

PALESTINE: FOR LAND AND LIFE

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# HEBRON: LIFE UNDER SIEGE







## Location: Hebron

*The Israeli soldiers ask for my papers. I am turned away at the security point that blocks off Shuhada Street, which is open to the Israeli Jews and foreign visitors, but closed to the Palestinians. I do not have my US passport on me.*

A cement divider and an Israeli security checkpoint segregate Shuhada Street, the link between the northern and southern parts of Hebron. Shuhada Street is also the walkway leading to the 1,000-year-old al-Haram al-Ibrahimi Mosque, also known as the Tomb of the Patriarchs – the resting place of prophets Ibrahim (Abraham), Ishaq (Isaac), Yakoob (Jacob), and their wives, and a place of religious significance to Muslims, Jews, and Christians.

The Israeli soldiers ask for my papers. I am turned away at the security point that blocks off Shuhada Street, which is open to the Israeli Jews and foreign visitors, but closed to the Palestinians. I do not have my US passport on me.

Denied entry, I embark on the journey that Palestinian residents, including children, go through each day to get to their homes and lives – using backdoors and stairways, climbing roofs of neighboring houses, walking through garbage dumps, burnt and dilapidated buildings, and more.

The former lively bustle of Shuhada Street, which was once Hebron’s main commercial strip and home to the wholesale, gold, and vegetable market, has drowned behind the green shutters of the boarded up shops, abandoned homes, and empty sidewalks.

“Open Shuhada (Apartheid) Street,” defiantly spray painted in black on the cement divider, is in the face of the Israeli soldiers – young men in uniform with automatic rifles – watching all who approach.

Hebron, or *al-Khalil* in Arabic, is the largest city in the West Bank and the only city in the Occupied Palestinian Territory apart from Jerusalem with illegal settlements inside the city. The first Israeli settlement, Kiryat Arba, was founded in the eastern outskirts of Hebron in 1968. The settlers then moved into the city’s ancient center when a group of women and children from Kiryat Arba established the Beit Hadassah settlement in the Old City in 1979. In 1980, after six *hesder yeshiva*<sup>1</sup> students were killed in front of the settlement, the

building was renovated and expanded with support from the Israeli government. Today, an estimated 500-800 settlers live in four settlements in the city center<sup>2</sup> – Avraham Avinu,<sup>3</sup> Beit Romano,<sup>4</sup> Beit Hadassah, and Tel Rumeida,<sup>5</sup> – all in violation of international law.<sup>6</sup> Another 7,000 settlers live in Kiryat Arba.<sup>7</sup> Beit Ha Shalom or the Rajabi House,<sup>8</sup> a four-storey apartment building and the fifth settlement within Hebron’s municipality boundaries, was established in 2014.



Part of the journey when the research team was not allowed to use Shuhada Street © The Oakland Institute

## COLLECTIVE PUNISHMENT FOR THE VICTIMS

In 1994, riots erupted in Hebron after an American Jewish settler killed 29 Palestinians in a massacre at the Ibrahimi Mosque. Eleven Palestinians were killed by Israeli soldiers in the ensuing chaos.<sup>9</sup> In the aftermath of the riots, the doors of Palestinian homes and shops on Shuhada Street were welded shut by the Israel Defense Forces (IDF). 520 businesses were ordered closed overnight.<sup>10</sup> The Ibrahimi Mosque was divided in two, with Israeli settlers and Jewish visitors granted exclusive access to more than half of the historic and significant building.

The horrific act of a Jewish settler turned into collective punishment for the Palestinian residents of the Old City.

In 2000, the second *Intifada* brought more stringent restrictions, including military checkpoints, continuous curfews, and the closure of the main streets. Palestinians were prohibited from driving along the entire length of Shuhada Street, walking between the Avraham Avinu<sup>11</sup> and the Beit Hadassah settlement compounds, or using adjacent streets, resulting in the closure of 304 shops, warehouses, and the relocation of Palestinian municipal and governmental offices that had been on the street. The central bus station on the street was turned into an army base.<sup>12</sup>

During the first three years of the *Intifada*, the local residents faced curfew for more than 377 days – with short breaks on only 182 of these days for them to obtain essential goods.<sup>13</sup> In 2002, Shuhada Street was completely fenced off by the Israeli army.

In 1997, under the Hebron Protocol – an agreement between Israel and the late Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat – Hebron was divided into two areas. H1 was placed under Palestinian Authority control and H2 – 20 percent of the city – under Israeli control.

