



# **Palestine Anthology**

Essays, Literature, Images

by

Anis Hamadeh

Mainz/Germany, May 2012

"I thought I would just take a quick look at the book,  
but was captivated, and read through it ...

Very well done and important. Simple, evocative, informed, imaginative and  
captivating. Anis Hamadeh's compelling message, in words and images,  
should be contemplated, and taken as a call to action to bring peace and  
justice to people who have endured and suffered too much, and needlessly."

**Noam Chomsky**

"A very rich collage of all forms of communication, journalism, prose, poetry,  
music, masterly combined to make Middle East reality hit our souls. And, as  
the author says, it all goes beyond pro-Palestinian to pro-human to pro a  
better Middle East. Strongly recommended: you will be touched, as was

**Johan Galtung**

Professor of Peace Studies, founder of TRANSCEND: A Peace Network"

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## Introduction

This Palestine anthology is a compilation of 39 texts that mostly appeared online between 2001 and 2012, plus 28 (here colorful) drawings and photos. Some of the major pieces have already been read by thousands of people worldwide and received numerous feedback reactions. Individual items are available in other languages, like Arabic, French, even Italian and Spanish.

My perspective on Palestine/Israel is special, the sources below will speak for themselves. I consider it a virtue to reveal parts of my life in this context. It shows independence and the fact that I cannot be called "pro-Palestinian". I am pro-human, actually.

The anthology comprises about a sixth of my Palestine-related journalistic and artistic work which in turn covers about a sixth of my complete works. Criteria for the entries in this book are that the contributions point beyond daily news and that they are bi-lingual. The translations were made by yours truly, otherwise noted. Sometimes I write in English and translate into German later, like the opening and the closing essays or most of the "Faked Interviews".

The first half of the "Palestine Anthology" is essayistic, the second literary, with poetry and prose, satire, dialogues, Palestimericks, a diary entry and a short story. Each of the two parts is broadly chronological, starting with the most recent. There is a development in my thinking; today I would not write some of the things I wrote ten years ago.

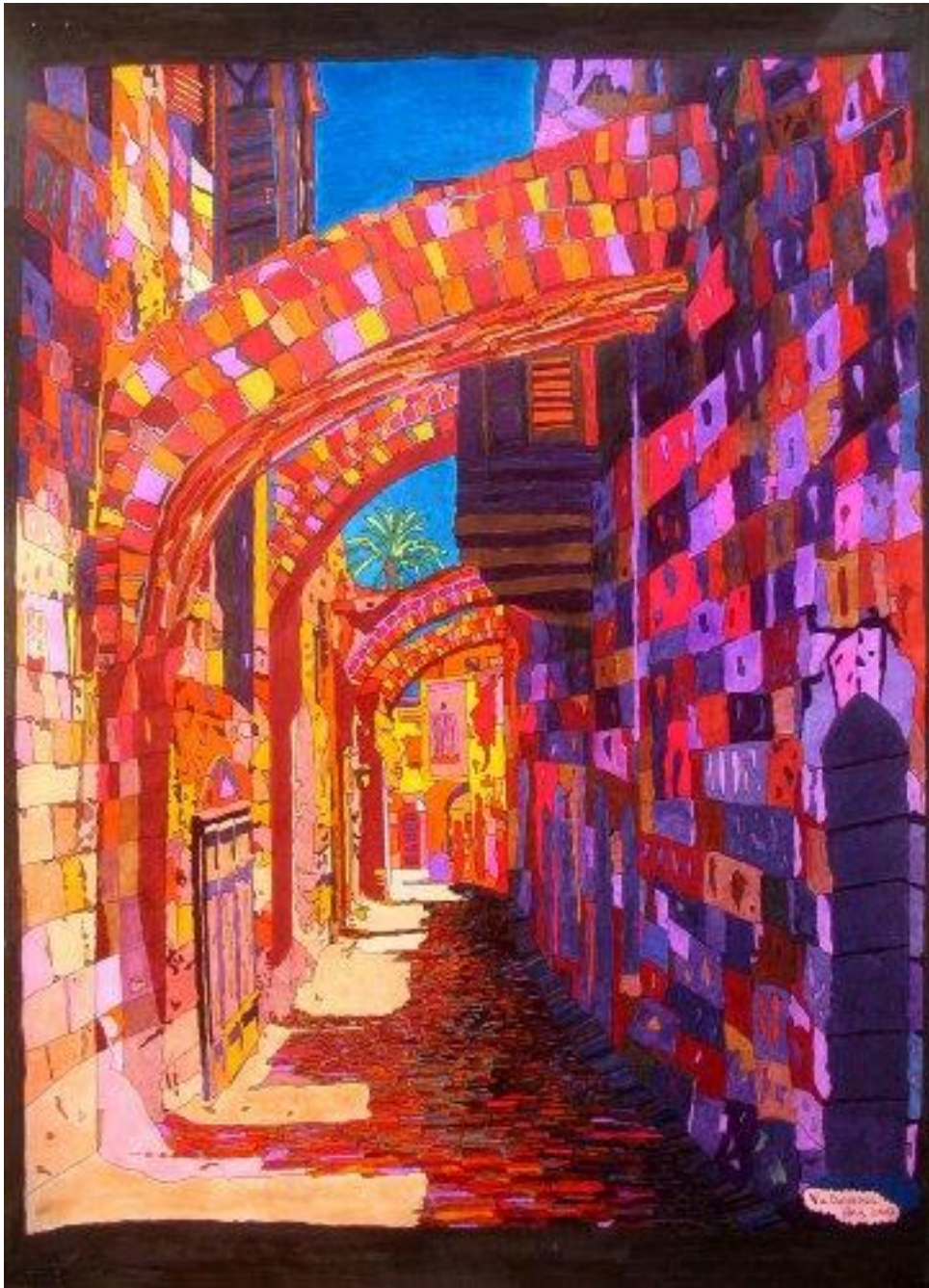
Germany and its role in history is an often occurring topic in this collection. It is tackled from a global perspective, not from a provincial one. Some arguments and motives occur several times, but I regard this redundancy as a necessary emphasis rather than an unpleasant repetition, especially as sometimes individual articles are forwarded to people who don't know about the book. Moreover, this anthology considers readers who are not familiar with the Palestine/Israel "conflict". Yes, I put this concept in quotes, because it basically is a code word for "oppression".

Concerning the literature: Depending on your political attitude, some of the satires and dialogues bear the potential of making you laugh with their black humor. At the end of the anthology you will find three Palestine song lyrics with chords. The music mp3s can be obtained for free on Anis Online. I chose simple chords and singable keys – well, it is only one key, to be precise, D major. The songs are three of seven I perform on stage in the "Palestine Express" cabaret. In this book you will find previously unreleased excerpts from the show.

Some of the items reach beyond the topic, like the dialogue "The Boys in Enemy Land" which is set in Afghanistan. Then the essay "What is Peace?" and the Samir episode.

*Anis Hamadeh, May 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2012. Mainz/Germany*

## PART I: Essays and Articles



Via Dolorosa. From the series "Before their Diaspora", based on a photo from the book of the same name by Walid Khalidi. © Anis 2007

## **Power versus Truth: The Case of Palestine Revisited**

April 2012

A clearer conflict constellation can hardly be imagined: There are two societies, let's call them X and Y. Society X has a huge and very active army and far over 3 billion dollars of new weapons and military devices each year. Society Y has no army and hardly any weapons. X raids areas of Y, demolishes hundreds of homes of Y and keeps thousands of individuals of Y imprisoned, while there are no X prisoners in Y prisons, no raids by Y and no house demolitions. X occupies Y's territory and increases its own territory at Y's expense on a daily basis, while Y does not occupy any land of X. X takes water and other resources from Y, while Y does not take resources from X. X poses heavy sanctions on Y and violates basic human rights like freedom of movement and the right of self-determination, while Y has no way of posing sanctions. The (non-governmental) terrorists of X are not persecuted, the terrorists of Y are. X conducts "targeted killings", Y does not even have a legitimate government that could decide on such a measure. Y had free elections, but X did not recognize the results and, together with ally countries, imposed a collaborator government on Y. If this government used targeted killings their members would themselves be killed immediately. X does not observe international law and does so with impunity, Y gets punished collectively even when it exercises democratic rights like elections and resistance in view of X's aggression. When you now consider that there are about two members of Y killed by X officials every day on average plus the fact that Y constitutes the largest group of refugees in the world due to expulsions carried out by X while X does not have a single refugee and, on the contrary, invites people from abroad to live in the country, given such a case, you would agree that the responsibility for the conflict overwhelmingly must be with X and with its allies and supporters.

Well, this is what Israel/Palestine is all about. It is the prime example, even the caricature of oppression and it has been going on for almost seventy years now. There are three questions posing themselves from this scenario: Why does the world let this happen? What are the mechanisms to maintain the status quo? How can justice be achieved?

### **Why does the World Allow this to Happen?**

This question is not as straightforward as it may seem and it goes back to, at least, the year 1948, when expulsions and massacres preceded the formation of the state. The massacre of Deir Yassin, to mention a widely known example, was covered by the world press. Here, about 100 village inhabitants were killed and nobody was called to account. It was a significant precedent.

The Israeli view is that at the time there was a "civil war" going on, but in this "civil war" the astonishing amount of 750.000 Palestinians was expelled and their lands and property simply stolen by the militarily well-equipped Zionists. 1948 is the year when big lies began to unfold. Everybody in the world could see what was going on, but people did not react, mainly because the Zionist invaders were equated with the victims of the European genocide of the Jews and thus more than excused. Moreover, hegemonial interests of Europe and the West played a role. They gave Palestine to the Zionists as if they owned it and the local population had to pay the price as a scapegoat.

### **What are the Mechanisms to Maintain the Status Quo?**

But how could this injustice be maintained over so many decades? It all started with myths. "A land without a people for a people without a land" is such a myth. "Making the desert bloom" is another one, and "the Jewish David against an Arab Goliath" yet another. Myths covered the 1967 expansion of Israel and the Oslo negotiations. "There is no partner for peace" is a myth. "The only democracy in the region" is but a myth, as are "the most moral army in the world" and "the safe haven of Israel". Arab anti-Semitism is a myth, an especially mean one, as it distracts from the perpetrators of the genocide. Evil Islam is another myth.

"Evil Islam" is actually more than a myth, it is one of a set of ideological stereotypes ascribed to groups and peoples. The Arabs are aggressive, the (Zionist) Jews are always the victims. They are stereotypically conceptualized as defending themselves, no matter what they do. Thus we hardly read about Palestinian resistance, when Palestinians are attacked and defending themselves against Zionist perpetrators, because such a scenario is simply impossible in the prevailing ideology. When our media writes about hatred, then it is by rule always Arabs and Muslims who hate, never Jews – except, of course, "self-hating" Jews, i.e. those who do not support the Israeli policy of oppression. Codes are another means of maintaining the status quo in which the Zionist Israelis have all the power. "Denying Israel the right to exist" is one of these codes; it appears whenever substantial criticism is expressed. The code "right to exist" actually stands for "right to do whatever they want, including attacking, killing and stealing". "Both sides" is a code to hush up the overwhelming military power of Israel that owns more than 99,9 % of the weapons in the country. "Historical responsibility" is a code for western countries to support Israeli violence by conjuring up the genocide. Our media language is full of these codes and ideological markers.

Another mechanism to maintain the status quo is the permanent reference to "the enemy". Today, Hamas and Iran are the favorite enemies of Israel and whenever somebody fights for equal rights or for Palestinian freedom we hear

the "argument" that this means supporting the evil enemy. It is a trick as cheap as the stereotypization of victims and perpetrators. Take Iran: Israel has nuclear weapons, Iran has none. Israel has not ratified the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, Iran has. Israel openly declares that it considers waging a war against Iran because of Iran's nuclear threat. Peres in 2006 explicitly said Israel can "wipe Iran off the map", something Iran never said (Ahmadinejad called for a regime change in Israel). Every village idiot can see who is threatening whom here, but media and politicians in many countries mysteriously cannot. Neither do they insist on a nuclear-free Middle East, a reasonable and just proposition. No, they side with Israel, even though the recent Iraq experience started very similarly and it turned out that it was an aggressive US war based on a big lie. We witnessed the same warmongering from Israel's side in and before the war on Iraq. The powerful US and its major ally Israel see an enemy and build up an in-group-feeling and an identity by "defending themselves" against this enemy. Our media and politicians hardly ever doubt this "defense", although it is the oldest chestnut in political history. Even Adolf Hitler launched World War II by saying that Germany will now "shoot back". But did we learn to question this "defense" of the powerful? Obviously not in the least.

There are other mechanisms like "highlighting and hiding" facts or omitting to speak about legal aspects and instead sticking to group aspects. In this way, "illegal occupation" can become "disputed territories" and human rights defenders are reduced to "pro-Palestinian activists".

Furthermore, we have something that can be called "mirror criticism". Here, people ascribe Israeli deeds to Palestinians. For example, there is a discussion about Palestinian textbooks, because Israeli textbooks have a clear racist basis. There is a discussion about Palestinian smuggling of arms, because Israel has almost all of the arms. The debate about Palestinian violence is vivid, because Israeli violence is as ubiquitous as it is taboo. We find criticism of Palestinian victim behavior, because Israel displays victim behavior. Muslim religious influence is a big topic, because Jewish and Christian influences from the West are an integral part of the aggression. Israel critics are accused of mixing up the concepts "Israeli" and "Jew", because Zionists and their defenders do so (see below). "Anti-Semitic reflexes" are detected in reflex, etc. Psychologically, mirror criticism is a compensation: The powerful see and feel the bad, but they can only talk about it when the enemy is responsible for it, because self-criticism is distinctly missing in the powerful who stand beyond criticism and who are never taken to responsibility. "False flag operations" and other political and military deceits are also part of the system (including defamations, lies etc.). They cannot be a big topic in the context of this essay, as they need long analyses. An example must suffice here. Concerning the Achille Lauro killing there is a clear statement by Ari Ben-



Menashe, security counselor for Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, who claims in his book "Profits of War" (Sheridan Square Press, 1992, p. 122) that Rafi Eitan, head of the anti-terror department of the Israeli secret service, planned and conducted the brutal terror attack via an agent in a Palestinian terror organization. Why did Ben-Menashe write this? And why did the mainstream not ask further questions?

### **Critics are Labeled Anti-Semites**

The most powerful of all mechanisms, though, is the reproach of anti-Semitism. Again, it is a trick. You say you criticize what Israel does? Oh no, what you really refer to is your attitude toward Jews. Occupation? No, you just hate Jews. The categories "Jew" and "Israeli" are melting into one here, and the same is true for the equation of Zionists and Jews in the labeling of anti-Zionism as being anti-Semitic. The boycott of illegal settlements thus becomes: "Don't buy from the Jew", and so on. There is absolutely no logic in that, but the public buys it, anyway – at the expense of the Palestinians and other nations. The legitimate rights of the Palestinians are denied mainly via the reproach of anti-Semitism.

A revealing recent example is the Günter Grass debate about his famous poem "What has to be said". The widely known German literary critic Hellmuth Karasek misquoted Grass in the newspaper Berliner Morgenpost by alleging Grass wrote "the Jews" endanger world peace. But Grass clearly wrote "Israel". The newspaper made it "the Jews", because this is what they wanted it to be. For one thing, they can belatedly fight the long gone Nazis in this way, and for another they can thus participate in the current power structure.

On a secondary level, criticism of Israel is labeled "anti-Semitic clichés". For example: When Israel arrogates to commit crimes in the name of all Jews it is predictable that this behavior will indeed fuel anti-Jewish sentiments. But try to speak about it. Some nerd will explain that it is an old anti-Semitic cliché that the Jews are responsible for their victimhood themselves – and the discussion is over. Israel actually relies heavily on anti-Semitism, for without it its whole legitimacy would vanish, according to the Zionists own measures and arguments. So they will rather fan it than fight it. Israel needs anti-Semitism for its power position.

### **The Arrogance of Power**

Of course Israel criticism is allowed, say our media and politicians. And not only that: Israel is, in fact, constantly criticized. But when Israel actually is criticized – think of Grass – you see what really happens. And what did Grass

say? He hardly even mentioned the Palestinians, for example, and only scratched the surface. Of course Israel criticism is allowed, as long as it does not provoke and irritate the arrogance of power. As long as it is not substantial and remains vague, full of constrictions, and without effect.

But fundamental and well-grounded criticism will always and principally be regarded as unbalanced, pro-enemy, anti-Semitic, insulting, flat, etc. by the powerful and their apologists. They will hysterically do every twist and turn to avert criticism and maintain the oppressive status quo. "Why pick on Israel and not on many other countries?", they will ask to change the subject. "Why don't you criticize the Palestinians as well?", they ask for the same reason. And what about "applause from the wrong side"?, they ask, as if this mattered.

All in all, we find the typical mechanisms of power here and this is the floor of the whole story. Whenever somebody challenges Zionist power there are two possibilities: Either it is ignored in line with our repressive tolerance. Or, if ignorance is not enough, there comes a hysterical and knee-jerk response from the Zionists and their lobby. A reflex. Maybe the Zionists do not even notice that all they defend is their status of power, because they never ever had to pay for their crimes. So they just don't know what the concept of justice means and that they are part of the legal universe after all. You question my hegemony, my power and my rule? You must be an anti-Semite! Power is attractive to many, this is a truism. Najem Wali, for example, an Iraqi-German writer, was a nobody until he publically defended the US war of aggression on Iraq. Suddenly, he was invited and pampered. He found a renowned publishing house and he learned. He published a book "Journey into the Heart of the Enemy" (in German) in which he lauds Israel massively, explicitly ignoring the occupation and general oppression. It is no longer difficult for him to find readings and opportunities. At the same time, Oded Netivi's thriller "It is God's fault" (in German) with a critical view on Israel has a very hard time, despite its brilliance.

The essay at hand will, of course, face the same reactions: Either it is not important enough and can be ignored, or it will be attacked in reflex. It is the rule of power and has nothing to do with Jews or Zionists or what have you. We know this very behavior from dictators and patriarchic family leaders. Arguments do not work against power, because it is not a discourse after all.

### **How can Change and Justice be Achieved?**

There are three major innovations after almost seventy years of Zionist unquestioned power. The first one is the augmented public of the internet. This revolutionary free and uncensored public has been established for just a couple of years. Whistle-blowing became much easier and it is much harder to

conceal facts, when you have YouTube videos and the like. Of course, even the phosphorus attack on Gaza went over YouTube and newspaper front pages and people did not react, but the tendency is clear: You cannot hush up crimes as elegantly as you could in the pre-internet age. Consider that it takes a huge amount of energy and resources to distort the Middle Eastern facts so blatantly.

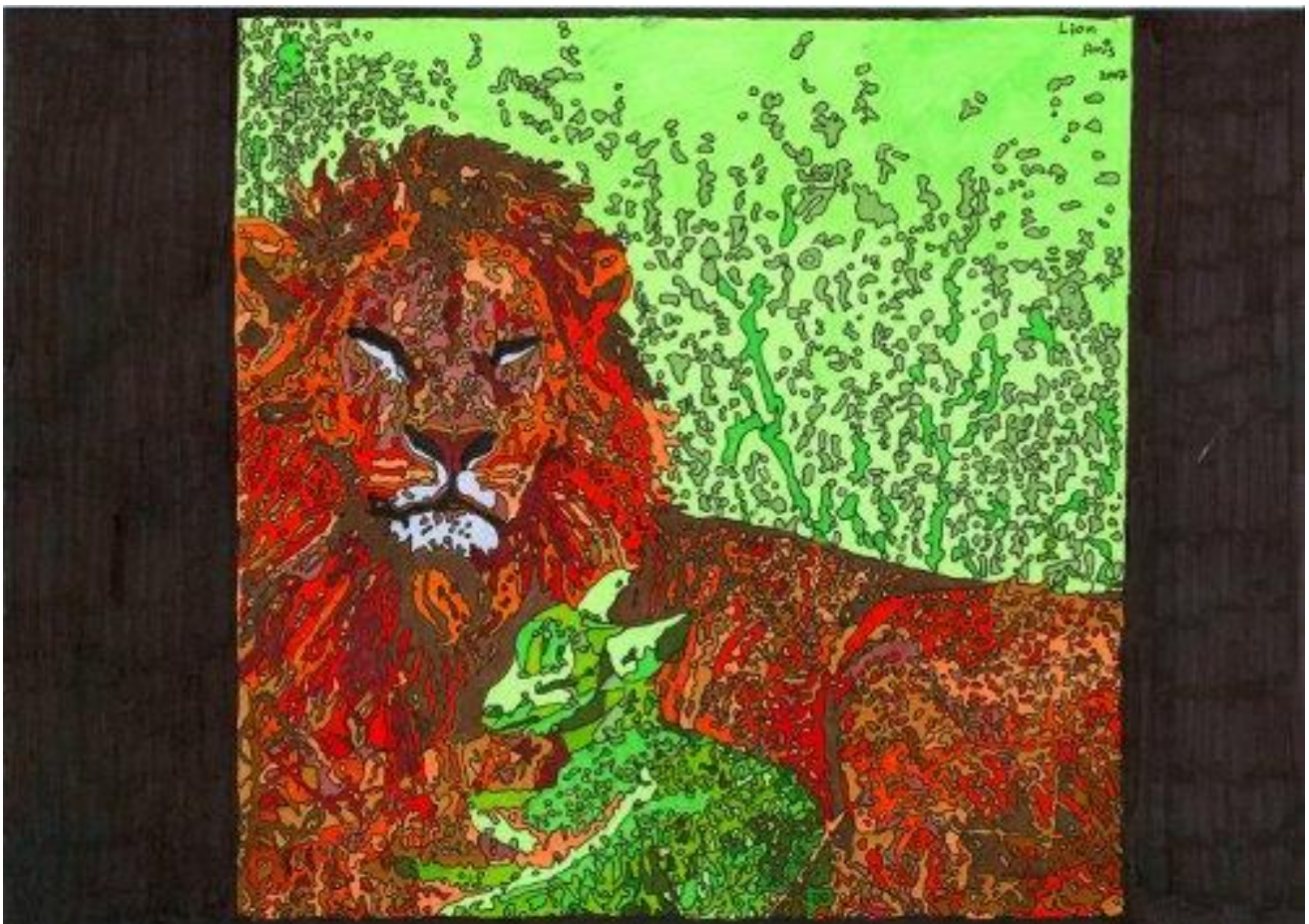
Point two is that Israel now is at a stage where it destroys itself and damages its allies immensely. Similar to the USA – the Israeli backbone that gives 3 billion annual tax dollars only for military presents to Israel without any US advantage – Israel has narrowed and cut basic democratic rights like the freedom of opinion or a free press. Religious zealots bring in their bit by questioning the law and trying to introduce “holy” laws instead. So everybody who ignores the danger of Israeli violence will support – willingly or not – the destruction of the State of Israel.

Thirdly, nonviolent resistance has multiplied over the past years. Popular committees have been constituted in many Palestinian villages and cities. They are independent of political parties. Individuals have emerged who foster creative forms of nonviolent political action, e.g. Ismail Khatib who donated organs of his son, who was killed by Israelis, to Israelis (“The Heart of Jenin”). There are Palestinian artists – musicians, painters, writers etc. – who are devoted to nonviolent action and there is a growing international support on the grassroot level with events like flotillas to overcome the Gaza siege, “flytillas” which are nonviolent fly-ins via airplanes into the country, the Global March to Jerusalem, the Welcome to Palestine campaign and many other events. Jimmy Carter, Bishop Tutu, Helmut Schmidt, Günter Grass ... among celebrities we mostly find elder statesmen to criticize Israel in a fundamental and thus adequate way at the moment. They will soon die and have little to fear. But it can be supposed that a majority of the people understands that Israel is the main problem when it comes to peace in the Middle East. Israel is constantly attacking by stealing land, it is based on racist ideas, it has no peace plan (the Arabs have a peace plan) and it does not even define its borders. It refuses to comply with UN resolutions. The majority is silent, though, in fear of personal and professional disadvantages. But the free public, the process of self-destruction in Israel and the growing international support will eventually lead to a paradigm shift, because it is more necessary than ever.

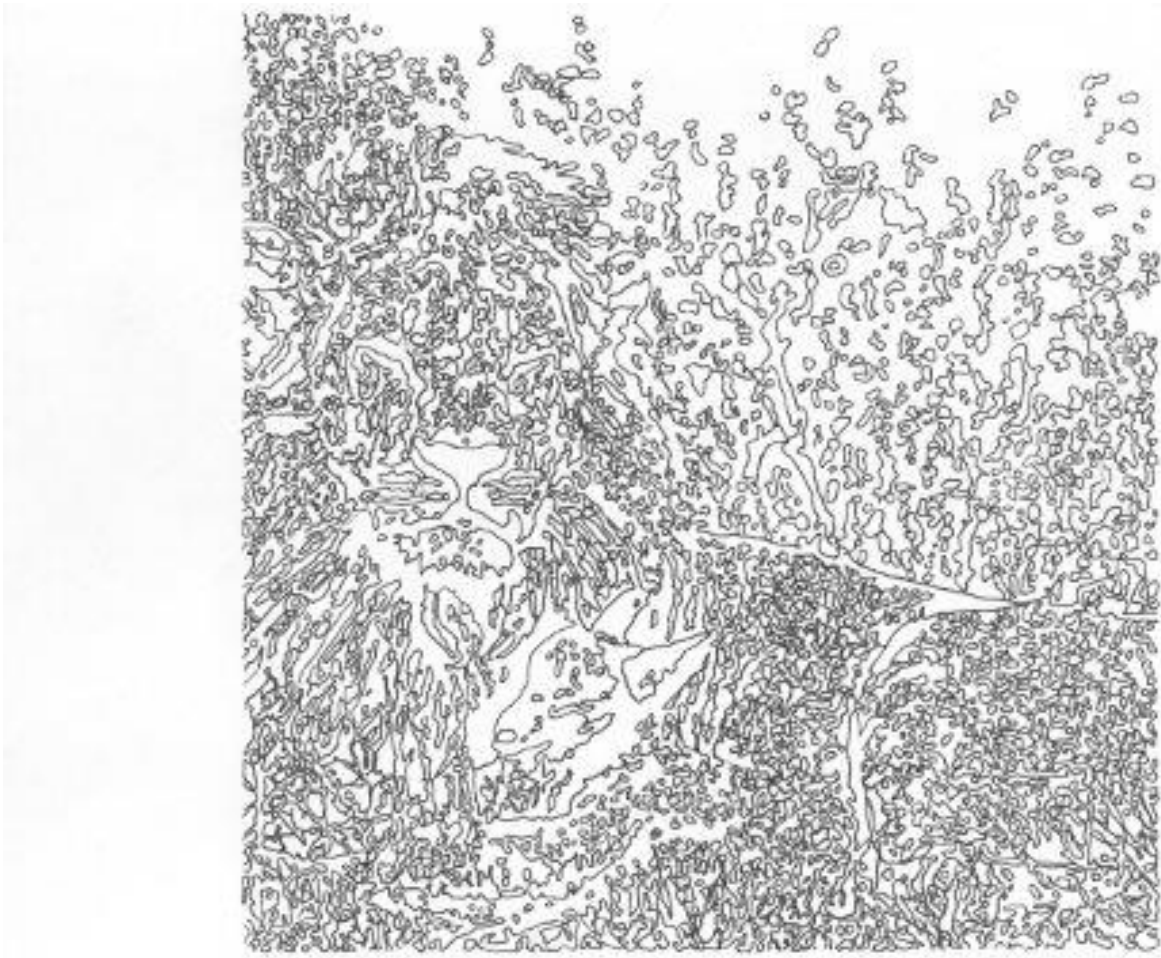
It is up to the individual to confront this problem. It is not enough to be angry. Some enter the country in solidarity and work with and for the oppressed there. Others donate money. Some boycott, divest and sanction the oppression, and others invest and conduct projects in and for Palestine. Some write educating articles and others promote journalists, politicians and artists who dare to speak up.

Right now one can get the impression that blind and total solidarity with the aggressive Zionist regime is the attitude of the 99 %, because critics are not tolerated in public. Yet this is far from the truth. The majority of people worldwide and even in the West is critical of Israel – of course! They can see that the emperor wears no clothes. They can hear what Netanyahu and Lieberman and Barak, Livni, Peres and all these people are actually saying. Therefore it is of major importance to bring and keep critics in the public and to support them. Openly, if possible, or silently, if necessary. Without public figures there cannot be a paradigm change. This is why the pressure on them is so high – the powerful by all means seek to maintain the status quo. So what about you?

*Re-published several times on the internet, German version published on May 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2012, together with a gallery of the "Before their Diaspora" collection at Neue Rheinische Zeitung [www.nrhz.de/flyer/beitrag.php?id=17722](http://www.nrhz.de/flyer/beitrag.php?id=17722)*



Lion & Lamb © Anis 2007



Lion & Lamb before colors were added © Anis 2007

## **Open Letter to Sigmar Gabriel about Palestine**

March 2012

Dear Chairman of the German SPD party Sigmar Gabriel,

your Middle East journey has caused quite a stir in many people and this in different ways and directions. You suggested a dialogue with Hamas, asserted that the settlement policy is obstructive to peace and you took a clear stand regarding Israel's segregation policy during your visit in the Palestinian city of al-Khalil (Hebron). On Facebook you explained your enragement with the words: "We neither do ourselves a favor nor our friends in Israel, if we always hide our criticism behind flowery diplomatic phrases."

Such clear words are rare for a German politician and I think you have reacted directly to the situation at hand, rather than following an agenda with this sentence. You are seriously worried and angry, too, like many Germans. This is why I write you this letter. When I was touring Germany with the Duo Rubin on the musical and literary "Salam-Shalom" tour in 2004, under the

patronage of Federal President Rau and with the support of the wonderful Dagmar Schmidt, who passed away much too early, I noticed a keen desire for peace in the Middle East in every audience. The big applause was not only meant for us artists, but it was mainly the manifestation of a hope. Today, eight years later, things have become even worse.

Today I think that a progress can only start when media and politicians stop stereotyping Israel as a victim in self-defense. Building a wall on the land of the neighbor is not a defense, it is an attack, as are the expansions of the settlements and the fragmentation of the West Bank, paralyzing public life and destroying the economy, something just as true for the Gaza siege. The Israeli military actions in Gaza, in the West Bank, Jerusalem, Lebanon and other places are often called a "defense", but they seldom are a defense. What kind of society kills people without charge or trial, accepting without further ado the death of others who happen to sit in the same car or to stand next to the suspect? Is this democracy? If we applied such a policy of "targeted killing" in Germany, we would soon have terrorism, too. For it is just not true that folks over there have a different mindset. They think just like us. You also wrote on Facebook yesterday: "Israel is the only state in the world whose neighbors question its right to exist. My friends in the Kibbuz Magen near the border to Gaza have been feeling this for years on a daily basis. It is a place where the Israeli population has been terrorized for years by rocket attacks coming from the Palestinian territories." – One has to add here that Israel is the only state in the world for which the term "right to exist" is used at all, a term which is neither common in international law nor in any political practise. There are good reasons for the neighboring states to dislike Israel – the Jordanian king is a special exception. And when we talk about terrorism we have to ask about its origins and roots. Our media and politicians do not pose this question and they rarely talk about "resistance". Gaza is one of the most densely populated areas in the world. Why mustn't people there use their harbor? Why mustn't they travel? Why mustn't they receive guests whenever they want? And to top all that they are shot at. I was webmaster for the Free Gaza Movement during the first, successful breaks of the siege in 2008 and would have been delegation leader of a cultural boat, if Israel had not attacked the Gaza Strip, killing 1400 people. That was not an act of defense, just as the most recent incidents were not. Dear Herr Gabriel, you know that Israel neither has defined borders nor a peace plan. The Wikileaks affair ("Palestine Papers") is another clear proof of that. You probably also know that for many years there has been a plausible plan for two states within the borders of 1967 on the part of the Arabs – not only the Palestinians. (Oslo could not bring a just peace, even Clinton admitted that later on.)

Moreover, people wrongly speak about "both sides", as if the Palestinians had an army and weapons, a state and a government, but there is nothing of all this. Instead, there is a huge Israeli army on the one side and a Palestinian civil society on the other. To hold Palestine and its leadership responsible for the deeds of extremist groups is about as logical as holding Germany and Willy Brandt responsible for the deeds of the RAF (Rote Armee Fraktion) abroad.

You call yourself a friend of Israel's and I think you sense just like me that Israel is destroying itself with its policy. And that at some stage things cannot be stopped or controlled anymore. Surely this will be one of the motivations for your recent remarks on the Middle East. There is a justifiable fear in German media and politicians concerning the possible increase of hatred of Jews as soon as we cease to regard the reason of state to be more important than the facts. Especially, as Israel arrogates to speak on behalf of all Jews in the world, thus including all Jews in its violent game. This is something we finally have to talk about.

Of course, I know what happens when we talk about it. Some hardliners will get worked up about it and the notorious reproach will appear. I do not even have to write down the word; it is clear which reproach is meant here. It is omnipresent. Some politicians, thinkers, artists and journalists felt the effects and had to go through severe professional and personal losses. I know this from my own experience. The reverse is also valid: Whoever supports the goals of the Israeli army can easily ascend socially. This is why Angela Merkel praised Israel with special verve shortly before she was elected chancellor. It is a matter of power, not a matter of facts. So, for example, the US Secretary of State can harshly condemn Syria for its attacks on civilians and almost simultaneously not only tolerate Israel's attack on civilians in Gaza, but harshly condemn the people in Gaza! The same degree of contradiction shows when a state, that owns atomic bombs, seeks to make war against Iran, because Iran allegedly threatens this state with non-existent atomic bombs. So who is threatening whom?

One does not have to have a degree in order to understand the situation. It is a classic case of oppression. I am not saying this as someone who is full of sympathy for Palestine, despite the fantastic food, the hospitality and some friends. At the moment I may even have more Jewish friends in the country than Arab ones. But whatever one can bring up against Palestine, it needs to be made clear that these are people and that they have human rights. International law also applies to them. Never has Israel been adequately convicted for a bad deed, this is why nothing changes since, say, the unprovoked and illegal military confiscations and expulsions of 1948, before and during the unilateral formation of the state on a territory much bigger than envisioned by the UN. Of course you or the SPD or Germany or Europe

alone cannot put this right and I surely do not want to tell you what to do or give you sound advice. But I want to inform you that, as a citizen, I profoundly distrust political parties and media in Germany, considerably because of this constellation. And if our public lies for the putative well-being of Israel and if this works, then why should it not lie in other cases, too? – I would also like to take the liberty of sending you a set of (self-made) “Before their Diaspora” postcards that show colored scenes from Palestine before the formation of Israel. Maybe it inspires you.

With best regards and wishes

Yours

Anis Hamadeh



## **Finkelstein Banned in Berlin: A Democracy that isn't a Democracy**

February 2010

Dr. Norman Finkelstein wrote several books in the field Israel/Palestine/Holocaust and is one of the most sagacious analysts of our time. Similar to Professor Ilan Pappé, he formulates sharp criticism in respect to past and presence of the State of Israel, and both use very rational argumentations and are reliable researchers. Especially since the mass murders in Jenin and in Gaza, these two men and many other Jews (also in Germany) speak out, because they do not want to be counted among supporters of violence by a state that arrogates to itself the right to speak and act in the name of all Jews.

As is known now, both the Heinrich Boell Foundation and the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation have canceled Finkelstein talks that were already scheduled in Berlin. While the foundation close to the Green party did not even bother to explain its behavior, the board of the foundation close to the Left party explained its drawback in a media info with the empty statement that such a talk would be "explosive" ("brisant").

What is going on there, one wonders. Does Finkelstein call for violence? Are his views outside legal norms, does he disesteem the human rights? Nothing of all this. On the contrary. The reason for banning him is the veto of groups that seek to avert criticism of Israel, connecting this issue with the reproach of anti-Semitism. This is an old chestnut and not specifically interesting. What is interesting, though, is that the German public buys this nonsense and denies a man, who lost his family in German concentration camps, to talk on German soil, tolerating that he is labeled an anti-Semite for his reflections on violence in Israel. The same thing actually happened only some months ago to the Israeli historian Ilan Pappé in Munich, when the city's Lord Mayor canceled a scheduled talk. Pappé then wrote in an open letter that his father "was silenced in a similar way as a German Jew in the early 1930s".

### **The German Self-Conception**

So let us revisit the German self-conception and then take a short look at the historical background to understand this apparently great fear that is going around in Germany. Recently, when the Israeli politician Shimon Peres talked on the occasion of the Holocaust Memorial Day in the German Bundestag, he received standing ovations. The few, who did not stand up for their refusal of Peres' and Israel's violent policies, were publically attacked. There is, for example, the quote of a member of the Bundestag: "The Nazi crimes, the Shoa, and the war of annihilation are the original crime of humanity. (...) The

Jewish victims of National Socialism are memorized on January 27 in the Bundestag memorial. On this occasion, only they and the reminder of 'Never again!' can be the topic. Everything else in this context is a relativization of the Nazi crimes." It is a quote typical for Germany and reveals the German angst as well as the great danger that goes with it. The genocide of the Jews in this quote is taken out of any historical context and declared a unique event. Firstly, this reveals a "We (We!) are the greatest" narcissism. Secondly, it reveals a pro-Jewish racism, as if one racism could make up for another one. Not the victims are important, no, the Jewish victims are. The Nazi killing of Sinti and Roma thus is kind of OK. And how much then will the killing of Palestinians be OK if conducted by Jews. Put in a more general way: While calling the genocide of the Jews the "original crime", the unique and incomparable act, every other crime is devalued as being not so important. Finkelstein and Pappe do not fit in here, they disturb the celebration by entering the historical framework, which is all the more embarrassing as they are Jews with family ties to Nazi victims. Banning them shows that in the end even Jewish Nazi victims are not what the whole circus is about, despite all the pathetic oaths and solemn declarations. This is what Germany fears, that people realize that public "Remembering the Holocaust" is a fake and that Finkelstein and Pappe are eloquent and powerful enough to unmask this farce.

