and repeated deportations from her village of Mielec. Having returned to Mielec years after the war and experiencing the emptiness of a past destroyed, she is able to appreciate the Palestinians' sense of dispossession, but insists on a difference in magnitude.

Cordelia Edvardson

A reporter for the Swedish newspaper, *Svenska Dagbladet,* she survived the Nazi concentration camps Theresienstadt and Auschwitz. She bore in dignified silence an interviewee's comparison of Israeli treatment of Palestinians with the Holocaust, telling Shipler that it would have been unfair to enlighten Taamari, since he was behind bars and she was free.

Raphael (Raful) Eitan

A retired Israeli army chief of staff, who inflames students at Ben-Gurion University in Beersheba by telling a heckler to get out of Israel and head to Saudi Arabia.

Jonathean Etkes

An Israeli pilot shot down during the 1956 Suez campaign, he tells of torture while a prisoner of war.

Meir Ezra

Born Matthew Liebowitz in Chicago, he moved to Israel, converted to Judaism and aligned with the right-wing Kach party. In 1984, he machine-gunned a busload of Arabs in revenge for the murder of two schoolgirls in a terrorist bombing. He was sentenced to three years and three months imprisonment for wounding seven innocent Arab workers.

Alexander Finkelshtein

A bulky, middle-aged Israeli communication worker in Upper Nazareth, born in Palestine before 1948, still limping from combat wounds in the struggle for independence, in 1980 he rallied the city's Jews to stem "Arab penetration" by refusing to rent or sell to them. He called his racially motivated group Defenders of Upper Nazareth, "Mena" for short. Shipler was surprised to find Finkelshtein living in filth and disorder, having listened to his spouting stereotypes about dirty Arabs.

Bashir Gemayel

Leader of the Lebanese Christian Phalangists, directly responsible for the massacres at Sabra and Shatila. His assassination in 1982, just days before he was to be sworn into office as president of Lebanon, inspired Israel to occupy West Beirut.

George Habash

Leader of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, assassinated in 1972.

Judah Halevi

Twelfth-century Jewish poet and philosopher, whose *The Khazari,* about the decision of the Khazars' process of picking a religion, was influential on the Gush Emunim ideologues. It actively promotes racism, since the Arabs' ancestor Ishmael was born not of a legal wife, but of a concubine who was later cast out of the household. Jews descend from the chosen natural son, Isaac. The rabbi in Halevi's tale convinces the king of the Khazars that they will flourish as Jews rather than as Christians or Muslims, both of whom have perverted the original revelations of God.

Jamil Hamad

A Palestinian journalist in Bethlehem. Before 1948, his family lived in Rafat. He recalls trusting, social relations with Jews, including Sabbath dinners.

Zainab Haraf al-Din

A twenty-one year old Lebanese woman whom Shipler met in war-ravaged Tyre. Her frank discussion with Colonel Mordechai Bar-On opened her eyes to the futility of believing stereotypes rather than meeting individual Jews.

Rabbi David Hartman

An articulate, thoughtful Orthodox philosopher whom Shipler interviewed in Jerusalem. Hartman abhors violence and seeks a middle ground between religiosity and nationalism. Religion, he admits, is naturally reactionary, and the past can be bent to serve any purpose. It can, therefore, become a force of evil. Judaism needs to get out of the shell of exile and interact with the world. Pluralism must supplant fundamentalism on both sides and be nurtured as a spiritual value for there to be any hope of peace in the Middle East. He sees coming to grips with the exercise of state power as a major trial for Judaism.

Eli Haze'ev

An American-born protestant, born James Eli Mahon, Jr., who was disabled while fighting in Vietnam, turned to crime in the United States, and then emigrated to Israel during the 1973 war. He converted to Judaism and took the surname "Haze'ev," meaning wolf. He gravitated toward Meir Kahane and was jailed for acts of violence against Arabs. He was one of the worshipers killed in Hezron.

Rafi Horowitz

Born in Jerusalem in 1929 to a mother whose family had lived in Palestine for eleven generations and a prosperous Zionist father who emigrated from Germany in 1921, he grew up speaking Arabic, playing with Arab children, and feeling he had a split personality. He joined Haganah as a teenager and fought the Arab Legion; pinned down and wounded, he watched school companions slaughtered before being taken captive to Jordan. There he endured tough conditions, but refused to become bitter because Jordanian soldiers received little better treatment by their officers. Released in 1949 in a prisoner exchange, he joined the Israeli army and patrolled the Negev against hashish smugglers. After 1967, he was an officer on the West Bank, where he worked to reunite Arab families separated by the fighting. After retiring from the military, he served in the Israeli Government Press Office and was known as a political hardliner, antagonistic to Arab nationalism but personally very friendly with Arabs. He characterizes himself as a Zionist without the slogans, and sees no solution without Arabs. They are part of the family and may not be hated. Struggling to put into words why he admires Arab culture, he says it is their "personal warmth," the touching that Western civilization has banished, thereby driving a wedge between individuals.

Adnan Jaber

Leader of the squad of Palestinian guerrillas that attacked Jewish worshipers in Hebron in 1980. Interviewed by Shipler, who wanted to understand his "militant dogmatism," he spoke unapologetically about terrorism as a necessary tool of a subculture denied any other means of achieving its aspirations. He recalled joining the PLO after an Israeli air raid killed his father in 1967. He received military training in Syria, Lebanon and the Soviet Union before stealing into the West Bank in 1979 and hiding out, awaiting a target. He spoke openly with the American journalist in order to mold American and world opinion: Palestinians were being killed every day and had been dispossessed since 1948 and 1967. "There is no just political solution on the horizon," he declared, and stated quietly, "My personal feelings are that I am sorry that the situation has reached this point." In 1983, he was one of 4,500 prisoners exchanged for six Israeli soldiers captured in Lebanon and was flown into exile in Tunisia.

Rabbi Meir Kahane

A militant rabbi and member of the Israeli Knesset. Born in Brooklyn, NY, to an Orthodox family, he was a Zionist activist during his teenage years. He was ordained a rabbi, but concentrated on secular activities, earning a law degree from New York University and serving as an undercover FBI, infiltrating anti-Vietnam war movements. Palestinian gunmen on the West Bank murdered his son and daughter-in-law in 2000. Shipler makes no effort to hide his contempt for Kahane and what he believed in: that because the Palestinians were devoted to the genocide of Israeli Jews, they should be deported en masse from Israel, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip. Kahane wanted Israel to be a

theocracy governed purely by traditional Jewish. Critics likened his views to the Nazi Nuremberg Laws.

Ghassan Kanafani

A popular Palestinian writer and spokesman for George Habash. His melodramatic writings, including *Letter from Gaza* and *Men in the Sun* stir patriotism.

Ibrahim

Kareen

An East Jerusalem Palestinian who runs the PLO news service.

Karim Khalef

Palestinian mayor of Ramallah, ousted from office by the Israelis, he lost part of a foot to a Jewish terrorist bomb set in his car.

Teddy Kollek

Mayor of Jerusalem whose accommodating policies gave the city a tolerant tone. Born in Vienna in 1911, he immigrated to Israel in 1934, and helped found Kibbutz Ein Gev. From 1940-1947, he worked with the Jewish Agency in Europe, and then represented the Haganah in Washington, DC, obtaining ammunition. He returned to Israel in 1952 and continued working in the government.

In 1965, Kollek was elected mayor of Jerusalem, and served for twenty-eight years. In 1967, he began working to rebuild the city and unite it socially He respected both the Arabs' needs and the values of ultra-Orthodox Jews. In 1993, he delayed his planned retirement but lost the election to Ehud Olmert.