The Old City center – which includes the *Casbah*, four Israeli settlements, Shuhada Street, and the Ibrahimi Mosque, and has a population of some 7,000 Palestinians, between 500 and 800 settlers, and around 1,500 Israeli soldiers – is in the H2 area and came under Israeli control.<sup>14</sup> Severe restrictions in the H2 area have forced thousands of Palestinians out of their homes and livelihoods. Twenty-one Israeli military orders forcibly transferred dozens of families from the Old City – around 6,000 individuals in total.<sup>15</sup> The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) reported a third of Palestinian homes in the restricted area (1,105 housing units) abandoned in 2015<sup>16</sup> and an estimated 1,600 businesses closed – 500 commercial establishments

Jamal Maraqua, a local shopkeeper in Hebron's Old City, saw his shop welded shut after the Ibrahimi massacre. He returned a few years later. "[The] military watchtower on that building and the one behind [it] protects the settlers, not us. When they [the settlers] cause a problem we shout and scream. We want a decent life. We want to make a living but they [the settlers] don't want that. They want to throw us out of the market, but we are determined to stay. We are not going to give up as long as we live. It is our homeland and they are stealing everything from us. We are treated like animals . . . we are educated people. We love all human beings and we respect everybody. Look at my shop – I sell products made locally in the city by the Bedouins."<sup>18</sup>

Jamal is inconsolable. With innumerable security check points, watchtowers, barricades, soldiers with automatic weapons, revolving gates, deserted streets, and welded shut homes and shops, the Old City of Hebron is a city under siege.

were shut down by military order and the rest closed by the owners due to closures and restricted access.<sup>17</sup>

Currently over 100 physical obstacles, including 18 permanently-staffed checkpoints, 14 partial checkpoints, and various permanent blockades, cut the Old City off from the rest of Hebron.<sup>19</sup> Several streets, designated for the

exclusive use of settlers, restrict Palestinian traffic and, in some streets, even Palestinian pedestrians are banned. In 2016, two checkpoints for magnetometric identification, with revolving gates, cameras, and separation chambers between soldiers and the passersby were added in the neighborhood of Tel Rumeida, worsening the everyday ordeal of some 1,200 residents.<sup>20</sup>

“Since November 2015, Tel Rumeida neighborhood and Al Shuhada Street, where approximately 2,000 Palestinians live, have been declared a closed military area. Only Palestinian residents of the two areas who were registered with the army and allocated a number hand written on the cover of their IDs are allowed through the two checkpoints (Bab Az Zawiya and Gilbert) which control access to their homes. One of these checkpoints (checkpoint 56 or Bab Az Zawiya), located on the main access point to this area from H1, was turned into a multilayered ‘fortress’ with high metal fences and doors, automated metal turnstiles, metal detectors and a military lookout point. During religious celebrations by Israeli settlers and their visitors, the area is hermetically sealed off to Palestinians, leaving some locked in their homes and others unable to return home on time.”

—OCHA<sup>21</sup>

## NONVIOLENT RESISTANCE: THE HEBRON REHABILITATION COMMITTEE



Patrol of Hebron's streets © The Oakland Institute

Emad Hamdan used to reside in the United States. In the 1990s, however, his desire to give to his people led him to move to Hebron to work at the Hebron Rehabilitation Committee (HRC), an organization formed as the city was being divided into H1 and H2. HRC's vision is to maintain Arab and Islamic identity in Hebron's Old City<sup>22</sup> – an area dotted with ancient buildings and steeped with history, which is firmly planted in the heart of the Israeli-controlled H2.

Twenty-one years later, Hamdan is the Director General of HRC.

At its core, HRC rehabilitates and maintains Hebron's most historic buildings, like the Ibrahimi Mosque. But the impact, philosophy, and politics of its actions go much further.

At the time of Hebron's division, under the shadows of watchtowers, checkpoints, and strict military rule, the Palestinian population of the Old City dropped dramatically. In 1996, only 400 Palestinian residents were left.<sup>23</sup> In this context, HRC became not just about renovating and rehabilitating historic buildings in the Old City, but making them available for low-to-no cost housing for Palestinians willing to return.<sup>24</sup>

Given that housing alone is not always enough to encourage resettlement, HRC also ensures that Palestinian residents have access to key infrastructure, such as sewage, electricity, drinking water, road and fire networks, as well as schools, libraries, and playgrounds.<sup>25</sup> It provides services like fire extinguishers, window protection, medicine kits, and a phone number to call in case of an attack. HRC reports such attacks,

brings international attention to this violence, visits families of victims, and registers the names of attackers.<sup>26</sup>

HRC also works to revitalize the local economy, by preserving markets, supporting tourism development, and training and creating job opportunities for engineers and others interested in restoration and rehabilitation work. Taken together, these projects demonstrate how the work of HRC “encompass[es] all aspects of life in the Old City to ensure decent and secure life for its citizens.”<sup>27</sup> And it is working.