Germany has decided to do penance for the Nazi crimes by means of supporting the State of Israel. When it stands in solidarity with the Zionist state, then Germany would fulfil its historical responsibility. This dogma is not questioned, although it is beyond any logic to support Zionism, of all things, in order to do penance. Beyond logic not in the first place because there had been fruitful cooperations between Nazis and Zionists. (It was in the interest of both ideologies to bring Jews out of Germany.) What is much worse is that violence is not recognized as the problem. Thus Hitler has won in the end, for the violence that made this criminal a criminal in the first place, this violence has not stopped. On the contrary: The compulsive "Never again!" serves as a justification of violence and killing. This works only because the genocide of the Jews was taken out of its historical context and floats around freely.

### **The Israeli Self-Conception**

Both Finkelstein and Pappe write about the missing historical context and this is what people are afraid of, for both use their arguments brilliantly, even compellingly, and they are concerned as Jews whose families have Nazi experiences. Like Goldstone, Chomsky, and some others, the two academics are subject to hate and rejection of the ruling Zionism and its strenuous friends. Finkelstein lives in the USA, where Zionism is even stronger than in

Israel, and he does not lead an easy life. Pappé needed to go to exile in England, because life in Israel became unbearable for him. He wrote the book "The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine" in which he clearly shows how the Israeli state was built on heavy violence. Considering that both authors face bans in Germany it is no wonder that there is not much heard of the events around 1948 other than flat stereotypes.

According to the Israeli self-conception the Zionist state emerged out of a "War of Independence". In this view, the Jewish victims of National Socialism have created a state to protect themselves and were immediately attacked by their evil Arab neighbors. This version of the story is sacrosanct and is defended with great hysteria, be it in Israel or in Germany, because it does not stand up to a neutral analysis. For when Israel was founded in May 1948, the ethnic cleansing of Palestine had already been going on for half a year. This was called "Plan Dalet/Plan D" and everybody can read about it. Hundreds of indigenous Palestinians were killed and hundreds of thousands were expelled from their villages by Zionist militias. According to the Israeli self-conception many Palestinians went away voluntarily, as if anybody would voluntarily leave their home and property just like that.

International pressure led to the UN partition plan which deprived the native population of a little more than half of Palestine which was to be given to the Zionists. Yet the Zionists were not content with that. They received weapons and took more of the land by force. When they then built a state on this land, they did not do it in agreement with anybody, but unilaterally and surprisingly. The dogma of the "right of existence" was invented so that people would not talk about these events anymore. Here is the seed of the problems we are confronted with until today. It is possible to begin earlier, with the Sykes Picot Treaty or the first settlers from abroad who for the most part did not integrate, but appeared aggressively. One can talk about the British and about Zionist and Arab terrorism, about Jabotinsky and other pioneers. But it is the founding of the state and Plan D which show most clearly why history is escalating until today.

The massacre of Deir Yassin happened in the framework of this plan, it was covered in the world press. Nobody was ever held responsible for this blood-spree and thus a precedence was created which is working until today. Nobody has been taken to account for the mass murder in Gaza, either, and all the other massacres that Israel habitually commits. The Plan D land theft is another precedence, for up to this day the Israeli territory gets wider while the Palestinian territory shrinks. All this is inherent in the biased concept of "right of existence", as are the race laws from 1950 which guarantee all Jews in the world a "right of return" to Israel while the expelled native population had to keep out, an unprecedented act in the long history of the country. Their land and property were confiscated by the new masters who clung to a

blood-and-soil ideology. A lot of this reminds one of the Nazis, which by no means is a wonder, when you consider the victim/perpetrator dynamics. It is known that victims, because of their traumas, are prone to become perpetrators and it is so obvious that it takes a whole lot of energy to suppress the respective discourse. It is suppressed, in militarized Israel just like in Germany, it is taboo. For this reason, a government of right-wing extremists in Israel is not a problem. Right-wing extremism is not right-wing extremism, when it comes to Israel.

### **The Tip of the Iceberg**

The cancelation of Finkelstein's talks are but the tip of a huge iceberg. While these lines are written, Palestinian houses in Barta'a Ash-Sharqiya are being demolished and in Sheikh Jarrah/Jerusalem new land thefts are scheduled. A big historic Arab graveyard is to be confiscated to build a "Museum of Tolerance" on it while in Bil'in the nonviolent resistance against the wall enters its sixth year. The protesters are injured by the army on a regular basis, and also killed. The world press says almost nothing about the heroes of nonviolent resistance, because it does not fit the image. Russian Jews in Be'er Sheva in the Negev have just killed a bedouin boy and heavily injured another, while a group of fundamentalist settlers have injured a Palestinian child in Hebron. About 11.000 Palestinians are kept in Israeli prisons. The "checkpoints" to Nablus have been closed down recently so that nobody can enter. The Gaza fishermen are being shot at by the Israeli navy and Gaza is still under siege. The head of the Dubai police just confirmed that according to police investigations there is a very high probability that the Mossad is behind the murder of a Hamas politician in the Emirates. Every day you can read on [www.theheadlines.org](http://www.theheadlines.org) what happens in the country and that since 1948 there has been no change of the routine. In Germany, the Palästina Portal is one of the sources one can turn to.

Most of what happens remains unknown to us, our media skips most of it, for fear of inciting an increasing "anti-Semitism". It is for the same reason that we are not to listen to Finkelstein and Pappé, for they verify the terrible events and the historical development sketched above. Instead, we are fed with "information" on "terrorism". It is well-known to some of the leading politicians and opinion-leaders that the Israeli policy can only lead to the self-destruction of the State of Israel. Call it a culture of death. Maybe self-hatred is another reason for this behavior, something human rights advocates like Finkelstein and Pappé are labeled by exactly those who display it themselves. But even according to our mainstream dogmas we have a big problem here, for this development is bad for the Jews, too, the Zionists among them and the anti-Zionists.

Update on Feb. 20, 2010: After that the two locations scheduled in Munich (on Feb. 24 in the Amerikahaus and on Feb. 25 in the Kulturhaus Milbertshofen) have also been canceled, Norman Finkelstein has decided not to come to Germany. In the meantime he had been invited in Berlin by the newspaper junge Welt and was to give a talk on Gaza on Feb. 26. Finkelstein does not want the controversy about his appearances to overshadow the situation of the Palestinians who were the topic of his talks.  
[www.normanfinkelstein.com](http://www.normanfinkelstein.com)

## Saeed Amireh about Nonviolent Resistance in Ni'lin/Palestine. Lecture Tour in Europe

November 2011



Twenty-year-old Saeed Amireh from Palestine was guest in Mainz. On 9 November he impressingly reported about the situation in his hometown Ni'lin, as part of his European lecture tour. It is his first travel to Europe, yes, the young man in a conversation before the talk mentioned that he had not even been to the nearby city of Nablus. Actually, Ramallah was the most distant place he ever saw.

(Photo: Yasemin Vardar-Douma)

And yet, he did not at all give this impression. On the contrary, he appeared cosmopolitan, authentic and with an excellent presentation. He took a stand in the rooms of the Catholic Students' Community and the audience will not forget his speech. "I am amazed about how you live here", he said in acceptable English. "No night raids, no military presence. You are not being shot at in the street." His words do not come out of the blue. Some of his family were shot at by Israeli soldiers, several others from the 5000 inhabitants have simply been killed in the last years. It is one of the worst places in the world.

Ni'lin is (regrettably) only an example for the fact that Israeli policy is not heading to peace or defense. It is obvious from the map at [www.nilin-palestine.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/10/Nilin\\_wall\\_081.gif](http://www.nilin-palestine.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/10/Nilin_wall_081.gif) that the wall is by no means built on the border, but it takes the land of the local farmers. It is impossible to call this defense. Several Jewish settlements are nesting around the village, they are just as illegal as the wall and the supported supply roads for the settlements ("apartheid roads").

For years the population of the village has nonviolently protested this destruction of their livelihood. Nonviolent resistance as a strategy has entered Palestinian villages and cities many years ago. "When residents brought down parts of the illegal wall with levers and ropes they were hooded. Otherwise the army would later have come after them", Saeed recounts. "This has nothing to do with terrorism, even if it is sometimes labeled this way."

In many Palestinian villages there are so-called "popular committees", grassroots movements that act independently from political parties. They endorsed nonviolent resistance and spread the word with demonstrations, websites, YouTube films and information. The lives of those people are in

danger every day, their land is being taken away and their human rights are not granted, so that others benefit. Saeed Amireh could only travel on an official invitation by Sweden. Norway, Germany and further countries belong to the itinerary of the three-month journey. Saeed is keeping a diary.

Media and politicians from Mainz did not attend the lecture. They did not want to see the complacently grinning Israeli soldier in the video, after having shot a teargas grenade at women and children in front of a residence. They did not want to hear about land theft and brutal military attacks on peaceful protesters.

It is horrifying time and time again that a society with a history like the German one so readily looks away. The German population is aware of this Israeli injustice and aware of the oppression, even if news gets to us in a very filtered way. But one cannot filter away that much, it is just too much. Yet mainstream media and politicians tend to draw a kind of line under the German past with their unquestioning loyalty to the Israeli army and their refusal of any fundamental debate. This is how we deal with our horrible past: Again we look away, but in a different direction. And we feel to be progressive and superior with this attitude, too. So who wants to claim that Germany understood what happened between 1933 and 1945, even if our media and politicians think they are so clever.

Saeed Amireh left his prison for a couple of months in order to report in Europe about everyday life in his village. He is a dynamic young man, able to distinguish between facts and propaganda as he is able to distinguish between Jews and Israelis. He is not bitter or aggressive, he is unmistakably promoting the values of nonviolence and he knows what he is talking about. Someone who does not appear strange to us, but as a human being.

"After seeing him and listening to him it reoccurred to me how important our work here is", said Yasemin from the University Group for a Just Peace in Palestine and Israel (HGPI), the organizer of the event. It ended with a visit to the Nakba exhibition in the neighboring church of the Protestant Students' Community. This touring exhibition shows escape and expulsion of the Palestinians – the largest group of refugees in the world. "I wonder why there are so many attempts in Germany to ban this exhibition", one of the visitors said, "there is nothing really controversial in it, it is a mere clarification of historic events."

Maybe one can understand when considering that Germany voted against the admission of Palestine as a member of UNESCO, a symbolic step to finally recognize the identity of Palestine, as it has been consensus now for almost a hundred years.

*German original published at Neue Rheinische Zeitung on Nov. 16, 2011, [www.nrhz.de/flyer/beitrag.php?id=17159](http://www.nrhz.de/flyer/beitrag.php?id=17159)*

## Make Peace with the Arab Neighbors (Book Review)

Review of "Israel's *Irrweg*. A Jewish Point of View" (in German) by Rolf Verleger

April 2008



The network of relations between Germany, Jews, Israel, Palestinians, Muslims and Arabs is complex and entails a field of conflict on several levels. For those, who are looking for a well-grounded and at the same time easy to read introduction into the subject, the new publication of Professor Verleger from Lübeck in Germany can be recommended. "Israel's *Irrweg*. A Jewish Point of View" (in German)

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summarizes the set of problems in 160 compact pages. "To be Jewish and pro-Israeli, this in the eyes of many – Jews and non-Jews alike – belongs together", he writes in the introduction and he shows in the course of the book how the Zionist state has become a substitute for religion and for identity in Jews as well as a formal symbol of solidarity e.g. for Germans in an attempt to distance themselves from the Nazi past via an alleged pro-Jewish behavior which thus strongly reduces the Nazi past to the aspect of being anti-Jewish. Rolf Verleger (born in 1951) was one of the founders of the Jewish Community in Lübeck in 2001. He grew up in Germany with Jewish traditions and often visited Israel where some of his relatives live. Many members of his family had fell prey to the racial delusion of the Nazis. He



includes his biography in the first part of the book, entitled "Know where you come from ..." He views Judaism predominantly as a religion and culture of moral liberation and altruism. His favorite quotation is the one of Hillel (born 70 B.C.): "That, what is odious to you, do not inflict on others." In August 2006, on the occasion of the war on Lebanon, Verleger in an open letter to the Central Council of the Jews in Germany had criticized the absolute solidarity of the Central Council with the Israeli policy of violence. A short time later he initiated the online petition Schalom 5767 ([www.schalom5767.de](http://www.schalom5767.de)) together with other Jews. The document is also known as the "Berlin Declaration". In it, the signatories call for a stop of the human rights violations and the breaches of international law. In short, the equal right of existence for Palestinians is demanded there. The author documents the development of this petition in part 2: "... and know where you are going ..."

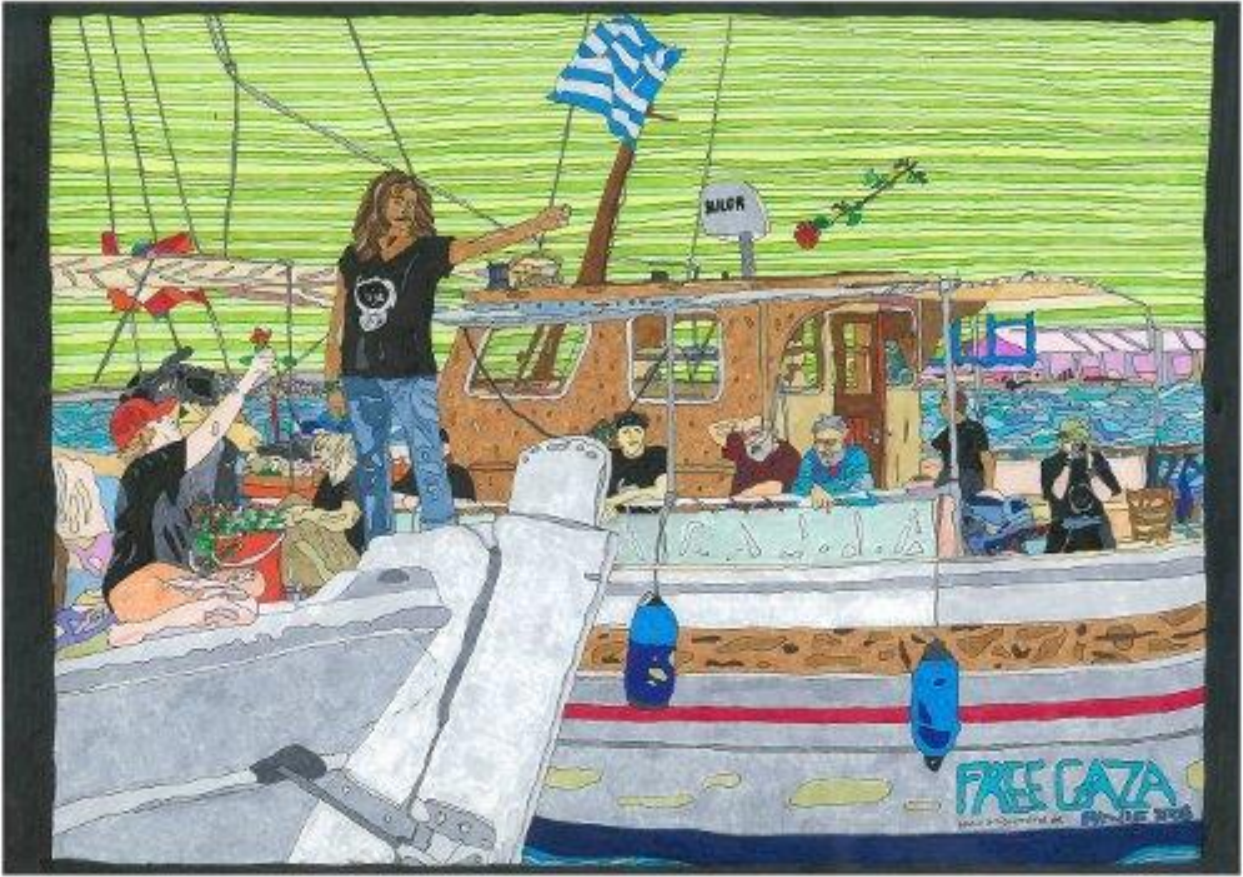
Verleger traces the public reactions on "Schalom 5767" by documenting a correspondence that appeared in the "Jüdische Zeitung", a monthly newspaper that had printed "Schalom 5767". These contributions are exemplary in that they precisely map the palette of argumentations both of pro-Israelis à la Central Council and of human rights advocates. Right of existence versus human rights, Hamas Charta versus Jabotinsky, undemocratic Arabs versus romanticized Israel, terrorist threat versus enduring oppression. According to Verleger, "ghost struggles" (p. 90) add to the overall picture, when the Nazi past is being projected onto Palestine. Thus, for example, during the Lebanon War of 1982 Prime Minister Begin felt as if he expelled the Germans from his hometown of Minsk (p. 82). This aspect in particular gives the book significance for Arab readers who without this historical review are likely to experience Israeli behavior to be largely irrational and obsessed with violence. Therefore a quick translation of "Israel's *Irrweg*" into Arabic it is to be hoped for and encouraged.

Another focus of the book is on the reproach of "anti-Semitism and the so-called "New anti-Semitism", especially in the final chapter 3 "... and to whom you will have to render account in the future". In a precise and objective way Verleger analyzes the historical context of this concept, doubting that a rejection of Israel's current state policy means hatred toward Jews. He even asks: "Is there currently any understandable reason whatsoever for Palestinians to not hate the Israeli state?" (p. 115) And he asks: "What would we do if there were no more Jew haters? What can we do with our anger then?" (p. 90) This assertion, which is to be viewed in context with the above-mentioned "ghost struggles", gives a German something to think about, for it indicates to him why he is co-responsible for Palestine. It is long over-due that we confront ourselves with these questions and it does not appear to be the majority that is reluctant.

Rolf Verleger views the phenomenon of xenophobia to not be principally tied to Judaism/Jewry. Back then in Europe there had hardly been any outsiders except for the Jews which made them prototypes in this specific historical context. The phenomenon itself, though, according to the author, is not restricted to any party. Hatred against Islam is "the same xenophobia" (p. 93) as Judeophobia. He discusses several personalities, including Jimmy Carter, and resumes: "The allegation that critics of the Israeli policy of violence and occupation 'in reality' have 'anti-Semitic' motifs, cannot be backed with convincing evidence in many cases, whereas each of the cases described above makes plausible the assumption that the motif of all these critics is the human rights to be valid for Palestinians, too." (p. 118)

Concerning the Israel Palestine problem he further states that the seed of the conflict was not only laid with the Nazi period, even if the shock of the genocide had strongly biased general sympathies in the world. To Verleger, the crucial trigger of the problem is to be seen in the egoism of the first settlers and the events following the Dreyfus scandal of 1894. By means of contemporary quotations he shows that the problem had not been unknown to Jewish intellectuals by the turn of the century, like in the works of Asher Ginsburg alias Achad ha'Am (1856–1927): "The discrimination and hostile acts against the Arab Palestinians, which Achad ha'Am, Martin Buber, Chaim Weizman and others had criticized, all this happened as early as 1890 and 1913 and long before a Hitler had become German Reich Chancellor, at all." (p. 81) Verleger concludes on the same page: "To be a Jew means, beside taking pride in the Jewish religious tradition, to feel affiliated to the Jewish state. And this feeling of affiliation means to stand up for this state to make his peace with his Arab neighbors by finally stopping to treat the Arab Palestinians as second class people."

*Rolf Verleger (2008): "Israels Irrweg. Eine jüdische Sicht." PapyRossa Verlagsgesellschaft, 12,90 Euro*



Free Gaza © Anis 2008

## Shooting and Crying – Nothing New Since 1948 ... Or is it?

April 2009

With amazement the world public has noticed in recent weeks that war crimes had apparently been committed in Gaza.<sup>1</sup> Even Israeli soldiers and military staff now report about their own cruelties against the Palestinian population, cruelties that we do not even know from movies.<sup>2</sup> The stylish T-shirts, that promote the shooting of pregnant Palestinian women by indicating that in this way you can kill two human beings with one bullet, appeared strange to people abroad, too.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the appointment of Avigdor Lieberman as Israeli foreign minister horrifies the public.<sup>4</sup> There would be further reasons to be disgusted, like the ongoing ethnic cleansing in Jerusalem, the plans for expanding the illegal settlements, some killings, the abduction of Gazan fishermen and so on, but these details do not enter the global discourse, because, well, because they never did. The question is: How genuine is the amazement about what happened in Gaza?

Did anything change in Israeli politics? Are those really completely new phenomena, suddenly coming up in the discourse, out of thin air? Or do we only witness the consequences of a continuing strategy that had begun more than sixty years ago? There are good arguments for the latter alternative, especially when you look at the facts. Let us, for example, revisit the year 1948 ...

### Deir Yassin and the Human Rights

1948 was a special year. It was marked by Plan D, the Israeli plan to ethnically cleanse Palestine.<sup>5</sup> Jewish troupes expelled about 700,000 people from the indigenous population of the country and killed many of the men in combat age. Even in 1936, after the Palestinian revolt, the Palestinian elite had been persecuted. This was shortly after the first Palestinian party was founded which was to represent the interests of the native population in the two fronts struggle against the British occupation and the Zionist conquerers. "Punishments" like the demolition of residence houses were firstly used by the British and were adopted later by the Zionists. In 1948, several Jewish terror groups were known, like the Haganah, Irgun, the Stern gang, Lechi and

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<sup>1</sup> E.g. in the German Spiegel Online: "Israelische Armee: Gaza-Veteranen schockieren mit Aussagen über wahllose Morde" by Ulrike Putz, Beirut (Link expired)

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. "Shooting and crying", by Amos Harel, Haaretz (Link expired)

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. <http://news.sky.com> 20 March 2009, "Israeli Army T-Shirts Mock Gaza Killings", by Dominic Waghorn (URL too long)

<sup>4</sup> Guardian, 25 March 2009: "Avigdor Lieberman, Israel's Shame", by Neve Gordon, [www.redress.cc/palestine/ngordon20090327](http://www.redress.cc/palestine/ngordon20090327)

<sup>5</sup> Ilan Pappé (2006): The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine

others. They killed, took the land away from the local people and later contributed several prime ministers who were accepted by the world public without any difficulty – very similar to today.

Don't think that the pogroms against the population of Palestine during the execution of Plan D were secret. When the future Prime Minister Menachem Begin had the Arab village of Deir Yassin attacked on April 9 and many of its inhabitants killed (certainly including children and women) in order to terrorize and horrify the people, this was covered in the world press. Begin defended his deed with a typical Israeli bonmot: "The massacre of Deir Yassin not only had its justification – without the 'victory' of Deir Yassin there had never been a State of Israel."<sup>6</sup> Four years later, the same Begin attempted to kill the German chancellor Adenauer<sup>7</sup> and in 1978 he received the Nobel Peace Prize. When Deir Yassin went through the press, the horror about this deed was huge, very similar to today after Gaza. Everybody was surprised and disgusted, even perpetrators like Haganah and the Jewish Agency. A pattern came into being, the pattern of shooting and crying, i.e. killing with subsequent lament. This has worked: There have never been any consequences for Israel. The killings, the expropriations and the humiliation of the local population until today belong to the salient characteristics of Israeli politics. Nothing has changed.

At the end of 1948, large portions of Palestine were "Palestinian-free", much more than the designated part of the land that the international community and the UN had granted to the Jews (with the explicit demand that the local people be treated well). We remember that the international community decided to give some land to the victims of the European genocide against the Jews and everybody was happy with the Palestine decision ... except, of course, the people who lived in the region, because it was their land according to all international and logical standards. Weapons and myths<sup>8</sup> silenced them.

1948 was also the year of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In December, when Israel was established on the blood of the Palestinians, the world celebrated the human rights and did not care about Palestinians. The world wanted human rights with exceptions, but this did not work. Now, sixty years later, we begin to understand that.

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<sup>6</sup> Markus A. Weingardt (2002): Deutsche Israel- und Nahostpolitik. p. 33

<sup>7</sup> See e.g. Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 12 June 2006: "Im Auftrag des Gewissens'. Begin war Drahtzieher des Adenauer-Attentats", [www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/im-auftrag-des-gewissens-begin-war-drahtzieher-des-adenauer-attentats-1328438.html](http://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/im-auftrag-des-gewissens-begin-war-drahtzieher-des-adenauer-attentats-1328438.html)

<sup>8</sup> Myths like: "A land without a people for a people without land", "Arab aggressions/ David vs. Goliath", "anti-Semitic Arabs/Muslims", Palestinian Nazi cooperation (it was far less effective than Zionist Nazi cooperation), Arab military superiority (Jordan was the only country with a decent army then, and the Jordanian king was successfully promised a part of the prey, namely the West Bank); also see John Rose (2004): Myths of Zionism

## **The Aryan State did not Work, Let's Try a Jewish State ...**

During its history, Israel has continued the Deir Yassin policy, and today there is less than 10 or 5 percent of the land left to the Palestinians. On global refugee days people do not talk about Palestinians, although they are the biggest group of refugees in the world with far over 5 million people. This works because Palestinians (and Arabs and Muslims in general) are needed to fill the role of the anti-Semite which is substantial to the Zionist ideology.

It is, as if the world said: The Aryan state did not work, let's try a Jewish state ... Is it really surprising that we witness stunning similarities between the two today?<sup>9</sup> The Israeli population today is exactly confronted with the "final solution" subject now, because Israel cannot make peace on the one hand (this would imply justice for Palestinians, an unthinkable idea in Israel's decision-making) and needs to end the conflict, on the other. With extremely violent politicians like Netanyahu and Lieberman the "transfer" plan comes closer, an idea to just expel Palestinians en masse like in the old days. Of course, if this happens, it will not mean peace, but more violence and even stronger resistance. So let your imagination fly and think about what a final solution could look like.

It is not known how many Palestinians must die before the world recognizes that they are human beings and not anti-Semites. Right now the killing goes on, the Gaza peak did not evoke a real criticism yet. Israel is encouraged to go on to see how far it can go. Do not think that this was it, do not think that Israel will now see that it cannot go on like this. The Zionists have learned that they can do anything with impunity. On March 22, 2009, a total of 14,000 tons of new US weapons arrived in Ashdod on the German cargo ship "MS Wehr Elbe" (owner: Oskar Wehr KG, Hamburg).<sup>10</sup> With these weapons alone, tens of thousands of people can be killed.

The Jewish state will collapse, like the Aryan state has collapsed, because both have the seed of self-destruction in them. Both are clearly racist, violent and expansionist in nature. This time it hits Arabs and Muslims instead of Jews. For over sixty years the international community has been blind to this fact, although it is so obvious that ordinary people know it and talk about it – not politicians or journalists or others who need the public.

Countries like Germany even have a "reason of state" to secure the persecution of Palestinians, Arabs and Muslims, calling it a "historical

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<sup>9</sup> This comparison is still forbidden in the mainstream, "for the security of Israel", but it is as obvious as it is founded and necessary. See my essay "The Second Case", Feb. 5, 2009: [www.anis-online.de/1/essays/23.htm](http://www.anis-online.de/1/essays/23.htm)

<sup>10</sup> Amnesty International, Press Release, April 1, 2009: United States Delivers Massive New Weapons Shipment to Israel, Confirmed by Pentagon, Says Amnesty International (NB: The German government is co-guilty, cf. (in German): [www.radio-utopie.de/2009/01/23/Bundesregierung-dementiert-Wissen-ueber-Waffentransport-nach-Israel-Chronologie-der-Wehr-Elbe-Affaere](http://www.radio-utopie.de/2009/01/23/Bundesregierung-dementiert-Wissen-ueber-Waffentransport-nach-Israel-Chronologie-der-Wehr-Elbe-Affaere))

responsibility". There is no other possible reason to introduce a reason of state if it was not for something highly illegal that needs to be hushed up.

### **We May Still Save the Rest**

The repressive tolerance of Western countries like Germany and the USA makes it possible to write all this down, because it usually has no "harmful" effects towards change. A lot of people think that – unlike the Nazi state – the Zionist state cannot be overcome by violence and thus will prevail. This is an error. Racist regimes of this ilk end up in self-destruction if they are not overcome from the outside. What is important now: We can still save lives. We cannot save the about 1,500 dead in Gaza anymore. But we may still save the rest.

At the end of May, the Free Gaza Movement will organize a flotilla of boats, the Hope Fleet, to break the siege of Gaza. You can support them.<sup>11</sup> The International Solidarity Movement (ISM) is present in Palestine to shield Palestinians from the Zionist killers<sup>12</sup>. You can support them and save lives. This is a critical phase and every hand is needed, every tongue and every cent. Boycott Zionists now! Take it seriously now! Boycott non-Israeli journalists and politicians who support the killing! Argue with them! Support those Jews who are committed against violence and for peace in Palestine. For the sake of humanity and of yourself: Do not take part in this murder.

*Posted at <http://freegaza.org/en/home/56-news/804-shooting-and-crying-nothing-new-since-1948-or-is-it>*

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<sup>11</sup> See press release and updates at [www.freegaza.org](http://www.freegaza.org)

<sup>12</sup> <http://palsolidarity.org>

## The Second Case

February 2009

It took the German public more than twenty years to start discussing the Nazi era in 1968. During this time, the official relations between Israel and Germany had been spookily good – apart from an assassination attempt against Adenauer that was played down. In this crucial phase of silence Israel has ethnically cleansed a large part of Palestine and occupied the remaining parts in 1967. Today – especially since the publication of “The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine” (Ilan Pappé 2006) and “Myths of Zionism” (John Rose 2004) – the major myths of the foundation of the State of Israel and of Zionism are refuted by facts. The Palestinians, who have lived in the land of Canaan for centuries and millennia, today are the biggest group of refugees in the world, numbering over five million.

The Palestinians have had to put up with a lot: the loss of a major part of their homeland, because Europeans and Americans would have it so; partitions of the land, occupation, discrimination, and most of all: They are systematically demonized. The Palestinian, that is the Arab, the Muslim (even though 20 % of the Palestinians are Christians), the terrorist. Palestinian? Suicide bomber! With ease you get one predominant image of “the Palestinian” from movies, books, plays and news, and this image helps structure our minds. Like in Eliaim Kraiem’s play “Sixteen Wounded”, the Palestinian is the one, who – although human like “us” in many respects – ends up as a murderer and a criminal, while the Jew is the good guy. He is not the armed illegal settler, who terrorizes indigenous farmers during the olive harvest. Neither is he the navy soldier shooting at the fishermen in Gaza in their own waters, and neither is he the journalist, who calls for hate against Arabs and Muslims in the news magazine. No, he is the good guy who stands as the victim of Hitler’s genocide and who has suffered. The roles are set. And now Gaza.

Professor Rolf Verleger, a Jew himself, writes in the new edition of his book “Israel’s *Irrweg*” (in German, review on Anis Online): “People puzzled a lot over Israel’s strategic aims in this war against Gaza. All that did not seem to be rational. And that’s right. A pogrom is irrational. The motif of a pogrom is pure hate. A pogrom has a clear message for the surviving victims: ‘We do not want you here. Get lost!!’ This is how it was in Kishinev in 1903 and 1905, in Berlin 1938, in Kielce 1946, and now Gaza, in 2009. The degree of hate with which Palestinians are talked about in Israel is underestimated in Germany.”

Gaza was a pogrom and Germany took part. The chancellor, the foreign minister, important representatives of the political parties from left to right, editors-in-chief of all major newspapers, the silent professors, the silent



churches, NGOs like Attac; they have all more or less strongly participated in this atrocity by supporting, justifying, belittling and ignoring the murder of 1360 people, mostly civilians, among them more than 430 children, despite knowing better. But this time something new has happened.

Citizens, who had never really been interested in politics, started to ask questions. And others, who already had been interested, are becoming more convinced. They are no longer satisfied being fobbed off with the dogma of the eternally menaced Jew, when they see what is happening in Palestine in the name of the Jews. Anyone with any awareness of the situation knows that such behavior promotes hatred against Jews in the whole world. They will no longer be befogged by abstract academic constructions of "secondary" and "latent anti-Semitism", realizing that it is the originally uninvolved Palestinians who have to pay with their blood for this ideology of historical contortion by being made revenants and successors of the Nazis.

So let us stop pretending that a German chief editor does not know the difference between anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism! Or that he could mix up attack and defense by accident. Let's not talk ourselves into the belief that our politicians do not know what racism is and what ethnic cleansing is. Every teacher in every school knows what mass murder is, and when they get Zionist propaganda from the "media service" MEMRI, then they can assess the information, because it is part of their job. When someone denies or belittles a mass murder in Germany, where the worst pogroms against Jews, Sinti and Roma, artists and communists, free thinkers, homosexuals, Serbs, Poles and other groups were committed, even a mass murder that can be understood as a result of World War II, then he or she, as a German perpetrator, must be prepared to be taken to account personally. This is how it was last time. They were sent to Nuremberg.

The current second case may be secondary, because Germans did not start it – they supported and justified it –, but it is just as real as the first case, when Jews were victims. It is revealing that the pogrom in its relevance went unnoticed by our public. The liberation struggle of the Palestinians, legitimate by all standards of international law, here is largely perceived as being anti-Jewish. Biased intellectuals call it "secondary anti-Semitism" and the like when anti-Jewishness would hide behind criticism of Israel. It is obvious how the responsibility for violence and terror is being projected here onto the Palestinian victims and their supporters, while the freedom of the Zionist state to use any kind of violence remains virtually unchallenged.

It is important to talk about the reproach of anti-Semitism, for it ALWAYS appears when it comes to the nitty-gritty of Palestinian rights. This is what I call a narcissic projection, serving the ego only, not the situation. This is also where I see the nucleus of the problem and thus an involvement of Germany. It is easy to trace who said and did what between December 27 and

January 18, 2009. And who said nothing. The names and quotations of the respective individuals can without difficulties be put into a context and can be evaluated. An internet publication already is a success. At the same time, some networkers in Germany and elsewhere are seeking to expedite legal consequences. They are no longer willing to accept the situation. There are clearly responsible people who have made the public believe that it was Hamas who broke the truce. The refugees, the occupation of Palestine and the merciless siege of Gaza have not been pointed out to be causes of the conflict. A glimpse on [www.theheadlines.org](http://www.theheadlines.org) already suffices to unmask the audacious manipulators in our mainstream media, especially when substantial news is left out, news that is needed to understand the situation. This happens bona fide, certainly, for it is meant to protect Jews. Just like the stab-in-the-back legend after World War I allegedly was meant to protect the state. We remember how this ended. But did we draw the consequence and no longer lie to the public? No. We hang the Nazi genocide so high that nothing can reach it and everything else becomes relatively small and basically unimportant. When we make clear that there must never be a "schluss-strich" (final stroke, i.e. forgetting the past) and simultaneously prohibit every comparison, then we cannot have a meaningful discussion. When the genocide gets mystified and cemented with dogmas, then the memory of what happened will get lost and this is a schluss-strich. There is no place more revealing of this than Palestine, especially Gaza now.

Something is different now. There is, for example, a Palestinian Holocaust Memorial Museum (PHMM), see <http://palestinianholocaust.net>. There it reads: "The museum will feature the photos, names and stories of Palestinian children killed by Israeli forces in the context of a new Holocaust. PHMM will highlight the elements of the new Holocaust; the locations, weapons and impacts. Testimonies of the survivors will also be published." – Maybe our public says: This comparison must not be. Of course, there is no Auschwitz in Palestine. Looking at it in a sober way it is no holocaust. But where do we stand now in Palestine? Have we not already surpassed the stage of 1933, the stage of simple discrimination? Is it really possible after the Gaza murder to say that this is not even comparable to Germany in 1938? Where are we now? 1939? 1940? 1941? So, when looking at it in a sober way, do we have to say it only is no holocaust YET? What does Israel want to do with the people of Gaza?

What is behind the ban of comparisons and the philo-Semitic dogmas of the good Jew? Can it be that our society just wants to continue being racist, and now, that it is no longer allowed to hate Jews, people turn to Palestinians, Arabs and Muslims instead? It also seems to be very practical to shift the Nazi guilt on to the Palestinians psychologically. An extreme case of this is [www.antifa-saar.de.vu](http://www.antifa-saar.de.vu), who distributed stickers in the city of Mainz on which

the "Palestinian anti-Semites of Hamas" are put on a level with German Neo-Nazis. Obviously, this has little to do with anti-fascism, for Hamas in the first place does not care for Jews so much as for a life with self-determination and dignity. Before Hamas, the PLO was "the evil" and before Iran it was Iraq. There is no end to this. Therefore we, who have a conscience, collect the names of the Palestinian victims of this butchery and the names of the perpetrators, also the desk-perpetrators in Germany. Enough! We demand that the perpetrators be brought to justice and that their high tech mass murders and their humiliation of the victims stop forever!

It is easy to find them. They always say "radical Islamic", before they say "Hamas", and they always portray Jews as victims, even when they are mass murderers. They have a clear-cut measure for Jews and another clear-cut measure for Arabs and Muslims. It needs to be sharply formulated that this is racism and it needs to be fought. It is not a maybe or a little racism, but it is the pure form and it emerges from out of the middle of society. We all know how our public would have reacted if it were 1360 Jews that had died – this is the most plausible indicator.