Bernard Lewis

A Jewish scholar frequently quoted by Shipler for historical context. Born in London in 1916, he studied in London and Paris and taught at the University of London and the School of Oriental and African Studies before accepting the professorship of Near Eastern Studies at Princeton University in 1974. He taught there until his retirement in 1986, specializing in the history of Islam and the interaction between Islam and the West. He has authored over twenty-five books dealing with the Middle East.

Hashem Mahameed

Arab mayor of Um el-Fahm, who broke decades of silence about the discrimination he had experienced as a schoolboy. He had few early memories, other than children being warned by their mothers that the Jews were waiting outside to kill them. His illiterate parents wanted him to receive an education, and scraped together the money for tuition at a Jewish high school. They scrimped for six months before he dropped out and went to work. One day his former English teacher saw him at a bus stop and asked why he had left. Hashem told him of the family's financial situation and his desire to learn. Mr. Sariq told him to return; they would not have to pay. He remained into adulthood thankful for the generosity of the Jews who made this possible. He also remembered vividly the taunting he endured from Jewish pupils. Rarely was he invited to Jewish homes, and he felt culturally awkward there. He excelled in studying the Talmud and Halakha, winning the rabbi's praise. He recalled a two-year romance with a Jewish girl that finally failed under pressure from both sets of parents. He entered politics, and after being defeated for a mayoralty in Um el-Fahm to an Islamic radical, he won a seat in the Knesset, where he championed his people's causes. He became the first Arab named to the Security and Foreign Affairs Committee, but was denied access by Shin Beth to information on any subcommittee on which he was not sitting. The Knesset was too fearful to grant him an exemption. Mahmeed met with Yasir Arafat to educate him about Israelis and tried to convince him that suicide bombings inside Israel were detrimental to the Palestinian cause.

Yitzak Mordechai

Israeli brigadier general, highest ranking of twelve officials indicted for the murder of two Palestinian terrorists in custody. He was acquitted by an army tribunal.

Benny Morris

A reporter for *The Jerusalem Post,* who researched extensively the expulsion of Arabs from their villages in 1948 after successfully fighting to have documents declassified.

Muhammad (570-632)

Revered by Muslims as the final prophet of God, his name is Arabic for "he who is highly praised." His work, followers hold, only clarified and finalized the true religion, building on the work of Abraham, Moses, Jesus and other prophets of the One True God. They hold that Islam existed before Muhammad. Shipler devotes much attention to this view throughout the work.

Elhanan Naeh

Head of the Defenders of Upper Nazareth, Naeh is a representative of militant Israelis who work to expel all Arabs from their midst. His family's roots in Palestine go back to the 1830s, creating both a sense of context and wisdom, but also dogmatism.

Sari Nusseibeh

An Oxford University educated philosophy professor whose Muslim family lived for centuries in Jerusalem. He frequently helps Shipler provide context on conflicting claims and arguments about Jewish and Muslim antiquities.

Ehud Olmert

Teddy Kollek's successor as mayor of Jerusalem. A hardheaded politician, he offended Arab citizens by encouraging Jewish construction in the Muslim Quarter and archeological activity near the Temple Mount.

Shimon Peres

In 1994, Peres shared the Nobel Peace Prize with Rabin and Yasser Arafat, for the Oslo Accords. He has been a firm supporter of the accords but he also supports Sharon's brutal actions to thwart suicide bombings and weaken the Palestinians. He enjoys great international prestige.

Nurit and Etti Polak

Two Israeli schoolgirls killed in the bombing of a bus on December 6, 1983. Their tragedy spawned a season of Jewish violence against Arabs, including the machine-gunning of a Palestinian bus near Ramallah by Matthew (Meir) Liebowitz.

Yitzhak Rabin(1922-1995)

The fifth prime minister of Israel (1974-1977 and 1992-1995), Rabin had a long career in the military and politics before he was assassinated. During the late 1980's, he served as a minister of defense and used harsh measures to break the First Intifada. In 1992, he was elected Prime Minister again. He signed the Oslo accords, which created the Palestinian Authority. He also oversaw the signing of a peace accord with Jordan. In 1995, he was assassinated after attending a peace rally in Tel Aviv.

Deborah Reich

An American-born Jew working on a program in Israel to promote Arab-Jewish cooperation.

Michael Dennis Rohan

A fundamentalist Australian Christian who in 1969 set a fire in the al-Aqsa mosque, a crime for which he jailed. Although Rohan confessed his guilt, Arab militants were convinced that he was a paid agent of the Zionists, and the incident became enshrined forever in Arab polemics.

Danny Rubenstein

A reporter covering the West Bank for the Hebrew language newspaper *Davar,* frequently quoted by Shipler.

Bassam al-Shaka

The radical Palestinian mayor of Nablus who lost both legs in a Jewish terrorist bombing of his car in 1980.

Ariel Sharon

The eleventh prime minister of Israel. Born Ariel Scheinermann in 1928, Sharon enjoyed a long military and political career, crowned as prime minister since 2001. He was always a controversial figure. Many regard him as a pillar in the war against terrorism. Others label him the "Butcher of Beirut" for masterminding the 1982 invasion. As a colonel in 1953, he led the preemptive attack on Qibya. As minister of agriculture in the Begin cabinet, he defended the Gush Emunim ("security first of all is motivation -- motivation to defend a place"). He used Lebanese Christian Phalangists and their Palestinian henchmen to form a buffer against Syrian backed Muslim forces. The strategy backfired in Sabra and Shatila in September 1982. Begin followed through on the recommendations of the Kahane Commission that Sharon be removed from his post as defense minister, but he remained in successive governments as a minister.

Raja Shehadeh

A thoughtful West Bank lawyer and author of *The Third Way*. He discussed how he sought to accept Ramallah not as a temporary refuge while waiting to return to Jaffa, but a home to be cherished in its own right. He saw symmetry between Palestinian and Zionist visions and methods, and identified with a "third way," lying between submissive

collaboration and violent radicalism; he calls this being *samid*, "steadfast" or "persevering."

Salah Taamari

Born Assad Suleiman Abdel Khader, he led the prisoners' grievance committee at the Ansar prison camp in southern Lebanon. A graduate of the University of Cairo, he joined the PLO youth corps and reportedly headed PLO units southern Lebanon. When he surrendered to Israeli forces in 1982, he gave a moderate speech to Palestinian prisoners, telling them that the time for armed struggle had ended. When interviewed by Shipler and Cordelia Edvardson, Taamari spoke of the need to continue the struggle for Palestinian self-determination in some form and not to lose hope that Arabs and Jews would be able to coexist in peace. Unaware that Edvardson was a death camp survivor, Taamari criticized Israel for using Nazi-like tactics against the Palestinians.

Shmuel Toledano

Adviser on Arab affairs to Prime Ministers Eshkol, Meir and Rabin, he made a strenuous effort to bring more Arabs into government positions, but found his bosses uninterested. Born in the mixed Arab-Jewish town of Tiberius, he served as an intelligence officer in the Haganah before 1948 and in the army and the Mossad after independence. He spoke Arabic from childhood. He is amazed that 600,000 Arabs, suffering second-class treatment, are nevertheless loyal citizens. He laments that Israel has achieved only coexistence, but not integration. He acknowledges the justice of their struggle for equality and nondiscrimination, but laments this will be impossible because in a Jewish state, they cannot be given jobs in security services. This is a tragedy.