In 2016 over 7,000 Palestinian residents were back, residing in Hebron.<sup>28</sup>

However, this work is not easy as HRC operates under innumerable constraints. During the rehabilitation of the Ibrahimi Mosque, for instance, the use of transportation vehicles was prohibited, causing HRC to use horses and donkeys instead. Additionally, only seven workers were allowed to participate to the renovation of the 200-year-old shrine.<sup>29</sup>

Although ensuring access to sewage systems may not seem political at first sight, revitalizing Palestinian culture and repopulating the Old City is indeed an act of resistance. In HRC's early days, its rehabilitation projects focused on restoring the buildings right next to five Israeli settlements, specifically to prevent the settlements' expansion.<sup>30</sup> Likewise, in the face of numerous challenges – including stop-work orders, trouble with permits, Palestinian workers being arrested, and more – HRC created a legal unit to challenge military orders, document attacks by the Israeli army on Palestinian citizens and property, increase awareness of legal actions available to Palestinians, and work with international legal mechanisms to enhance the struggle against the occupation.<sup>31</sup>

“My hope is not to see any settlers in Hebron,” Emad Hamdan tells the research team. “We are working hard, but they are working harder. They have their government, but we have no support, even though HRC was created by a Palestinian Presidential decree. International funding is declining. Our work grows as we challenge the illegal takeover of Palestinian homes in Hebron. We got them [the settlers] out of several homes by showing that they were occupying homes illegally. When we get a decision after years, we are told that the residents have changed and we have to start again. This is a slow process as the court says that there are too many cases. When we win, we have to pay to use the IDF soldiers for eviction.”<sup>32</sup>

## LIFE IN A CAGE

Israeli flags abound. Posters in red, plastered on deserted roads warn: This is Illegally Occupied Land – the State of Palestine.<sup>33</sup>

After passing through one of the many checkpoints, we are in the market of the Old City. Shop keepers with small stalls sell embroidered dresses and shawls, colorful *Keffiyeh*, shoes, pickles, food and more. They are desperate for customers, fervently reducing the prices for the occasional passerby. Metal wire mesh and white plastic tarps – littered with garbage and used plastic bottles – form a canopy to prevent Israeli settlers, living in the buildings above, from throwing garbage, dirty dish water, and chemicals down onto Palestinians.

Those below are trapped in a cage.<sup>34</sup>

The winter rain has become a punishment as well. Rain water mixed with sewage floods the narrow streets of the market. The small corridor, separating the Jewish settlement of Avraham Avinu from the Palestinian community in the Old City, used to be a strategic point of drainage during the rainy season. During the second *Intifada*, the main water drainage route, along with an exit from the marketplace, was closed by the IDF with a metal gate causing the water and sewage to back up flooding the shops above.

Standing on a plastic chair to avoid knee high sewage water, a woman shopkeeper cries. “I work with a women’s cooperative selling products made by Palestinian women in my shop. The water has gone into the electric wires, so I have no electricity. Everything in the shop is destroyed from the sewage water...the metal door [that was] installed to protect the settlers prevents the water from flowing out into the main drain. This means we suffer every time it rains. They want us to move from here. This is why they make our life hard. They never agreed for us to be neighbors or to live together.”<sup>35</sup>



Wire mesh above homes and shops © The Oakland Institute



Flooding in the Old City market © The Oakland Institute

Emad Hamdan, Director General of the Hebron Rehabilitation Committee explains to our research team, “All water sewage from Hebron comes to *Qazzazin souq* (glass makers market), located at the heart of Hebron’s Old City, where the drainage and sewage pipes are mixed. When Israel closed the gates during the second *Intifada*, it became a dam. HRC created a new four-times bigger pipeline and is working to connect it to the rest of the pipeline and the area it controls. It has taken a year of negotiation to have Israel cooperate with the municipality.

There are holes in the gate to allow for water to go through. However, the settlers put cement blocks and sand to close off the water drainage. Each year, holes in the gates have to be opened up. We have no communication with the settlers – the most aggressive in Israel. This work has to be done through the right channels. The last time we opened the holes, it was through the intervention of Palestinian Authority who called the Israeli Minister of Defense to negotiate the size of the holes to allow release of the water. We reached 80 cms – while it was snowing.”<sup>36</sup>



## HEBRON – A WORLD HERITAGE SITE

In July 2017, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) declared Hebron a Palestinian World Heritage site in danger. As a result, the World Heritage Committee will now be obliged to discuss its case annually.