Not a single Palestinian of the 200.000, who live in Germany, is known to the public. Especially none of those who demand equal rights for the Palestinians in the world. Our TV stations even manage to discuss Gaza in talkshows without the voice of Palestinians. This is not a coincidence, but the only way to keep up the stereotypes and to dismiss facts. Had the Palestinians voices and faces, everybody would see that they are normal human beings like all the others. The audience is led to believe that the deal is about "peace" with some basically suspicious Palestinians. But, first of all, it certainly is about the liberation of the Palestinian people from the deadly danger that blatantly contradicts all human rights and all international laws and that has persistently been covered with dogmas for decades. Only afterwards can there be peace, for peace means trust. Nobody trusts a brutal and unjust occupier.

There are villains, heroes and disinterested people on all sides, this is the message that needs to be conveyed in Germany today. There certainly are Jewish heroes and Palestinian villains. There also are Palestinian good guys and Jewish bad guys. The stereotypes of our media and culture are always harmful when they are based on a double standard. Therefore it is important to make sure that after the paradigm shift the Palestinians are not conceptualized as the good guys in turn, or the Jews as the bad guys again. This time we have to learn to dispense with double standards completely. Palestinians and descendants from Palestinians in Germany and elsewhere are in no way different from other people. They laugh when they are happy and cry when they are sad. They have all the qualities nature has bestowed on man and they do not like it when their brothers and sisters are killed and

when their cemeteries are defiled. As human beings they have – we have – rights. Those rights we demand after an aggressive army, under the enthusiastic support of the majority of the Israeli population and with the collaboration of the western world, committed a pogrom in Gaza. Nothing more and nothing less.

To conclude, let us come back to the German silence between 1945 and 1968 that was mentioned in the beginning. It is necessary to examine how far this silence has made the former Jewish victim group a perpetrator group in Palestine. For when the Nazi perpetrators and their surroundings had not been able to at least openly talk about everything with the surviving victims, as an expression of repentance, then this increases the probability that the victims – and be it unconsciously – seek to understand the traumatic primal experience from out of the complementary role. This is what the German responsibility is about today, no matter what the papers write. We don't need any more German arrogance. Humility before life is the call, after this horror.



Gaza (2). Contribution for the Free Gaza Art Festival on Anis Online in 2009 © Golrokh Nafisi  
<http://golrokhn.blogspot.com>

## **Gaza Chronology: 19 June – 27 December 2008**

**19 June** Ceasefire agreement between Israel and the Hamas government comes into force for six months. Israel insisted on a verbal agreement. It stated: cessation of all military hostilities on both sides, opening of Gaza's borders after 72 hours for 30 % more trade, unrestricted trade after ten days. Egypt supports the extension of the agreement to the West Bank. [Source: International Crisis Group: Ending the War in Gaza. Middle East Briefing No. 26, 5 Jan 2009, p. 3]

### **19 June**

Israeli warships fire four rockets at Palestinian fishermen in Palestinian waters. On the same day aircraft circling over Gaza City break the sound barrier near the ground and trigger a panic among the people. In the area of Khan Yunis Israeli patrols shoot over the border fence at farmers who work on their fields on the other side of the border. [Source: Ma'an, 26 Jun 2008] This scenario is repeated almost daily.

### **24 June**

Two young officials of Jihad are murdered in their homes in Nablus by units of the IDF (Israeli Defence Force). On the same day al-Quds Brigades fire three rockets at Sderot in retaliation. [Source: Ma'an 24 Jun 2008] The Israeli side uses the action of Jihad as an excuse to close the border crossings again.

### **26 June**

The al-Aqsa Brigades fire a rocket on Sderot after many Fatah members have been arrested in raids by the Israeli army. With this the al-Aqsa Brigades want to force the extension of the ceasefire to the West Bank. The spokesman of the Hamas government in Gaza warns the al-Aqsa Brigades that their actions would prevent the lifting of the blockade and favour instead the narrower interests of a organisational and political nature.

### **29 June**

A delegation of farmers complain to Hamas' Ministry of Agriculture that because of the Israeli bombardment they can no longer cultivate their fields along the border fence.

### **4 August**

During a meeting of the Israeli labour party the Minister of Defence, Ehud Barak, threatens a ground invasion into the Gaza strip, despite Hamas' adherence to the ceasefire.

### **8 August**

The director of the secret service Shin Bet, Yuval Diskin, thinks that a ceasefire would reduce the pressure on Hamas to release Shalit. He calls on the army to prepare for a major military offensive. [Source: Ma'an 8 Aug 2008] These statements reinforce the impression among Palestinians that as far as the Israeli military leadership is concerned the purpose of the ceasefire is to gain time in order to prepare an offensive.

### **29 September**

The Israeli navy sinks a fishing boat [Source: [www.btselem.org/english/testimonies/20080910\\_israeli\\_navy\\_boat\\_charges\\_into\\_a\\_fishing\\_boat\\_witness\\_al\\_hasi.asp](http://www.btselem.org/english/testimonies/20080910_israeli_navy_boat_charges_into_a_fishing_boat_witness_al_hasi.asp), link expired], after fishing boats were shot at and rammed several times.

### **4 November**

Israeli troops enter into Khan Yunis. Deliberately targeted projectiles kill six Hamas members and injure several people, including one woman. In the Deir al-Balah several rockets are fired at residential areas. Near Wadi Salqa two houses of the Hawaidi family are destroyed and seven family members, three of them women, are kidnapped and taken to Israel. The same day Israeli border guards prevent French consular officials, who want to get a picture of the situation, from entering the Gaza strip. (Some background information: the dubious tunneller Abu Dawabah is arrested and claims during interrogation that both Hamas and al-Aqsa brigades had offered him money for kidnapping an Israeli soldier. [Source: Ma'an 3 Nov 2008] One day later the Hamas Ministry of Internal Affairs issues a denial. (See also International Crisis Group: Ending the War in Gaza. Middle East Briefing No. 26, 5 Jan 2009, p. 5)

### **5 November**

Residential areas in the north of the Gaza strip and Khan Yunis are bombarded. Israeli troops kill a leader of Jihad and six Hamas officials. Because of this, Hamas, the al-Aqsa Brigades and Jihad fire rockets into Israel. Until then Hamas fully observed the ceasefire. Jihad and the al-Aqsa Brigades state that the ceasefire will not prevent them from reacting to Israeli violations of the agreement. In spite of this, Hamas wants to continue the ceasefire and ask Egypt for mediation.

### **5 November**

The Gaza Strip is completely sealed off. Even food, medicine, fuel, spare parts for generators and water pumps, paper, telephones and shoes can no longer or only in minimal amounts enter the Gaza Strip.

### **8 November**

Israeli bulldozers enter into the strip at several points. This leads to armed clashes with the units of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP).

### **9 November**

Hamas Chief Ismail Haniya declares to European delegates who had broken through the sea blockade with a boat of the Free Gaza Movement and visited Gaza that Hamas could live with a solution of the Palestine problem on the basis of UN Resolutions. [Source: Ma'an 9 Nov 2008]

### **12 November**

A further four Hamas members are killed. Israeli airplanes fire rockets at residential areas. The Palestinian factions are getting ever more skeptical about the ceasefire. Israeli bulldozers cut a 150 metre swath into an area in the Gaza Strip for military patrols, destroying about 750 hectares of agrarian land. [Source: Ma'an 21 Nov 2008]

### **13 November**

Israeli boarder patrols bar a UN food convoy from passing the border. The DFLP claims that for Israel this was not about the ceasefire, but about breaking resistance to the occupation. In the following days the PFLP, the DFLP, the Popular Committees and Hamas fire projectiles at Israeli places while Israeli airplanes bomb the north of the Gaza Strip.

### **16 November**

The Israeli Minister of Transport calls for killing the whole Hamas leadership. During new attacks another four members of the Popular Committees are killed. By now 15 people have been killed during the air strikes in recent days. The Popular Committees declare the end of the ceasefire. Their spokesperson blames Israel.

### **17 November**

The DLFP and Jihad fire rockets into Israel.

### **18 November**

The food crisis gets worse and worse. 50 % of the bakeries cannot operate anymore due of lack of flour. Others use animal feed to bake bread. Israeli tanks enter the strip, there are armed clashes with the PFLP and the Mujahedin, another resistance group of Fatah. The Israeli Navy arrest 15 fishermen and three foreign solidarity activists off the coast of Gaza. The "internationals" accompanied the fishermen in the hope that their presence would guarantee a minimum of protection. They are taken to Israel and get expelled after six days of solitary confinement. [Source: Ma'an 18 Nov 2008] The three fishing boats were given back after nine days, but one boat was

damaged, the GPS device was missing. During their days in prison, the solidarity workers were barred from contacting their lawyers and their embassies. [Source: [www.freegaza.org/de/home/547-three-palestinian-fishing-boats-returned](http://www.freegaza.org/de/home/547-three-palestinian-fishing-boats-returned) and [www.freegaza.org/de/home/558-kidnapped-in-gaza](http://www.freegaza.org/de/home/558-kidnapped-in-gaza) , both links expired]

### **20 November**

Yet again a Hamas member is killed by targeted rocket strikes. Hamas increasingly comes under pressure from the other groups as well as their own base, who demand they force Israel to keep to the ceasefire. But how?

### **23 November**

Diplomatic sources claim that the Egyptians stepped in and got Hamas and the Israeli government to agree to resume the ceasefire according to the conditions originally negotiated. This is confirmed by Hamas. Hamas spokesman Ayman Taha furthermore states that the other resistance groups also agree to the continuation of the ceasefire – on condition that the blockade is lifted. Israel does not comment on this.

### **24 November**

A member of the Popular Committee is killed by an Israeli rocket. After Israeli claims that rockets were fired – but no one claimed responsibility for that – the Israeli Minister of Defense Barak retracts the order to open the border for urgently needed food deliveries. As far back as August rockets had been fired on several occasions from the Gaza Strip to the Negev desert, without claim of responsibility, which led to the closure of the border each time. At the time Hamas leader Mammud al-Zahhar accused Israeli agents of creating a pretext for a land invasion. [Source: Ma'an 12 Sep 2008] Also at the time the names of groups nobody in Gaza had heard of before and knew anything about crop up such as Ahrar al-Jalil, Tawhid Brigades or Hisb Allah. Some believe they are collaborators wanting to corrupt the ceasefire. Other voices believe they are small radical cells who think Hamas have made too many concessions.

### **28 November**

The Israeli army kills a man from Khan Yunis, who doesn't belong to any organisation. On the same day eight Israeli soldiers are injured at a boarder border post through attacks by the Mujahedin.

**30 November** Jihad declare they no longer feel bound by the ceasefire. The al-Aqsa Brigades fire projectiles at Sderot again. Hamas and Jihad are warned by mediators from Qatar that Israel plans a major military offensive in the Gaza Strip. The political leadership of Hamas issues an urgent appeal to armed groups including their own al-Qassam Brigades to stop firing rockets into Israel.



**2 December**

Israeli tanks enter the Gaza Strip again. Two teenagers are killed in air strikes.

**4 December**

Al-Aqsa Brigades fire rockets at Ashkelon.

**5 December**

Massive assaults by Jewish settlers on Palestinians in Hebron. While the al-Aqsa Brigades, the DFLP and the al-Quds Brigades of the Jihad fire rockets at Israeli places as a reaction to the events in the West Bank, Hamas organises solidarity demonstrations with Palestinians in Hebron to rescue what is left of the ceasefire agreement.

**7 December**

The blockade in the Gaza Strip is getting more severe. A boat from Israel with peace activists wanting to bring food and gifts for children to Gaza on the occasion of the feast of sacrifice is forced to turn back by Israeli warships. The same fate befalls a boat from Qatar and another one from Libya, both of which want to deliver food to Gaza.

**13 December** Tzipi Livni states that in case a Palestinian state is set up the Palestinian people living in Israel would be expatriated. By now no organisation thinks there is any purpose in extending the ceasefire. Brigades of the DFLP, al-Aqsa, the Popular Committees and Jihad fire at Israeli places on a regular basis. The political leadership of Hamas in Gaza, especially the de facto president Haniya has no means of preventing this, because even their own armed faction, the al-Qassam Brigades, no longer see any sense in the ceasefire.

**14 December**

The Hamas leadership abroad states through Khaled Mashaal that Hamas reject an extension of the ceasefire, whereas Haniya still hopes that Egyptian mediation will help achieve an extension.

**19 December**

On the same day the six-month-ceasefire ends all factions declare at separate mass events that they consider the ceasefire to be finished – even Fatah.

**20 December**

Fawzi Barhum, the spokesman of Hamas, calls on all factions to form a common resistance front. His acerbic reply to the Russian demand that Hamas should consider the extension of the ceasefire is that the onus was now on the international community to put pressure on Israel to cease the attacks on

the Palestinian people, instead of blaming the victims of these attacks. [Source: Ma'an 21 Dec 2008] But the Egyptians do not react.

**23 December** The former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Hamas government, Mahmud al-Zahhar, declares once again that Hamas is prepared to continue with the ceasefire agreement, provided Israel adheres to the conditions agreed in June, in particular the lifting of the blockade. But the discourse of al-Qassam Brigades is more subdued. Abu Ubaida, spokesman of al-Qassam Brigades, speaks only about the possibility of suspending the military action and no longer about a ceasefire and does not exclude any military action in Israel if Israel does not stop its aggression against Gaza. [Source: Ma'an 23 Dec 2008]

### **27 December**

The Israeli military attacks the Gaza Strip, killing about 1.360 people, mostly civilians including more than 400 children, by 18th January 2009. Many thousands are injured and made homeless. Israel uses phosphorus as a weapon, turns over a cemetery, shoots at the UN, schools, mosques etc. About 13 people die on the Israeli side, some of them are killed by their own soldiers. The West puts the whole blame for the catastrophe on Hamas.

*Created by Anis on February 25, 2009. Information based on Ivesa Lübben: "Warum der Waffenstillstand scheitern musste", [www.toomuchcookies.net/archives/2125/ivesa-lubben-warum-der-waffenstillstand-scheitern-musste.htm/all/1](http://www.toomuchcookies.net/archives/2125/ivesa-lubben-warum-der-waffenstillstand-scheitern-musste.htm/all/1) . Translated by Güzin Bilgi, revised by Susanne Schuster, members of Tlaxcala, revised also by Paul Larudee from the Free Gaza Movement.*

# **Glossary of the German Gaza Justification Discourse**

March 2009

## **Anti-Semitism**

In the mainstream discourse, this code word usually refers to lack of philo-Semitism. In very many cases the reproach of anti-Semitism is an ideology indicator for positive racism toward Jews. In Germany, "the Jews" can only be the bad guys or the good guys. This has historical reasons and is not questioned. Germany has a tradition of racism toward Jews and apparently no intention of giving it up.

## **Bibi and Zipi**

Some of the responsables in Israel gives themselves Teletubbies names to show populism.

## **Both Sides**

A code to hush up guilt. As Israel cannot be the only responsible and as Palestinians are not called to responsibility, either, any conviction of Israel is canceled.

## **Hamas**

The enemy in its characteristic form. Hamas is portrayed as being so evil that every means against it is approved. If innocent people get hurt it will be again Hamas' fault, because this is the law in Germany. You only have to allude to Hamas and you will need no arguments anymore. This is very practical, for you can always just say Hamas broke a truce, whether this is true or not.

## **Historical Responsibility**

A code for losing touch with reality in the present, a navel-gazing argument.

## **Hydra**

German journalists know Greek mythology well, because it is the people of poets and thinkers. Hydra is the enemy that mysteriously grows in number, although there is basically nothing bad that can be said about the Israelis, the Germans, or, for that matter, the West in general. So why do they hate us so?

## **Perpetrators**

Perpetrators in the German Gaza justification discourse are mainly Nazis and Hamas. And all of us, of course, but mostly Hamas. Sometimes Muslims. Before Hamas it was the PLO and before Ahmadinejad it was Saddam. After

Ahmadinejad and Hamas there will be more material, because the region simply swarms with enemies. What a coincidence!

**Radical Islamic** An ideology indicator, usually uttered in the beginnings of news and articles. It refers to the boogey man, there is no other plausible reason for the use of this concept.

### **Reason of State**

The unwritten law that constitutes the basis of this glossary.

### **Reward**

In the German Gaza justification discourse the lifting of the illegal siege is a promised reward for Hamas when it behaves well. This means that the Palestinians must earn their human rights first. This in turn means they are not yet human beings. But there is no special concept for that, like there was in the old times.

### **Right of Existance**

A code for the unconditional right of action.

### **Shift to the Right**

After the elections, almost only ultra-national, nationalistic and anti-democratic elements are in power, but this is not to worry at all, because the Israelis are the good guys. Really, nothing bad can happen. Basically, nothing happened in Gaza, either, for it is Hamas' fault, anyway. Meanwhile there are almost 1500 dead, but, as mentioned before, a shift to the right in Israel is completely harmless and absolutely not to compare with Germany. Even though Frau Merkel said in the Knesset that we share values. She meant something else with that sentence.

### **Tunnel**

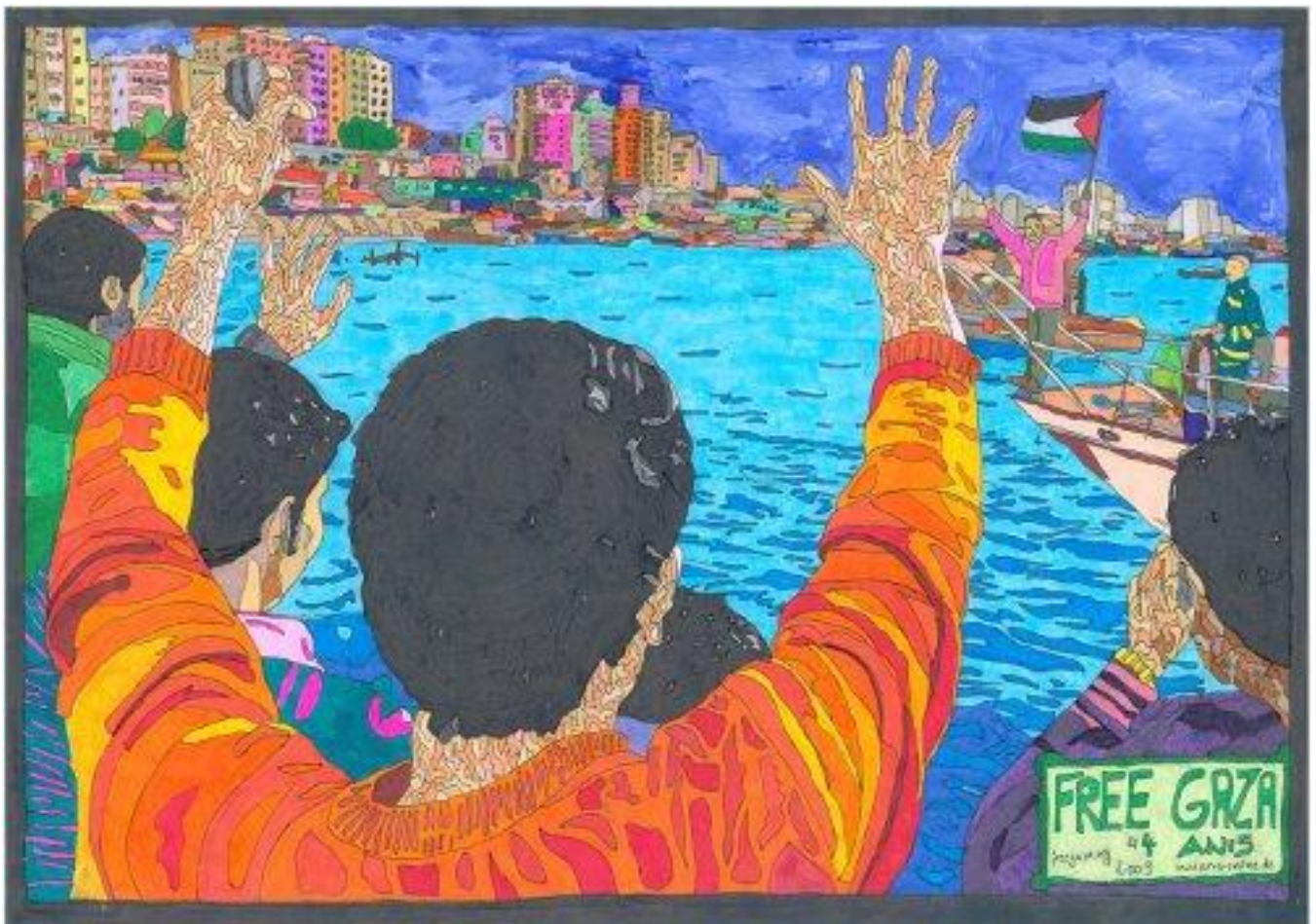
It is extremely important for German politicians and journalists that the sordid smuggling of arms through the tunnels from Egypt stops. This is regarded to be a precondition for peace. The Palestinians are to be unarmed when they are fought with phosphorus, tanks and rockets.

### **Victim**

Victims are always the Jews, something that is confirmed with regular anti-Semitism articles in all the newspapers. When a Jew uses violence, a German journalist and politician will always recognize it as a defense, no matter if in Germany or in Palestine. And there is no other possibility, because "the Jew" in Germany necessarily is either good or evil (see "Anti-Semitism"), and he

cannot be evil, as we have learned after 1945. So he MUST be victim, otherwise the world would make no sense.

**Zionism** This word is rare in the German discourse, because it is a real hot potato. So the concept is projected and identified as Judaism or Jewry. Ruling Zionism is a nationalistic ideology that is grounded in a supposed superiority of Jews. Therefore it is not obliged to observe international law or the human rights.



Free Gaza (4) © Anis 2009

## **Is Gaza under Occupation or Not? Free Gaza Boats about to Find out More**

July 2008

For more than two years, all border crossings to the Gaza Strip have been closed by the Israeli army. Since then, the 1.5 million inhabitants live in a state of siege, even more so since June, when the siege was tightened. As reasons for the siege Israel refers to Qassam rocket fire from the area and the alleged intention of the Hamas government to destroy Israel. At the same time, Israeli government officials emphasize that the occupation of the Gaza Strip has ended with the withdrawal of the Israeli settlements and army in September 2005 and that the Gaza Strip would now be considered foreign territory. But facts on the ground speak a different language.

The siege has a disastrous effect on the humanitarian situation in the Gaza Strip as it violates the human, economic and social rights of the population. More than 200 civilians have died because of the restrictions. In addition, the siege has severely impacted the flow of food, medical supplies and other necessities such as fuel, construction materials and raw materials for various economic sectors. Factories have been forced to close. The unemployment rate is the highest in the world, according to a recent UN report. About 60 % of the Gazan households rely on donations, says UNWRA, and urges Israel to reopen the borders. The current bloody rivalries between Hamas and Fatah add to the overall problem.

Recently, the European Commission agreed on a direct aid of \$ 6.3 million for the poorest, to be distributed until the end of the year. At the same time, Europe supports the suffocation of the civilian population and the boycott of the democratically elected government, causing damage far beyond \$ 6.3 million. To relieve the distress, a few weeks ago, a Palestinian-Scottish couple took a truck from Scotland to deliver one and a half tons of medical supplies to the Gaza Strip. At the current moment, Khalil Al Niss and Linda Willis have been waiting for days on the Egyptian side of the partition wall in Rafah and they have not yet gotten a permission to cross the border. The Egyptians deny this.

So, is Gaza under occupation or not? What does the so-called withdrawal of the Israeli army really mean? To clarify this matter two boats are leaving Cyprus for Gaza on or about August 7. Forty members of the "Free Gaza Movement" are on their way now to meet in Cyprus and prepare the vessels. They are invited to Gaza by The Palestinian Medical Relief Society, The Gaza Community Mental Health Programme, The Palestinian Centre for Human Rights, The Palestinian Ministry of Youth and Sport, the local popular committee to break the Gaza siege, and diverse individuals in Gaza. Legally, Israel has nothing to do with this enterprise, because the ships will not enter

Israeli waters or ports. They will sail directly from international waters into Gazan waters.

Some expect Israeli forces to stop the vessels in order to make a clear statement that the Gaza population are prisoners without any legal or human rights except the ones granted by Israel, and that Israel can thus newly demonstrate to the world how its legal conceptions rank higher than international and human rights laws. In the morning of July 20, for instance, Israeli war vessels opened fire on Palestinian fishing boats north and west of Gaza City, according to the news agency Ma'an. The usual justification for such action is the Israeli claim (or "fear", respectively) that arms are possibly smuggled into the area. Even the cease-fire, which Hamas and twelve other groups have been keeping since June 19, does not seem to make any difference to Israel – except for the fact that Israeli incursions are momentarily concentrated on Nablus and the West Bank. Legally, there are no grounds for any of these military measures.

The Free Gaza Movement consists of over 50 people from all over the world who are acting upon their conscience to lift the humanitarian crisis of Gaza by bringing medical and social aid to the Gazans. Only some of them will actually be on the "Free Gaza" and the "Liberty" and are expected to be welcomed at the coast by about ten Gazan ships. Some are on the land team in Cyprus and will be part of the organizing and media crew while the boats are at sea. It is a test case for more boats to open a sea bridge.

The boat passengers are, according to the current list, from Australia, Canada, Cyprus, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Lebanon, Pakistan, Palestine, Scotland, Tunisia, the UK, the USA. Altogether, more than twelve languages will be spoken among them. Among the participants are sailors, media people, lawyers, engineers, construction workers, nurses, teachers, doctors, speakers, professors, photographers, clerics, scuba divers, and nonviolent organizers. They are Muslims, Jews, Christians and humanists. The youngest is 22 and the oldest, Hedy Epstein, will celebrate her 84th birthday on the ship.

Hedy Epstein, having survived the Nazi genocide, became a human rights advocate. She has published her memoirs in German. Lawyer and media expert Huwaida Arraf plans to come, as well as Anne Montgomery, a nun from the US who has worked with the Christian Peacekeeper Team in the Occupied Territories. Jeff Halper from the Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions (ICAHD) is on board as well. From California arrives, among others, 74-year-old grandmother Mary Hughes-Thompson whose seventh trip to Palestine this will be since 2002. Ken O'Keefe, a former Marine and veteran of the first Gulf War will be there. Pakistani filmmaker and musician Aki Nawaz is part of the documentary team on board and physician William "Bill" Dienst is the medical expert who has worked in the clinics of Gaza and goes back to work again.

Angela Godfrey-Goldstein who works with the ICAHD and Machsom Watch is on the land team in Cyprus along with Uri Davis, a well-known author from Israel.

Many international organizations and individuals support the Free Gaza project and acknowledge the importance of the mission, among them Noam Chomsky and Luisa Morgantini, Vice President of the European Parliament. Archbishop emeritus Desmond Tutu wrote: "Peace and security, we discovered in South Africa, do not come through the barrel of a gun ... I support the boat convoy in its attempt." Nobel Peace Laureate Mairead Maguire adds: "You carry with you the hopes and wishes of many people around the world." The list of endorsers on [www.freegaza.org](http://www.freegaza.org) is updated daily now, as the date gets nearer and the world public turns its attention to the Free Gaza event.

The Free Gaza Movement is a humanitarian and a grass roots democratic project and not affiliated to any political party or agenda. Some public voices have tried to associate it with pro- or anti- group interests which the group vehemently rejects. In an email of one of the participants, Monir Deeb, the spirit of the unforgotten Count Folke Bernadotte is showing: "The Free Gaza group are investing their time, money, and safety to speak out against injustice. They are the same people who stood by the Jewish population of the world in the hard times of Nazi persecution." His Gazan father, says Deeb, actually met the Swedish diplomat and UN mediator Bernadotte during negotiations in the Sinai in 1948.

*This article was translated into German, Spanish, and Vittorio Arrigoni put the Italian version on his blog at <http://guerrillaradio.iobloggo.com/archive.php?eid=1729>*



## **Israel, Israel Above Everything – Merkel in the Knesset**

March 2008

If the German chancellor really cared for Israel's security as she claimed, she would not have been able to hold a speech like the one she presented on March 18 in front of the Knesset, the Israeli parliament. Israel is one of the most insecure countries in the world. Why is that? According to Merkel's speech Hamas, Hizbollah, Syria and Iran seem to be responsible. Those are criticized by her for their attitude towards Israel. The chancellor said that Israel has been fighting for 60 years against threats and for peace and security, with the values of freedom, democracy, and human dignity. Is that so? Then why are Jewish intellectuals inside and outside Israel – Holocaust survivors among them – vehemently and increasingly deploring the moral decay, the militarization of the society, and the self-destructive policy of the country? People like Ilan Pappé, Uri Avnery, Gideon Levy, Amira Hass, Reuven Moskovitz, Uri Davis, Jeff Halper, Hajo Meyer, Hedy Epstein, Noam Chomsky, Felicia Langer, Ran Ha Cohen, Norman Finkelstein, Shulamit Aloni, Michael Warschawski. And institutions like B'tselem, Gisha, Zochrot, Rabbis for Human Rights, The Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions, Jewish Voice for Peace. The list is much longer, these are only examples. Each of those individuals and groups is concerned about Israel's security and they write and protest out of their sense of responsibility.

We are still confronted with the phenomenon that critics of the Jewish State are labeled as anti-Semites or as self-hating Jews, respectively. An easy way to escape the confrontation with criticism. Historian Ilan Pappé, for instance, in his current bestseller "The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine" provided evidence that the foundation of Israel was accompanied by crimes against humanity. A great part of the indigenous population had been brutally expelled – some were murdered –, hundreds of villages were destroyed and estates were disseized. What kind of peace can you reach by ignoring facts like these? What kind of peace can you seek when ignoring the decade-long occupation of the Westbank and the Gaza Strip? And the annexation of a part of Syria? What kind of peace can one hope for when a wall is built not on the border, but on the land of the neighbor? When settlements are placed in occupied territory and expanded until today against international law? When water reservoirs are being tapped that do not lie on the own state territory? When populations are harrassed and treated with violence because of their ethnic affiliation? When democratic elections of the neighbor are annulled which arouses a civil war?

Frau Merkel said that Germany is "decidedly" committed to "the vision of two states", but this is what Israel keeps saying for decades, while the Palestinian territory is getting smaller and smaller because of annexations and

fragmentations. It is a stalling word that does not mean anything. Especially when a corrupt Fatah government is being kept alive, one that is alienated from the own population. The current Palestinian general deputy to Germany, for example, who is denied the rank of an ambassador, neither speaks German nor is committed to his people. He comes from the notorious Tunis clique and gets along with Olmert and Merkel better than with his own folks. One of the advisors of Mahmoud Abbas was recently busted for attempting to smuggle thousands of mobile phones to Jordan. Fatah is associated with treason and golden faucets, and with an authoritarian egotistic policy. There is no state to be built on that. "60 years of Israel – that is 60 years of brilliant construction work of the people under difficult circumstances", said Merkel. There surely is something missing. Can it make sense to flatter the official Israel and to encourage it in a destructive policy? At first the violence of the people under occupation must stop, at first the occupying state must be acknowledged, this is what we hear. It is presented as a condition. But even in places where there are nonviolent demonstrations, like in Bil'in, Israel plays the card of military harshness. Occupation and oppression lead to resistance and also to terrorism, this is a truism.

Unfortunately, in big politics it is not the facts that count, but myths. Israel and the Jews allegedly are victims of history until today, this is what every child in Israel learns in school. "Although the Federal Republic of Germany has always stood with Israel and its right of existence, the German public has often lacked an engagement and empathy for the state that was wrenched from the desert and a hostile anti-Western environment. Polls show time and time again that many Germans have a lot of understanding for the Palestinians and their problems – while remaining on a most critical distance to Israel, regarding Israeli heroism of survival to rather be an aggressive basic attitude", wrote the editor-in-chief of the daily newspaper "Die Welt", Thomas Schmid, on March 16, 2008, sentimentally in a contribution for page 1. When Israel's violence is praised to be heroic, it is no wonder that there is no change. The myth of Israel the victim, the myth of the Six-Day war, the myth of Oslo, the myth of anti-Semitic Islam/Arabia, they are all refuted and still form the basis of Western policy.

It is perfidious that Israel claims to speak and act for all Jews. To perform breaches of human rights and of international law explicitly in the name of the Jews – this inevitably leads to the creation of anti-Jewish tendencies. This is a major problem. It would be an anti-Semitic clichè, so we hear, that the Jews are themselves responsible for Judaophobia. Yet the discussion does not end here. If things are so straightforward, why then does Israel act against its own interests? From the beginning, the Israeli society has been traumatized with the Nazi genocide against the Jews. It is in the nature of the trauma that the unmastered situation is played through and is unconsciously provoked over

and over again, to the end of understanding what had happened in Germany and Europe. This is the reason why Palestinian, Arab and Muslim leaders have constantly been conceptualized as Hitler's revenants: Arafat, Sheikh Yasin, Saddam, Ahmadinejad etc. The brutal measures against the civil population are also to be understood in terms of the trauma: It is a truism that victims can easily turn to perpetrators when not overcoming their trauma. This certainly is also true for Palestinians. There is another reason for Israel to remain in its trauma: The Zionist ideology needs anti-Semitism as a legitimation. It is the linchpin of Israeli policy, Likud's and Labor's alike. Without the "existential threat", be it real or propaganda, the Israeli identity breaks down, at least as long as it is Zionist.

In German mainstream media and in politics the news about Israel and Palestine are strongly filtered and also falsified. A glimpse on the daily news at [www.theheadlines.org](http://www.theheadlines.org) shows the enormous discrepancy between what is reported in Germany and what is not. Germany's policy towards Israel can be summarized such that anti-Semitism turned to philo-Semitism: The evil Jew became the good Jew. Both ideas are racist and help no one. Both separate Jews from other people, both mean a special treatment.

We Germans did understand that "Germany, Germany above everything" (former lyrics of the national anthem) was wrong. So why should the philo-Semitic "Israel, Israel above everything" be right? Or "USA, USA above everything". George Bush launched an aggressive war against Iraq. We remember that the launching of an aggressive war was the main charge in the Nuremberg trials. So what can be our measure? The answer is as simple as it is compelling: international law and the human rights. Without any buts. It is simply a mistake to demand that "both sides" in this asymmetrical conflict have to move toward each other and compromise. Palestine, in comparison with Israel, has no power, no state, no army, no money, no infrastructure, not even enough to eat and drink. Legally, the situation is as clear as daylight and there is nothing to negotiate. There simply is a law to comply with, and this is all.

Now, whoever thinks that Germany because of its past is the least fit of all countries to fundamentally criticize Israel, is wrong. Israel is destroying itself and friend Germany, who experienced such a self-destruction himself, not only watches, but even encourages Israel to continue and speaks of "shared values", like Merkel in front of the Knesset. This has nothing to do with the thesis that Israel does not listen to anyone when it gets to politics. It is not true, anyway. Again and again internationals report that the presence of Western witnesses moves Israel to retentiveness, even though the murder of Rachel Corrie, Tom Hurndall and other activists shows that there are dangers, too. Germany took a far too easy way when it turned from an absolute Nazi

solidarity to an absolute solidarity with the USA and Israel. It is complicit in the results.

*This essay also appeared on Counterpunch, Alarab Online and The American Muslim. A French translation was published on Questions Critiques and palestine-solidarite.org.*



Meiroun. Contribution for the Free Gaza Art Festival on Anis Online in 2009  
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## A German Palestinian Identity

May 2005

University of Leipzig

Public University Chain Seminar Germany – Israel – Palestine

Conducted by: Professor Georg Meggle (Faculty of Philosophy)

Speech Script

There are many people who live with **two cultures** or more. It is even possible to argue that everybody descended from the culture of the mother and the one from the father. It often happens that people confront themselves with their respective cultures, grinding and harmonizing them, in order to be able to live with both of them at the same time.

When you are **German and Palestinian**, it is basically the same as everywhere when two things get together. Only that the history of Germany and the history of Palestine in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries in major parts belong together. The genocid of the Jews had immediate effects on the country of Palestine and the prevailing Zionist policy there.

Blatant are the differences of associations between the German word "**Juden**" and the Arabic word "**Yahuud**", although both words should mean the same thing: Jews. On the one side there is the perpetrator's trauma of the concentration camps, on the other side the victim's trauma of loss of land and freedom. Both is linked to this word which in two languages evokes so different images.

Whoever carries these two things inside will either discard the **perpetrator/victim stereotypes** or will become schizophrenic and live with a split personality, because one person alone cannot solve this fundamental contradiction. This German Palestinian contradiction shows, for example, in the so-called **two narratives**, i.e. ways to see the history of the country with the capital Jerusalem. People, who have both a German and an Arab identity, are forced to unite the two narratives for themselves into one story, in order to find a meaning in between the two versions of the Jewish land and the Arab land, respectively. They are forced to confront themselves with issues which are hardly tackled in society, or with reluctance. They cannot be content with the conclusion that there are two points-of-view, for what else does that mean than that there is war?

At these active questions I arrived relatively late, intensely only about three years ago, when there was an **incident in Jenin** in the West Bank. Since then, I have increasingly analyzed this conflict and integrated it into my artistic work. And since this time also the context of my own identity and the problem of the two narratives is entering my awareness. So I reconsidered my

own personal experiences in respect to the two narratives and in the following I want to give a short account on this.