Rifat Turk

An Israeli-Arab soccer star, born in Jaffa, he suffered discrimination on the long road to acceptance in his sport and admiration by not only Israeli-Arabs and Jews, but also by nationalist Palestinians in the occupied territories. Some Jews, however, viewed his prowess as a symbol of "Israeli vulnerability in the surrounding sea of Arab hostility." He began playing soccer in the streets and vacant lots of Jaffa, moved into integrated organized play, and at sixteen signed a contract with a professional farm team. His success on the field was spectacular, but Jewish opponents and fans chanted "Dirty Arab!" and "Terrorist!" whenever he appeared. A sensitive youth, he was often reduced to tears by the taunts, and after an especially rough experience, retired from the game and disappeared. When the media launched a campaign exposing and condemning the racism against him, he returned to the field; the taunts did not cease, but he learned to live with it, supported by his Jewish teammates. As a professional athlete, Turk volunteered in Jaffa, which he likens to Harlem, to deliver young people from drugs, crime and poverty. Coaching teams, he rankled at stingy provision of equipment by the city government - having seen the abundance stored up in the Jewish club.

Dubak Weinstock

A Jewish settler in Gush Etzion southwest of Bethlehem, who decided to deal with Arabs as they dealt with him, stealing when they stole, vandalizing when they vandalized, working directly with individuals rather than through the police. He achieved peace. He worked with Jewish youth to implant in the attachment to the land.

Objects/Places

Ansar

Israeli prison camp for suspected PLO activists and Lebanese prisoners of war in southern Lebanon. At its height, it held 4,700 men in squalid conditions. It virtually emptied when Israel exchanged 4,500 of them for six captured soldiers. Shipler toured the camp with Swedish journalist Cordelia Edvardson, an Auschwitz survivor, and was horrified at inmates' comparing the two camps.

Al-Aqsa Mosque

Part of the complex of Muslim buildings on Jerusalem's Temple Mount (known by Muslims as *al-Haram al-Sharif* -- the "Noble Sanctuary," is the traditional site of Muhammad's miraculous ascension to heaven in 621 C.E. It is the third holiest shrine in Islam, and can accommodate some 5,000 worshippers. Since it was built on the site of the Temple of Solomon, it is coveted by Jews intent on rebuilding their holiest place when the Messiah arrives. Muslims have hurled stones at Jewish worshipping at the Wailing Wall below, and numerous attempts have been made by radical Jews to vandalize the mosque. It is defended by Israeli forces, a cause of tension that Shipler repeatedly mentions.

Arab Work

A pejorative phrase widely used by Jews to mean shoddy, inaccurate work. It derives from the fact that Arabs perform most of the manual labor that Jews will not deign to undertake.

Bedouin

Desert Arabs, romanticized by nineteenth-century pilgrims and tourists, their nomadic life and frequent, bloody vendettas fuel Jewish stereotypes about the Arab -- no matter how different modern Palestinians are from this picture. Israelis treated well the Bedouins whom they administered in the Sinai Peninsula, but have repressed those within their own political boundaries in the Negev Desert, as Shipler describes at length in Chapter 14.

Blood Libel

A medieval calumny against Jews, alleging that they use the blood of Christian children in preparing their Passover matzo. Palestinians perpetuated the myth in conflict with the Israelis.

The British Mandate

Shipler repeatedly examines the views of older Arabs and Jews who recall fondly the good relations that existed between their communities during the British Mandate, forgetting the legacy of building tensions and violence. He points out the idealistic inaccuracy of these memories and the legacy of British administration that survives to the present day in law and tactics. He does not, however, offer much of a background on this period.

Deir Yassin

An Arab village near Jerusalem attacked by radical Jewish paramilitary units in April 1948. Reports of the atrocities were officially downplayed in Israel as blatant Arab propaganda, useful to political opponents of Menachem Begen, who commanded the attackers.

Dheisheh

A Palestinian refugee camp in the West Bank near Bethlehem, a crowded slum, a labyrinth of concrete houses. Here poor children absorb militant anger and take to the highway between Bethlehem and Hebron to stone Israeli cars and buses.

Diaspora

A Greek term meaning "dispersion," it refers when applied to Jews to their centuries-long exile from Palestine. Israelis contrast their militancy with the Diaspora concentration of mere survival, passively accepting persecution, pogroms and holocaust.

The Dome of the Rock

Muslim sanctuary on the Temple Mount, felt by Arabs to be targeted for destruction by Jewish fanatics as the first step in building a Third Temple on the site. It was vandalized several times by individuals.

The Gaza Strip

A narrow strip of Palestinian land on the Mediterranean coastline annexed by Egypt in 1948 and administered by them until the Israeli victory in 1967. It is a hotbed of Palestinian activism.

The Golan Heights

A plateau on the border of Israel, Lebanon, Jordan and Syria, captured and occupied by Israel in 1967. Israel refuses to relinquish the area because of the strategic value of a 1,700-foot overview of the plains below.

Gush Emunim

The "Bloc of the Faithful," was a militant Jewish settlement movement on the West Bank, driven by a search for biblical heritage, military security, and personal fulfillment. It was banded a terrorist organization in 1984, for operations carried out from 1978 to 1984. Indictments showed that they carefully surveyed targets, planned and executed assaults with cool professionalism, and sheltered perpetrators from justice. They enjoyed political ties with the governing right wing.

Haganah

The mainline, Labor-dominated Jewish defense organization which carried out the policy of expulsion of Arabs from their ancestral villages and lands to make room for Jewish immigrants in 1948. It was formed in 1920-21, following the Arab riots of 1920-1921, to protect settlers on the kibbutzim. Initially in consisted of part-time citizen-soldiers, but later became better organized and armed. In 1937, the most right-wing elements broke off to form Irgun and the Stern gang. In 1941, the Haganah created the Palmach, focused on training young people, who served in anti-British operations after the war. In 1948, Haganah was disbanded with the creation of the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF), and its terrorist offshoots were made illegal.

Hebron

A West Bank city also known as Kiryat Arba in the Bible, it was predominantly Arab before 1967, but was then settled by a handful of Jews, intent on reclaiming the Cave of Machpelah, where Abraham's wife and descendents were reputed to have been buried. They formed a center of extremism, funded by the Israeli government and American contributors. In 1980, it was the scene of a brutal ambush by Arab resisters of "invasion."

The Holocaust

Nazi Germany's systematic program of genocide that was primarily intended to provide the "Final Solution of the Jewish Question." Roughly six million Jews perished in extermination centers termed "concentration camps," Auschwitz being the most infamous. Shipler devotes an entire chapter (12) to the Holocaust. Arabs are ignorant of the facts and unable to perceive the emotional and psychological impact it has on

survivors and their descendents. He shows how Palestinians have adopted the images and terminology of Holocaust to advance their cause, and the Jews' political exploitation of the highly charged subject.

Intifada

An Arabic term meaning "uprising" (literally: "shaking off"). Palestinians see it as a war of national liberation against foreign occupation, while Israelis consider it a terrorist campaign. The First Intifada began spontaneously in 1987 and was marked by young Palestinians throwing stones at armed Israeli police and troops, particularly in the Gaza Strip. They were irate primarily over brutal treatment which Shipler details in Chapter 15, but also by conditions of second-class treatment discussed in Chapter 9. The First Intifada definitely stopped only with the 1993 Oslo accords. The Second Intifada, also known as the al-Aqsa Intifada began in September 2000; a truce was declared in 2005, although isolated suicide bombings continue to threaten it.

Jabaliya

A Palestinian refugee camp in the Gaza Strip.