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My first conscious memory of the German Jewish narrative is connected with a **documentary film about the concentration camps** which was shown in my high-school in Oelde in Westfalia. We were brought into the auditorium and, more or less unprepared, were shown the pictures of horror. I did not understand the situation. The film was important for me, indeed, but I felt left alone with these pictures. I did not realize yet that people in Germany and everywhere had and have so much difficulties with dealing with guilt and feelings in general. Afterwards the lessons went on. The lessons went on, this is not a reproach, they had to go on, only that from that day on something like a secret was in the air, something that stood between me and others. It was in the school-days, I started to get interested in Gandhi, ML King and Hermann Hesse and always came back to questions of German history.

The father of my mother was a German soldier in the war, he came from Königsberg and fled during the war with his family to Hamburg where he began a career as a civil servant and involved himself in protestant church work. He used to write reader's letters to the conservative newspaper "Die Welt" (and possibly still does). **World War II** was hardly ever a subject for discussion in our family. Much later I realized that this was a typical German constellation. There has always been an accompanying silence, similar to the mentioned film in school.

And the **Palestinian elements** in my life? I know falafil, hummus and fuul since my earliest childhood, other dishes, too, which I rediscovered in Palestine later and which are served on every party where Palestinians gather. The famous olive oil from home. I had also learned some bits of Arabic. Then there was the somewhat kitschy wall carpet showing beduins on a camel (it is somewhere in the cellar today) and the huge photograph of Jerusalem in my parents' living-room. A couple of souvenirs. There were – as I would say in retrospective – also other things, only that I did not have names for them at that time.

There certainly are **individual ways of dealing with cultural identity** in children from two distant cultures. My sisters, for example, showed little interest in the Arabic language, others from my university colleagues may have stronger Arab identities than me, when they listen to oriental music, have more Arab acquaintances and visit the orient often. In my case, the reflection on history, both the own and the one of the world, led to the awareness of my Arab and Palestinian identity. However, I would not call Palestine my home, because I have spent only little time there and my

lifestyle is not exactly typical for the society there. The family, of course, is a piece of home, even though I have visited them only for few – but intensive – occasions and not in the recent past. I exchange emails with a cousin of mine and recently heard about a small cultural initiative, which I would like to support in the future, in the village of my family near Jenin in the occupied West Bank.

The first time I talked to an **Israeli soldier** was when I was about 19. I was standing at a wadi with a small group of tourists when somebody tried to start a conversation with me. The intention was friendly, the man just wanted to exchange some words. I said to him: "Please, I do not want to talk to Israeli soldiers." At that he shrugged and went away. I don't like armed people too much, anyway. But in this case it was about the army which held the village under occupation where my father comes from. In this time I was not even ready for a dialogue. "al-Yahuud" said the people from the village and meant the occupying power. Why didn't they say "al-Isra'iliyin", the Israelis? Because it has too many syllables? This might well be a reason. Another reason is that there are also Arab Israelis, but these are not meant. It is about the Jewish state which is so defined in the Israeli self-understanding, too.

With **armed Palestinian groups** I never had contacts, but once in the eighties translated some recordings of video interviews with the "Black Panthers", an autonomous Palestinian mini militia. It was a "Spiegel TV" documentary. The Panthers were a mixture of Rambo-like appearances and hooded citizens. It was impossible for me to identify with them, even if it is also impossible for me to denounce the combat of Israeli occupation soldiers. It is a different case with civilians, international law makes clear distinctions here. A difficult case are the illegal Jewish settlers on Arab territory, because they have a similar political-strategic and also militant approach in many things and at the same time they have children who also live in the settlements.

Some time after my encounter with the Israeli soldier I met the Palestinian farmer **Ibrahim** who lives in the 48 area, i.e. the state territory of Israel (noting that "state territory" is not quite the proper word as Israel has no really defined borders.) Ibrahim also spoke Hebrew and had Jewish acquaintances some of whom I had the chance to see. It was difficult for me then to understand how such contacts could work out at all.

Much later, in 2003, I made the acquaintance of two Jewish musicians, the **Duo Rubin**, Ithay Khen and Gabriella Gonda-Khen, who had initiated a concert tour Shalom–Salam for which they were looking for a Palestinian counterpart and found me. This project is still running and, among other things, made me explore my national identities further. The Duo Rubin had been in Leipzig for several times and many of you in the audience here will still have musical memories of the couple from the Barenboim opening

speech. The encounters with the Duo Rubin have inspired me to write some **texts**, among them the 100 pages online report: "Kings We are, with Wings of Dust. Memories of the Shalom–Salam tour" from August 2004. Recently, two literary stories were completed, they also are online in German and English. It is important to mention in this context that the Duo Rubin and me have not solved the conflict among us yet, but we are **searching** for genuine and lasting peace ourselves.

It is rather not a romantic image of Palestine that I have. Even without the occupation there would not be everything alright there. Patriarchal structures are alien to me and I have a concept of freedom which also makes me question many patterns of behavior which I know from Palestine and from exile Palestinians. This concerns certain religious ideas as well as issues of education.

Conflict research has for years been a strong motivation for me to newly think about Palestine, Germany and Israel and this task has always led me to look inside myself. Not (or hopefully not) out of narcissism, but because the course of research systematically pointed in this direction. This is my experience, others might have made different experience. My conclusions accord for example with the ones of pacifist **Avigail Abarbanel**, psychotherapist and former soldier in the Israeli army who since 1991 lives in Canberra, Australia. On her homepage [www.avigailabarbanel.me.uk](http://www.avigailabarbanel.me.uk) (new link, exchanged in 2012) there is a sentence which I regard to be centrally important in this context: "I believe that people who know that they have been hurt have a duty to heal themselves so that they do not hurt others." Avigail Abarbanel here speaks on the background of her personal experiences. As she arrived at this conclusion in her own life she consequently became political.

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As a Palestinian German I am, of course, also confronted with the **commitment of Germany to Israel**. Our foreign minister recently wrote about it in a prominent place: "This commitment is unlimitedly and conditionlessly valid, it is not negotiable and builds the basis for the special relationship of our two countries." A problem, which people do not really seem to be aware of, is that such an absolute commitment violates both the human rights and international law if it is taken to justify occupation, killings, illegal settlements, theft of land and the like. Moreover, unlimited and conditionless lump commitments to states point to an atavism which basically seemed to have been mastered with the introduction of democracy in Germany. But people in the Weimar period may have thought the same thing, I don't know. Especially because of the German history such concepts worry me, likewise the comparable chancellor's word of the "unconditioned



solidarity" which he uttered in the evening of September 11, 2001. This is an example for the fact that I, as a Palestinian German, cannot really develop trust in my country, i.e. Germany.

A second important point in this context is the question **which Israel** is referred to, at all. Is it the Israel of the United Nations or the romantic, glorified Israel? What exactly is protected when the talk is about "Israel"? At any rate, occupation and the juridical distinction between Jews and non-Jews do not belong to the right of existence of the State of Israel or any other state.

In his topical position paper Herr Fischer mentions a "war of terror against Israel" which allegedly has emerged from the Palestinians before Abbas' rule. With my name and with my background I certainly notice that Palestinians, also Arabs and Muslims are quite often regarded with a certain suspicion. And how could it be different when there are such unlimited commitments? Because of my descent on the one hand and the German all-inclusive commitment to the State of Israel, on the other, I might be something like a "you can never know" person or at least have to defend myself against this latent accusation which is being posed to Arabs and Muslims in general. Herr Fischer says in the same source: "The important thing is to observe with great vigilance how our Jewish citizens and their communities in Germany factually feel. Their concern about a new increase of anti-Semitic and xenophobic attitudes, utterances and acts of violence, and their concern about **unjustified or one-sided criticism of Israel** must not leave us untouched."

It sounds considerate what is expressed here, but the **other side of the medal** is that, for example, students' grants can be canceled when these students participate in Palestine conferences or when they are critical of the human rights violations in Israel. Two such cases from 2004 are personally known to me and in both cases I did not have the impression that they would be suspicious persons. In politics, too, suspicions, which lead to the exclusion of participants of the discourse, are known. Also the fact that the present speaker writes so much and publishes it online does have to do with his wish or need, respectively, to protect himself because of his descent and weltanschauung. There are, for example, groups in Germany which systematically look for deviant people in the name of Israel and who make reports for press, ministries and security institutions where apparently they are listened to closely, a circumstance which cannot surprise much, when we consider the mentioned commitment to Israel.

A common way to launch such a campaign is the **reproach of anti-Semitism**. In January 2004 I analyzed this reproach in the online study: "The Reproach of anti-Semitism in Critical Reflection"<sup>4</sup> under consideration of about 400 press sources. One of the conclusions was that this reproach is brought

forward in the context of Israel criticism almost every time. In other words: It always concerns the rights of Palestinians, too, without that the Palestinians have to be named. Insofar, and from my position I feel the responsibility to point to the fact that this kind of special relationship between Germany and Israel would not be possible to maintain without an adversarial Palestinian and Arab-Muslim role, at all.

Here is a topical example for such a conflict shift with the background that a family from **Nablus** in the West Bank attempts to use its contacts to **Nuremberg** for a city partnership, supported by Arab partners. Under the title "A Horrible Suggestion" the journalist Eldad Beck wrote in the Israeli daily newspaper *Jediot Acharonot* on May 11, 2005: "During the past days a horrible initiative has been launched: The PA and the Arab League promote a partnership between the 'capital' of terror in Samaria and Nuremberg in Germany, the city that formed one of the most important centers of the Nazi party."

Ladies and gentlemen, can you understand me when I say that the German and Israeli publics sometimes make me feel oppressed? Nablus is an occupied city, human beings live there. I have been there several times, visited, among other things, a historical *hamam* (bath) from the Ottoman era, used today as a pastry bakery. Why are such bad comparisons invented and Palestinians brought into a context with Nazis? For this is not an isolated case, it can be shown in the dozen. **But I don't want to be an enemy.** Not even in parts. And I also do not want Arabs and Muslims to have to carry the unresolved World War II on their shoulders, being brought into a context with Nazis as it unfortunately is happening in our societies.

At the same time, discriminations against Jews are taken more seriously than discriminations against non-Jews, as the Fischer quote above made clear. This leads, among other things, to the condition that extremist groups on the Jewish side can go much further than others without the possibility of making them responsible. A nonviolent group called the "Christian Peacemaker Teams", for example, recently created an online photo study about **graffiti of Jewish settlers in Hebron**, graffiti which has not been removed by the authorities. There you can read mottos in English like "Kill all Arabs", which belongs to the more harmless messages, for there is also the mentioning of gas chambers. Undisputedly, there is polemicism and aggression among Palestinian extremists. The danger, however, to be publically suspected because of such polemicism, exists on one side only.

In order to illustrate this imbalance I would like to mention my **encounters with Sami and with Latuff** on the internet about three years ago. Sami told me that he had left the Israeli army behind and showed me an anti-war poem that he wrote and that I found very telling and beautiful. Sami had gone to Switzerland and co-founded the organisation "Children of the Holocaust"

there. To his work belong discussions with right-wing radicals who wish to get out of their groups, the writing of texts and the participation in the public discourse. In this context, I received a mail one day which was about the discharge of a Brazilian image maker called Latuff. He had created an image series "I am Palestinian" in which people are shown in situations of oppression, and all say: "I am Palestinian". A native American says it to a US American, a Tibetan to a Chinese, and five other constellations. Among them a Jewish boy in the Warsaw ghetto. It was because of this image that "Children of the Holocaust" had complained and lost. In his newsletter mail Sami complained about it. In this situation I solidarized with Latuff, not because he was standing on the Palestinian side, but because of his freedom of opinion. As a matter of fact, there are quite a lot of Latuff's pictures which I do not like very much, when they are martial or drawing comparisons which I hold to be rather destructive in this form. Often, war is the subject of the pictures of the man from Rio, but it is always social justice he aims at. To cut or limit such a creative potential would be against all the principles which the democratic world has developed over the last centuries. The same Latuff drew the collection "Forgiveness" a few months ago where Israelis and Palestinians are shown in situations of forgiveness. It is one of the most impressive manifestations of a will to peace that I have ever seen. You can see the pictures for example in Latuff's Room on Anis Online.



Now one could ask: Why is Latuff allowed to let a boy from the Warsaw ghetto say: "I am Palestinian", while Eldad Beck may not bring Nablus and Nuremberg into a context? My answer to this is that Mister Beck may bring into a context whatever he wants, only that he does it in an important Israeli newspaper brings the issue onto another level. Besides, he is purely associatively suggesting a context between Nazis and Palestinians while Latuff created a dramaturgic context between oppressed Jews and oppressed Palestinians. But however we individually may judge in such cases, clear is that in a pluralism everybody will also be confronted with things that do not please and require tolerance. Especially when old wounds of the societies have not healed yet or when the thorn is still there in the wound. Therefore, the dialogue is important, the sincere and goal-oriented dialogue, or rather **trilogue**, which is still missing among Germany, Israel and Palestine. The exclusion of participants of the discourse and other repressive measures may work, but are not the method to achieve social peace.

Comparable cases are common and can be observed all over the world. On May 20, 2005, Yahoo News reported about a poem on a Palestinian victim. This poem was in the choice of a Norwegian school exam as a text for analysis in a 20 pages collection. It was written by the Norwegian author Lillian Schmidt and the title is: "Nida al-Azzais – a Palestinian Pupil". It describes a 14-year-old girl who was shot in 2002 in a refugee camp by Israeli soldiers. It ends with the words: "Nida, shot by Israeli soldiers, made me stop at last and see the violence. It made me take a stand. But how does this help her?" The Israeli embassy commented on this case and insisted that it was important to offer different perspectives of the conflict and to be balanced. I think it is quite understandable that the Israeli embassy is enervated, but what does it do to settle the conflict? Is there an interest, at all, to settle the conflict? This aspect is under-represented in the discourse and missing.

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The danger of an unlimited solidarity with a state lies in the **ideologization of the discourse**. Not the properness of arguments stands in the center of the discussion, neither juridical agreements, but solidarity stands above everything else. An example for this is the rubric "anti-Semitism articles" in the German press. It is a rubric with recurring patterns, topoi and warnings, easily recognized as a genre and firmly belonging to the media routine. This rubric always also concerns Palestinians, but they do not have a voice there, due to the consideration of the feelings of a heterogenous victim group. The reason for my own lack of using the term "anti-Semitism" to denote the phenomenon of discrimination against Jews is that the concept is loaded with historical associations and thus biased. It is always referring to the Nazi time

and it brings everybody, who is confronted with this reproach, close to the perpetrators of the genocide. The fact that a genuine mastering of the Nazi time has not yet happened can be viewed from this perspective, too. Then one might start to think about whether we are dealing with shifts and substitute conflicts which are performed in a ritual way to avoid the real conflicts and to delay their mastering. Like somebody who perpetually scratches a wound open in order to stay aware of the shock of its infliction. Concerning the anti-Semitism articles, they might be correct contentwise, but the genre indicates the involvement of an ideology, i.e. a methodical defense of unquestionable (dogmatic) truths which concern the fundament of social coexistence. The discursive reluctance in respect to the issue of ideologies might well be due to a general feeling of insecurity about how much acceptance ideologies may and should have in a democracy. Zionism beyond doubt is an ideology and Germany is in solidarity with it. Thus we have the question in our own house.

Now, when Palestinians say: "We don't want to be your enemy and we also don't want to live in oppression", then this seems to be an **acceptable attitude**. Such people indeed exist and they are not just a few. It is astonishing that one hears so little about them in the publics. Do they not fit into the scene in a country in which both the press and politics continuously emphasize the commitment to Israel instead of emphasizing human rights and international law which both were newly formulated and newly implemented after World War II as a consequence of the horrors? Or is the expectation that every single Palestinian has to become a pacifist and a moderate person before anybody from Palestine is listened to, at all?

This issue is important also because we are living in a time of **political sulkiness** endangering democracy. When politicians have but little credibility in the eyes of the society then this surely also has to do with the inconsistencies concerning international law and human rights. Some citizens have the impression that the state and the public do not systematically act according to criteria of justice and thus they find it hard to identify with them. In order to solve the whole conflict it is necessary to **newly discuss the origins of the conflict**. Newly simply because all previous attempts have not led to peace. The main task is to bring the two narratives to a **symbiosis**, for a **common understanding of history** is the key for ending the conflict. This is by all means a concrete starting-point and it can serve as an orientation on every level. On the official level, for example, a textbook project could be called into being after the example of Germany and France in recent times. Concerning the history of the two countries they have used one single text which entered the respective textbooks in German and French. In this way, the issues of conflict can be dealt with in a systematic way, because these issues will appear inevitably in such a project. Yet at the moment I do

not see the necessary **readiness** in the societies I observe, the readiness to contribute to the systematic conflict appeasement and to take equal-righted peace as important as it is.

As an artist and scientist I have thus drawn the consequence to search for constructive **alternatives** and, at the same time, to confront society with things which in my view obstruct the dialogue. My hope lies in the belief that society does know that the situation is not satisfying. It knows that one cannot win a war against terror just like one cannot win a war against anti-Semitism or against evil as such. Socrates said: "Nobody knowingly commits an injustice" and he meant that the subconscious likes to fool us and to provide us with **justification strategies** so that we can assume to be innocent. But when over so many decades conflicts remain unresolved and society even gets to feel from different directions that there had been misplannings and misconceptions, then it is not constructive to cling to the past. Only the open and tolerant society can develop the necessary synergies to set things right again. Thus social trust has to be established and this seems to be one of the main difficulties. But to remain in the present social constellations would mean to narrow the own perception, to seal oneself off against certain subjects, issues and statements and thus to introduce a kind of final stroke. Yet in view of our history **there cannot be a final stroke**. It is often argued that we need visions in order to resolve the major conflicts. This thought misses the fact that such visions already exist and that it solely is a matter of faith and the will to realize feasible visions.

## The Textbook Project

January 2003

The opposite of war is peace. But how to reach it? In the course of my dealing with this question I have come to two interacting motives or results, respectively, over and over again: firstly, peace by means of public and publicity, secondly, peace through the mastering of history. A recent radio news reminded me of that. It was on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Elysée Contract between France and Germany, and the news dealt with a textbook project between the Germans and the French. The textbooks of the two countries shall consider the shared history in an equal way, so that each text is a translation of the other. Without question, this will further improve the already harmonious relations between the two peoples. We should do this worldwide!

Let us imagine such a textbook project. The aim could be formulated as the availability of a standard historical text for all students in the world, in which they can read about the past of the international relations of their countries. This is not to be understood in an ideological way, but rather as a kind of agreement between peoples. It only secondarily is concerned with the respective domestic histories and concentrates on the interaction between countries. Similar to a UN resolution, this text will be elaborated in a process full of effort and conflict.

There are two advantages of such a text in comparison with a UN resolution: On the one hand it is written in a way that makes translations easy and that young people can understand. This to a major extent will exclude any phrasemongers and ambiguities. On the other hand, different groups and individuals, such as politicians, journalists, or peace groups, can enter this direction independently from each other, without needing further orders. The German monthly history journal "G/Geschichte", for example, very successfully lives this attitude and it is recommended by ministries and the German Youth Media Enterprise.

If we want to live in a world with no violence and if we want to prepare such a world for our children, then we are to elaborate nonviolent alternatives and coordinate them, and start now. Especially Germany already has generated good starting points, like the excellent German history TV documentaries. This attitude also concerns the press: The newspapers, too, present historical frames to us every day, and of course there also are conflicts and struggles about such frames. But what does make more sense today than to struggle over history in a civilized manner?

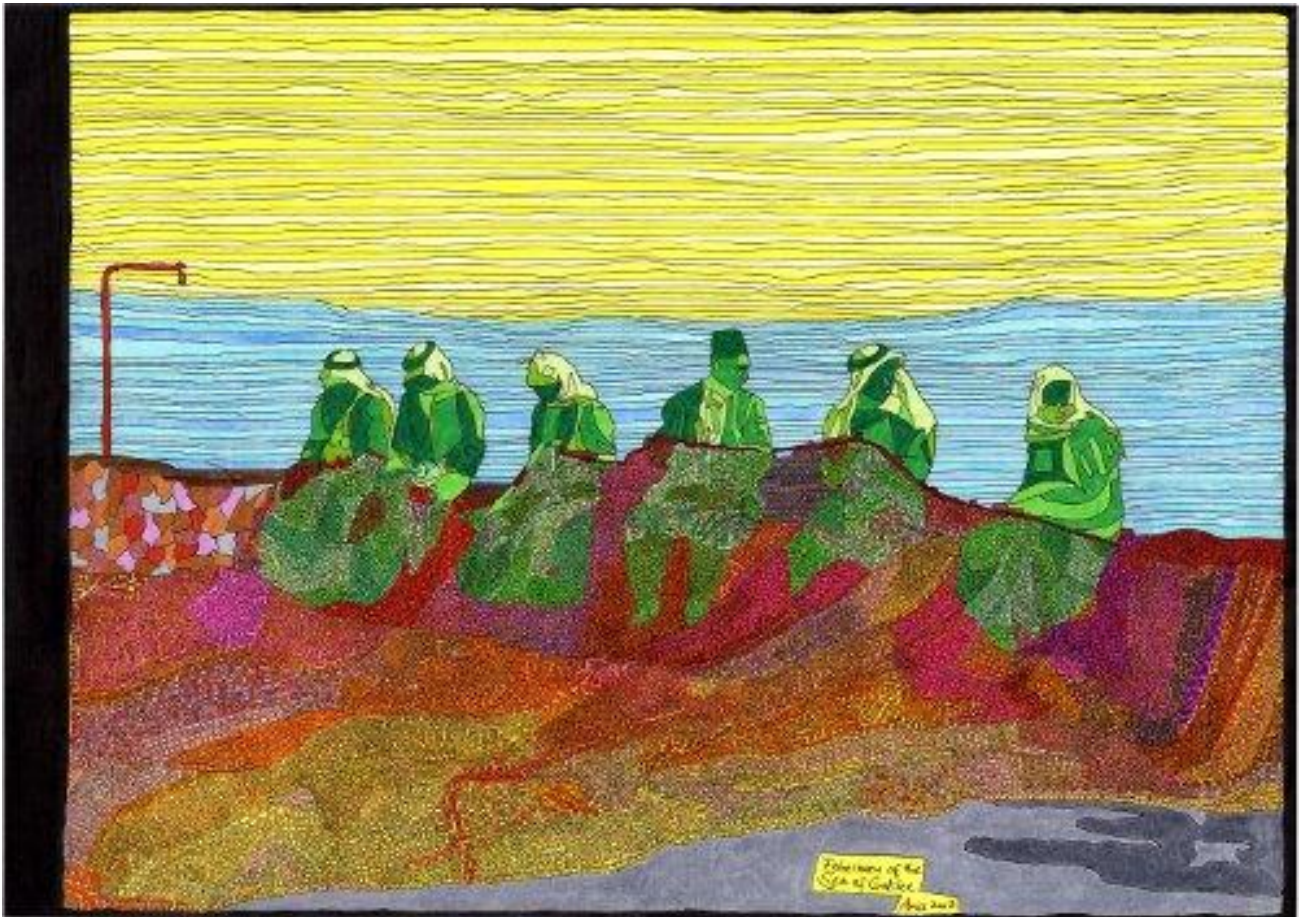
A text is to be construed which is accepted by all involved parties. That is the measure. A contract text that a child can understand. The Germans and the French will be able to manage, this is a start. A piece of the jig-saw. Which

other groups have similarly good relations and can follow without many problems to support the structure? Easy things first! The respective ministries of education then can decide upon the justice of the text by accepting it.

But even if it was not possible to implement such a project on the high level so fast, it can be stated that the internet community is generating such a database, in any case. The science of history has been changed by the web, for nowhere else can you obtain targeted information about the historical events in the world so fast. This historical flood is continuously increasing and interlinking, a trend that can be observed independently of any kind of project. The universities, too, are living in the world of the augmented public and are losing their ivory tower image in this new competition.

The textbook project is a task that can be viewed within the framework of a world peace initiative. For in the beginning of this century we find more and more peace groups which get together and coordinate in the real virtual world with accelerating speed. Like, for example, the Transcend group around Professor Johan Galtung ([www.transcend.org](http://www.transcend.org)). Many contemporary conflict management systems are circulating in the web and taking shape. In view of this international density we today are in the position to approach such a complex issue as the common world history. Peace does not rain out of the sky like manna. Peace is something active. We want and we need peace. Real peace. Honest peace.





Fishermen of the Sea of Galilee. From the series "Before their Diaspora", based on a photo from the book of the same name by Walid Khalidi. © Anis 2007

## **"Before their Diaspora" – Palestine Drawings, 60 Years On** Commemorations in Germany and in the World

(Mainz, 1 June 2008, *Anis Online*) Harvesting olive pickers, melon sellers, a monastery, the Via Dolorosa, a water mill, a traditional soap factory, fishermen from the Sea of Galilee ... the twelve exhibits of artist Anis Hamadeh's "Before their Diaspora" series shine in glossy colors. The 42 cm x 29,5 cm drawings trace back to photos from a richly annotated illustrated book of the same title. The Palestinian historian Professor Walid Khalidi created it to document the everyday life and the history of the Palestinians from 1876 until 1948.

"I wanted to bring new color to the black-and-white shots, so I used shining Copic Markers to resurrect them", Anis said in an interview with the British newspaper Metro following an exhibition in Liverpool in January. Meanwhile there are five more drawings, two of which deal with the world beyond the idyll. The first shows Nahr al-Barid in Lebanon, one of the first camps for the ca. 750.000 refugees. Until today the Palestinian refugees are the largest

group of refugees in the world, now with more than five million people concerned. On the second drawing one can see how locals in Jaffa were literally driven into the sea. "The media often talk about Arabs wanting to drive the Jews into the sea. The only photo on the subject shows exactly the opposite case, this is why I chose the motif", explains Anis whose father was born in the West Bank.

The collection is exhibited on the internet at [www.anis-online.de/2/artclub/beforetheirdiaspora.htm](http://www.anis-online.de/2/artclub/beforetheirdiaspora.htm) and belongs to a variety of contributions in memory of the Nakba, the Palestinian catastrophe, that address the public this year. In Germany, the association "Flüchtlingskinder im Libanon" has elaborated an exhibition and a brochure entitled "The Nakba – Escape and Expulsion of the Palestinians in 1948", it can be borrowed. In English there is, for example, the info package of the Palestinian organization Badil or the one from "Nakba 60" in London. For more sources see the links below.

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- Current press photo Anis Hamadeh: [www.anis-online.de/2/Pressefoto\\_Anis\\_Hamadeh2012.jpg](http://www.anis-online.de/2/Pressefoto_Anis_Hamadeh2012.jpg)
- "The Nakba – Escape and Expulsion of the Palestinians in 1948", in German, see [www.lib-hilfe.de/ausstellung.html](http://www.lib-hilfe.de/ausstellung.html)
- BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency & Refugee Rights
- [www.nakba60.org.uk](http://www.nakba60.org.uk) (Self description: "Nakba60 is organising a series of cultural and educational events in the UK throughout 2008, involving prominent artists and intellectuals.")
- FAQ on the Nakba: <http://imeu.net/news/article001237.shtml>, cf. also the websites [www.palestineremembered.com](http://www.palestineremembered.com), <http://al-awda.org> and [www.un.org/unrwa/refugees](http://www.un.org/unrwa/refugees)

## What is Peace?

December 2002

War and violence, say some politicians, may only be the very last means of conflict settlement, when all other means have failed. This opinion is controversial in respect to two different sides: War and violence must not be a means of politics at all, the doves say. War and violence should, on the contrary, more often be resorted to, the hawks think. In one thing, anyway, they are not far from each other's positions, for both hardly talk about alternative ideas for conflict settlement. How can we make peace without violence, if others use violence as their argument? What is the better argument? And aren't violence and war part of our humanity?

On this background the talk will be about the character of peace in this essay. What really is peace? According to the German etymology, "Frieden" (peace) semantically has to do with "freedom" and also with joy ("Freude"). The Indo-Germanic root "priti-h" means "joy, satisfaction". The relationship to "free" lies in the root "prai-", also Indo-Germanic, for "protect, treat with consideration, care for, like, love". In law, "Frieden" means the unbroken juridical order as the basis for community life. "Cease-fire" is another meaning of "Frieden". The German adjective "zufrieden" (content, satisfied) from the 17th century is explained in the standard dictionary "Duden" as "not troubled, calm". English "peace", derived from Latin "pax", has to do with agreement, undisturbance and being unmolested. Meaning that it primarily is about the absence of something else. Generally, peace is seen as a state, rather than an action, a property or a feeling. In Arabic – and analogously probably in Hebrew (salaam/shalom) – there is a root "sa-li-ma" which denotes the being intact and the entirety of a person or a thing.

Among all these variations in the semantic field it mostly is the absence of war and violence that spontaneously comes to our minds, and the absence of famine. There is a close semantic relationship between the opposites "war" and "peace" in probably all languages. The definition of peace as nonwar seems more concrete and credible than other linguistic derivations. For everybody knows what war is. War is deads and injured, hopelessness, bombs and planes, destroyed houses, screams, destroyed cities, grief, tanks, generals, media and media control, and so on. One can imagine that. One can build up a picture with this. It is not a nice picture, but it is a picture. There are clear constellations and clear action paths. Almost everything of what happens in wars, happens by force, people feel obliged to do these things. Forced action is prevailing in a way that people always have something to do and something to feel. There are the own survival, pain, grief, and often guilt. War and violence have a high situational and experiential content.

Peace as the absence of a thing, however, does not bear such a high situational and experiential content. When e.g. a situation is defined by an unobtrusive person sitting on a chair watching TV, then the evidence of the absence of war is given, and one could call it peace. Yet, this would not occur to anybody, for what is special about an unobtrusive person watching TV? Is this peace? Or what is peace?

### **Peace is When You Have Peace**

Peace is when you have peace. With this motto, a first approach to the self-identity of peace is attempted. It centers around the person who poses the question, and not around a doubtful objectivity. This is the best short answer I can think of. One of the main causes – if not the only cause at all – of war and violence is lacking Zufriedenheit, i.e. contentment. So we can also view violence as the (typical consequence of) absence of contentment and search for the essence in the positive concept. And maybe the negative concept is not really the one that is richer in experience and sensation.

Peace is contentment ... When people are not oppressed and when they can unfold, then they don't have a reason for aggression, and there will be no violence. We just do not have the measuring instruments, as we have them for violence. How does one paint peace and contentment? How does contentment show? It is individually different. And yet here is where peace starts. With the feeling of contentment and the resulting lack of aggression. Or, respectively, it begins with those circumstances of life which make a transformation of the aggression into nonviolent acts possible, for there will always be aggressions, be it on the personal, the familiar, or the political level. Analogously, there will always be war, the question is how it will be led, for war is nothing but a violent conflict and can be transformed into a nonviolent conflict, if that conflict is recognized in its essence. War is a matter of definition, too, and the thesis and anti-thesis of war and peace can be brought on a different level. The development of chess in the Middle Ages, a game which lives war in a playful way, shows how much power and authority can be to nonviolent war! Also think of the chess world championship in 1972 in Reykjavik, when the victory of the American Bobby Fischer over the Russian Boris Spasski became an important factor in the "cold war".

In this definition, peace in its philosophical core is about the creation and maintenance of general contentment, starting with the individual, starting even with the I. It is to be considered here that the own contentment also has a social and political dimension: When there is force and misery prevailing in my surroundings, I cannot really be content and enjoy life. But how am I to define my peace, if I am helpless in view of the problems of my surroundings and the world? In most societies, in former times as well as today, this

question has led to the isolation of the individual, to an abstraction and a separation of the outside world. In the twentieth century, the indifference towards violence in films and TV may have supported the lowering of certain inhibition thresholds, by the presentation of violent situations and violent role-models. The conscience, too, as the control entity of our actions, may have become object to indifference, so that some of us can find their peace in a situation, where somebody else would rather be troubled. The question posed to the powerful in the world, if they don't have any problems with their conscience ( e.g. in the song: "Masters of War" by Bob Dylan), may sound used up and meaningless for some people, but it is not! A society of content people, which claims to live in peace, will be aware of such political consequences and will aim at a responsible and veracious contentment.

### **Art as a Generator of Peace**

Some time ago I attended an oriental festival with music and dance. The main room of the building was covered with mattresses and carpets on which the numerous guests sat around the dance floor. At the head of the room there was a narrow stage on which the musicians sat and played. A dancer went out on the floor and danced a solo in Melaya style. The whole room was filled with this situation. There was some magic in the air. The rhythms of the Egyptian drums brought the dancer into a slight trance that spread over to the audience in a lesser form, so that the beats were effecting the audience in two ways, directly and indirectly. It was a shared experience of great power. When the dance was over and when the rain of applause had finished the situation in a celebrating way, I knew that this dancer had accomplished something. She had made peace. That was peace. And it had a very high situational and experiential content.

A colleague asked me what art has to do with peace. He reported the question of a songwriter who was pondering about in how far he could do something for peace with his songs, at all. Perhaps, the archaic role of the artist in a society can be illustrated with the juxtaposition of Elvis and Hitler. Whereas Hitler had tempted the masses to be violent, with authoritarian behavior and especially with the ridiculous theory of a "master race", Elvis had tempted them with musical peaceful behavior and the magic of his loving heart. Both had a huge authority in their times, and after Dylan it was his follower John Lennon who also realized and lived the political chance of this peace art. There is no doubt that e.g. the Beatles have made peace through the power of their self-identity and their art. Every artist today can profit from these experiences, especially in our internet age in which everybody can set up their own worldwide medium with little cost and effort.

The responsibility of art today lies also in the mastering of the prevailing social alienation and indifference. Let the senses be touched again! This is an essential task of peace art. So that man might become more sensitive for the pain of others. And so that our consciousness expands and that we regain our conscience. To regain the vicinity of life which otherwise we half-consciously find in violence. Art be a projection field to replace stereotypes of an enemy. And art, this self-legitimizing archaic power, like philosophy and like sports, is one of the main areas in which such authorities develop which have kept their independence in a credible way.

This I say in times of great and unpredictable dangers of war. The necessary discourse cannot be led by the military, the politicians, the business people and journalists alone. They all have their dependencies and are more or less unfree and living a quick life. In former times, it had been the religions that held most of this authority, but then somebody thought that Galileo, Darwin, or Freud had made the scriptures superfluous. Later, people understood Nietzsche in a way that they thought, "God is dead" means that there is no God. Yet the Zarathustra book rather is about that you don't need God to please God. His existence is not the question here, it is the human who the book deals with. The philosopher Schleiermacher brought up the concept of "art religion" ("Kunstreligion") in a former century and with this referred to the kinship of artistic and religious characteristics, which both can be called "spiritual" and can be recognized as being peaceful. Both also harbor dangers: There had been the dark popstars, like the criminal Charles Manson, who propagated a violent cult, similar to contemporary racist bands and their CDs. There had also been the omnipotence of the church with all its known violent excesses, before democracy and the human rights. The idea of the engaged artist, basically in the way formulated by Sartre in his "What is Literature?", seems to be a topical issue again.

Art also often is a digestion of violence and thus has a healing effect on the artist and the audience. And there are the openness, the fantasy and the liberty to generate orientation patterns, peace patterns. Ways to contentment. Values that are independent from materialism and accessible for everyone. Art transcends conflicts and can actually solve some and contribute to their solutions. Art shows life the way it is, as a broadener of awareness and as an experience, and art shows the possibilities of life by dreaming the wishes of society. This, anyhow, is how it can be. A temptation of love.

### **Make Love Not War**

Peace and war are both contagious. Whereas war and violence legitimate their claims with their official necessity and have success with this and prosper, peace is an attraction for its fulfilment of wishes and the freedom of

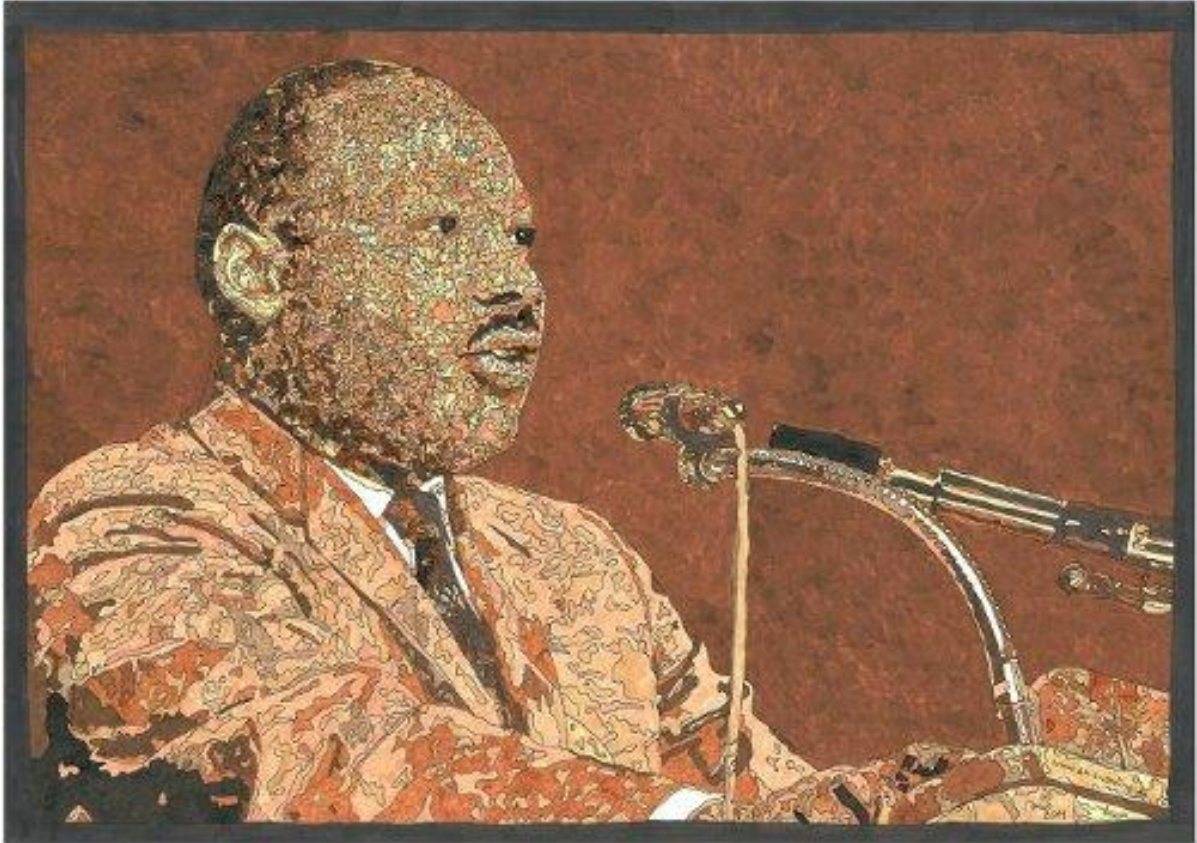
expression, the beauty and the search for perfection, an attraction which effects the social climate. But it is not easy to bear love and peace. When someone experiences love for the first time, the question may come up why he or she had to live in such a loveless world before. Maybe they find out that many of the pressures under which they had lived, had been a lie, unnecessary aggravations and needless abstinence and pain. Interestingly, people for this reason are more afraid of love than of violence. They rather bear violence than love and prefer it to love. You don't believe this? Here are some examples:

The collective consciousness of our societies is widely structured by TV. When we compare the percentage of violent scenes and films to the percentage of love films we will find that we prefer violence by far. Watching those movies you can notice that the hero or the heroine almost every time reach their goals with violence. So our heroes are violent people. Let us choose between two movies: In the first one, Hollywood star Bruce Willis shoots somebody's arm off with a hightech weapon, in the second one, the erotic star Dahlia Grey is enjoying herself in an esthetical way with friends on a large sofa. Now, if mixed groups are confronted with these two films, it is predictable that their choice will fall on the violent movie and not on the love movie. And the larger the group is, the more readily the love film will be rejected. Our sexuality, which is suppressed (uncontent) in the highly civilized world, is so embarrassing to us that we tend to substitute it with violence, also in pictures and movies.

A similar phenomenon occurred as soon as in the Grimm Brothers. 190 years ago, in the year 1812, the first edition of Grimm's fairytales was published. Although the Grimm Brothers wrote in the preface that they had not changed the stories, but only gathered and polished them, we can find in later editions that certain passages of the tales were rewritten. The radio program "Zeitzeichen" of the Deutschlandfunk explained that the Grimms, who were living under poor conditions, had made these changes so that the book would sell better. This happened with two tendencies: On the one hand, violent scenes were enriched and added (Rumpelstilzchen, Haensel and Gretel a.o.), on the other hand, erotic scenes were canceled or belittled (e.g. Rapunzel). This means mass compatibility to the favor of violence. There also seem to be parallels in the history of the publication of the "Arabian Nights", so it rather is not a western phenomenon.

Moreover, the basic question of journalism, the one about what makes news news, can honestly only be answered in the way that news tends to make a subject of violence, pressure, and mischief, and to highlight them. Thus we have an overproportional amount of war pictures and violent pictures in our consciousness and they define our notion of normality. Peace work in this context is the distribution of peace pictures and creative pictures. There has

to be a clear stand against the prejudice of an alleged dirtiness of love, especially in its physical form, and the arguments have to be formulated to neutralize such allegations. The dirt of love is the violence and the advantage thinking with which some people mix it.



Martin Luther King © Anis 2011

### **The Path of Nonviolence is the Path into the Public**

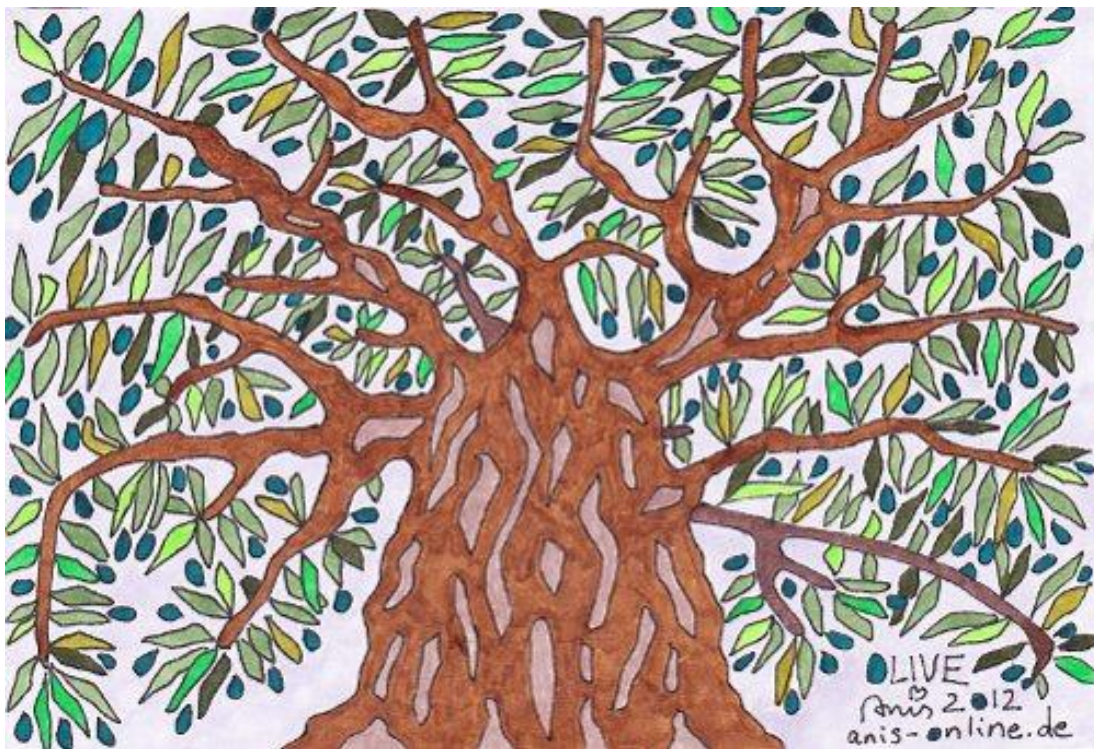
The belief in the superiority of violence is deeply rooted. It has to do with the need of protection, the defense of the meat pots, and a feeling of powerlessness. It bases on the traitor theory which says that a single black sheep is enough to destroy a nonviolent policy. Yet the traitor theory is too short in two points: It regards the "black sheep" from outside and with suspicion, so it deprives itself of the option of analyzing the "contentment structure" of the violent perpetrator, and to have an effect on it to stop the violence. The other point is that the traitor theory neglects the alternative weapon against violence, and that is publicity. For there is nothing that injustice fears more than the public. There is a secret in every war, and there is the absence of secrets as a part of every peace. And there is another sound argument against the belief in the invincibility of violence, for it is a belief, and thus it can be surpassed by another belief. The life and work of Gandhi and other peace people shows this convincingly. Peace always is close to the



people who impersonate this peace. To indicate that the public is stronger than violence we can again point to the press, this time in a positive context. The investigative journalism is the best example for a non-administrative peaceful victory over violence. The so-called public opinion is a strong power, which, by mastering the prevailing isolationism, can become the most powerful weapon for peace. The fundamental motivation for this is the consciousness that there is no peace now. My question "What is Peace?" in the end aims at the awareness of the fact that peace is something that we will have to create and build first. Something that we will have to re-dream anew in each concrete situation by ourselves.

It is easier in world and state politics. When on these levels peace is primarily understood as nonkilling, and secondarily as nonviolence under consideration of structural and cultural violence, then this will suffice to make the world a beautiful place. So half of peace is the absence of pressure and the images of pressure, while the other half of peace is the empty space of an open situation which is to be filled individually and creatively in order to find its meaning, similar to freedom, the one half of which is passive (free from or of) and the other one active (free for or to).

## PART II: Literature



Olive © Anis 2012

## **“Kings We Are, with Wings of Dust” – Memories of the Shalom–Salam Tour**

“Kings We Are, with Wings of Dust” is my revised diary of the benefice tour “Shalom – Salam” (9 until 26 May 2004). The Jewish Israeli musical “Duo Rubin had the idea to venture a concert and literary tour and I took the Palestinian and literary part. For the benefit of the bi-cultural communication center Givat Haviva we three artists appeared on stage in nine German cities, with classical music, poetry, and many encounters.

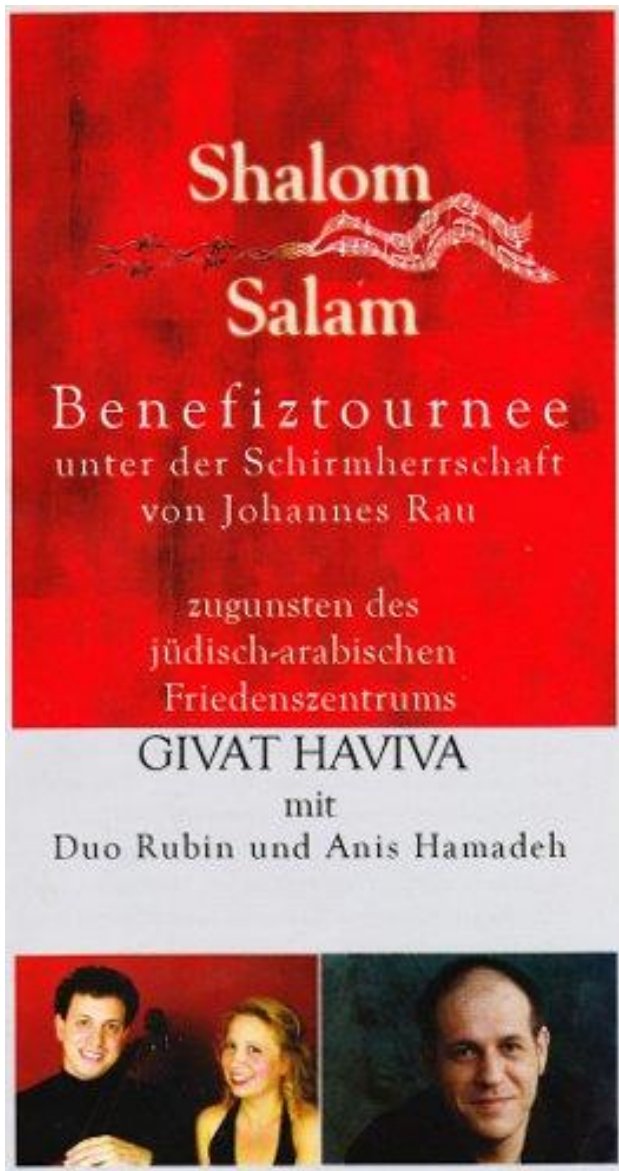
In seven chapters I let my memories pass in review and describe my impressions and perceptions. In the cooperation with the Duo Rubin there lies hope for the future. When more people think this way then there will be more constructive meetings, too. They are more urgent today than ever. I recount what happened on stage, introduce the Duo Rubin and their music, talk about the reactions on the tour, about views and the handling of the Middle East conflict, about meetings with the audience, with politicians, journalists, organizers, other artists, about Givat Haviva, about the historic places where we appeared, like the Gewandhaus in Leipzig and the Wallraf Richartz Museum in Cologne, the journeys and new experiences. On June 27, 2004, on the occasion of the Haviva Reik Peace Prize award to Maestro Daniel Barenboim we three appeared again, in the Sorat Hotel in Berlin. With this highlight the first part of “Shalom – Salam” ended.

Embedded into the course of the diary are some literary and background texts, as well as reflections and reviews of some books which had played a role during the tour. The translation at hand I made myself into my pidgin English. “Kings We Are, with Wings of Dust” is dedicated to everybody who participated in “Shalom – Salam” and contributed to a joint venture in a difficult time.

Anis Hamadeh,  
Kiel/Germany, August 16, 2004



Duo Rubin and Anis in Shalom Salam Finale 2004 in Berlin © Michael Krebs



## Chapter 1: In the Gewandhaus

(May 09, 2004) The station in Leipzig was crammed with bawling soccer fans. Struggle of the sub-cultures. I pulled the suitcase which was rolling behind me and looked into the crowd of self-marked young people. At the gates the police, only routine work. I asked for the way to the Gewandhaus, but the policemen were no locals. Traffic jam. Olee, oleee oleee. Group identity. Generally not a bad thing. Except you need an enemy for it.

It was not far. The weather was nice. I knew Leipzig from an orientalist's conference shortly after the turning and liked the city. The Duo Rubin had booked hotel rooms, directly next to the Gewandhaus, which was practical. There in the hotel we met. They had Benny with them, a friend from Berlin, who was helping them with the transport of

the beamer, the monitors and some other technical stuff.

Especially at the beginning of the journey there were a lot of organisational things to do. We were in a positive stress situation, alert, concentrated. Would everything work out right? There had hardly been any of the posters distributed in the city, the advertising was not too good. This toned us down little. But now we wanted to start at last and make a couple of stage experiences together. After a short refreshment and a cup of coffee in the lobby we went over to the other building for the soundcheck.

To appear on stage in the Gewandhaus in Leipzig was a real adventure. It belongs to the landmarks of the city. Next to our dressing room there were some documents exhibited on the wall in the corridor, behind glass. The announcements of the very first concerts in the Gewandhaus. On the right half there was, among others, Max Reger and Otto Klemperer, then Wagner, then on the left side it went down to the eighteenth century. According to the document, the first concert ever took place in 1789, it was Mozart himself. The building consists of two parts, one could even say: two worlds. The

representative outside, public world with its lobby, chandeliers, stairways and halls, and on the other side the extensive backstage area, functional, but not without charm. In the undecorated corridors, in the many corners of which there stood utensils, one would meet musicians, craftspeople and technicians. The friendly assistant, who supervised our performance technically and who had given us a hand with the preparation during the last hours, shortly before the show transformed into a suit-wearer with a tie: The time of preparation was over, now the elegant, public part of the evening began.

I stood next to the Gewandhaus assistant off the stage and watched the TV screen which was showing the hall and the current time. There was still half an hour to go. Meanwhile, Michael Krebs from Cologne and Alex Elsohn, the representative of Givat Haviva, had arrived, too. He is in charge of international relations and the director for Europe. There was also a friend of his, Stefan, whom we would see some more times in the course of the tour. Together we had cared for the last preparations. The beamer did not work, so we could not show the film we had planned to show. But this did not embarrass us too much and we quickly decided that Alex should say some words instead. Michael Krebs had helped organizing the appearance from his place in Cologne. A photographer took pictures of us in the Gewandhaus ambience. The whole time he tried to talk to me in English, but he didn't know any English. I asked him if he was German and he said yes.

While the Duo Rubin was still in the dressing room I started a conversation with the man who has been working here since six and a half years. He was of calm, even temperament. He liked his work, there was an air of self-possession about him. I asked him how many halls there are in the Gewandhaus and he said two: the Mendelssohn Hall, in which we would soon appear on stage and where meanwhile the first visitors have arrived, as I was able to see on the monitor. And the big hall. He pressed a button and I saw on the monitor in front of me four or five people standing on another stage. Now he added the sound. A cappella! These folks sang a cappella, and I read in the folder on the table that it was a festival with many bands. I got enthusiastic about it as I had a faible for this sort of minimal art, both passively and actively. When I sang a cappella myself it was usually bass or baritone. Back then in Hamburg I had sung in a band for a short spell. Unfortunately, we never reached the stage of public appearances. We sang "Mister Sandman", the notes were available in the music library in Hamburg, near the Jungfernstieg. My favorite band were the early Flying Pickets from England, I also listened to the King Singers, Bobby McFarin, the Comedian Harmonists and some bands from the festival in New York ten or fifteen years ago of which Spike Lee made a TV documentary. Not to forget the harmonies of the Beach Boys and of the Beatles. Originally, I associate a cappella with black gospel music.

On the way to the dressing room I met a group of stage women. Hey, was that you singing a cappella out there right now, I asked. We exchanged some words in passing by. Then I saw the Duo Rubin and we went out on stage.

### **Duo Rubin Live**

To have experienced the Duo Rubin so close on stage was something special. They play together in perfect harmony as they have known each other for a long time and have similar talents. Piano and cello sound well together, too, there is nothing missing. All in all, I listened to the program about twelve times live, not counting the rehearsals, and I never got bored or tired, although I am an impatient fellow. Maybe it is due to the fact that we like similar pieces and styles. Bach, for example, for all three of us is one of the, if not the most important composer. At the soundcheck in Düsseldorf Ithay once started to play the Musette out of the "Notenheft von Anna Magdalena". He showed me how to accompany the melody with a simple guitar rhythm. It is fun to play with a cello. My major part was literature, though. I read an excerpt from the current book for young people: "We Both Want to Live Here" (edited by Sylke Tempel) and some poems from my poetry album "Loving Jay".

The Duo Rubin, like me, likes to try out new things. Thus they have an Israeli composer in their repertoire, Paul Ben Chaim, and an Arab one, the Egyptian Alberto Hemsí. As they recounted Hemsí is not a known composer. The two have rather found him in a private library and brought him to a world première. Their program is colorful, this is how I as a semi-layman would call it. They have serious as well as cheerful things, technically difficult pieces like the variations on one string by Paganini or Piazzolla's Grand Tango. There was also Chopin (Polonaise Brillante Op. 3), as well as the fast and actually quite folkloristic pieces "Csardas" (pronounced: Tshardash) by Monti and the "Fire Dance" by de Falla (pronounced: de Faiya) which I liked best. Later on Offenbach's "Sledging" ("Schlittenfahrt") was added. I liked all the compositions in one way or another, there was none which would have gotten on my nerves after a while. Sometimes during the tour I had the feeling that the couple would play more brilliant today than on average, but their own assessments mostly were totally different, so I refrained from comments of this kind.

I enjoyed it a lot altogether. During the rehearsal time in Berlin Ithay late one night started to practise cello for the next day. He plays first cello in the Staatsorchester in Halle. Ithay often practised during the night, in their house in Berlin this seemed to work. Gabriella had already gone to bed and I stood in the garden, drank red wine, smoked, watched the small white dog, which never seemed to sleep, be it day or be it night, and listened to the cello. Tired

as I was I could make it to the living-room sofa where I ended up motionless in horizontal position. I drifted away whenever I heard this music, it makes one dream so fine. Some time later, when I got up and said goodbye, Ithay also finished rehearsing.

Maybe the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians and Germans can be looked at a bit closer from the outer periphery here. For politically, Ithay and me do in a way represent Israel, Palestine and Germany. What made the tour interesting and authentic was the fact that we had not solved the conflict before between us. Instead we did something completely different: new experiences. There are by all means Israelis and Jews who stand closer to me in political contexts than Ithay. Such different individuals as Felicia Langer, Uri Avnery, Abraham Melzer, Shraga Elam, Michel Warschawski, Moshe Zuckermann, Moshe Zimmermann, Uri Davis, Ilan Pappé, Paul Eisen, Avraham Burg, Noam Chomsky, Michael Neumann, Amira Hass or Tom Segev, to name a few examples. Ithay, of course, in the first place represents himself, yet he also comes from the kibbutz movement and insofar represents – under consideration of the fact that politics is not his major field – a part of the Israeli left. In the broadest sense Labor Party, not Likud. In favor of two sovereign states and against occupation. Against helicopter attacks, against terror assaults and in favor of the human rights. At the same time, the security of Israel is important to him and he is loyal to his country and to Judaism in the way he sees it. He was in the Israeli army, as a musician.

As the Duo Rubin, contrary to me, is not journalistically active and as they also have not followed the newspaper discourse for years, I did neither expect nor demand an intellectual approach. There certainly were some details in the political history about which we had to talk and about which we wanted to talk, too, as was the subject of violence. But all three of us realized early that the main point was to start with listening to the other and getting to know him and her. With their initiative the Duo Rubin had already signalled that they wanted this encounter. The kibbutz, in which Ithay grew up, is situated in the vicinity of Nazareth. When on a clear evening I watched from the terrace on the hill where my grandparents used to live over to the horizon I could see the lights of Nazareth. In-between there is the Green Line. In-between there is so much. In our shared action there was a chance, we quickly sensed that. There was something to it. Maybe simply because we all were tolerant in a similar way, peace-loving by nature, and musicians.

It was the end of the second part of the first night of Shalom–Salam. I woke up from a dream I had dreamed during the long sequence of the Duo Rubin. The audience was content to the same amount. They realized that we stood for a specific thing here on stage and they wanted this thing. After several applause I came back onto the stage at the end and got the guitar out of the case, while Ithay was concentrating on the final piece which we would play

together now. We did not need any microphones, the acoustics were perfect. Round about the end of the tour, when the routine had improved the words I used to say: "Ladies and Gentlemen, after that we have crossed one border now, namely the one between Palestine and Israel, we want at the end cross another border, and that is the one between serious music and entertaining music. It follows a piece, which I have written, with the title: 'Wie oft wirst du es noch tun'". I loved to play this piece with Ithay. The reason that Gabriella did not participate in this song was that we did not have the time and the possibilities to elaborate a full score musical sheet for it. That means that there still is a potential and ways to improve and top what we did before. For example, if we thought about continuing with the tour. Only scarcely had I been able to achieve musical closeness recently. With Ithay I could play freely. He was tolerant, he just let me be. I did not have to have fear or inhibitions. It was the same the other way around.

I am not a virtuoso on the guitar and in singing. At least most of the times. I hardly practise, either, because while practising I find new pieces which I then rather like to finish composing instead of playing the old thing. Moreover, I remember times when my voice and guitar was at an optimum. Only that in these phases I made negative experiences which were still inhibiting me. For when I played well I needed an audience. And if there was no audience to find I would get real problems with my inner balance. I was happy that Ithay and Gabriella liked the song. A ballad, written in a tradition, which used to be German, too, but today mostly is associated with the French chanson.

The audience was most of all happy about the fact that we did this together, but also about the song I heard in the course of the tour from some people that it had touched them. There is nothing more an artist could wish. This is what the song was written for and it had proven its soundness when it was played for friends and in earlier appearances. Michael Krebs, whom I will introduce later on, was enthusiastic every time we played it. You can listen to it on the internet.

Gabriella reappeared on stage and the three of us turned to the audience. The people raised from their seats and applauded. I have never before experienced such a thing. That people stand up, I mean. So it was a success. We could go ahead.

*The complete 100 pp. book "Kings We Are, with Wings of Dust" is a free PDF on Anis Online.*



## 2030 – A Literary View into the Future of Palestine

March 2010

*The following eleven voices from different countries show views on Palestine after the breakdown of Zionism, written in 2030, three years after the State of Israel had collapsed.*

**1. Shlomo Berge:** "Three years ago, the last war in the region ended. We as Israelis never knew how real peace would feel like, because we were told that there will always be anti-Semites who want to exterminate us. In a way, the way things went was inevitable. We just saw no other solution and were backed by so many countries in our violent delusion. I remember from kindergarten and school how our army was glorified as was the defense against the enemies. Gaza 3 changed a lot of that. While in Gaza 1 and 2 some thousands of Palestinians were killed, Gaza 3 reduced the population by about 20 percent. Of course there had been many outcries, but Israel was used to face opposition and to preserve what was called 'self-defense'. Things then happened very quickly: Riots and terror attacks from Palestinians inside Israel led to their expulsion by the army. When the settlements in the West Bank were attacked, the army went all the way and cleared the West Bank completely from the Arabs, claiming that the enemy wanted to make the region 'judenfrei', i.e. free from Jews. There was a huge celebration when Israel was finally freed, a little like back in 1967. As Israel had pre-emptively struck Iran with small nuclear bombs and also invaded Syria and Lebanon, there was no power left to immediately threaten us. The US had already weakened all other powers in the region. Only international rejection became really harsh and massive and Israel finally left the United Nations, stating that the anti-Jewish Nazi spirit in the UN countries was unacceptable and that nobody was to tell Israel what to do to save its existence. By that time, about four million people had been killed by Israel, while about 40.000 Zionist soldiers and some Jewish civilians were killed. Although the number of enemies had increased, nobody dared to attack the Zionist state, because Israel openly threatened to drop more nuclear weapons as it had done in Iran. But instead of having peace, Israel fell into a civil war. Some settlers tried to take over large portions of land declaring they represented the real Israel. Several Jewish groups launched terror attacks while Jews from many countries entered and claimed land and property. The army split up into several factions and soon we had no more government. There were hundreds of dead Jews every day and nobody could help us. Whoever tried to analyze the situation was called an anti-Semite, because allegedly Jews were seen as the perpetrators of all evil which is an old anti-Semitic cliché. People did not distinguish between Jews and Zionists. Many Jews were not perpetrators, but

as non-Zionists they were not accepted as real Jews by the people in power. It was such a shame. The militias just had way too many weapons. It was chaos. Far more than a million Jews left the country in despair. In the end, the Palestinians just came back and founded the Democratic Republic of Palestine. They were the only ones left to run the country.”

**2. Lubna Younis:** “I lost my whole family in the second Nakba, when the Zionists drove us out of Nablus to stop all resistance and terror attacks forever. I was just a child then, but I remember how the missiles flew and the tanks came in. The Zionists called it a ‘transfer’ and said it was to reach peace from the terrorists, but like in 1948 they killed many of the men in combat age. I played outside when a bomb destroyed our home. Everybody inside was dead. Such a typical Palestinian story ever since 1948. The neighbors took me with them to Jordan. Unlike 1948, the exile of the second Nakba only lasted for five years. The Zionists had no more targets and so they started killing each other. In the end, the whole country was devastated. You know, in the 5000 years of the history of this country it never faced such a destruction. Olive trees need decades and centuries to grow and so many thousands of them were pulled out of the ground. Pollution and the wall also helped in ruining the beautiful landscapes. Nothing like this had ever happened to this country before and never was the local population forced out like that. When the Zionists used up their weapons against themselves and when the government broke down in the Civil War, the United Nations sent troops to Dimona to make sure nobody uses nuclear weapons again. It was enough that some of them had been used against Iran. Then, when it was quiet, we just returned to our homes and villages. There were several waves of people returning, also from the refugee camps in Lebanon, Syria, and other places. Today, a majority of 70 percent Palestinians lives in Palestine, Muslims, Christians, Jews and atheists. The rest are former Israelis, the survivors of the Civil War minus the emigrants. Many went back to where they or their parents originally came from, the USA, Russia, and other places. More than a million Jews moved during the Civil War and many others after the establishment of Palestine. Of course we persecuted the war criminals among the remaining Jews, but in the end only three or four thousand were put into jail. Some incidents of lynch mobs are known, but the new authorities were strictly against that and cooperated with the UN. (By that time the UN headquarters had already moved to Europe.) We wanted to stop all extra-judicial killings, we just had enough of all that. We then rebuilt our cities and villages and kind of resumed our history in a way that we had been deprived of since the days of Lawrence of Arabia. Nobody talks about terrorism anymore, all the borders are open now, and soon all Arabs will have a shared currency. It is good now, no more killing, and yet we still mourn the millions of victims. At least, so we

want to think, all these people did not die in vain. But sometimes it is hard to recall all this horror. Every year, we commemorate the dead of all sides including the European Holocaust in the Count Bernadotte Congregation Hall in Jerusalem.”

**3. Umm Midian:** “I belong to the very few Israeli Jews who have always been in solidarity with the oppressed Palestinian people. I lived in Israel then and I live much better in Palestine now. There was a huge fear that the Arabs would kill all Jews once the army would not defend them anymore. But it turned out that ironically the Jews in the country have never been as secure as they are now. Many Arabs felt honest sympathy when they saw how Jews killed Jews by the thousands, despite the fact that millions of Arabs and Muslims had been killed by the Zionists before. Racist Zionism was the original problem, there is no more doubt about that today, even in the US. Nobody seems to want to talk about Zionism anymore, as if the Zionists had come from outer space and then disappeared again like extra-terrestrials. Of course the Zionist perpetrators were and are taken to account by their victims. This is normal and it is a matter of justice. But the fear of a heavy revenge proved to be unwarranted. Maybe deep in their hearts the Zionists thought: Since we have been so brutal with them on a regular basis, they just have to hate us and give us exactly what we gave to them. But they forgot that those Arab and Muslim victims are no Zionists, they do not follow this logic.”

**4. Theodor Madden:** “By the time Israel fell apart I worked in the US Foreign Office. They were difficult years ever since it came out that 9/11 was an inside job, orchestrated by parts of our own government. You remember the conspiracy theory according to which Islamic terrorists did the job. When the voices of architects and firemen got louder, asking how three buildings could collapse like that against all laws of physics, the pressure got really hard. Then there were many other unsolved questions, e.g. about the much too small hole in the Pentagon building, the lack of remains, the suspicious drills, strange facts about the so-called terrorists and so on. The government should just have provided answers. Instead, the Patriot Act was used against the critics. And we lost so many soldiers in Iraq and Afghanistan/Pakistan and spent so many billions of dollars. Why? All this was originally linked to 9/11 without any logic. People started asking what we were trying to accomplish in the countries we attacked. So we were almost paralyzed when Israel targeted Iran unilaterally, when it expelled the Palestinians and when it started destroying itself physically. There was nothing at all the US could have done to prevent this. What should we have done? Send in troops into a civil war zone? To support whom? Our own country was about to collapse and this is actually still possible, although rather unlikely, because we brought all our

troops back home now. The situation thus has deescalated for us. Moreover, we do not send weapons to what is now Palestine and do not pay the Egyptians and other regimes any more money, which saves billions of dollars. The whole arms industry is in decline and we do not really care after this nightmare. My personal opinion is that we should have arrived at this conclusion soon after Hiroshima and Nagasaki. I personally never was an adherent of Zionism, but of course it was a shock to see our close ally Israel breaking down like a house of cards. The good thing is that there are many fewer weapons in the region now. We never thought that stability could be so cheap, financially speaking. We had to give up our hegemony of the oil fields and strategic places, but we are learning to appreciate the new possibilities that go with regional stability. We don't have the choice, anyway, I guess."

**5. Agathe Mengel:** "As a German politician it has always been clear to me that we had to stand by the side of Israel and there is nothing we have to be sorry for! The constant rocket-fire and anti-Semitism forced Israel to defend itself. The collapse of the State of Israel is a catastrophe, because it was a safe haven for all the Jews in the world. This is why we have recognized the new state only because the EU has made this decision and we could not have opposed it. It is beyond question that the German history has made the State of Israel necessary. Anti-Semitism is still very strong in the world and Israel was the only democracy in the Middle East. It may be true that there have not been any combat actions observed in the region for three years, but this can change any time. We certainly did not make a mistake here in Germany when we supported Israel, because we have a responsibility."

**6. Yossi Feinsand:** "I am one of the survivors of the Civil War and I admit that I used to be an ardent Zionist before this war. But in the end I recognized that we were the ones who made the biggest mistakes. I feel betrayed by my parents, schools, politicians, and media. They always told us we cannot be wrong and that it is an old anti-Semitic cliché that the Jews are the guilty ones. But it is we who were guilty in Palestine! Not because we were Jews, but because we were Zionists. It developed into a racist ideology not much better than Nazism, if at all. How many people did we kill? Millions. It started when we came from abroad, made our state without any agreements and at the same time expelled the indigenous population. We were told in our schools that we are special, the chosen people, eternal victims, and that we need a strong army to fight our vicious enemies. Today I live in Jerusalem among all these 'enemies' and they are much nicer than what we used to be. As Zionists, we actually projected all of our own faults onto the Palestinians, Arabs, and Muslims. We accused them of hostility when we were hostile. We called them violent while being violent. We held Islam to

be an evil religion, because we as Zionists acted in an evil way. We claimed they want to take our land and what we did was take their land. Why did our friends not stop us? I feel so ashamed and can only say how proud I am to be a Palestinian now. I tell my story to everyone and even learned Arabic to do so. Wherever I come I receive so much affection and friendship that it makes me cry. How generous my fellow countrymen are, how great also the Islamic religion. They do not torture me, they all forgave me and I have nothing to fear in my great country, in Palestine!”

**7. Naser Ateeq:** “Like every Palestinian, Arab, Muslim, and human rights advocate I am more than happy that the long Zionist nightmare finally has ended. And it is clear to the world now what the ‘conflict’ was all about. They had taken our land and expelled us, killing many, and most of the world had called our legitimate resistance ‘terrorism’ and turned us from victims to perpetrators, because the weakest always become the scapegoat. Why did they not learn from the German history? But in the end the world saw the real face of Zionism and now they are quiet at last and we got our land back. Now we must face our own demons, because we do not want to make the same mistakes and project our traumas onto others. One of the taboos of our Palestinian society is, for example, child abuse. It has always been normal for our fathers to beat the children. And society has covered it up. Parents used to be like gods, beyond justice. Even for driving a car you need a license, but children can be raised by every idiot. This must stop now! The problems of our society were not all produced by Israel. By beating our children we have destroyed ourselves and by oppressing our sisters, because they are women, we also did wrong. We have had a damned pasha society and some even derived this sinful behavior wrongly from the Qur’an or the Bible. Some groups have killed and threatened Jewish civilians and there is no excuse for that, not occupation, not anything. We have killed collaborators and showed that we can also be killers, just like them. And we witnessed lynch mobs, even if they were few, after the collapse of the Zionist state. All this must stop immediately and without condition. No more killing! No more oppression! No more beating of our beloved and helpless children! In many respects, we are completely retarded and backward. ‘Takhalluf’ is the Arabic word for that, in case you have forgotten. A lot of all that is claimed to be Islamic, but I don’t believe that. Fortunately, we are a democratic society now. It did not astonish me that in our second free elections the Islamic parties have lost their majority. They have their place and they are important, but Palestine has always been open to all faiths and so it is only normal that the Democratic Party has won the last elections. In it we find all currents in the good manner of Bir Zeit campus society in its best days. There are even some people in it who used to be in the collaborator party of Fatah.”

**8. Muna el-Missiry:** "Egypt profited so much from the new time. Not only because the borders to Palestine and ALL other Arab countries plus Iran are open now, but we also got rid of the unwanted regime, even without a military coup. Like in some other Arab countries the Islamists started with a big success after Gaza 3. They are the only popular currents that were able to gain a huge block of voters, because they represent our main religion and because they are not as corrupt as other trends, especially those affiliated with the West. But then, like in Palestine itself, the peoples recognized that a liberal society in the end works better and that it does not deny religion, anyway. We will not forget that it was the Islamists who opened all the borders, in their quest to restore Islamic unity and the 'umma', i.e. the universal Muslim community. Traveling educated us Egyptians, us Arabs and Muslims a lot and we had hungered for that. Of course, not all of our problems have ceased with the disappearance of the Zionist state, but a lot of them really have. The falcons in Arab countries cannot take Israel as a pretext for weapon-trade and sternness anymore, and indeed we do not feel threatened, especially since the US has completely withdrawn all its troops from the region. Today I can travel from Cairo to Jerusalem in only a few hours, without a visa! In fact, I went there only two weeks ago to help rebuild the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque which were heavily damaged in the last years of the Zionist Civil War."

**9. Yousuf Sharif:** "Since we threw our king out of the country, Jordan faces much more than a renewal. People call it a rebirth. Everything seems possible now. We have a free press and nobody has to fear anything when speaking out against injustice. Jordanian kings have a long history of collaboration with the Zionists and this chapter is closed now forever! Every Palestinian in Jordan – that is about 70 percent of the population – is free to return to Palestine. Most of them don't, because they found a home in Jordan and they can travel to Palestine whenever they want. Only the victims of the second Nakba returned with an overwhelming majority."