Kach

Right-wing militant party founded by Meir Kahane. The name derives from a slogan by one of the founders of Zionism, Vladimir Jabotinsky, "And thus," calling on followers to use violence to achieve their goals with the slogan "Never Again."

Kfar Kassem

An Arab village near the Jordanian border, attacked by Israeli forces on October 29, 1956, in an infamous -- but unpublicized -- massacre.

Lebanon

Israel's northern neighbor, a former province of Syria, in which Christians, Muslims and Druse achieved a working political and social arrangement. Israeli forces invaded Lebanon in 1982 to eliminate Palestinian strongholds that were launching raids across the border. This led to a bloody civil war and sparked heated debate in Israel over why that country was dirtying itself in a war of aggression.

Masada

Jewish mountaintop fortress in the Dead Sea hills, defended to the death in 73 C.E. against the Roman legions. It is a symbol of defiance for modern Israelis.

Mena

Acronym for "Defenders of Upper Nazareth," a group organized by Alexander Finkelshtein to prevent Arabs from moving into the Jewish city.

Misgav Am

A kibbutz in northern Israel attacked on April 7, 1980, by Palestinian guerrillas. One child was killed when Israeli commandos stormed the building. Troops took violent revenge in Arab villages for the kidnapping.

Mossad

The chief Israeli overseas intelligence agency, it monitors the activities of Arab-Israelis and Palestinians abroad. Its highly secretive activities are subject to no legal or legislative control. It reports directly to the prime minister.

Mukhtar

The head man in an Arab village

al-Nakba

Arabic for "The Catastrophe" (or "Holocaust"), the name given by Palestinians to Israel's springtime celebration of Independence Day.

The Nuremburg Trials

An international war tribunal seated in the German city of Nuremburg, at which Nazis attempted to avoid blame for war crimes and genocide by pleading that they were simply following superiors' orders. Israeli soldiers indicted for atrocities against Arabs attempt the Nuremburg defense.

The Oslo Accords

A series of agreements negotiated between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in 1993 as part of a comprehensive peace process. Talks were initiated by the Norwegian government, and conducted in total secrecy. The

"Declaration of Principles" was signed on August 20, 1993. In the Foreword to the 2002 edition of his book Shipler outlines the provision (complete with map), and in the Epilogue, shows how it was met with hope and skepticism by both sides, allowed for some positive contact between individuals, but ultimately collapsed in the violence of the al-Aqsa Intifada.

The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)

A political and paramilitary organization of Palestinian Arabs, founded in 1964, dedicated to establishing an independent Palestinian state in the area between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea and the destruction of Israel. In the 1970s it served as an umbrella for eight organizations. Shipler discusses the 1974 PLO assault on a Jewish elementary school in Ma'a lot, which resulted in the massacre of 21 children. In the mid-1970s, PLO leader Yasser Arafat moved towards diplomacy and in 1976 attained a U.N. Security Council resolution calling for a two-state settlement based on the pre-1967 borders. Arafat lost support in the occupied territories when he agreed to the Camp David Accords, and Israelis continually rejected his new image. Nevertheless, the PLO came to be recognized as spokesmen for Palestinian people, and the PLO has enjoyed observer status in the U.N. since 1976. In 1988, the PLO adopted a resolution calling for the implementation of applicable U.N. resolutions, and many Palestinians recognized Israel's right to exist alongside a state of their own. In 1993, the PLO signed the Oslo Accords with Israel, obtaining the right to self-government on the Gaza Strip and the West Bank through the creation of the Palestinian Authority, headquartered in Ramallah. Arafat declared that "the PLO recognizes the right of the State of Israel to exist in peace and security."

Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)

An organization that broke away from the PLO in 1974, accusing it of having moved away from the original goal of destroying Israel.

Protocols of the Elders of Zion

A volume written by a Russian Orthodox priest in 1903 purporting to report minutes of secret deliberations by Jewish leaders in Basel, Switzerland, in 1897, plotting the destruction of Christendom and the takeover of the world by themselves and Freemasons. It was translated into Arabic and became a weapon in polemics.

Qibya

An Arab border town with Jordan, ruthlessly attacked in 1953 by the Israeli army's Unit 101, commanded by Ariel Sharon, as a reprisal for commando raids.

Rashadiye

A Palestinian refugee camp in Tyre, on the Lebanese coastline.

Sabra and Shatila

Two Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut, Lebanon, attacked by Lebanese Christian Phalangists in September 1982, armed and motivated by Ariel Sharon. Some 700-800 Palestinian civilians were massacred. The event shocked the Israeli public, and up to one tenth of the population turned out in Tel Aviv to demonstrate against government policy and demand a thorough investigation.

Shin Beth

The domestic Israeli anti-terrorist police force. Its highly secretive activities are subject to no legal or legislative control. It reports directly to the prime minister. Also known -- and feared -- as "Sabak."

The Stern Gang

Jewish terrorist organization that fought the British. Officially titled Lehi, it was better known by the name of its founder, Avraham Stern, and was led by Menachem Begin. Its most infamous deed was the massacre at Deir Yassin on April 9, 1948.

The Temple Mount

The Jewish designation for the plateau in the Old City of Jerusalem where the first and second Temples had stood, and which is currently occupied by the Muslim Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa mosque. Arabs refer to the 175,00 square yard plaza as *al-Haram al-Sharif.*

Terror Against Terror (TNT)

A shadowy Jewish terrorist organization in the early 1980s, known by its initials in Hebrew, TNT. It bombed churches, mosques and Arab homes.

Upper Nazareth

A Jewish extension of the Arab city, founded in 1957. Attempts by Palestinians to move in are violently opposed by the resident Jews.

War of Attrition

A limited war fought between Egypt and Israel along the Nile River (1968-1970), the line of demarcation between the two countries following the 1967 war. Shipler talks about this war and the fate of the Bedouin in occupied Sinai during this period. A treaty signed in 1970 returned the peninsula to Egyptian sovereignty.

The West Bank

Palestinian lands on the west side of the Jordan River, annexed by Jordan in 1948 and administered by them, rather brutally, until the Israeli victory in 1967. Under Menachem Begin, Jewish settlers were encouraged to establish communities throughout the territory (which Jews refer to by the biblical name "Judea and Samaria") in order to solidify its belonging to Israel. Arab-Israeli conflict and violence is greatest in this disputed territory.

Western Wall

The Arab designation of the massive retaining structure on the western side of the Temple Mount, on which are built the Dome of the Rock and the al-Aqsa Mosque. Jews refer to it as the "Wailing Wall," from which they were cut off from 1948 through 1967 while Jordan administered the territory.

Zionism

A political movement that maintains that the Jewish people are entitled to a national homeland. Founded in Eastern Europe in 1897, it debated a variety of options for establishing this homeland. Palestine became the focus in 1917, as being the location of the biblical Israelite Kingdom, and it was violently opposed by resident Arabs. Since the founding of Israel in 1948, Zionism has aimed at supporting and defending that state and encouraging Jews worldwide to emigrate there. International supporters of the Palestinians' rights have labeled Zionism a form of racism. Some Israelis oppose Zionism as a premature movement; the Messiah must first come and the Temple be restored. Shipler shows the ugly connotation of Zionism for Arabs, much as "communism" does for Americans; they use it interchangeably with "Nazism." Many times, he presents Arabs and Jews, young and old, debating the meaning and significance of the term.