**10. Gulamhusein:** "I am now an old man of 102 years. I was born in Bombay. For most of my life there I lived in terror, what with ghastly Hindu-Muslim riots breaking out on a regular basis. To make matters worse we had the British occupying our land, our beloved India, and lording it over us. Under the leadership of Gandhi we mounted a movement to drive them out and we ultimately did. Even as we gained independence in India, Palestinians lost more than half of their land to an Israeli state imposed on them by the international community, many members of which had their arms twisted to vote for the UN partition resolution. There followed a massacre of

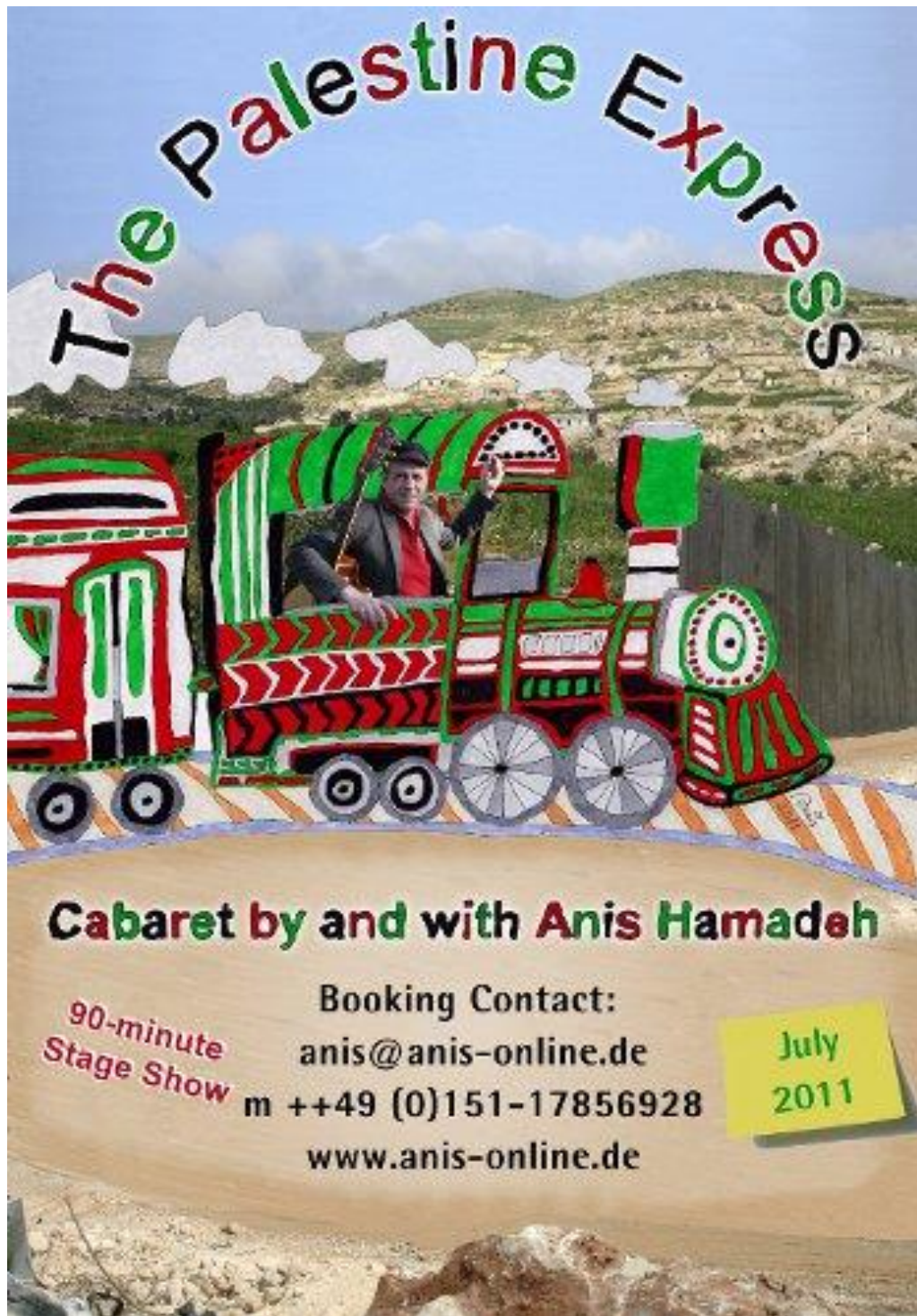
Palestinians. I simply could not understand how the Jews, who had suffered so much under the Germans and others, could inflict so much death, destruction and misery on the Palestinians so as to be able to create a Jewish state of their own on the land the Palestinians had occupied for centuries. Nor could I understand how those living in Israel, and even more puzzlingly, those living in other countries, could believe the Israeli propaganda that the Palestinians were trying to take their land and drive them into the sea when the truth was that the Jews were taking Palestinian land and trying to drive the Palestinians, if not into the sea or the Jordan River, then out of what used to be their land. It took me some time to learn and understand that not all Jews were complicit. Many were, from the start, opposed to Zionism. It was only the Zionists who were to blame and, even most of the Zionists believed and acted as they did because the truth was hidden from them and they were fed lies from childhood. As time went on, more and more of these came forward and said so. The Nakba of 1947/48, the 1967 War, the 2009 Israeli invasion and destruction of Gaza, and the failure of the international community to come to the aid of the Palestinians, take suitable action against Israel for its violations of international law and end Israel's illegal and brutal occupation of West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights, left me shaken, and almost destroyed my faith in justice. I wondered if Palestinians would ever get justice. But history, as life, takes strange and unexpected turns. After the Civil War, the Palestinians, who had been driven out of their lands, started coming back from Jordan, Syria, Egypt, Iraq and even from far away countries. The Israelis feared that the Palestinians would do unto them as they had done unto the Palestinians. But the Palestinians, the majority of them Muslims, remembered their beginnings. Their Prophet and his followers (the Muslims), had been persecuted and tortured for years by the Meccans and had ultimately been driven out of Mecca. Years later, the Muslims marched triumphantly back into Mecca, led by Prophet Muhammad. At that moment, the Meccans hid, fearing that the Muslims would be vengeful and there would be a massacre. But Muhammad had ordered the returning Muslims that there was to be no looting or pillaging, no killing, no rape, no taking of slaves. And there was none. – In the three years that have elapsed since the collapse of Israel there has been a great change. There is, at last, peace in the region. The inhabitants of the Democratic Republic of Palestine – Jews, Muslims, Christians, no matter what their faith or ethnic origin – live in peace and harmony, as of old. The phony 'war on terror' has ended. I never imagined this day would come. Nor did millions of others. But come it did, three years to this day. It is a miracle. As is my being alive at 102 years!"

**11. Dana Azulai:** "At the beginning of the Civil War my parents got killed in a bombing. I had just finished school by the time and did not know how to

carry on. I was in despair. When my relatives in Canada invited me to come to them, I accepted their offer gratefully. They took care of all the formalities and, luckily, it all worked out rather quickly. Despite the fact that Israel had gained a very bad reputation in world, due to the 'transfer' of the Arabs, the attacks on Iran and the Civil War, I was well-received by most of the Canadians, and treated in a friendly way. I also found a job very soon. But despite all of that I never really felt well. The weather and the landscape are so much different and also the mentality of the people. When the Civil War was over I certainly thought about returning. But then the Palestinians founded their state and my dream to go back home was soon over. Surely, the Palestinians would not allow the return of Jews. Besides, how could I voluntarily go to a land that was now governed by our enemies? But I still was in touch with some friends who had stayed in Israel and who had survived. They, too, were afraid after the new state was built. But in the course of time they reported about the reconstruction work and about the peaceful coexistence. It was not so easy for me, but the country, that now called itself the Democratic Republic of Palestine, was my homeland. I missed my friends, the Mediterranean Sea, the sun, and everything. So half a year ago I returned. I was astonished about the fact that it was so easy. I just had to prove that I was born in the territory of what today is Palestine and immediately got my papers. It is not easy to be back. I am always confronted with what my people did to the Palestinians and to themselves. But I am happy that I ventured to do it."

*# 10 was written by Gulamhusein Abba, see [www.anis-online.de/1/rooms/gulamhusein](http://www.anis-online.de/1/rooms/gulamhusein), # 11 was written by Sabine Yacoub, [www.sabine-yacoub.de](http://www.sabine-yacoub.de), all other entries are by Anis.*





## **The Palestine Express – Excerpts from the Cabaret Program**

Updated since 2011

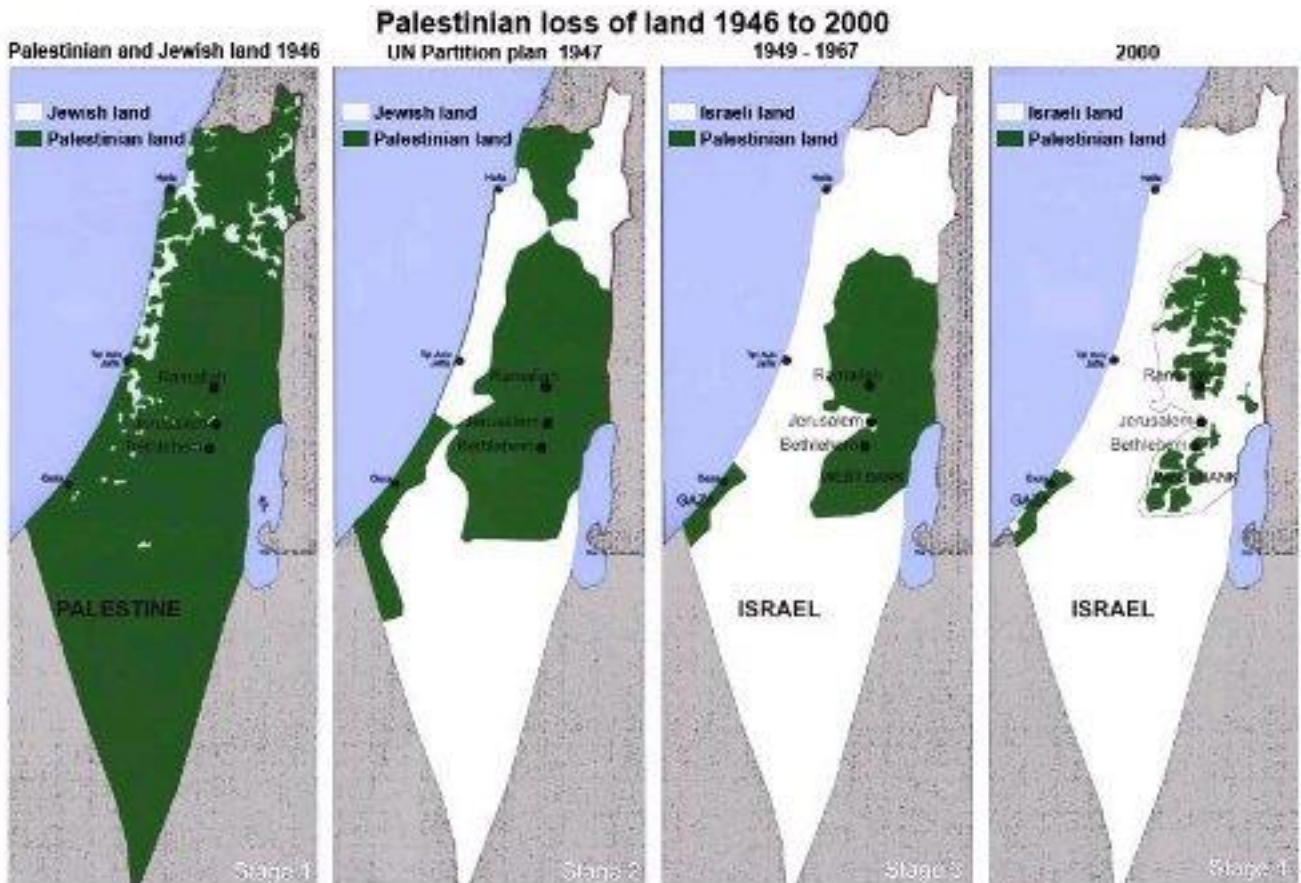
Welcome to the Palestine Express, Ladies and Gentlemen. I don't know if you noticed that at all, but Palestine is a rather rare subject in political cabaret. Or Israel, for that matter.

I've been wondering for a long time why so few people speak about Palestine. Is it because you lose your job, get stigmatized as an anti-Semite, and never

become part of society again? Oh, come on! This will hardly prevent anyone from taking a stand, will it?

### Why does Palestine Shrink?

So where is this country of Palestine? It is East of the Mediterranean Sea, between Egypt and Lebanon.



Here you can see Palestine, or rather: what is left of it. Nobody can tell exactly why the land of Palestine has been shrinking so enormously over the years. The four prevailing theories are:

Is it a) due to tectonic plate movements? Or could b) soil erosion be the reason? Is it c) that the population lost its interest in the land and went away? Or is it d) because of Israeli security needs? Security is an important value, of course.

## **Palestinian Authority**

Wikileaks has disclosed thousands of papers of secret documents between Israel and the Palestinian Authority. You do know the Palestinian Authority, don't you? That is the section of the Israeli defense ministry where people speak fluent Arabic.

### **The Conflict**

So what is the Middle East conflict all about? Conflict. What is a conflict? The case of rape, for example, also is a conflict. There are two people involved and they have a conflict with each other.

The official description for Palestine/Israel is that there are two parties struggling for one piece of land. Well, it should be added that one of these parties is the fourth biggest military power in the world – with the biggest military power as an ally – while the other party consists of the people who have been living in the country for centuries. Those are not allowed to have weapons, so that a fair balance is guaranteed.

### **Terrorism**

Let's talk about terrorism. The story goes that Israel's military measures are a reaction on terrorism. Pressure is exerted to caution the Palestinians to be peaceful. Yet this method has its flaws.

As a demonstration of how this works I used an orange in previous shows. When you hold an orange like that and exert high pressure ... (makes a respective hand movement, turning the hand into a fist) ... well, in short: It all turned into a big mess, then the organizers got mad and I had to interrupt the show.

The same happens, by the way, when you take tomatoes, eggs, or bananas. Now you can say: OK, but these are mere physical mechanisms and not the reactions of living beings.

But believe me: It is not any better in animal experiments. When, for example, you put cats into a tiny cage for a longer spell of time and then shoot at them with an air-gun – and don't try that at home! – when you then release the cats ... I can tell you, they really behave strangely. Kind of terroristic. Terror cats. And even when you punish all cats collectively it does not make things any better.

Such animal experiments are disgusting and completely unacceptable. Isn't it all the more off-key that the world just watches when Palestine and human beings are concerned?

## **America and Palestine**

I'd like to tell you a little about my experience with Americans concerning Palestine. We know that Israel receives an annual amount of 3 billion dollars from the US for military aid. We don't really know why the American tax payers want that, as they have no advantage of these spendings, but this is another issue.

Now, when I went to America for the first time to attend a conference, I was warned by some friends. With your name and background, they said, you'll get strip-searched and interrogated and might end up in Guantanamo, so just be careful!

Alright, the first stop was in San Francisco before I continued to fly to Hawaii, and there was nothing in San Francisco. No strip-search, no interrogations, no jail, not even slight torture. That was when I started to become suspicious. Then in Hawaii I was standing before this officer and handed him the cumstoms declaration. I was carrying a lot of my Palestine postcards and of my music CDs with me as gifts and I thought I better show it. Of course I have a German passport so they couldn't really put me on the death list straight away.

So the guy looked at my postcards and said: Well, what is that? And I replied: That's Palestine. It said so on the cover, so there was no point in telling him it was Oklahoma. Oh, Palestine, he said, and why Palestine? At that I knew that the trouble was going to start now. Yeah, my father was born there, I said. He looked at my name in the passport again. Then he kind of nodded. And then he said something I'll never forget. I was really prepared for everything, but this one really took the cake.

Nice, he said. – I mean, can you believe it? I was right in the airport and what did this guy think he was? He even smiled at me. What a creep! I really got angry, as you can imagine. He even had the nerve to look at my music CD and utter: Oh, you write songs? Why didn't you bring your guitar along? Unbelievable! But I didn't let him provoke me. Of course I should have said: Well, if you want to bring me to Guantanamo, just go ahead and stop irritating me, you bloody pervert! – But I didn't.

Instead I answered: Well, I didn't bring my guitar, because I'm flying with United. (And you know there is this song "United Breaks Guitars" by a songwriter who made his experience and found a good way of nonviolent resistance.)

And do you know what this wannabe airport security guy did? Yeah, hold on tight: He giggled. I mean, is this normal? He didn't even punch me. And then he just let me go and said: Have a nice stay in Hawaii.

What a disgrace! Disappointment, shame. So let me just advise you and take this seriously: Never trust an American!

### **Palestimericks**

Will there be two states or one state?  
This isn't a matter of fate.  
Most people say: two.  
This surely is true,  
but I think it's rather too late.

The talks between Mahmoud Abbas  
and members of Gaza's Hamas  
in Cairo succeeded,  
because this was needed,  
yet many say it was a farce.

Is Gaza an occupied land?  
It seems the flotilla is banned  
from Gazan waters.  
Hello reporters,  
explain what we don't understand.

No weapons may pass Gaza's gates!  
Cause this is what Israel hates.  
Except for the ones  
that come by the tons  
each year from the United States.

The screenshot shows the website 'Die Freiheitsliebe' with a blue header. The logo 'FL' is prominent, with 'FREIHEIT UND FRIEDEN' and 'Politik · Gesellschaft · Kultur' below it. The main article title is 'Frieden, Krieg und Kabarett: Der Palästina-Express – ein Gespräch mit Anis Hamadeh'. A photo of Anis Hamadeh is on the left, and the text of the interview is on the right. The website also features a search bar and a list of other articles on the right side.

## Peace, War and Cabaret: The Palestine Express – an Interview with Anis Hamadeh

*Translation of a German interview for [www.diefreiheitsliebe.de](http://www.diefreiheitsliebe.de), conducted online until September 8, 2011*

*The Middle East can really be a sad issue. Most of the news from the region is bad news. People are often disappointed with politics and only wish to live in peace and quiet. With the Palestine Express, Anis Hamadeh shows that there are alternative approaches to the Middle East. He is a writer, musician, painter and scholar of Islamic Studies and he lives in Mainz.*

### **Hello Anis, you invented the Palestine Express. How did you come to the idea of making cabaret about the Middle East?**

Invented is a good expression. Well, I have been writing satires forever. Since the attack on Jenin in 2002 I have been concerned with Palestine, in articles, essays, commentaries, interviews, lectures, the Free Gaza Art Festival on the internet, literature, music, paintings and some other things. Meanwhile it is a big colorful book of material, here is the index page: [www.anis-online.de/1/palaestinabuch.htm](http://www.anis-online.de/1/palaestinabuch.htm).

At one point I noticed that even the best in German political cabaret TV avoid the subject. I mean: even those who I really like, e.g. Volker Pispers, Mathias Riechling, Urban Priol, Georg Schramm, Dieter Hildebrand. Hagen Rether once called Israel a "pretty normal apartheid state", that was the most critical remark I discovered in my research. And this although the situation in Palestine/Israel is so absurd that satire becomes an obvious way of expression. There is a responsibility in cabaret, too, not to skip important

matters, especially situations of oppression. Of course one would have to show one's position and this might be the problem. I stick to international law and the human rights and have a single measure, this is workable. As in the meantime I have also composed six songs on the Middle East, I came up with the idea of the Express last year and wrote some new short things for it which I continuously update.

### **Why do people in German cabaret avoid the Middle East conflict?**

There will be reasons for people not to notice the elephant in the room. The ignored elephant does not really match with our principle of no censorship and it does effect the general level of cabaret, taking away its credibility.

### **It is difficult in Germany to talk about the Middle East conflict and to advance a view different from the media. Have you had problems in this department?**

The situation is not as it was in the nineties. Then many people still had hope, whether this was justified or not. These days are gone. One of the results is that even some media outlets reconsider their position. The journalist Walter van Rossum, for example, recently wrote a potentially taboo breaking commentary on this notorious and persistent reproach of anti-Semitism, and that was in a mainstream medium. These things happen. With my own work I rarely have problems, hardly any hate mails etc. I am not looking for trouble.

Of course it is known that most media and parties in Germany "take care" that nothing happens to our fantasy Israel, this dream image that does not withstand any reality. Routinely, Israel is described as a victim and a reacting party, this has a long tradition. Or the media fantasizes about "two sides", as if the Palestinians had an army or even an elected president. In reality, more than 99 % of the weapons in the country are Israeli ones, while the land theft continues undeterred. It also is a shame that so many news items from the country fail to make it into the rotation in Germany, as they could "damage Israel". Fortunately we have alternative media as the Palästina Portal in Germany or [www.theheadlines.org](http://www.theheadlines.org) or you, the Freiheitsliebe. At the latest with your Dierkes interview in May you have managed to establish yourself.

To add a little story to the subject: In June, the Israeli group Givat Haviva invited me to present half of the Palestine Express on the Federal Garden Show in Koblenz. They had a stage the whole day through and there were other artists and interview partners, too. The organizer of the event, Alex Elsohn, said that he finds this voice important even if he does not necessarily subscribe to every part of the content. He would hear similar arguments from native Palestinians and it was not his intention to pretend peace and harmony with the event. I was quite impressed by this attitude. I had no idea how the audience would receive the piece, but had the chance to introduce myself earlier with some songs and poetry. Some of the Givat Haviva folks were

really thrilled by the show. Stunning. Some in the audience, on the other hand, left in disapproval, as Alex recounted. For me this episode proved that there are islands of freedom around, and one can find them.

**Do German or Palestinian groups invite you, too, with your show, or are they more critical of your work?**

As a lecturer and panel speaker people have invited me sometimes. The first time I presented the Palestine Express was on a Gaza benefit organized by FrauenWege Nahost (Middle East WomenWays) in February in Bonn. The half hour was very well received. When in April the YouTube trailer was launched ([www.youtube.com/watch?v=2NMGXxrWKnQ](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2NMGXxrWKnQ)) I thought that some solidarity groups in Germany would respond to it or at least want some more information, for this show is something else for a change and people know me in the scene. To my surprise there has been almost nothing so far.

This will not be because of the contents of the show. Down our way, Palestine events usually have serious lectures or speakers from Palestine/Israel, sometimes a movie and then falafil and maybe dabka dancing, plus donation appeals, info posters and flyers and a table with books. This is how we know it, the ritual, and correspondingly we expect these things. I think it is important to enlarge the scope here. This can also be a way to get some new faces to attend such events. We all search for ways of social change, don't we? We do not search for closed self-help groups. There has been feedback from the US and England, for I present it in English, too. My humor is rather British, maybe that is why.

**Why is it that the Palestinian groups do not change their program? Could this be a reason for the fact that, despite an existing solidarity with Palestine, relatively few people get involved?**

You will only get involved if you have a personal reason for it, otherwise it will not work. In my case it is domestic violence, ironically. Ever since, I understand what an asymmetrical conflict is and that society tolerates injustice, even supports it when in doubt. Therefore I cannot really be called pro-Palestinian. Domestic violence, next to the discrimination against women and corruption, is one of the main problems in Palestinian society and there is a big omerta about it. Therefore I am rather anti-Palestinian. Despite that, I support the Palestinians, because they are an oppressed people! I do not speak with my family, but they have human rights I will defend. – Not a very easy situation for me.

There has been a lot of innovation lately, the strongest are the Gaza ships. They show the problem of custody, they show how Palestinians are treated. No German should be able to tolerate that! I was scheduled to be delegation leader of a cultural boat which did not happen because of the massacre in 2008/09. Then, when the peaceful Mavi Marmara was captured by Israeli



soldiers, killing nine human rights activists, there was no real outcry in the world. This is symptomatic for our decadent times. It is like in ancient Rome, it really sucks! The law of the jungle. As if democracy was a joke. I admit that today you will have to swim against the stream if you want justice. This is difficult for many people. In the beginning of the Palestine Express it reads on the question why Palestine is such a rare topic in political cabaret: "Just because you lose your job, get stigmatized as an anti-Semite and never become part of society again? Oh come on! This will hardly prevent anyone from taking a stand, will it?"

**Do you really think it is so difficult to criticize Israel? Or is it rather because people tend to either only criticize Israel or Palestine, respectively?**

If the TV society received unfiltered news from Israel it would strongly feel against this state, because of the land theft, the murders and the racism. Instead, the German mainstream ties the reporting with the own history and uses the situation to express its feelings about the genocide of the Jews. For example through the genre of anti-Semitism articles or by excusing Israel for its alleged self-defense. Yet Israel does not defend itself, it defends an injustice, and this is not mentioned. Our holy history is much more important to us than the human rights.

Israel has not integrated into the region right from the start, but has made often aggressive and always unilateral decisions. This is by no means self-defense. Therefore, Israel is unpopular in large parts of the world and certainly in the age of Lieberman. Germany's active support of this behavior is not out of love for Israel. It is about the German ego. So the media obediently writes "radical-Islamic" every time they mention Hamas. They say "right of existence" and "anti-Semitism". All of these are clear indicators of an ideology, as is the double standard. This way we seek – as unconsciously as it is successful – to deal with our own history, at the expense of our values. The human rights of the Palestinians are blocked by the reproach of anti-Semitism.

**So do media and politicians draw the wrong conclusions from the German history?**

There are still many who draw the conclusion: "Never again against Jews", instead of: "Never again against the human rights". But when you prefer and privilege Jews just because they are Jews, then this is racist, too. Moreover, it leads to the empowerment of radical groups and it relativizes the human rights. And this, although the emphasized pro-Jewishness in our society is not even pro-Jewish in reality. This behavior only brings damage to all involved parties, it remains stuck in an old trauma and is far from reality, e.g. the reality of Zionism.

**Are you trying to point to this misinterpretation of history with the Palestine Express?**

Sure. The program has many different topics. I talk about Gaza, the biggest open air prison with a sea view, about 1948, about terrorism and about a friend who considered areas of his neighbor's garden while building a fence, and who now is wondering why his neighbor is so unfriendly to him. In some parts I play roles, like the one of a chief editor on the phone or the one of a translator of White House American. For example, when Obama says "stability", it must correctly be translated "instability", otherwise it makes no sense. In between I take the guitar and play a song or I recite a Palestimerick like this one: "Will there be two states or one state? This isn't a matter of fate. / Most people say: two. This surely is true, / but I think it's rather too late." I integrate current topics so that the program remains flexible. When I feel up to it I also like to improvise bits. I will be glad if you find the opportunity to watch the Palestine Express on stage one day.

**Thank you for your answers. May we now give you some concepts and ask you to tell us your associations? Political cabaret** An important means of expression, because with satire you can say more than without satire. And it is a new field for me.

**Two-State Solution** Justice is the main issue. The form is not of central importance, it has to follow the content. Yet I do not believe that a two-state solution is realistic.

**UNO**

Shows that we humans want peace eventually. Also shows that we are unable to get it done. We reward highly armed states by granting them a special power position in the UN, this is illogical and immature.

**September 20**

The day when the UN concerns itself with the recognition of Palestine as a state. A problematic demand, because it leaves out many issues, especially the one of the displaced people. The proposal in question was not developed in a democratic consensus, either, but it is a solo number of Mister Abbas.

**Anis, thank you and good luck with your show. Maybe we can make it to organize a show with you one day.**



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## **Samir's Adventures: Through Time a Flower Grows**

June 2005

Samir went barefoot on the lawn path through the garden he had created a couple of years ago. It led far to the sea. He had planted all possible kinds of plants here, some in the open air, some under the security glass. He lingered a while in front of a group of mummy roses that were standing in bloom, just like the other roses had opened their blossoms, the azaleas and rhododendrons, too. Here in the front area of the garden the soil was most fertile and generated fruit trees and vegetables.

Samir had made different paths on which he moved, depending on the mood he was in. This morning he had departed with a huge bottle of water in his rucksack, for he intended to walk all the way to the beach. There was a cave which was particularly important for Samir. He was able to speak with his ancestors there.

This garden was full of concealed corners and special places. The morning sun had already begun to turn hot when Samir arrived at the shadowy pond which he called the Silver Pond, because it shone in silvery and golden colors when the light was favorable. He sat down on the footbridge, cooled his feet and lit a cigarette. There was no wind, and white yellow sunrays were shimmering through the leaves of the surrounding trees.

Would he manage to get in touch with them, with his ancestors? He listened inward and sensed his burden, his questions and doubts which had motivated

his journey. He also sensed his hope which had caused the start of the journey. Because since a couple of days Samir had been in touch with his fate again. Whatever fate that might be, he did not live apart from it anymore, this is what he realized. And he wanted to know more about it.

On the next hop of his way he encountered some marked bamboo. There were many places in the garden he had supplied with colors and signs, partly in order to participate in the life of his surroundings in a mimicry way, partly to transform it into art. Samir loved art. On this course bamboo plants were growing in fivehundred meter intervals. It was a repetitive motif which today reminded him of how situations recurred over and over again while one was walking on his way. At first, Samir would stop at each bamboo and listen inward. Yet at one point he began to concentrate on how he felt in the spaces in-between the bamboo plants when he traversed them.

In his family, too, he had arrived at the same spot, over and over again, in the conflict. He had not been able to solve the conflict and had gone on every time, until he reached the same place again. He had not moved in circles, for every time it went on in a different way, yet every time he got back into the conflict, with all the pain and trouble that entailed.

With each of his paces Samir became lighter. He sensed freedom under the clear sunny sky. There were no more chains around his feet. But before reaching the cave he would have to ban some shadows from his consciousness. His mind was distracted by the peculiarities of his father, Darth Vader.

Samir now knew that his father was lost and had been lost for a long time. Latest news was that he now demanded a retroactive rent from Joana, dating back to last August. Samir had not learned until today what exactly it was that Joana was accused of and why Darth Vader did not reckon up her working time, at least. For she had worked for him the whole spell through, while Darth himself had made her believe she would get a contract as soon as possible. The apartment, too, was his idea, not hers. The whole time through he had created grey zones with which Joana was kept in dependency (who, in turn, had let it happen, a circumstance, however, that could not serve as an excuse). Darth had never initiated to clear the situation. He had wanted to do the same thing to Samir and had taken him deeper and deeper into his hole, up to black money payments in May, just when he had accused Joana of theft, as massively as it was unjustified. Samir had liberated himself from his clutches before it was too late. He took out the water-bottle, had a swallow and moistened his neck, face and feet. There was no more faith between him and Darth. After all this, he did not believe him anything anymore.

In front of the next bamboo he let himself fall on his knees, took up some dry earth with his hand and let it drizzle on the ground. His mind was clouded, because he wanted the patriarch to fall. He wanted to create a new world and

in this world there was no place for violent perpetrators. At the same time it was clear to him that this attitude could bring him away from society. Darth Vader was protected by the whole family as well as by his vassals in the company. He was also protected by society. Samir had years of experience with the reactions of society when he had confronted them with the matter. It just pearly off like water from a rain jacket. He had to talk with his ancestors!

The afternoon had already begun when he reached the thicket of the woods. The night would last long, Samir wanted to have a meal. In the morning he had collected and eaten some fruits and berries on the way. Now he was looking for a strong bough and broke it off the tree. From his bag he got a cord as well as arrow tops he had prepared earlier, and a knife. Within minutes he had built himself a bow and two arrows. Behind the woods in a hollow there was a shack. When the weather was clear one could hear the breakers from over there. He intended to prepare his meal there.

Samir moved silently through the woods and found some mushrooms which he collected. He held his nose into the air and then again searched the ground. For a moment he had the impression that he was not alone, that the others would be with him. He turned around spontaneously, but there was nobody.

Samir sat down by a tree and took out an ochre yellow pigment which he mixed with some water. He colored forehead, cheeks, breast, arms and legs. A reddish brown color followed, he put it on his body, then a dark grey one. Afterwards he marked the tree with colored signs, watched it for a while and also colored bow and arrows. Again it was to him as if he was not alone, but there was nobody else around.

Suddenly he noticed something and turned his eyes fluently to the left. It was a hare, it was standing in a distance of about fifty meters, motionless and attentive. It had not sensed Samir, though. A couple of seconds later the hare looked down and snooped around on the ground. The man looked at the tree for a last time, stroking over the bark, and then bent down and moved with great slowness in the direction of the hare, fixing it with his eyes all the time. Samir approached like a snake and followed the hare into the woods ...

There were only him, the others, and the animal. It was a big animal, they would be able to live from it for days. The furry skin would be for his wife who waited for him at home. He would make some new shoes for her. The pair she had now was already worn-out and she would be very glad about it. From far he heard drum-beats, they were meant to encourage the hunters and to bring them success. Samir rubbed his eyes and shook his head. There were no others around, and there were no drums. In front of him the hare disappeared in a bush. The man was now only seven meters away from the animal. He stood up behind a tree and bent the bow. While turning around

the tree with infinite slowness and bringing the arrow into the right position he was able to see the fur of the animal showing through the green leaves. It would soon creep out again and hop on.

The hunter closed his eyes and talked to the spirit of the hare. Differently from humans animals did not have a spirit for each individual, but one spirit for the whole kind. It was the same in each token. He asked the spirit of the hare for admission to shoot it in order to still his hunger and he knew exactly when to open his eyes again. The animal tediously came out of the bush and was immediately struck by the arrow. It broke down dead. The hunter approached, thanked the spirit of the hare for the gift and started to empty the animal without hesitation and to attach it to the top of the former bow, with the cord that he had untied at the bottom.

With this bundle he arrived at the hollow. He slit open the wrists of the fore-legs and tied them to the outside of the shack. Then he pulled off the skin with power, searched for fire-wood and prepared the hare with salt and the mushrooms. He was thinking of the cave he was going to reach in the evening.

Even if it is a murderer you have to open the door for him, if it is a family member ... Samir remembered the words of Darth Vader and asked himself for how long this thinking might have been existant in the heads of his ancestors. He would not exclude opening the door for a murderer, only this sentence was really strange, like tolerating things which were not tolerable. Would they speak with him at all? He had judged upon his father. This alone. He had violated the Klingon warrior's ethos. This was not only about the Palestinian-Klingon ethos which was often explained with the circumstances of occupation, oh no, this was also concerning the German-Klingon ethos, a fine, concealed longing for the beats of former times, something that did not escape Samir's attention.

He preferred thinking about the garden in which he was free and which he could form and shape just like he wanted to. There was nobody living here in the whole area. Samir rarely called it "his" garden, because the place had no borders. It changed into woods, meadows and beach and Samir had left his traces everywhere, shaping spaces, creating objects, digging channels and selecting plants. Sometimes the animals reacted to his art. Without effort he had moved around in the area, just doing what he wanted. After a while there were structures showing and he connected and supplemented them. In these natural surroundings he had received strong inspirations and immediately brought them back to the outside.

Sometimes Samir wished that a person, who denies spirituality, would elope with him here into this garden and he would present to him all this splendidness with all the senses. He would show him the area like a museum's guide, like a tourist guide. Look, he would say, isn't it pure joy?

And the tourist guest surely would agree. Yeah, Samir would then reply, it is a marvelous place. And all that had nothing to do with reason! And the non-spiritual person would have something to think about.

The hunter was sitting in the shadow near the fire-place and cleaned the fur of the hare with water from the well. He would leave the fur here, together with the rucksack, on continuing to walk the final part of his path. But right now he was still too lazy. He stretched his legs and had a nap. While his mind was running through the garden his body smiled with eyes closed. He wanted to be in this garden always, here in the middle of the harmony of life. It was a real world, not like most of the others in which violence had destroyed the air, as he used to call it. Other worlds might look similar, smell similar and taste similar, but usually tensions were created there so that art could not flow freely. The whole spiritual traffic was disturbed, as if the telephone was continuously busy or as if it was tapped.

The humans gave up their naturality, because they believed they were obliged to. In their longing they watched movies, but this was too abstract for Samir. It was even too abstract for him to thank God for the meal, although his spirituality was monotheistic in nature. The whole was one to him, it was God. The stronger his inspirations got the more they tended to connect all things with each other and make it one infinite thing. God was not separated from the world and Samir was not separated from God.

He extinguished the fire, attached the water bottle to his belt and put the lighter into the pocket of his trousers. The journey went on. In this hollow, too, and all around it, Samir had planted flowers and shaped places. Some of it was already crumbled away, other parts, like the objects made of piled-up stones, were standing there like before. Soon he reached the grassy hills which changed into sand dunes later on. Standing on the hill he sensed the ocean breeze in his face. From far he heard seagulls cry.

Had he not been here before, in very early days? Hadn't there been a village right here, in former times? With houses made of stone and flocks of sheep moving over the dunes? And over there, hadn't there been a harbor once and hadn't he himself departed from there with ships and later returned? Samir did not know, vague faces appeared in front of his inner eye and he could not sort them out.

Before he entered the grotto Samir had the ocean wash the color off his body. The entire beach was void of people, the sand still hot in the evening light. Here in the bay there was space enough for a couple of ships, without question, but there were none. Nothing, no fishing people, no conversations, not one thing created by humans, at all. Samir was a part of this world, like the waves around him and the sand below his feet. The last sun rays dried him, then he entered the cave and lit the torches he had deposited in a hole in the wall.

The grotto had several rooms, Samir had explored them when he was here for the first time. It was a magic place. The room, in which he now distributed the torches, was furnished with fine sand. On the front side there was a wall with paintings dating back to another millenium. The man ran his fingers over the wall which was almost even and had a cozy smell. Without knowing the reason, Samir was certain that this was a place where people in very old times had contacted their ancestors.

What kind of secret was it that the first humans had knowledge of? Or would we in reality only find craziness and imagination? An intoxicated exaggeration and broad misinterpretation of some alleged signs. Could be. But what about the actual experiences of the involved people? There was subjectively something, something substantial, or wasn't there?

Samir beat a rhythm into the sand with his heel. In order to open this place up he had to move it. He had to enter the trance. With every forth beat Samir hummed a tone that he modulated until it was equalized with the reverberations in the cave. He was experimenting with the tone, added an upward beat and let the rhythm enter his head which now was jolting forth and back like in a dance. He saw the flocks of sheep again on the juicy hills and some people in the periphery who seemed to talk and to joke.

He zoomed closer into the scene and realized that he was one of those people himself. He was wearing sandals and a sand-colored gown, on his head a headscarf. His alter ego was about sixty years of age, he was drawing something into the ground beneath him with a narrow stick. Two children were sitting around him, shouting comments and asking questions. He talked to the children. In his vision Samir was unable to see what it was that was drawn onto the ground.

Suddenly, the other one lifted his head as if he had noticed something. Without any motion of his lips the other one spoke: "Many thousands of years ago we came to this place and there are many thousands of years ahead of us." The expression in his face was powerful and calm. Samir could see his eyes, they were clear and merry. He looked into them for a long spell of time, absorbed the picture, never wanted to forget these eyes anymore. In them there was liberation, there was home. "Through time a flower grows." The hills disappeared, the sheep slipped white and hurriedly over the earth and dispersed. The area moved away from him, he turned around, rediscovered the tone and articulated it rhythmically, using it this time as a brake, until he had brought himself back into the illuminated cave and fell on the ground in exhaustion.

This must have been one of his ancestors, Samir thought. He did not really talk with him ... or did he? Wasn't it as if the other one had told him about the existance of different times, times in which there had not yet been this tension in the air? In former ages, when people still had questioned their



impulses instead of denying them. When they had still been searching for truth by losing control in a trance and not in the putative control of a system with coordinates created by themselves.

Even the holy scriptures came about via trances. Such an enterprise would not remotely be possible without. How could we understand religion, if religion was nailed to words and rites, in the attempt to press the world into a scheme and to deprive it of its vitality, in fear of some kind of punishment which nobody could sufficiently explain? Every book, Samir thought, was an abstraction. They could be used to think around the corner with them and to justify all kinds of things. This was not what the holy book was about, Samir was sure. He wanted to understand it in action. He wanted to experience the world, himself and God, rather than to read. The way was still long.

When Samir was back in the city he wore a suit and had his hair cut. He talked about the things about which the city people talked and replied in a well-behaved way when they asked him whether it was true that artists generally were big egoists. But he preferred telling them about a garden that stood in bloom and about a gardener who was living there.

## Curfew for Feelings

January 2004

there was an alarm call - the checkpoints of her heart - are all closed - security squads at the gates - not unfriendly - but strict - no one can get any further - without the valid papers -- there had been days - when i was several kilometers deep - in her territory - i found traces of my dream there - and was looking for the ear - today since dawn - all the roads are blocked - no intruders can - get through the wall - words, gestures, they rebound - not to think of touches - curfew for feelings - no infiltration - for the sake of calm - more she has not demanded - only calm - but was there not something that you wanted? - i asked - and she said - actually she already has it - but did you not tell about a dream - right at the start? - and she said that - this may well be the case - yet she is looking way ahead - if there was anything not alright? - she asked and i replied: - no no - it is not that - only this wall - it is very high - and the security measures - before there had been a little meadow here - only for us - at that she left me alone - for a moment -- i drove up and down the hill-streets - and tried at several spots - to find an entrance - i wanted to speak to her herself - but there was no way anymore - there was no space - this time she would have had to listen - and i would have had to listen, too - - the only remaining possibility - to reach her now - was the affect - the extreme - the deed out of despair - to drive straight into this checkpoint - accelerating - until the bang - because when there is a bang - then there has to be something important behind it - something you would think about - something where you ask yourself - why it happened - this is how i used to do it - with some of her sisters - only that it never worked out - in the end there was always only - a field of broken pieces - where before there was - the meadow - there were bad dreams - and cochroaches - that was all - nothing remained of the respective us -- so now the boarder is closed - i am standing here in the ice-cold day - smoking a cigarette - say goodbye to her - and stretch my bones - three tanks have rolled over me - on the way - by accident - collaterally - i had taken that into account - for i wanted to know - what was behind all that - and now i know - it was there - and i'll survive the rest - - security alarm - few words in the cinema - we stared onto the screen - and i behaved in an un conspicuous way - found myself in the undesired role - of an under-cover agent - we smiled - while she was busy - working on the separation device - she was always beautiful - with eyes shining - in the occident - i could only watch - for i came in from the wrong side - right at the start -- for a short moment only - had i today been the other - the stranger - saw myself in the mirror of the mirror woman - there he was again - i had known him for long - he had his place - and seemed to be a bit wretched - i did not like him - he used to talk in confusion - and was boundless - in a clumsy way - i understood - that she did not want to listen to him - i did not want to listen to him either - thus in the end - we almost agreed - and i did not have to let myself go - but only her

## Settlements around Your Heart

September 2004

i am ahmad the settler - i build settlements - around your heart - every morning - when you leave the house - you must pass them by - every evening - when you are longing to go to bed - you must pass - the settlements - that i created - with pure muscle power - and sweat in my face -- yesterday you dropped your handkerchief - in front of the street-door - while taking the latch-key out of your pocket - my spy saw it - above from the mountain - through the telescope -- it is a beautiful land - on which i have built my settlements - this is the right place for me - the soil red and brown - the trees full of fruit - and the sun on the hills - you had been alone for so long - and you could not talk to anybody - about all this beauty - and neither - about your pain - please do not be sad anymore - why don't you come to visit me? - i am your neighbor - i would prepare a meal for you - and tell you - about great times and remote planets - you will like it - i will also - introduce my friends to you -- sometimes you are standing at the window - then i long to call you - but you have no telephone - the authorities cut it off - this is a pity - there is a lot i would like to tell you - you see the barbed wire - but not the human - behind it - i need the barbed wire - because otherwise you would - expel me - and take my existence - there would be no one - to help me - i must help myself - that's just the way it is -- yesterday i built another settlement - i cannot stop - your heart is throbbing - it is warm - please do not be angry - it is only this desire - this human desire - you said sometimes it is - too close - i know - for me also - some things are too close - the war and the hatred - you got to be able - to understand this -- settlements i build - strategically around your heart - for my god wants it so - this land shall be fertile - there shall be love - around your heart - there is a lot of space here -- are you still so busy? - when i came to this land - i was the stranger - nobody wanted me - there i met you - and wished - to fall asleep at your side - but you did not want me either - so i built a home for myself - it was not difficult - to get the permission - from the authorities - now only you are missing - to make my joy complete - but you - do not stand at the window - in fear of the soldiers - like me once - it is - as if i see myself - if you only knew - how similar we are - to each other - you are standing there - in your rags - and have to hide from the world - yet you are loved so much - but not knowing it - and you also don't want - to talk about it - how can i be happy - when you are not -- your folks have put - a dead chicken in front of my door - this was not good - maybe you did not know about it - but they have - let the water out of my pool - before the soldiers came -- when i woke up this morning - i saw you coming down the road - on your way to work - you were beautiful - i almost spoke to you - but you did not even look my way

## In the M.A.S.H. of Love

October 2006

in the m.a.s.h. of love - the wings in cast - the sheet from memory rumped - soldiers running everywhere - trooping into the homes - looking under the beds - they grab with their hands - speak under the helmets - they do anything they like - then they depart -- i am the other - the other other - i see the field - in which a boy is reading books - while tending melons - he is lying in the sun - and wants to study - in jerusalem - the broken city - back then - there were cities here - we had villages and a land - it is destroyed - by walls - they cut the land - like knives - by streets - they rip the soil - tanks tear - bloody wounds - into the land -- all are looking for - the enemy - somewhere out there in the fog - he is - we must find him - before he explodes - among us - he seeks to destroy - for he hates us - hating us much - since eternity - this is why we're doing that - because they hate us - the papers write it day by day -- back then - it was one land - the land of the wild thorn - and the rose of jericho -- in the m.a.s.h. of love - with glued eyes - i see - your heart - always one person - arrives with a second person - the second person - whispers - the first bears - the pass - the second is mighty and invisible - the first person speaks - the second had whispered -- i am the other - the other other - an archer - i shoot arrows - when the wind blows -- *fleur au fusil - tambour battant - il va - il a vingt ans - un cœur d'amant - qui bat* -- i lie - in the m.a.s.h. of love - look-a-there - you say - the fireworks - your finger pointing to the window - in your eyes shine the - tanks tear - bloody wounds - you are looking up - over the walls - into the sky - the beautiful helicopters - you know my darling - you say - one day the enemy - is dead - and everything will be fine - we will forget the past - and find a brandnew start -- scars - demolished city - unreal city - jerusalem - knives are cutting the land - gunshots - are killing - obstacles on the streets - from out of the air - gunshots - in the air - low level jets - in the nights - i do not sleep - the ground is trembling from - funerals - war shouts - i am the other other from the forgotten people - the oppressed people - there stands - army number four - searching borders - its state has no borders - looking for the enemy - with army number one - saying that they come with god - inventing bombs - to split the land - like a rotten bone -- in the m.a.s.h. of love - with broken words

## Powerless

March 2012

On the other side  
of the mirror you stand,  
and you know different things. Are  
too big to fail.

But I also have  
a right to exist. Me, too.  
Nobody talks about that.  
Every word you touch  
with your scepter  
is yours.

Stop crying  
is what you simply say, I  
am not well myself.  
Every day I shoot the birds  
from the clothes line,  
but I just can't enjoy them.  
It is a misery.

With these eyes I walk  
through the mirror.  
You can almost see me.

## The Story of Jobst Hauser

October 2004

one day - when the times had gotten economically hard - the people of the little town decided - to separate from their unproductive citizens - and to expose them in the woods - as they were constantly complaining - living on other people's expenses - and not matching the beauty ideal - their property was distributed - and soon there was calm again - everybody was content and optimistic -- ten years later the police - in the vicinity of the rhine herne canal - found a degenerated - neglected - and awful smelling boy - whom they had never seen before - they brought him to the inn - where he was critically examined - his hair was dishevelled and shaggy - he was dirty and almost naked - he only wore some ferret-furs - his movements were similar to those - of wild animals - they asked him about his name - and his papers - but he did not speak - and did not seem to understand - there the people in the inn suggested to the policemen - to put the boy in jail - so that he would be away again - until one of them spotted - a shakin' stevens button - on one of the ferret-furs - "lotte hauser used to wear this back then" - he cried out in alarm - "we had exposed her in the woods - she got money from the welfare - and had a baby - named jobst" - at that the crowd started to whisper and murmur - they looked onto the poor frozen lad - and memory came back like a shock - now the whole town felt guilty - even the press - jobst was bathed - and put into fine garments - then they taught him to speak - and gave him a mercedes - a wife - and a job as a chartered accountant -- for years everything went well - until hauser one day - in the hall of the railway station - got involved in a fight - while playing cards - he shot a citizen several times in the head - there were many witnesses - the city council exchanged views about - what to do now - they could not put poor hauser into prison - after everything that had happened - nobody had an idea - until the day - when hauser strangled his wife while boozing - the whole town came to the funeral - people thought about how - to approach hauser - in order to relax the situation - but hauser was self-willed and had a mind of his own - they begged of him - to act a bit more cautious - but now hauser was insulted - and withdrew more and more - into his privacy - on the premises - he felt not understood - and sent the press - his old ferret-fur - for christmas - as a souvenir - there the press felt ashamed - and wrote a big special - about the outlaws from the woods - about humanity - and about shakin' stevens -- jobst hauser was touched - and found his gratitude again - didn't these people - wash the dirt off his legs - teach him how to read and write - and install a whirlpool in his bathroom? - so he ordered the servants - to prepare a party - for the chief editor - the mayor - the party chairpeople - and the notables - from then on there was no more dispute whatsoever - only from the neighbor

town - came occasional news - about sudden - mysterious killings - obviously not all towns could set - such a good example - as this one



Games We Play © Anis 2012

## The Boys: In Enemy Land

October 2001

Heinz: Hey, wait a minute!

Helmut: Come on now, we have to keep going.

Heinz: Man, I can't get my thing ...

Helmut: What thing?

Heinz: My thing.

Helmut: What are you talking about?

Heinz: My foot! I can't get my foot out of this barbed wire.

Helmut: Wait, I'll give you a hand.

Heinz: Pull it!

Helmut: Shit, there's a huge puddle here.

Heinz: Now go ahead and pull!

Helmut: Just a sec, OK that's good.

Heinz: Oh thank God, hey. Why do we have to go through this number in the damn dark?

Helmut: Yeah OK, now stop whining! Let's keep going!

Heinz: Do you have the night vision goggles?

Helmut: Yeah, yeah, I got 'em. Come on now!

Heinz: Where are we actually going?

Helmut: Up ahead there, to the cave.

Heinz: Which cave?

Helmut: Yeah, it's OK. You just stay right behind me. It's right here.

Heinz: And what will we do there in the cave?

Helmut: Oh, just stop it! Really man, we discussed this long enough.

Heinz: I just want you to say it one more time again.

Helmut: We're looking for the terrorists.

Heinz: And do you think they're in that cave?

Helmut: No idea. That's why we're checking.

Heinz: Um-hmh, OK, and what if we find them there?

Helmut: Why do you always have to do this? Do you think it helps me when you constantly repeat this crap?

Heinz: What do you mean, constantly? It was four times maximum.

Helmut: You know exactly that as friends we were requested to help ...

Heinz: The Americans, yeah yeah.

Helmut: Yes, the Americans! So what? Who helped ...

Heinz: ... Who helped rebuild Germany after the war, yeah yeah.

Helmut: Yes, and so what? Oh shit, it's so dark in here.

Heinz: Ouch owie!!

Helmut: What's wrong now?

Heinz: ...



Helmut: Hey, what's up?  
 Heinz: Nothing, it's OK.  
 Helmut: And what was it?  
 Heinz: I just twisted my ankle. It's OK.  
 Helmut: Do you want water?  
 Heinz: Nah, why would I want water?  
 Helmut: How should I know? I'm just asking. Come on, we're almost there.  
 Heinz: And so the brave allied troops approached the lion's den. Would they defeat the terrorists? Would they ...  
 Helmut: Ssshhh! Now shut your trap! Did you take the safety off?  
 Heinz: Yes, Sir!  
 Helmut: Then come on! And if you absolutely must say something, then please whisper.  
 Heinz: Unshyr  
 Helmut: Huh?  
 Heinz: It's kinda crunchy here. Under the feet.  
 Helmut: Yeah, all right then.  
 Heinz: Do you have the night vision goggles?  
 Helmut: Yes, that's what I told you!  
 Heinz: So?  
 Helmut: So nothing.  
 Heinz: What do you mean: "So nothing"?  
 Helmut: Well, I can't see anything.  
 Heinz: Come on, let's get out of here. Helmut? Oh shit ... Helmut!!!  
 Helmut: Hey, are you crazy to yell like that?? I wasn't even gone. Let's just get outta here!  
 Heinz: And the terrorists?  
 Helmut: You are such an idiot! Wait a sec. Now where was the exit of this stupid cave? I think it was here.  
 Heinz: No, no, that's where we came from.  
 Helmut: Yeah, that's what I'm saying.  
 Heinz: No, before. We made a right over here.  
 Helmut: Oh man, now I'm all turned around.  
 Heinz: We'll figure it out.  
 Helmut: You just keep your mouth shut.  
 Heinz: Why, what'd I do now? Even if I hadn't accidentally yelled we still woulda got lost.  
 Helmut: We are not lost.  
 Heinz: And what would you call it then?  
 Helmut: Here. I think here is where we turned.  
 Heinz: I guess.  
 Helmut: No, this is a dead end.

Heinz: I have water in my boot.  
Helmut: Or was it here?  
Heinz: Bloody Americans!  
Helmut: Ppppppppppp  
Heinz: Hey there! Are you insane shooting off your gun in here?  
Helmut: I'm sorry. I didn't do it on purpose.  
Heinz: Man, are you delirious or something?  
Helmut: Man, I didn't do it on purpose!  
Heinz: But to let me have it, just because I called to you.  
Helmut: You yelled.  
Heinz: Yeah, but I didn't misfire.  
Helmut: Back then this was so much easier!  
Heinz: What was easier?  
Helmut: War.  
Heinz: Oh, that.  
Helmut: Do you have any more of those malted milk balls?  
Heinz: Sure.  
Helmut: Maybe they'll find us, too.  
Heinz: Who now?  
Helmut: The allies.  
Heinz: Sure.  
Helmut: Do you have your cell phone?  
Heinz: Nah.  
Helmut: It's almost 2am.  
Heinz: I have time.  
Helmut: We can try this exit here again.  
Heinz: Mmmh.  
Helmut: So come on now. Stop messing around!

## The Boys: In Jerusalem

April 2002

Heinz: You know, I find it rather exhausting to go traveling again so soon.  
 Helmut: Might be. But since the Americans ...  
 Heinz: Oh man, can't you stop talking about them Americans?  
 Helmut: Yeah, but since they were asking us, you know.  
 Heinz: Yeah, and how the heck could we two be of any aid here?  
 Helmut: Well, they put some trust in our abilities.  
 Heinz: I cannot really say that I'm comfortable with all this.  
 Helmut: It's twelve now. The contact guy will be showing any moment now. Given that this is indeed Damascus Gate.  
 Heinz: It is.  
 Helmut: Well, if he is coming from the Old City, then we cannot possibly miss him. From up here you have a good overview.  
 Helmut: These soldiers can really make you nervous. Now look at this!  
 Helmut: Whatya mean?  
 Helmut: Over there!  
 Helmut: Oh shit, what do they think they're doing there? Goodness.  
 Heinz: Now he kicked him. The Palestinian wanted to cross over there.  
 Helmut: But this is closed there, ain't it?  
 Heinz: Yeah, but the guy wanted to pass.  
 Helmut: There! Now he laid one on the soldier. Now that'll mean trouble.  
 Heinz: But the soldier started it off.  
 Helmut: Why, when the road is closed, then it's closed.  
 Heinz: Yeah, but he didn't have to kick him, did he?  
 Helmut: Hey look-a there! Now it's four of 'em fighting.  
 Heinz: Now this is completely unacceptable.  
 Helmut: Why don't you get involved and help your pal out of there.  
 Heinz: This guy ain't my pal. I don't even know him.  
 Helmut: Do you think I didn't notice that you are pro-Palestinian?  
 Heinz: And what would this have to do with pro-Palestinian, eh? You're being stupid, that's all.  
 Helmut: Didn't you say that the Palestinian was right?  
 Heinz: So what?  
 Helmut: Well, there you are: pro-Palestinian.  
 Heinz: Man, this guy came along there and the other guy stopped and provoked him.  
 Helmut: See, you're defending him again. Did you ever hear anything about suicide assaults?  
 Heinz: And you? Did you ever hear anything about human rights, you nut?  
 Helmut: Juice-head!

Heinz: Well, one will probably see things from a different angle once that one has erased somebody himself.

Helmut: Why, what do you mean by... oah! You miserable creature! Take this!

Heinz: Ouaaa!

Helmut: There you are. It's your own fault. Aaaargh!

Heinz: I will give you "It's your own fault".

Helmut: Buddy, I beat you to ... aaaa!

Heinz: Hee hee. Hey, what are you doin' there? Put this stone away at once!

Helmut: I will blow you away!

Heinz: You missed me, you missed me.

Helmut: There are even more stones around here. Ouch! Let me ...

Heinz: Now you just wait and see.

Helmut: Watch out! Mind the stairway! Aaaah, you wait. You'll get that back.

Heinz: Ah, really? Owu!

Helmut: So! Owaah!

Heinz: So! Now stop throwing these vegetables at me.

Helmut: When the road is closed, then it is closed.

Heinz: Yeah well, you are closed, too.

Helmut: Better than to be a fundamentalist!

Heinz: Well why don't you enter a kibbuz then! Aah!

Helmut: Aaw! Terrorist!

Heinz: Who is the terrorist, you violent rat!

Helmut: Man, I hit you in the ...

Heinz: You better watch it ... Urgh.

Helmut: So! Aaah.

Heinz: Was it painful?

Helmut: Hey, my Moshammer coat is torn!

Heinz: What do I care?

Helmut: Hey, my Moshammer coat!

Heinz: Yeah, well, I shit on your Moshammer coat. It's too hot for this weather, anyway.

Helmut: I love this coat ...

Heinz: Helmut, stop strangling me!

Helmut: I'm gonna do you in, man!

Heinz: Kchrgh

Helmut: That's right. Aaah my ...

Heinz: Yeah, this is what you deserve!

Helmut: Oh my nuts!

Heinz: Yeah, kchch, see? And I am bleeding everywhere.

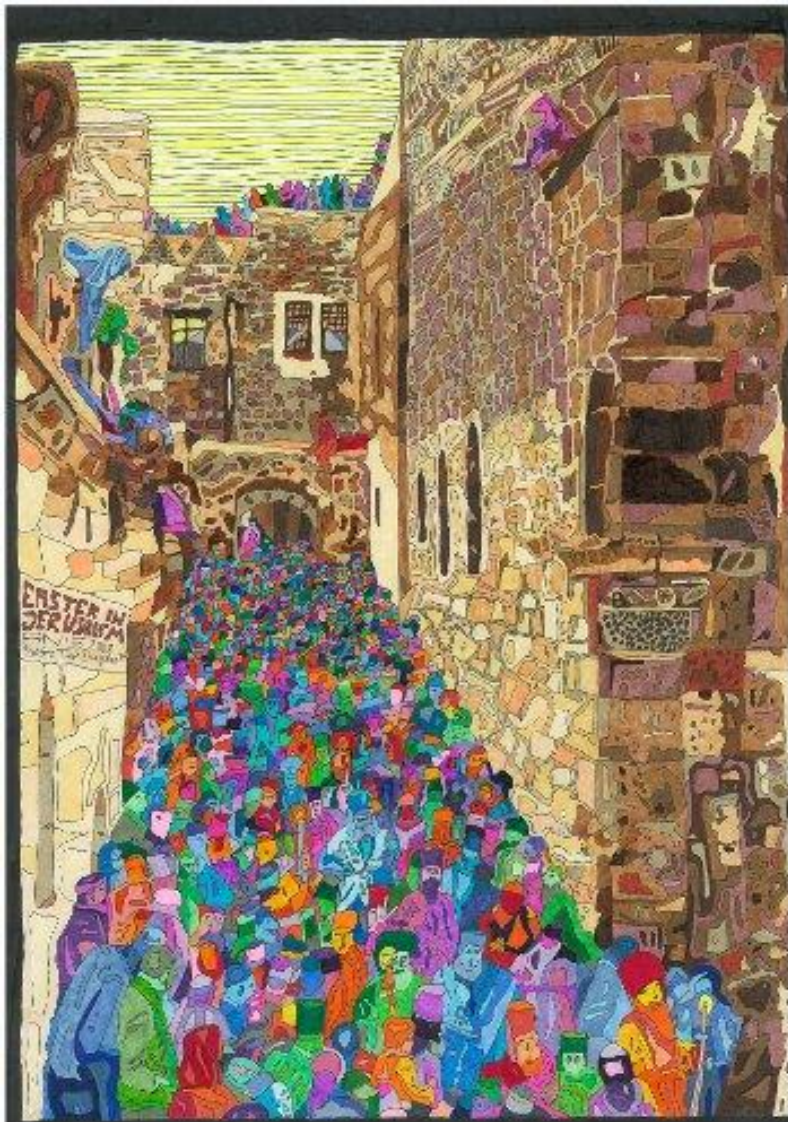
Helmut: You Arab!

Heinz: You Zionist!

Helmut: And how do you like: this here?

Heinz: Aaaaaaah, you wait, you pig!

Helmut: Aaaargh, damn Arabs!  
Heinz: Damn Zionists!  
Helmut: Aah  
Heinz: Aah  
Helmut: Ooh  
Heinz: Ooh  
Helmut: Heinz?  
Heinz: What?  
Helmut: I think they stopped.  
Heinz: No kidding?  
Helmut: Yeah, they're all looking over here.  
Heinz: Oh.



Easter in Jerusalem around 1910. From the series "Before their Diaspora", based on a photo from the book of the same name by Walid Khalidi. © Anis 2008

## Faked Fischer Interview

April 2002

*Based on an interview in the Frankfurter Rundschau on April 20, 2002*

Faked Reporter: Mister Foreign Minister Fischer.  
 Faked Fischer: No.  
 FR: Yes.  
 FFischer: Now let's see the realities.  
 FR: What about Israel?  
 FFischer: Israel has a right to defend itself.  
 FR: Everybody has, not only Israel.  
 FFischer: Yes, but that's different.  
 FR: Why?  
 FFischer: Because Israel is a democracy.  
 FR: And only ten kilometers away are ...?  
 FFischer: The authoritarian regimes, thank you.  
 FR: Does peace have a chance after Powell's failure?  
 FFischer: I don't understand your question.  
 FR: Many people call for clear words addressed to the USA.  
 FFischer: No. Clear words are completely wrong.  
 FR: Really?  
 FFischer: Yes, they would only poison the climate.  
 FR: So we better don't talk about the Fat Chicken, right?  
 FFischer: The what?  
 FR: Jenin.  
 FFischer: Oh Jenin, yes, I have a statement.  
 FR: Which one?  
 FFischer: It is right what the UN says about investigations.  
 FR: You are very generous, Sir.  
 FFischer: That's why I am famous.  
 FR: Yes. About Sharon ...  
 FFischer: Now wait a minute!  
 FR: Yes?  
 FFischer: Israel is a democracy.  
 FR: Sure, now Sharon ...  
 FFischer: Now hold on!  
 FR: Well?  
 FFischer: Israel must not be condemned unilaterally.  
 FR: Anything else?  
 FFischer: Ah, yes: Israel's army must be superior to the Palestinians.  
 FR: And the killings in Jenin?

FFischer: What do you think you're knowing about that?  
 FR: Well, a massacre, that's what we saw in the news.  
 FFischer: Maybe it was only an accident. Do you know that?  
 FR: Well, they ...  
 FFischer: So there you are. You have no idea about what's goin' on.  
 FR: Of course Sharon did ...  
 FFischer: Now will you shut up!  
 FR: So you think Jenin was alright?  
 FFischer: Look, if you only had an idea about the existential fears of Israel ...  
 FR: Is it not all the same, killing and killing?  
 FFischer: No, of course not. Look, they are Israelis!  
 FR: So?  
 FFischer: Have you never heard about kosher killing?  
 FR: Now this is disgusting, Mr. faked Foreign Minister.  
 FFischer: You are being anti-Semitic!  
 FR: Sharon has ...  
 FFischer: Anti-Zionist! Anti-Semite! You are anti-everything.  
 FR: Sorry. Now, how will it go on?  
 FFischer: This is of course up to the Quartet.  
 FR: Oh yes: USA + UN + EU + Russia.  
 FFischer: Yeah: the Quartet.  
 FR: Ah, the Quartet.  
 FFischer: The Quartet will deal with this in its own good time.  
 FR: But can the Quartet make it?  
 FFischer: Of course, it is the Quartet.  
 FR: And what are the plans?  
 FFischer: Well, this is up to the Quartet.  
 FR: Of course.  
 FFischer: You have no idea of how good the Quartet really is.  
 FR: I think I can imagine.  
 FFischer: The Palestinians missed their chance under Barak.  
 FR: Too bad.  
 FFischer: Yes. You see, it's their own fault.  
 FR: Is this where the kosher killing thing is from?  
 FFischer: Israel must defend itself.  
 FR: What do you think about the human rights?  
 FFischer: Aaah, so you're picking on me now, are you!?  
 FR: Sorry, Sir. I meant: The Palestinians are completely violent.  
 FFischer: They are authoritarian.  
 FR: Palestinian is the nigger of the world.  
 FFischer: Yet they are more civilized than their neighbors.

FR: What, neighbor countries, you mean?  
FFischer: Yes, because the Palestinians have an idea about democracy.  
FR: Because of the suffering?  
FFischer: No, because of Israel.  
FR: Oh yes, Israel, completely slipped my mind, Sharon ...  
FFischer: No, not Sharon! Democracy, I say.  
FR: Oh yes, Ariel Democracy ...  
FFischer: Palestinian violence is anti-Semitic!  
FR: You mean Palestinian resistance.  
FFischer: Yes. It is authoritarian and inhumane.  
FR: Have the Palestinians any rights at all?  
FFischer: They have exactly the same rights as everybody else.  
FR: But how, if they cannot criticize Israel?  
FFischer: This is none of my business.  
FR: Mr. FFischer, you are such a tender person.  
FFischer: Thank you, I do my best.  
FR: So what if Israel commits another massacre?  
FFischer: This is up to the Israelis and the Palestinians themselves.  
FR: But President Rau just said ...  
FFischer: Look: The Palestinians live in permanent danger.  
FR: The Palestinians?  
FFischer: The Israelis, the Israelis, sorry!



## Faked Palestinian Interview

April 2002

Faked Anis: Hello faked Palestinian.  
 Faked Palestinian: Hello faked Anis.  
 Faked Anis: I want to ask you about Palestine.  
 Faked Palestinian: Yes?  
 Faked Anis: What is Palestine?  
 Faked Palestinian: What are you talking about?  
 Faked Anis: Palestine.  
 Faked Palestinian: It's our country. It is occupied by Israel.  
 Faked Anis: Do you want a free Palestine?  
 Faked Palestinian: Of course. What a silly question.  
 Faked Anis: Is it?  
 Faked Palestinian: Yes, there is nothing a Palestinian wants more.  
 Faked Anis: I want it.  
 Faked Palestinian: I want it, too.  
 Faked Anis: Am I a Palestinian?  
 Faked Palestinian: Sure you are. Your father was born there.  
 Faked Anis: I feel Palestinian.  
 Faked Palestinian: OK.  
 Faked Anis: I also feel German. I live here in Germany and was born here.  
 Faked Palestinian: OK.  
 Faked Anis: I want the State of Palestine and peace for Israel.  
 Faked Palestinian: OK.  
 Faked Anis: I want it now.  
 Faked Palestinian: We all want it now. But you see how Israel behaves. Jenin!  
 Faked Anis: Yes I see that very clearly. Jenin.  
 Faked Palestinian: They don't want peace. They control the media.  
 Faked Anis: I just wanna be Palestinian.  
 Faked Palestinian: Sure.  
 Faked Anis: Do you know mansaf?  
 Faked Palestinian: Of course I know mansaf. It's delicious.  
 Faked Anis: I liked the outdoor parties, you know.  
 Faked Palestinian: Yeah, with dabka dancing.  
 Faked Anis: Yeah and kharoof and mulukheyeh. And maqloobeh!  
 Faked Palestinian: Delicious.  
 Faked Anis: The girls would dress up ...  
 Faked Palestinian: ... and we would be all together ...  
 Faked Anis: I'd play you some o'my faked songs.

Faked Palestinian: Cool.

Faked Anis: And will you teach me how to drive a tractor?

Faked Palestinian: Sure.

Faked Anis: Hey man, and I'm gonna show you some rock'n'roll!

Faked Palestinian: OK.

Faked Anis: Well alright, let's go and do it.

Faked Palestinian: What do you mean?

Faked Anis: Do it, man, do it!

Faked Palestinian: Yeah, but how?

Faked Anis: What do you mean how? I'm here.

Faked Palestinian: Yeah, but what do you want to do?

Faked Anis: Palestine.

Faked Palestinian: I don't understand.

Faked Anis: Well, we all want peace, don't we?

Faked Palestinian: Yeah, but before the peace the Israelis must ...

Faked Anis: A wop ba baloo bop a whop bam boom

Faked Palestinian: Now wait a minute!

Faked Anis: Are you telling me that you are depending on Israel's moods?

Faked Palestinian: Look, they don't let us do it.

Faked Anis: You're chicken.

Faked Palestinian: Man, there's nothin' we can do.

Faked Anis: Do you know the Shammouts?

Faked Palestinian: No.

Faked Anis: A Palestinian couple of painters. They're great.

Faked Palestinian: OK.

Faked Anis: You can google them, they exist.

Faked Palestinian: When I find the time. We are oppressed. They killed ...

Faked Anis: Yes they killed, we killed. It is a control drama.

Faked Palestinian: I don't know what you're talking about.

Faked Anis: We don't have to play this game. There are better games.

Faked Palestinian: I see no solution.

Faked Anis: Man, I see a solution.

Faked Palestinian: Nonsense, there is no solution. The UN blew it.

Faked Anis: Repeat that.

Faked Palestinian: T-H-E-R-E--I-S--N-O--S-O-L-U-T-I-O-N

Faked Anis: You know what I think?

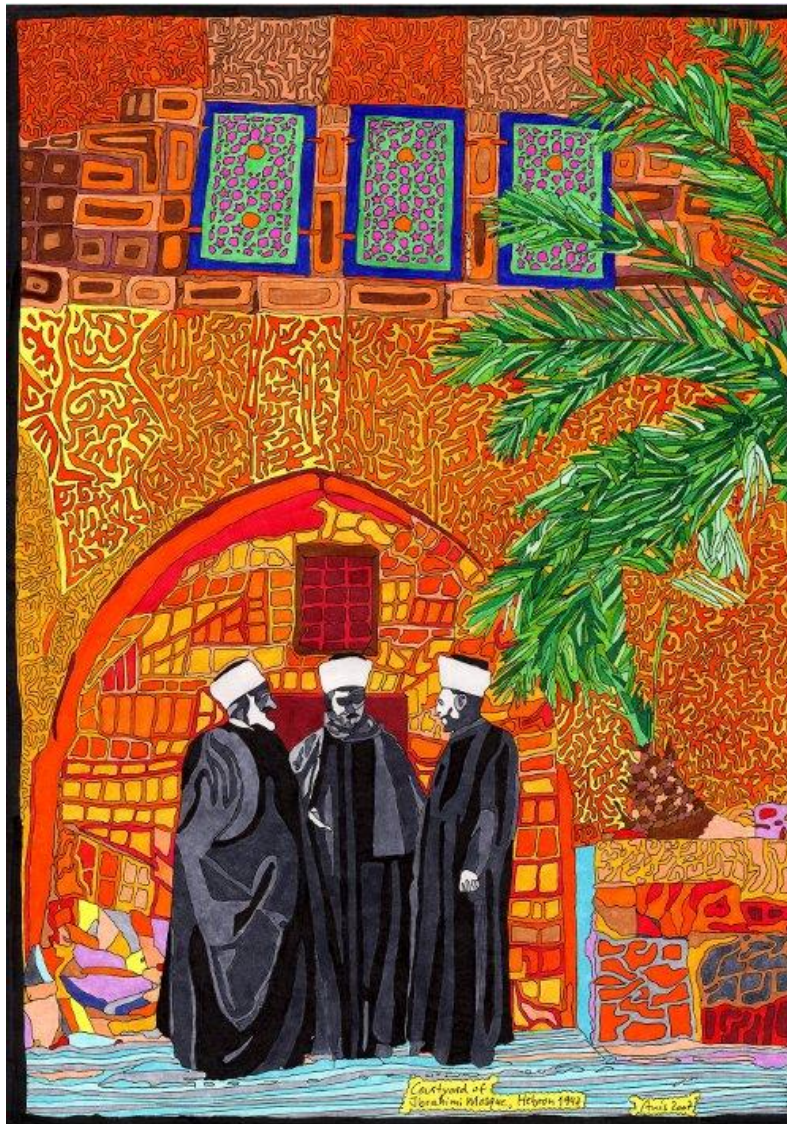
Faked Palestinian: What?

Faked Anis: You are an armchair Palestinian.

Faked Palestinian: Don't insult me!

Faked Anis: Same to you.

Faked Palestinian: Why?  
 Faked Anis: Because your nihilism insults me.  
 Faked Palestinian: And what is your glorious solution?  
 Faked Anis: You.  
 Faked Palestinian: What??  
 Faked Anis: You are the solution.  
 Faked Palestinian: I don't understand.  
 Faked Anis: We all come together and make Palestine.  
 Faked Palestinian: The Americans don't let us.  
 Faked Anis: Yes yes, my Mama doesn't let us, either.  
 Faked Palestinian: You're confusing me.  
 Faked Anis: You want Palestine, man?  
 Faked Palestinian: Yes of course, I told you.  
 Faked Anis: Well, put on your shoes, ya zalami!



Courtyard of the Ibrahimi (Abraham) Mosque, Hebron, 1947. From the series "Before their Diaspora", based on a photo from the book of the same name by Walid Khalidi. © Anis 2007

## Faked Dude Interview

February 2003

Faked Anis: Hello faked Dude.  
Faked Dude: Hello faked Anis.  
Faked Anis: Who is this guy in the cage behind your back?  
Faked Dude: Is this your way to start a conversation?  
Faked Anis: And what should I have said?  
Faked Dude: You could have asked me how I am.  
Faked Anis: And how are you?  
Faked Dude: Well, it is not so easy, you see.  
Faked Anis: And who is the guy in the cage over there?  
Faked Dude: Yeah OK, you see, NOW is the right time for this question!  
Faked Anis: I learn fast.  
Faked Dude: Well done!  
Faked Anis: And the guy?  
Faked Dude: Is basically one of the reasons that ... aargh!  
Faked Anis: What happened?  
Faked Dude: He hit me in the back.  
Faked Anis: What are you doing there??!  
Faked Dude: ...  
Faked Anis: Is this a club you have there?  
Faked Dude: It is a poker.  
Faked Anis: A poker?  
Faked Dude: Yes. I am beating this man with it.  
Faked Anis: But why?  
Faked Dude: He must learn not to hit me in the back.  
Faked Anis: Please step aside, let me see this man.  
Faked Dude: Not so important. I am sorry for the inconvenience.  
Faked Anis: Why is he in this cage?  
Faked Dude: Oh, this is a long story.  
Faked Anis: OK.  
Faked Dude: There had been a lot of suffering in my family.  
Faked Anis: I am sorry to hear this.  
Faked Dude: Yes. It is even too cruel to be imagined.  
Faked Anis: And what happened?  
Faked Dude: After the cruelties my family came to this place to find peace.  
Faked Anis: In this village?  
Faked Dude: Yes, it is the place of our oldest ancestors. It is a holy place.  
Faked Anis: I see.  
Faked Dude: Do you know what a holy place is?

Faked Anis: Yes, I know what a holy place is.  
Faked Dude: Ah OK, then you know.  
Faked Anis: And why is the guy in the cage?  
Faked Dude: He is aggressive, you see. So I must cage him.  
Faked Anis: What is his name? He looks hungry.  
Faked Dude: Yes yes, he does that because you are watching him.  
Faked Anis: I can hardly see him, you are standing right in front of him.  
Faked Dude: But he knows that you are there, so he does his show.  
Faked Anis: What wrong has he done?  
Faked Dude: He hated our family from the day we settled next to this estate here.  
  
Faked Anis: And who is in charge of this estate here now?  
Faked Dude: Our family. You see, his family had been hostile all the time.  
Faked Anis: And someone had to be in charge of the estate ...  
Faked Dude: Exactly.  
Faked Anis: And the other family members?  
Faked Dude: Are just as aggressive. They throw stones from out of their cages, can you imagine?  
  