Themes

In the end, the only theme of *Arab and Jew* is victimization. Two proud, passionate people are victims of history, thrust together into competition over a single strip of sacred land. Old timers on both sides of the conflict are victimized by the loss of a peaceful coexistence they remember from their childhood. The youngest generation on both sides is victimized by the legacy of hateful bigotry being embedded into their heads and hearts by their parents' generation. They will have to strive mightily to overcome these if they in old age will hope for peace. In between these generations, Palestinians find themselves victimized by a sense of exile from their own homes, discrimination in education and employment. Jews find themselves victimized by a lack of security, having to live in a homeland carved out to provide victims of the Nazi Holocaust a homeland of their own, but not having it wholly to themselves. To feel safe, they must victimize the people they dispossessed. Realizing the propaganda value of being a victim, the Palestinians borrow the Holocaust imagery and rhetoric - causing the original victims to feel further victimized.

Bigotry victimizes everyone, those who spout it no less than those who face it. Everyone's mind is poisoned. Terrorists on both sides blow up and gun down innocent victims. Lovers fall victim to mores, law and prejudice. Children fall victim to prejudice and fear, losing - with the opportunity to play innocently together - any likelihood of being able to end the cycle of division when they grow. Newly adult Jewish conscripts face the prospect of falling victim to war against Arabs their own age. Jews lose three years of their lives to military service while young Arabs gain three years of employment, but in lifelong menial jobs. Both are economic victims. Finally, readers are victims. Enriched by Shipler's observations and insights, they will realize that Western reasoning and programs will make no difference in settling the Arab-Jewish conflict. The victims must find their own ways of standing together and proclaiming, "No more!"

Style

Point of View

Shipler's *Arab and Jew* is told in the third person, as a journalist. He shifts to the first person when reporting interrogation of subjects directly. Chapters open with lyrical depictions of people and places that firmly and effectively set the mood for the topic at hand. In Chapter 18 and the Epilogue, he includes verbatim records of teens' interactions, which touchingly show the evolution of their thinking, from the stereotypical to truly compassionate.

The bulk of the book is made up of a reporter's interviews, observations, and reflections on events during the five years Shipler served as the New York Times bureau chief in Jerusalem (1979 -84). He introduces a myriad of characters, important historical figures, bureaucratic functionaries and common folk, and gradually develops their portraits, returning to them from a variety of perspectives to add detail. This can challenge the reader's memory, but imparts a sense of familiarity as well. He intermixes stories to heighten the effect, an effective technique that makes summarizing the chapters difficult and occasionally requiring re-reading of passages. He strives mightily to remain objective and balanced, revealing his own frustration only in the Epilogue.

Setting

The book depicts the people and places of a narrow strip of land between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea. Shipler paints vivid word pictures of the Jewish and Muslim quarters of the Old City of Jerusalem, the Muslim sanctuaries on the Temple Mount and the Jewish Wailing Wall; squalid refugee camps in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and southern Lebanon; brutal interrogation cells, and the Ansar prison camp; kibbutzim and militant Israeli settlements on the West Bank (which they prefer to give their biblical names: Judea and Samaria); outposts on the Golan Heights; Bedouin encampments in the Sinai and Negev deserts; Lebanese cities plowed through by Israeli tanks, streets in West Jerusalem and Tel Aviv strewn with the rubble and gore left by Palestinian suicide bombers; roadblocks where Palestinians are humiliated; rock strewn streets where heavily armed, uniformed Israeli teens face off with kufiya-wrapped Arab teens; university campuses where Arabs and Jews intermingle; Jewish and Arab apartments and offices; retreat centers where teens discover their "enemy's" humanity. Shipler shows us historical sites, natural beauty and unnatural horror. He paints scenes of hope and scenes of despair. *Arab and Jew* is a rich tapestry.

Language and Meaning

Shipler is acutely aware of the power of language. Israeli-Arabs' fluency in Hebrew is often contrasted with the Jews' disinterest in Arabic. This shows in how they interact (or fail to interact). Much of the book deals with the perceptions, stereotypes, biases, prejudices, slurs, epithets, slogans and diatribes that poison relations between Arabs and Jews. Shipler is a master of descriptive prose, helping the reader gain an insider's appreciation for the color and horror of the region.

Structure

The 2002 revised edition of *Arab and Jew* is divided into three parts plus forewords, introduction, and epilogue. Shipler preserves intact the original 1986 text, adding footnotes and a brief update to each chapter. The Epilogue and one foreword are fresh compositions. The new material is of such significance that reading the first edition is no longer advisable.

Part 1, entitled "Aversion," introduces the basic themes of war, nationalism, terrorism and religious absolutism. They are dense reading. Part 2, "Images," examines in greater depth how Jews and Arabs stereotype one another (violent and craven, primitive and exotic, alien and superior) and examines how each side views questions of segregation and class, sexual fears and fantasies, anti-Semitism, and the Holocaust. Part 3, "Interaction," deals with less-typical, specific aspects: the mingling of cultures, the Bedouin experience, secret police activities, the dynamics of citizenship for Israeli-Arabs, the tension of cross-cultural dating, mixed marriages, and parenthood; and programs to bring individual Arabs and Jews into one-on-one contact with each other in order to break down stereotypes. The Epilogue reprises the one-on-one treatment of the original book's final chapter and the events of the nine-year period (1993-2001) when hopes were high for a political settlement to the tragic conflict.

Quotes

"At the end of the day, on the way down from Upper Nazareth, the gentle hills of Galilee were deepened by the late light of afternoon. Where I saw beauty, Finkelshtein saw threat. Both were illusions mixed with truth, blended into caricatures of the complex reality" Chapter 1, pg. 12

"The politics of Palestinianism may feed on hypocrisy and cynical sloganeering, as much zealotry does, but the power of memory is authentic. And in the Palestinian memory, 1948 is the great divide, the parting of the fates of those who left and those who stayed. It marks the genesis of anger and regret, hatred and longing." Chapter 2, pg. 36

"Pogroms. Ghettos. It is striking how thoroughly Palestinians have absorbed the language of the Holocaust, not merely as a propaganda technique but also as a badge of emulation, a sign of symmetry, a measure of how much they have learned from Zionism in fashioning their own Palestinian nationalism." Chapter 2, pg. 44

"Nationalist Palestinians in Jerusalem and the West bank, for example, speak of their modern history as a series of occupations - by the Ottoman Turks, then the British, then the Jordanians, now the Israelis. In terms of that consciousness, the Jordanians were no more palatable than the Israelis, and perhaps less so: They were tougher and less tolerant of political expression than the Israelis, and being subject to their oppression was more complicated emotionally because they were Arabs." Chapter 2, pg. 48

"The deep aversion to the word Palestine is an effort to dismiss the nationalist aspirations of the Palestinians as artificial. 'We cannot stand a symmetry of claims,' said Meron Benvenisti. 'Israelis have a profound feeling that once they accept the symmetry that the other side is also a legitimate national movement, then their own feeling about their own right and legitimacy will be dimmed. They do not conceive of the conflict as a national conflict.'" Chapter 2, pg. 55.

"'You Americans,' he said with a sparkle in his eye, 'think that every problem as a solution. Well, this problem doesn't have a solution. Maybe you can control it, contain it, keep it from blowing up. But solve it? Never.'" Chapter 2, pg. 57.

"Two boys, about twelve or thirteen years old, said they thought terrorists should be tortured first and then killed. As for Arabs in general, one remarked, 'Some are good and some are bad. Some are construction workers.'" Chapter 3, pg. 69.

"Terrorism plays on the emotions, not on the calculations; it penetrates the innermost feelings, shaping reactions, nourishing fears, influencing policy." Chapter 3, pg. 71.