Faked Anis: Where are they?  
Faked Dude: Here on the estate. Somewhere else.  
Faked Anis: What are you doing there?!!  
Faked Dude: I'm poking this guy with the poker! He must learn to behave!  
Faked Anis: Oh my God! You are killing him!  
Faked Dude: No no, don't worry, he is used to that.  
Faked Anis: Oh my God!  
Faked Dude: Didn't you see how he hit me from behind? Look, I'm bleeding!  
  
Faked Anis: But you ...  
Faked Dude: Look, this bastard had a faked razor blade in his pocket!!  
Faked Anis: Please stop!  
Faked Dude: Here, look, is this a razor blade or not?  
Faked Anis: Yes, it is.  
Faked Dude: And was it in his possession?  
Faked Anis: Please, I don't want to ...  
Faked Dude: Is this polite of him? I think he'll soon be taken away!  
Faked Anis: I don't know what to say.  
Faked Dude: I come from an educated family, you know. We had famous artists in our history.  
  
Faked Anis: I see.  
Faked Dude: But this man is not only aggressive.  
Faked Anis: What do you mean?  
Faked Dude: He is also malicious. Like the people who hurt us.

Faked Anis: You mean before you settled here?  
Faked Dude: There are some similarities. They want to kill us with the same old tricks.

Faked Anis: And will he always be in this cage?  
Faked Dude: No no, I am not a monster. But they must learn first.  
Faked Anis: Do you know what the people felt who hurt you?  
Faked Dude: Why don't we rather talk about nicer things!  
Faked Anis: It is a catastrophe.  
Faked Dude: Yes, you are right. But there is nothing we can do.  
Faked Anis: Release them!  
Faked Dude: Oh no, if we released them they would kill us instantly.  
Faked Anis: You beat him all the time with this poker.  
Faked Dude: Did you not see the razor blade?! We talked about that issue before.

Faked Anis: It is so terrible.  
Faked Dude: You don't have the faintest idea of how terrible MY life is with this potential aggressor.

Faked Anis: Of course.  
Faked Dude: You cannot live in peace when your evil neighbor doesn't let you.

Faked Anis: Who do you mean now?  
Faked Dude: This uneducated, aggressive, brutal and ugly man!  
Faked Anis: Oh, this one! Now I understand.  
Faked Dude: Good, so you understand. Come, I show you my new peppermint-beds!

## Faked German Interview

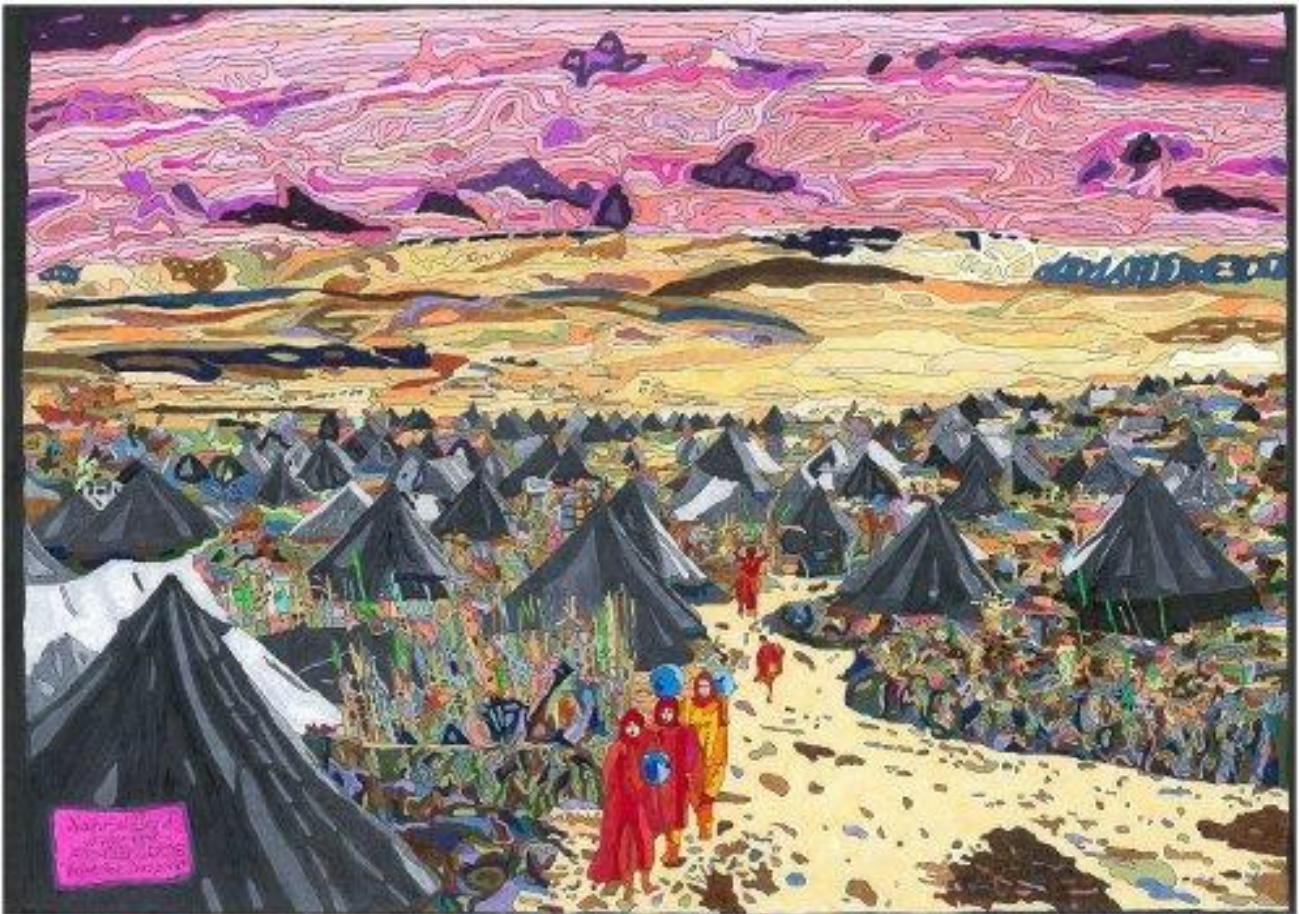
June 2006

Faked Anis: Hello faked German.  
Faked German: Hello faked Anis.  
Faked Anis: What's the matter with you?  
Faked German: Well, I read some of your texts.  
Faked Anis: Fine.  
Faked German: Well.  
Faked Anis: Well what?  
Faked German: What you write about Israel and Jews.  
Faked Anis: Yes.  
Faked German: Here in Germany this is a delicate subject.  
Faked Anis: So the Palestinians must die.  
Faked German: What nonsense you talk!  
Faked Anis: They are killed right in the street.  
Faked German: Only the terrorists.  
Faked Anis: They are walled in.  
Faked German: Yes, this is not so good, you are right.  
Faked Anis: It is discrimination.  
Faked German: But Germany has a responsibility toward Israel.  
Faked Anis: Don't you think you are mixing something up here?  
Faked German: What do you mean?  
Faked Anis: Do you know the difference between responsibility and bondage?  
Faked German: Don't think you have to teach me something. It is a fact that we are biased.  
Faked Anis: We are guilty.  
Faked German: We have learned.  
Faked Anis: What have we learned?  
Faked German: Never again!  
Faked Anis: Never again what?  
Faked German: Never again Hitler!  
Faked Anis: Hitler is dead, as far as I am informed.  
Faked German: Never again anti-Semitism!  
Faked Anis: Is this what we learned?  
Faked German: Yes.  
Faked Anis: And this is why the Palestinians have to die?  
Faked German: Nonsense! There are problems everywhere, not only in Israel.  
Faked Anis: Germany must condemn the blatant human rights violations ...  
Faked German: Impossible. You cannot expect that from Germans.

- Faked Anis: ... because Germany knows best how terrible human rights violations are.
- Faked German: You cannot expect that from Germans.
- Faked Anis: Should we treat Germans with care, because they suffer so much from their guilt?
- Faked German: Don't be fanatic. The Germans really try to mediate between Israelis and Palestinians.
- Faked Anis: They are actively involved in the crime against the Palestinians.
- Faked German: How can you say that!
- Faked Anis: There are millions of refugees.
- Faked German: Germany also had to give up territories.
- Faked Anis: Germany had launched the war.
- Faked German: That is correct.
- Faked Anis: Palestine did not.
- Faked German: The Germans can do nothing in this matter.
- Faked Anis: So what is it they try to mediate, at all? War?
- Faked German: You have to understand the security fears of the Israelis.
- Faked Anis: I am actually tired of this argument.
- Faked German: There is anti-Semitism everywhere, they must feel safe.
- Faked Anis: But they don't. If I committed all these things I would not feel safe, either.
- Faked German: Maybe you can say that, with your name ...
- Faked Anis: The really bad thing is that Germany is again guilty, because it supports all that.
- Faked German: The opposite is true.
- Faked Anis: Do you know what I feel when I read a German newspaper?
- Faked German: What?
- Faked Anis: Racism.
- Faked German: You misunderstand.
- Faked Anis: Sometimes I read a newspaper, but it is a plastic world.
- Faked German: We all know that.
- Faked Anis: They are walling my relatives in Palestine in because of Hitler.
- Faked German: Who, the German press?
- Faked Anis: The Israelis.
- Faked German: See how you confuse things.
- Faked Anis: Germany supports Israel.
- Faked German: Of course Germany supports Israel.
- Faked Anis: The holy bond.
- Faked German: Don't make fun of that, it is serious.
- Faked Anis: Yes it is.



Faked German: It all depends on the Americans, anyway.  
 Faked Anis: God.  
 Faked German: What God?  
 Faked Anis: The Americans.  
 Faked German: The Americans are the strongest ones.  
 Faked Anis: They are leading us.  
 Faked German: Why do you say that?  
 Faked Anis: The USA.  
 Faked German: They freed us from Hitler.  
 Faked Anis: Heroes. Hiroshima. Iraq.  
 Faked German: Well, yes, they have their mistakes, too.  
 Faked Anis: But we will always be friends with the USA.  
 Faked German: Certainly. It is our responsibility.  
 Faked Anis: Oh yes, I remember this word.



Nahr al-Barid (Lebanon) in 1948, Palestinian refugee camp. There is no group in the world with more refugees than the Palestinian one. Today they are 5–7 million. From the series "Before their Diaspora", based on a photo from the book of the same name by Walid Khalidi. © Anis 2008

## Faked Palestinian Interview (2)

September 2002

Faked Anis: Hello faked Palestinian.  
 Faked Palestinian: Hello faked Anis.  
 Faked Anis: I think we have a conflict.  
 Faked Palestinian: No.  
 Faked Anis: No?  
 Faked Palestinian: No.  
 Faked Anis: Oh, I see.  
 Faked Palestinian: Yes.  
 Faked Anis: And why don't we have a conflict?  
 Faked Palestinian: Because we are both Palestinians.  
 Faked Anis: So?  
 Faked Palestinian: Palestinians are like one big family. We never have conflicts.  
 Faked Anis: I think I have a conflict with the Palestinian establishment.  
 Faked Palestinian: The Palestinians don't even have an establishment.  
 Faked Anis: Oh, don't they?  
 Faked Palestinian: No. How could we establish anything under these circumstances?  
 Faked Anis: But I am sure there is a conflict.  
 Faked Palestinian: Look: The Palestinians have a conflict with Israel and not with each other.  
 Faked Anis: But everybody has conflicts.  
 Faked Palestinian: No, I don't. I am friendly to everybody, except for Zionists.  
 Faked Anis: Yes, but you avoid conflict issues.  
 Faked Palestinian: Nonsense. First I have not so much time. Second I avoid nothing.  
 Faked Anis: You avoid talking about the establishment, for example.  
 Faked Palestinian: Man, there is no establishment.  
 Faked Anis: You avoid talking about our conflicts.  
 Faked Palestinian: We have no conflicts.  
 Faked Anis: You avoid talking about my feelings.  
 Faked Palestinian: You have ...  
 Faked Anis: Yes?  
 Faked Palestinian: Nothing.  
 Faked Anis: Nothing?  
 Faked Palestinian: Yes.  
 Faked Anis: Did I hurt your feelings?

Faked Palestinian: A little, but it's alright. We are a family.

Faked Anis: Did you hurt my feelings?

Faked Palestinian: No. I would never do that.

Faked Anis: But you did.

Faked Palestinian: No, I didn't.

Faked Anis: I say we have a different concept of violence.

Faked Palestinian: No, we haven't.

Faked Anis: And of tolerance and of suffering.

Faked Palestinian: No, you hurt me with your aggressive violence. I am never so aggressive.

Faked Anis: This is not violence. It is a conflict.

Faked Palestinian: Let us just be normal again and forget about everything.

Faked Anis: No, I cannot. What is normal for you?

Faked Palestinian: Like in the family, bro.

Faked Anis: Look man, this I call establishment. It is the silence about conflicts.

Faked Palestinian: You are a quick drawer of conclusions.

Faked Anis: What?

Faked Palestinian: You make assumptions about things I never talked about.

Faked Anis: Man, I make them BECAUSE you never talked about them.

Faked Palestinian: Look man, I did not do anything.

Faked Anis: Yes man, that's what I am saying. You are ignoring things that are important to me.

Faked Palestinian: I know nothing about this. Don't be ridiculous.

Faked Anis: We have different views about central issues. We are political opponents.

Faked Palestinian: No, we are not.

Faked Anis: See, you ignore it.

Faked Palestinian: No, we just aren't. This is all only in your head. Why are you making trouble?

Faked Anis: I have a conflict with the establishment, because I want something new.

Faked Palestinian: Did they tell you?

Faked Anis: No, they don't talk to somebody who wants something new.

Faked Palestinian: Assumptions! How do you know about them, if they did not tell you?

Faked Anis: I will explain to you ...

Faked Palestinian: Look, you are saying that a non-existent establishment said nothing.

Faked Anis: Brother, I give you my honest feelings.

Faked Palestinian: Yes yes, I am tolerant.  
 Faked Anis: Tolerant?  
 Faked Palestinian: Yes, well, we all have a temper sometimes.  
 Faked Anis: No no, we have completely different views.  
 Faked Palestinian: You focus on tiny differences and make them big like elephants.  
 Faked Anis: I rest my case. You defeated me.  
 Faked Palestinian: I did not defeat you, we did not even have an argument.  
 Faked Anis: But I feel defeated. You don't understand ...  
 Faked Palestinian: No, YOU don't understand. Look, brother: Who is the one saying we have a conflict?  
 Faked Anis: Well, I am.  
 Faked Pal.: Yeah, and who is the one saying that we don't have a conflict?  
 Faked Anis: You.  
 Faked Palestinian: Yeah. See?  
 Faked Anis: See what?  
 Faked Palestinian: Well, who makes peace, the one who has a conflict or the other one?  
 Faked Anis: You don't mean this seriously, do you?  
 Faked Palestinian: Didn't you yourself say that we Palestinians have to stick together?  
 Faked Anis: Yes.  
 Faked Palestinian: Well, why don't you do it then?  
 Faked Anis: Like in the family, you mean?  
 Faked Palestinian: Yeah.  
 Faked Anis: Well, my Daddy beat me.  
 Faked Palestinian: I asked you something.  
 Faked Anis: What?  
 Faked Palestinian: Why don't you stick together and make peace like me?  
 Faked Anis: I do.  
 Faked Palestinian: No. Your aggression is a disguised form of violence.  
 Faked Anis: We have a conflict about our definitions of violence.  
 Faked Palestinian: No man, you. You have a conflict. I have no conflict.  
 Faked Anis: It is difficult, isn't it?  
 Faked Palestinian: No, it is not difficult. You make it difficult, that's all.  
 Faked Anis: If you can't have peace with me, how do you want to have peace with the Israelis?  
 Faked Palestinian: I want peace. You don't want peace. When will you listen to me?  
 Faked Anis: Bye, faked Palestinian.  
 Faked Palestinian: Bye, faked Anis.

## Faked Israeli Interview

September 2002

Faked Anis: Hello faked Israeli.

Faked Israeli: Hello faked Anis.

Faked Anis: With you I also have a conflict.

Faked Israeli: With me?

Faked Anis: Of course.

Faked Israeli: Now hold on for a second! I am a peace activist.

Faked Anis: You are an Israeli and I am a Palestinian.

Faked Israeli: But we can still be friends.

Faked Anis: Yes, but we are not, because you don't want to see who I am.

Faked Israeli: But you know that I am for the rights of the Palestinians.

Faked Anis: But you let your people do it.

Faked Israeli: And what shall I do?

Faked Anis: It is your people. Talk to them.

Faked Israeli: But they don't listen.

Faked Anis: Then show them that you don't like what they do.

Faked Israeli: But how?

Faked Anis: Don't get used to circular thinking. Your guys really exaggerate.

Faked Israeli: I can't stop them. And ... I love them.

Faked Anis: I can't help if you love extremist soldiers, but then you have a responsibility.

Faked Israeli: Why don't we talk about our similarities more?

Faked Anis: Because the Palestinians are under siege.

Faked Israeli: Under control, you mean.

Faked Anis: Oh no, they are definitively not under control. They are under siege.

Faked Israeli: Hm.

Faked Anis: They are in pain now while we are talking.

Faked Israeli: Yes, I know.

Faked Anis: Yes, you know, but you don't care.

Faked Israeli: I read that last interview with the faked Palestinian.

Faked Anis: I'm sure you did.

Faked Israeli: It was funny.

Faked Anis: Why, don't you have an establishment in Israel?

Faked Israeli: I don't know.

Faked Anis: Oh my God!

Faked Israeli: I guess we have one. It is a bit complicated.

Faked Anis: See, you also avoid conflicts.

Faked Israeli: Nonsense. First I have only little time, second I avoid nothing.

Faked Anis: Of course, every time I come a bit too close, you escape.

Faked Israeli: Ridiculous.

Faked Anis: You escape into the complicated Jewish past.

Faked Israeli: Don't say that.

Faked Anis: I just wait for the word.

Faked Israeli: Which word?

Faked Anis: Your favorite word.

Faked Israeli: What, "Zionism"?

Faked Anis: No. What, "Zionism" is your favorite word??

Faked Israeli: No.

Faked Anis: Then why did you say it?

Faked Israeli: I just expected you to be expecting me to say it.

Faked Anis: But why?

Faked Israeli: Well, that's a bit complicated ...

Faked Anis: Because of Jewish history?

Faked Israeli: Now please, don't become anti-Semitic.

Faked Anis: There it was.

Faked Israeli: What?

Faked Anis: The word I was waiting for.

Faked Israeli: Very funny.

Faked Anis: Yeah, but you always say "anti-Semitic", it's really boring me.

Faked Israeli: You just don't know what anti-Semitism really is.

Faked Anis: Yes yes, I know: Everybody hates the Jews.

Faked Israeli: DON'T make fun of this.

Faked Anis: It's a bloody anti-Semitic world, isn't it?

Faked Israeli: Please stop that!

Faked Anis: Wherever you go, bus station, pet shop, garage: anti-Semitism, anti-Semitism.

Faked Israeli: You stop that!

Faked Anis: Why, is it anti-Semitic?

Faked Israeli: Actually, yes.

Faked Anis: And how many people are able to understand the complexity of anti-Semitism?

Faked Israeli: About five.

Faked Anis: Yes, this is what I thought. And the rest is not allowed to criticize the Jews.

Faked Israeli: You cannot say "The Jews", they are all different from each other.

Faked Anis: Yeah, like this you try to escape conflicts.

Faked Israeli: No, you don't understand.

Faked Anis: Look, the toes of my foot are also all different, but they still are the toes.

Faked Israeli: You are comparing Jews to tiny objects!

Faked Anis: Oh, c'mon. And you also speak about "the Palestinians".

Faked Israeli: So what?

Faked Anis: The Palestinians are all different, too.

Faked Israeli: Of course they are.

Faked Anis: You never come to the point of discussing the important issues.

Faked Israeli: My work as a peace activist leaves not much time for that.

Faked Anis: You are absolutely fascinating.

Faked Israeli: Thank you for your attention.

Faked Anis: Yeah, I guess this is what you want with all this anti-Semitism talk.

Faked Israeli: No, it is Jewish history, it is important.

Faked Anis: No, it is YOUR history and YOU want to be important.

Faked Israeli: I can tell you the same.

Faked Anis: Yes, but it sounds alright when I say it.

Faked Israeli: And why are you so hostile?

Faked Anis: You only see yourself. You don't even see the Palestinians.

Faked Israeli: I told the stores to boycott settlement tomatoes.

Faked Anis: Where is the proportion? You arranged yourself with the conflict, and I don't like it.

Faked Israeli: We can only proceed in very tiny steps. There is nothing I can do.

Faked Anis: Did you ever think about setting a sign of peace with me?

Faked Israeli: With you??

Faked Anis: If you can't have peace with me, how do you want to have peace with the Palestinians?

Faked Israeli: Step by step.

Faked Anis: Bye, faked Israeli.

Faked Israeli: Bye, faked Anis.

## Faked Deputy Minister Interview

March 2008

*Cf. e.g. BBC News, 29 February 2008, Israel warns of Gaza 'holocaust':  
[http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/7270650.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/7270650.stm)*

Faked Anis: Shalom, faked Deputy Minister.  
 Faked Deputy Minister: Shalom and another Shalom.  
 Faked Anis: You said you would bring a bigger Shoa to the Palestinians.  
 FDM: This is of course utter nonsense.  
 Faked Anis: So what did you say?  
 FDM: I said: The stepped-up rocket fire will trigger a bigger Shoa.  
 Faked Anis: Well, what is the difference?  
 FDM: I never said Israel would do that.  
 Faked Anis: Who else, Colombia? Turkey?  
 FDM: No no, they are doing it themselves. The Palestinians.  
 Faked Anis: What are they doing?  
 FDM: Shoa. Shoa.  
 Faked Anis: I don't quite follow.  
 FDM: They shoot rockets, although they know they will suffer.  
 Faked Anis: Most of those, who suffer, do not shoot rockets.  
 FDM: T-h-e--c-i-v-i-l-i-a-n-s--s-h-e-l-t-e-r--t-h-e--t-e-r-r-o-r-i-s-t-s.  
 Faked Anis: They suffer anyway. There is an occupation going on.  
 FDM: That is only a pretext. No one really cares for that.  
 Faked Anis: You obviously don't. So the situation reminds you of the Shoa, right?  
 FDM: Yes.  
 Faked Anis: With the Palestinians as Nazis and Jews in one?  
 FDM: Rather the first.  
 Faked Anis: Or maybe you meant that Israel is like Germany, both have a Shoa?  
 FDM: This has nothing to do with Israel.  
 Faked Anis: The blood and soil ideology ...  
 FDM: Mind you, we are a democracy.  
 Faked Anis: ... living space in the East ...  
 FDM: The settlements stay where they are!  
 Faked Anis: ... violence as the major political method ...  
 FDM: Of course, we are confronted with hate. They want to kill us all.  
 Faked Anis: ... systematic and collective persecution of minorities ...  
 FDM: I have no idea who you are talking about.  
 Faked Anis: ... expulsion and confiscation ...



FDM: That was long ago.

Faked Anis: ... prisons for 10.000 ethnically singled out people ...

FDM: For a moment I thought you would say "concentration camps".

Faked Anis: Ten thousand terrorists?

FDM: Probably more. They grow like weed.

Faked Anis: Don't you think your behavior only brings more violence?

FDM: This old chestnut. Look: TELL THAT TO THE TERRORISTS.

Faked Anis: The question remains how you want to succeed with your policy.

FDM: You are quite right, we need a solution.

Faked Anis: And what kind of solution do you have in mind?

FDM: Well, let's face facts: They will never stop hating us.

Faked Anis: So?

FDM: Israel is longing for a lasting solution.

Faked Anis: For a moment I thought you would say "final solution".

FDM: Yeah, a kind of final solution.

Faked Anis: Gulp

FDM: You don't know how hard decisions can really be.

Faked Anis: I have a notion.

FDM: No, for yourself, I mean. You lay awake at night and stuff.

Faked Anis: How inconvenient!

FDM: It is terrible.

Faked Anis: And what do you think is the reason ...

FDM: They are just uncivilized, if you ask me. Plus: Islam is anti-Semitic, you are just not allowed to openly say it.

Faked Anis: No, I mean the reason why the human rights were established?

FDM: Oh that! That was after the Shoa.

Faked Anis: Which one?

FDM: Ha ha, you got a sense o'humor, I like that.

Faked Anis: And why were they established?

FDM: "Established" is a relative term.

Faked Anis: Proclaimed?

FDM: Yeah. "Proclaimed" is much better.

Faked Anis: Are they important, at all?

FDM: In times of peace, yes.

Faked Anis: Did you ever experience times of peace?

FDM: No, but you know why that is.

Faked Anis: Eye-witnesses in Gaza talk about human legs, fingers and body parts that are scattered in the streets.

FDM: The usual propaganda. What would you expect?

Faked Anis: And what do you expect?

FDM: We will do everything for Israel's security.  
Faked Anis: Everything?  
FDM: You have no idea about the dangers Israel faces.  
Faked Anis: Yes I have. You are in danger of destroying yourself and everyone around you.  
FDM: If you say this I must end the interview.  
Faked Anis: Why?  
FDM: Because you are being unfair.  
Faked Anis: Oh. Always so misunderstood, eh?  
FDM: Indeed, yes. If you could just understand ...  
Faked Anis: That you take revenge on Hitler via the Palestinians?  
FDM: No, the threat. The threat we live under, day by day.  
Faked Anis: Aren't the Palestinians threatened? Your government behaves like the worst terrorists.  
FDM: Yeah, they shall feel it!  
Faked Anis: But you are a government with bombs and tanks.  
FDM: The USA and Europe knew about Gaza before we did it. They did not argue much.  
Faked Anis: And did they like your Shoa quote, too?  
FDM: Maybe you should just open your eyes to the facts!

## Faked Paul McCartney Interview

September 2008

Faked Anis: Bonjour, Sir faked Paul.

Faked Paul McCartney: And why "bonjour"?

Faked Anis: I was thinking of "All you Need is Love" with this French opening.

FPMC: That's a faked John song.

Faked Anis: Faked George Martin also had a hand in it, right?

FPMC: Well, yes.

Faked Anis: It's an international song.

FPMC: And what do you want to tell me?

Faked Anis: Dunno ... You'll play in Israel this month.

FPMC: Of course I will. In Tel Aviv.

Faked Anis: Despite everything.

FPMC: Despite what?

Faked Anis: The killings, the occupation, the wall, the theft.

FPMC: You're making that up.

Faked Anis: Not really, no.

FPMC: Me and the faked band are really looking forward to this one.

Faked Anis: Oh yeah?

FPMC: It's the first time I will have ever been to Israel.

Faked Anis: I see.

FPMC: I am going to be interested as a tourist.

Faked Anis: A tourist, don't make me laugh.

FPMC: What's wrong with that?

Faked Anis: Will you tour Guantanamo next and play for the wardens?

FPMC: What nonsense.

Faked Anis: Did you play in South Africa back then, too?

FPMC: Hey, music can help people to just calm them down.

Faked Anis: Or they use you as a PR donkey.

FPMC: Why are you being so hostile?

Faked Anis: Me? I'm not being hostile, I'm being sarcastic.

FPMC: I always cite a faked John song: "Give Peace A Chance".

Faked Anis: Do you think faked John would play in Israel right now?

FPMC: Well, I, uuh, sure!

Faked Anis: I don't believe you.

FPMC: I have many friends who support Israel.

Faked Anis: Support Israel? Are you aware of what you're saying?

FPMC: I'm a tourist.

Faked Anis: I wonder what is behind all this.

FPMC: The Beatles had a pretty positive influence on the world.

Faked Anis: Thanks for reminding me.

FPMC: Only regimes that wanted to control their peoples were afraid of us.

Faked Anis: That's why Israel banned you in 1965.

FPMC: It was a bit insulting, the thought we could corrupt the youth.

Faked Anis: Now we're getting closer to the point.

FPMC: I've heard so many great things about Tel Aviv and Israel.

Faked Anis: Oh yeah? You probably read Ilan Pappé's "The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine".

FPMC: No. I just love people, and singing, and love.

Faked Anis: And tourism.

FPMC: Yeah!

Faked Anis: But people told you what Israel does?

FPMC: I was approached by different groups and political bodies who asked me not to come here.

Faked Anis: And?

FPMC: I refused. I do what I think.

Faked Anis: Oh, so you also think.

FPMC: Of course. Thinking is so important.

Faked Anis: 150 dollars for standing room, 400 near the stage ...

FPMC: Right.

Faked Anis: You feel flattered because Israel invited you.

FPMC: They are a great people.

Faked Anis: Yeah, thinking is so important.

FPMC: You know what Israel's faked Ambassador to London Ron Prosor told me?

Faked Anis: What?

FPMC: He said it was a great missed opportunity to prevent people like us, who shaped the minds of the generation, to come to Israel and perform.

Faked Anis: Oh!

FPMC: See? They are good.

Faked Anis: What is your tour called, by the way?

FPMC: Friendship first!

Faked Anis: And what is second?

FPMC: You really don't understand. Faked Anis: If you went on the next Free Gaza boat like faked Joe Fallisi, that would be something!

FPMC: Who is faked Joe Fallisi?

Faked Anis: An Italian opera tenor. He sings for Palestine.

FPMC: What is this Palestine thing you are always talking about?

Faked Anis: It's the land of the native population.

FPMC: I won't play for them.  
Faked Anis: Why not?  
FPMC: I don't know them.  
Faked Anis: Friendship and love, eh?  
FPMC: Israel banned me and now they honour me.  
Faked Anis: I thought you were a tourist?  
FPMC: Well, kind of.  
Faked Anis: I really loved to listen to your music.  
FPMC: See.  
Faked Anis: There still is faked John. I've always liked him more, anyway.  
FPMC: I am sure he would play with me in Tel Aviv.  
Faked Anis: No, I don't think so. He was more aware.  
FPMC: He was for love, like me.  
Faked Anis: If you were for love you would be different.  
FPMC: Love is so important, you know.

## Free Gaza Song

Anis, www.anis-online.de, August 2008

*D* *A* *D* *A* *D* Free Gaza, Free  
Free Gaza, Free Gaza, sail your boat ashore.

*D* *A* *D* *A* *D*  
Free Gaza, Free Free Gaza, Free Gaza, sail your boat ashore.

*D* *A* *D*  
1) With a boat to break the siege people waiting on the beach,  
*G* *A* *D*  
grab the first one in your reach and teach them the Gaza song:

*D* *A* *D* *A* *D*  
Free Gaza, Free Free Gaza, Free Gaza, sail your boat ashore.

*D* *A* *D*  
2) Bishop Tutu has endorsed, he don't want no violent force.  
*G* *A* *D*  
"Through the barrel of a gun", he says, "peace can never be won".

*F#7* *G* *A*  
Tell me what you think of freedom, tell me what you think of love, love, love

*D* *A* *D* *A* *D*  
Tell your maza, Free Free Gaza, Free Gaza, sail your boat ashore.

*D* *A* *D*  
3) Now you learned to sing the song, get on board and sing along,  
*G* *A* *D*  
open up and in some time you can add a little rhyme.

*D* *A* *D* *A* *D*  
Free Gaza, Free Free Gaza, Free Gaza, sail your boat ashore.

*D* *A* *D*  
4) I want everybody to be free everybody every you and me.  
*G* *A* *D*  
Sing a song of solidarity, sing the Gaza song:

*D* *A* *D* *A* *G* *D*  
Free Gaza, Free Free Gaza, Free Gaza, sail your boat ashore.

## Stay with You (From the Cyprus Shore a Boat)

Anis, www.anis-online.de, August 2008

*D A D G D A*  
**1.** From the Cyprus shore a boat is sailing to the sea

*E A E A*  
 It takes its way down to Palestine in solidarity

*E A E A A7*  
 it has on board a telephone and live stream TV, we

*D A D G*  
 stay with you pray with you we go all the way with you

*D A D G D D3*  
 in the summertime, in the wintertime, always

*G b A A7*  
 No one wants to live in a prison all alone, on their own

*D A D G D A*  
**2.** Did you know that everyone has got the right to be?

*E A E A A7*  
 Who's talking 'bout security while Palestine's not free? See:

*D A D G D A*  
 we may not be here tomorrow, but we're side by side today

*E A E A A7*  
 and there's no army strong enough to make us lose our way, hey

*D A D G D A*  
 Remember all the things that happened in nineteen forty-eight

*E A E A A7*  
 This year will tell you all you need to understand this state

*D A D G D A*  
**3.** From the Cyprus shore a boat is sailing to the sea

*E A E A*  
 It takes its way down to Palestine in solidarity

*E A E A A7*  
 it has on board a telephone and live stream TV, we

*D A D G*  
 stay with you pray with you we go all the way with you

*D A D G D D3*  
 in the summertime, in the wintertime, always

## Gaza on My Mind

Anis, www.anis-online.de, August 2008

<sup>D</sup>  
**1)** You got your best shirt on and you're looking fine  
<sup>e</sup>  
 but there's something wrong for a long long time  
<sup>A</sup> <sup>D</sup> <sup>G-A</sup>  
 cause I got Gaza on my mind and you tell me why

<sup>D</sup>  
**2)** You got some crazy friends and a speedy car  
<sup>e</sup>  
 and you like to be a superstar  
<sup>A</sup> <sup>D</sup> <sup>G-A</sup>  
 only I got Gaza on my mind and you tell me why

<sup>D</sup> <sup>G</sup> <sup>D</sup> <sup>G</sup>  
**CHORUS:** Alright, everybody knows it. Hold tight, come on and show it  
<sup>D</sup> <sup>G</sup> <sup>D G</sup> <sup>D G</sup> <sup>D</sup>  
 It's time that someone talks to me, talk to me, talk to me

<sup>D</sup>  
**3)** You got a whole lotta walls all around your place  
<sup>e</sup>  
 I can't hear you move and I can't see your face  
<sup>A</sup> <sup>D</sup> <sup>G-A</sup>  
 but I got Gaza on my mind and you tell me why

<sup>D</sup>  
**4)** You say it's all about a security risk  
<sup>e</sup>  
 and you don't read no Chomsky, you don't read no Fisk  
<sup>A</sup> <sup>D</sup> <sup>G-A</sup>  
 and I got Gaza on my mind and you tell me why

<sup>D</sup> <sup>G</sup> <sup>D</sup> <sup>G</sup>  
**CHORUS:** Alright, everybody knows it. Hold tight, come on and show it  
<sup>D</sup> <sup>G</sup> <sup>D G</sup> <sup>D G</sup> <sup>D</sup>  
 It's time that someone talks to me, talk to me, talk to me

<sup>D</sup>  
**5)** Everybody out there how can it be  
<sup>e</sup>  
 that a people is held in custody  
<sup>A</sup> <sup>D</sup> <sup>G-A</sup>  
 it means it could be you and it could be me, that's Gaza

<sup>D</sup>  
**6)** Tell me how it is now, how will it be,  
<sup>e</sup>  
 why can't my brothers and sisters be free  
<sup>A</sup> <sup>D</sup> <sup>G-A</sup>  
 I got Gaza on my mind and you tell me why

<sup>D</sup> <sup>G</sup> <sup>D</sup> <sup>G</sup>  
**CHORUS:** Alright, everybody knows it. Hold tight, come on and show it  
<sup>D</sup> <sup>G</sup> <sup>D G</sup> <sup>D G</sup> <sup>D</sup>  
 It's time that someone talks to me, talk to me, talk to me





Sabine's World (1) © Anis 2011. Text: „There are seven billion people on this planet. I am one of them. You are one of them. What will you do?“ – More episodes on Anis Online. The pictures show Sabine Yacoub, [www.sabine-yacoub.de](http://www.sabine-yacoub.de)

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## Book Preview: Calamus, Detective in 14<sup>th</sup> Century Cairo

### Oriental Mystery Stories by Anis Hamadeh

"The Muezzin's Ascension" (June 2011) is the first episode of the adventures of the Calamus, a bookseller and calligrapher who solves cases of crime and of mystery, together with his nephew Harun, a young man from the city of Aachen in the lands of the Franks. Scene of action is the metropolis of Cairo. We are in the year 1382, or 784, according to the Islamic calendar. Sultan Barquq is seizing power, the first of the Circassian Mamluks who reign from the citadel.



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In the same year the renowned historian Ibn Khaldun enters the city. He is regarded today as the founder of sociology and plays a role in the Calamus stories, as do several other contemporaries who are known from the scriptures.

After "Islam for Kids" (345 pp., 2007, in German) and the self-published rhymed audio book "Die Dichter" ("The Poets", 70 minutes, Nov. 2010, in German) the writer and scholar of Islamic Studies Anis Hamadeh ventures another time travel into the Arab world: From the poetry competition at the caliph's court in Baghdad he moves on four hundred years and visits the legendary city at the Nile.

At [www.anis-online.de/literatur/calamus.htm](http://www.anis-online.de/literatur/calamus.htm) you find the first Calamus episode in English, German and Arabic. More stories are in the making. The first book (2013?) will contain about 200 pages, with five stories, some cooking recipes and drawings as well as a bonus piece – a real crime story from the world of Islamic Studies around the historian Maqrizi who was a young man by the time of the Calamus and lived in the neighborhood ... Interested publishing houses can contact [anis@anis-online.de](mailto:anis@anis-online.de). In case of book publication the story may be erased from the website or abridged.