"Some Israelis of the old guard, who helped build the country on the ideals of humaneness, felt that the ground had shifted under their feet. They asked themselves whether the bloody tactics that had been accepted by mainstream Palestinians were

coming gradually to be acknowledged as legitimate by important streams of Israeli Jews." Chapter 3, pg. 77.

"But Israeli authorities then did what hardly any conqueror had ever done before in Jerusalem's thousands of years of bloody history; they refrained from putting their house of worship or their seat of power on the holiest spot." Chapter 3, pg. 84.

"By a strange twist of fate, almost all of the key doctors and nurses on duty that Friday night in the emergency room of Hadassah Hospital, in the Ein Kerem neighborhood of Jerusalem, were Arabs. And so, in the tangle of circumstance so common to the Middle East, the Jews wounded by Arab terrorists were rushed to a Jewish hospital to be treated and saved by Arab doctors." Chapter 3, pg. 88.

"'We are not going to turn the other cheek,' one army officer explained. 'We are not Christians.' The Israeli troops shot into the air, driving the students inside the walled campus. Then soldiers swarmed through the gate and over the walls, firing tear gas into the rooms, breaking down doors, and beating and hauling students to jeeps and paddy wagons. Soldiers shouted for revenge for Misgav Am." Chapter 3, pg. 98.

"'Terrorism,' in the lexicon of war propaganda, could never be applied to Jews. It thus lost its intrinsic meaning and became a slogan of hatred." Chapter 3, pg. 105.

"'In the kindergarten we try to ignore it.' She told the boy that there were bad Arabs and less bad Arabs, who don't have to be killed. 'We can live with them in the same land, as long as they know that we are the rulers,' she explained." Chapter 3, pg. 116.

"'The Bible doesn't teach you tolerance; that I want you to know,' said Rabbi David Hartman. 'The biblical framework is not the source of tolerance. That's not the place you go for that. You go there for passion, for zealousness, for extremes. Biblical people are extremists.'" Chapter 4, pg. 122.

"Perhaps because their [Muslim] culture is less introspective, because they now live in virtual powerlessness under Israeli domination, their debates are largely political, tactical. Furthermore, disagreements among them are often resolved by assassination, a practice that tends to discourage public breast-beating." Chapter 4, pg. 142.

" 'In our doctrine, if we allow the Jews to share Jerusalem with us, then that means that we are ready to accept the principles of others sharing our wives. If their religion allows them to share this, ours does not.' He pointed to the dangers. 'The question of al-Aqsa is the red line,' he said. 'Al-Aqsa is the place where a third world war can start.'" Chapter 4, pg. 160.

"Hartman had a similar thought. 'Our destinies are intertwined,' he said. 'I don't think we know how to handle it. I don't think we have the theological tools.'" Chapter 4, pg. 162.

"If you see the other side as less powerful, there is a danger that you'll pity them, and then you'll understand their motives. Many times I get letters saying, 'If you're so good-

hearted, don't go to the refugee camps; go to see how many problems the Jews from Russia have in this country.'" Chapter 5, pg. 167.

"Anxiety is heightened by language problems. Although most Israeli Arabs speak Hebrew, only a tiny fraction of Israeli Jews speak Arabic; some imagine that when the Muslims chant prayers, they are really saying, 'Kill the Jews, kill the Jews, kill the Jews.'" Chapter 5, pg. 174.

"Shortly before reaching the prison, the captain told his driver to pull over and stop. The driver did so, and the captain got out, asking to be left alone for a moment. He walked a short way from the car, off the road, and there he stood and wept. Then, after a while, he came back and slipped in beside the driver again. For fifteen years, the captain explained, he had sat in hilltop military positions overlooking those kibbutzim. He had not just thought, he had known, that Israelis were all starving. Now, he said, he could never tell anybody back in Syria what he had seen here." Chapter 6, pg. 191.

"I wanted to know what had been his first real conversation with an Israeli, and he laughed. 'The first real conversation was in interrogation,' he said. 'It was in 1969. I was a student in high school, and I participated in a demonstration. 'Why did you make this demonstration and put out these leaflets?' Andy they did catch some leaflets in my house. And I said, 'I am a student and a Palestinian; this is my way.' They said, 'Do you want to destroy Israel?' I said no. Of course, I was lying.'" Chapter 6, pg. 193.

"'Jews are used to having enemies,' he said. 'If someone tries to be their friend, they get suspicious.' Less sophisticated Arabs often conjure up more conspiratorial, sinister interpretations to explain unwelcome events." Chapter 6, pg. 200.

"A great tangle of nonsense grows from a seed of truth." Chapter 7, pg. 211.

"I asked whether she and other settlers had any relationships with Arabs. 'Oh yes,' she said. 'An Arab man comes and sells fruit.' Her husband is active in the right-wing Tehiya Party." Chapter 7, pg. 215.

"'When we have settled the land, all the Arabs will be able to do about it will be to scurry around like drugged roaches in a bottle,' declared Israel's highest military officer." Chapter 7, p. 216.

"The bigotry's awful depth was plumbed in a 1976 trial in Tel Aviv. The son and eighteen-year-old daughter of Masuda Maro, a Jewish woman from Iraq, had had an incestuous relationship, resulting in the girl's pregnancy. When the baby was born, the daughter placed it in a pail. And when Mrs. Mato - the baby's grandmother and the mother of both parents - found the infant, she poured boiling water into the pail, killing the baby. She was arrested for murder. In court, her defense attorney argued successfully that because she had been schooled in Arab culture before coming to Israel, she had merely acted 'in accordance with Arab ways her family had brought from Iraq.'" Chapter 7, pgs. 220-221.

"'We know well that communism and Zionism are two sides of the same coin. From the establishment of Israel up to the present, only the USSR has derived benefit from it.' The argument must confuse the Syrians, not to mention the Russians." Chapter 8, pg. 238.

"Despite the swirl of change that engulfed Israelis and Palestinians from the Oslo accord onward, certain ideas and beliefs remained as constant as boulders in a raging river. All the events of agreement and discord, all the incidents of compassion and killing flowed around and over those great impediments without dislodging them, without even wearing them away except perhaps millimeter by millimeter." Chapter 8, pg. 243.

"'See that road?' the old man says proudly to the boy. 'I built it. See that house? I built it. See that field? I plowed it.'

'Oh Grandpa,' the boy says, 'did you used to be an Arab?'" Chapter 9, pg. 246.

"Chinaz's mother added, 'Children ask us, 'Mommy, why can't we go inside too?' A girl told her if they play with Arabs, the rabbi punishes them.'

'Apparently their education is not okay,' said her father. 'I'm not condemning the children. They're small. They have to teach that we are people and we have to live together. They're yelling about peace. Where are they making peace?'" Chapter 9, pg. 259.

"Alexander Finkelshtein's apartment is in disarray. The combative veteran who has organized Jews into their strident campaign to keep Upper Nazareth pure and free from dirty Arabs lives in filth and disorder." Chapter 9 pg. 261.

"How the Arab rapists were to do their dastardly deeds with their own wives and children present in the shelters was a question never addressed. The fearsome picture simply excluded Arab women and children; they would have disturbed the wonderful flow of fantasy." Chapter 10, pg. 268.

"'Since the occupation, I have begun to think of our hills as 'virginal', molested by the Israeli bulldozers - the bulldozers that have for me become the symbol of the Israeli power over us. I am sure that my imagery would not be so replete with sexual-political symbols were I left to the privacy of my feelings. I can thank our occupiers, then, among other things, for instilling in me a political pornographer's eye for this land.'" Chapter 10, pg. 275.

"Amir helped investigate one case in which three soldiers who raped an Arab girl provoked a disgusted reaction from other men in their unit. 'They said, 'How can they do it? They are dirty." He reported. In another incident near the road that descends from Jerusalem through the Judean Desert to Jericho, 'Three soldiers raped a Bedouin woman,' Amir said, 'and before, they washed her.'" Chapter 10, pg. 279.

"Prisoners who saw us approach their fence crowded together, shouted, whistled, waved their hands in V signs, and burst into nationalistic Palestinian songs. They then

had begun to chant in heavily accented English, 'Ansar is Aushwitz! Ansar is Aushwitz! You are Nazis!' I looked at Cordelia. She had been fifteen when she was moved from Theresienstadt to Auschwitz." Chapter 12, pg. 304.

"Tell him, Cordelia. Tell him who you are. Say something! Roll up your sleeve: show him the number tattooed in blue ink on your forearm. I ached for her to do it, to throw it in his complacent face. Tell him. Educate him. Let's see how he confronts truth." Chapter 12, pg. 305.

"In 1982 and 1983, in the throes of severe ethnic tension, Sephardic Jews scrawled slogans on buildings and shouted epithets at Ashkenazi Jews who were demonstrating against Begin. 'They shouldn't have rescued from Hitler in 1945!' one man yelled." Chapter 12, pg. 316.

"In the autumn of 1982, after the invasion of Lebanon, the siege of Beirut, the massacre of Israel's Lebanese Christian allies in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps, many of the old veterans and the new veterans who searched for a denunciation had to use the Holocaust. Nothing else seemed sufficient to capture their deep agony and anger. They recognized the differences, of course; they were trying to measure not the objective events in Lebanon but their feelings about what they, their army, had done there." Chapter 12, pg. 319.

"Was he there during the massacre? Yes, he said, outside Shatila. Did he hear anything, see anything? No, the young man replied, but his friends did. And what did they do? Some did nothing, he answered. But had he known anything himelf? No, he replied.

His mother was not sure that he was telling her the truth, and she is not sure today. But she let him come home. It was her most painful moment in all the years she had had this boy, she said to friends. She was a survivor of Hitler's concentration camps." Chapter 12, pg. 322.

"Jews writing in Arabic during the Middle Ages 'never had the slightest doubt about the absolute superiority of Judaism.' In other words, 'Judaism inside Islam was an autonomous culture sure of itself.'" Chapter 13, pg. 332.

"During later periods of forced conversion, Jewish authorities considered it less blasphemous to pretend to regard Muhammad as the prophet of God than Jesus as the Son of God. This dissembling practice was adopted by the Jews from the Islamic doctrine of *taqiya*, which suggests that one can lie about his religious beliefs for the sake of survival as long as he holds them firmly in his private convictions." Chapter 13, pg. 333.

"He represented one side of a schizophrenic Israeli attitude toward the Bedouins. In Sinai, relations were admiring, paternalistic, respectful. But in the adjacent Negev Desert, which lies inside Israel proper, they have been tense, condescending, and abusive." Chapter 14, pg. 358.

"Nobody was prosecuted, disciplined, or reprimanded in the affair. The Green Patrol announced triumphantly that its practices would be continued unaltered." Chapter 13, pg. 369.

"Only six hours later did they learn what had happened to their son, and only after forty-five days did they see him when he finally got home. What should have been a twelve-hour flight became a six-week journey for Gamal into a netherworld of Arab-Jewish conflict." Chapter 15, pg. 372.

"'He said he was tortured in Syria and wanted to do the same to me. He said they pulled out his fingernails. He said, 'From a physical standpoint I won't torture you, but from a psychological standpoint we will. We'll hit you a little and you'll faint, and we'll give you a little water. From a physical standpoint it will leave its mark.'" Chapter 15, pg. 374.

"A ranking military commander on the West Bank, a professional officer, one told me of the pain he felt in his assignment, of how he would rather have been training his men to fight a war than to battle Arab children staging demonstrations. He was angry at stories of brutality and wanted to prosecute any soldier involved. But nobody, not Arabs nor Jews, would give him the details he needed before he could act. The Arabs were afraid, the Jews inured." Chapter 15, pt. 380.

"Meron feels a duality of roles. 'You are a neighbor and an enemy at the same time, and the question is when to activate one identity and when to activate the other one,' he said. 'Our [Arab] neighbor did some work in his garden, and found an old '67 mortar shell, live, when he excavated. So he called me and I came and I saw what it was, and I had to make a quick decision: Should I call the police? The shell is there, and then his kids will most definitely be arrested because the police think that this is just a hiding place. Or shall I move this thing to my garden and call the police? Well, that was risky because it was an old thing, and rusty. So I decided to risk it, and I took it and put it there and called the police.'" Chapter 15, pgs. 386-387.

"It is no exaggeration to say that at least 99 percent of Israel's Arab citizens have never been involved in a terrorist act. Their reported rate of common crime is also low - thirty criminal files opened per thousand Arabs annually compared with sixty-two per thousand nationwide." Chapter 16, pg. 393.

"Arabs who have contemplated forming a uniquely Arab party have found themselves spending a lot of time with Shin Beth interrogators." Chapter 16, pg. 397.

"In every sphere of endeavor, more Jews opposed equal opportunity than supported it." Chapter 16, pg. 406.

"We have been teaching our kids to find the good Jews and talk to them. The open Jews are very few." Chapter 16, pg. 415.

"Here was a temptation to see the Israeli Arab-Jewish conflict through the prism of the American black-white conflict, with all the insights and inadequacies inherent in the

parallel. Rifat Turk was a Jackie Robinson character who grew up in the sandlots of Israel's national sport." Chapter 16, pg. 422.

"'The first time I got onto the field, a player stuck to me, guarded me the whole time and shouted, 'Dirty Arab!' 'Terrorist!' 'You shouldn't play here! You is in Saudi Arabia!' I was really in shock because I had played in Jaffa with Jews and Arabs together, and I hadn't had any problems.'" Chapter 16, pg. 423.

"The Intifada, beginning at the Temple Mount, had plenty of fuel in the charged atmosphere among Israeli Arabs. They had begun to open doors under Rabin, found them slammed under Netanyahu, and had hoped in vain for a welcome from Barak. When he spurned their leaders, did nothing to reduce discrimination, and stood by while their economic plight worsened, when the peace process faltered and the PLO's rhetoric took root, the tinder was dry and ready." Chapter 16, pg. 432.

"In my years in Israel, I almost always found Arabs and Jews willing to speak for publication if the things they had to say were imbued with hatred. But I never found a happily married Arab-Jewish couple willing to see their names in print as they spoke about love. Some talked with me freely and replied readily to searching questions, but only on the condition that I promised to change or omit their names. As Rafi, the racist of Upper Nazareth observed, 'Love is more dangerous than hate.'" Chapter 17, pg. 435.

"She sighed. 'He fell in love with the Palestinian whom he yelled against in demonstrations, and I with the ardent Likudnik who appropriates lands. And it developed and it was great.'" Chapter 17, pg. 437.

"Celia was happily mobile emotionally, able to wear and shed whatever cloaks of identity got her through the categorical checkpoints of life in the Middle East. She was simply a human being, and therefore she was nothing, nothing that could be placed in any of the neat compartments that facilitate people's senses of themselves and hatreds of each other." Chapter 17, pg. 442.

"'I feel a human of Arab origin who lives among Jews, and I'm no different from them. I like the Arabs and I like the Jews. I like any man who doesn't hurt me. I think of myself as a human - the same ears, the same eyes, the same hands as a Jew. I hate racism, the Arab and the Jewish racism. I hate it.'" Chapter 17, pg. 450.

"'It was one teacher. She was a history teacher, and every time there were arguments about the Palestinians and the Arab governments, I was talking as you can imagine. So once, she said, 'Mr. Julio, would you please tell the class who your father is?' As I stood and said, 'My father is an Arab, and I don't give a shit. And I piss on you.' I was sixteen. The other kids were shocked. They had some suspicions. They thought my father was from a Jewish mother and he was half-and-half, mixed. But this was the first time they knew he was an Arab and a Communist.'

The news did not ruin his friendships, however, because he suddenly became fascinating." Chapter 17, pgs. 452-453.

"Soon the Jews arrive. They and the Arabs are asked to assemble in a square, pre-fabricated building comprising only one large room with big windows on three sides and a blackboard on the fourth. Self-consciously they begin to form a circle. Both Arab and Jewish boys and girls are wearing the rough khaki Israeli army jackets that have become the style, so that a glance cannot tell the Arabs from the Jews." Chapter 18, pg. 458.

"For the most part, such efforts proceeded without any support from any of the mainstream organizations of Israeli society. Neither the government nor the rabbinate nor the Muslim Council nor the Jewish Agency (which allocates millions in private donations annually from the Diaspora) spent a shekel on any of the most significant programs, except where the Education Ministry helped support an important effort to revise the school curriculum. While the government poured millions of dollars into the abrasive, nationalistic Jewish settlements on the West Bank, it provided nothing at all to the modest Neve Shalom settlement." Chapter 18, pg. 459.

"In the complete absence of moral leadership from the country's governmental and religious hierarchies, the citizenry itself mobilized into an explosion of conscience unparalleled in the modern history of Western democracy. Nothing like it ever happened in the United States after American soldiers massacred Vietnamese at My Lai. And the exhilarating indignation of the Israeli people, springing from the deepest need for righteousness, created its own interaction with Jewish perceptions of Arabs. Suddenly the Palestinian had a human face behind the numbing label 'terrorist.' Suddenly Arab innocents stood close behind the fazade of hostility. Suddenly Israelis doubted their own morality." Chapter 18, pg. 461.

"He said, 'The nearer you come to the front, the more dovish the soldiers. In the rear, more hawks. But you can find soldiers who are very chauvinist, very pro-Begin and -Sharon, in the combat units. One said 'Now that the Phalangists have done their job, let them enter the West Bank.' So I asked him rhetorically, 'Why not after the West Bank have them enter Israel itself and deal with the opposition?' This stopped him. Arabs are one thing, Jews are another.'" Chapter 18, pg. 463.

"The censorship committee then deleted the following: 'Have you ever seen Sabbath candles?' The years unwind backward. Someone pulls his hand forward, puts one finger over the candle flame. The smell of roasting meat. The finger blackens.' The conclusion is left standing: 'Ahmen sings Sabbath songs. All of us, the whole family, all the children, all the children of Israel, join him.' And so, by the deletion of a few lines, the censors have rendered a searing, ugly scene into a pretty picture." Chapter 18, pgs. 468-469.

"The censorship committee was obviously offended by the parallel between the Israeli and the German, between the Arab boy and the Jewish boy. It allowed only Mahmoud to sing the song, after which Lahav shoots the boy, who falls and dies." Chapter 18, pg. 470.

"For the most part the Arabs and Jews are not really cooperating but are merely painting their own picture on different parts of the same piece of paper. Always, Hila and Taher

observe, the Jews paint more abstractly, the Arabs more concretely - a result of contrasts in training in school." Chapter 18, pg. 477.

"Group leaders at Neve Shalom have had similar difficulties with children from leftist kibbutzim: The stereotyping is there, but they don't want to admit it. Working with them is like spinning your wheels on a slick road. The harder-line, less sophisticated students who let their bigotry hang out boldly give the teachers and group workers some traction." Chapter 18, pg. 489.

"Then they added, 'But even when we know more, our hatred won't stop for sure, because it's in the blood.'

Slowly she regained their trust by convincing them that she was not out to impose her opinion on them. 'I tried not to retort, although sometimes I had to bite my tongue to remain silent,' she said." Chapter 18, pg. 490.

"But this is not the beginning of a new Arab-Jewish life; it is just the end of a fleeting dream. And many of the youngsters feel the ending drawing them heavily back beneath the old burdens that lie outside. The moment is joyous and sorrowful, for what has happened here is beautiful and futile." Chapter 18, pg. 510.

" 'We as Palestinians have a rich history,' Lara announced, 'and we have evidence of this, as we have many ruins here. But the Jews, they are searching for any ruins they have. But they haven't, because they are not here from past years. We are the original ones. We are the original inhabitants.'

'So you don't believe that the Jews were here two thousand, three thousand years ago?' I asked.

'No.'" Epilogue, pg. 517.

" 'Israelis don't have any other place to go,' Samia observed. Here, then, were the first confused mixtures of the young Palestinians' efforts to organize their past and their future, like the stirring of a slight breeze that comes from one direction and then another, and then skids around and around before it settles into a steady wind. Unfortunately, in the following years of efforts toward peace, their elders gave them little guidance in the direction of truth-telling and accommodation." Epilogue, pg. 517.

"Such checks would obviously be unnecessary in the absence of terrorism. But some soldiers, who said they got minimal training for manning checkpoints, were bored or hungry for power or filled with hatred, and they played little games that had nothing to do with security.

'Who are you?' a soldier once asked Hammash.

'I am Aziz,' he replied.

'You are not Aziz. You are Santa Claus,' said the Israeli, a rifle slung at the ready.

'No, I am Aziz.'

'No, you are Santa Claus.' The soldier wore a menacing smirk.

'I am Aziz.'" Epilogue, pg. 529.

"He was writing not about Palestinians, of course, but about a universal thought, one that was well understood by a liberal Israeli friend of mine who remembered, in pre-state Palestine, how humiliating it was for Jews to be stopped by British troops for identification at checkpoints. Although the soldiers were invariably polite, she recalled, 'We pretended not to speak English.'" Epilogue, pg. 530.

Topics for Discussion

Most Israel-Arabs speak Hebrew; few Jews speak Arabic. Should they learn Arabic? Why or why not?

What holds Arabs in positions of menial labor? Can they escape this? Why or why not?

What effect did the massacre at Sabra and Shatila have on Jewish society? What effect did it have on Palestinian society?

Discuss how the Holocaust is used and abused by Arabs and Jews.

Can this conflict produce a Martin Luther King figure? If so, what would his or her characteristics be? If not, why not?

Can the promise of full, equal citizenship be granted to non-Jews? What would it take to achieve this?

Should loyal Israeli-Arabs be drafted into the Israel Defense Force (IDF)? Why or why not?

Can Arabs be victims of anti-Semitism? What constitutes anti-Semitism?

Shipler identifies a few in which Arabs and Jews cooperate. Pick one and discuss why it works and whether this might offer ideas for cooperation in other areas.

How do the Arab and Jewish teens at Neve Shalom evolve psychologically and emotionally? How are they alike? How are they different?

The Second Intifada ended in 2005, after the publication of this book. Why did the Oslo Accords fail? What would you recommend the two sides do to move towards peace and justice?

What are your stereotypes of Arabs and Jews? Has reading this book changed any of them?