The decision invoked anger amongst Israeli politicians. Condemning the decision, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu announced an annual \$1 million cut in membership fees to the United Nations, diverting those funds to a Jewish People's Heritage Museum in the Kiryat Arba settlement.<sup>37</sup> Israel's UNESCO ambassador, Carmel Shama-Hacohen, took out his mobile phone and shared with the UN members, "It's my plumber in my apartment in Paris. There is a huge problem in my toilet and it is much more important than the decision you just adopted."<sup>38</sup>

For the Palestinians, the UNESCO decision provided the much needed protection from the occupation.<sup>39</sup>

## THE STRUGGLE WILL NOT BE SILENCED

On July 9, 2017, the trial of Issa Amro began in Israel's military court. Issa is a Palestinian activist who was recognized as a "human rights defender of the year in Palestine" by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights in 2010.<sup>40</sup> He faces 18 charges that go back as far as 2010. Many of the charges are for what would be considered exercising free speech in the US, like "participating in a march without a permit." One indictment is for leading a group of protestors wearing a mask of President Obama and shirts imprinted with "I have a dream."<sup>41</sup>



Closure of the Old City © The Oakland Institute



As a Palestinian, Issa is deemed guilty under Israeli military law and needs to prove his innocence. All of the witnesses for the prosecution are settlers and soldiers and the judge and prosecutor are military officers.<sup>42</sup> The conviction rate in Israeli military courts is 99.74 percent.<sup>43</sup>

Issa is the cofounder of Youth Against Settlements, an organization devoted to ending Israel's occupation of the Palestinian Territory through nonviolent action. "Israel knows the power of nonviolent action to create change and that is why they are trying to put me in prison. They can win against violence – but they have no power to stop a nonviolent struggle against which no pistol or gun works.

I was born into occupation and have lived my entire life without freedom. I was in my last year of college at an engineering college in Hebron – interested in my studies and soccer – when the Israeli army closed down the campus. In a moment, I lost my degree and all opportunities. So I read about Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr., the civil rights movement, and Mandela. I decided to work with the youth and use nonviolence as a tactic. It is the only method to be used – so even after the occupation is over, we will still be strong."<sup>44</sup>



Each year, on February 25, Youth Against Settlements organizes the Open Shuhada Street Campaign in Hebron and around the world, in commemoration of the anniversary of the Ibrahimi massacre. After a week of family friendly activities, the campaign culminates in a march that attempts to go down Shuhada Street. In 2017, the international campaign targeted the Hebron Fund, a New York-based tax-exempt charity, which raises funds for Israeli settlers in Hebron, as well as Goldman Sachs, for funneling money to the fund.<sup>45</sup>

Youth Against Settlements is also working to preserve the Palestinian identity and culture

Welded shut doors of shops and homes in the Old City © The Oakland Institute

of the Old City as the Israeli settlers attempt to obliterate Palestinian language and presence by changing the names of streets from Arabic to Hebrew and even mounting Hebrew street signs illegally on Palestinian homes and shops. The signs are installed without approval from the Hebron municipality or the Israeli military.<sup>46</sup>

In response to one of the most offensive signs – a banner on Shuhada Street that read “Palestine Never Existed (and never will)” – Youth Against Settlements dropped their own banner from a balcony overlooking Shuhada Street. It read, “This is Palestine. Welcome to Apartheid Street.” This type of nonviolent action is emblematic of Youth Against Settlements and its efforts for justice.<sup>47</sup>

While being persecuted by Israel, Issa was arrested by the Palestinian Authority Security forces on September 4, 2017, for criticizing the arrest of a Palestinian journalist, Ayman Qawasmī, on Facebook. His post read: “Yes to freedom of opinion and expression. We are living in a quasi-state, and it must respect the freedom of opinion and expression, that’s what its international commitments require. It must defend freedom of opinion and expression.”<sup>48</sup>

After a week enduring beatings in a Palestinian Authority detention center, and after launching a hunger strike to protest his detainment, Issa was released on bail. During his detention, no family, media, and international diplomats, were allowed inside his court hearing.<sup>49</sup> His military trial starts again in October 2017.

Looming above the Old City is the Ibrahimi Mosque. Amidst the presence of Israeli soldiers, security vehicles, and security checks is the clamor of young boys aged five- to nine-years-old hawking souvenirs and competing for customers. A young Palestinian boy is selling wristbands. He looks at me directly. His hand extends forward with a band printed with the words: “Free Palestine.”





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Cover photo: View of Hebron © The Oakland Institute

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## ENDNOTES

- 1 *Hesder Yeshiva* is a program that combines advanced Talmudic studies and military service in the Israel Defense Forces.
- 2 According to Emad Hamdan, Director General of Hebron Rehabilitation Committee (HRC), some 450-800 settlers currently live in Hebron's Old City center. However there is no conclusive data. Direct communication with Emad Hamdan, February 14, 2017.
- 3 The largest settlement, Avraham Avinu, was built in the 1980s with support of the Israeli government. It was established next to the vegetable and wholesale markets on Shuhada Street, now closed by the Israeli military. The neighboring houses were occupied by settlers who also took over closed Palestinian stores, despite orders from the Israeli Supreme Court that the settlers must vacate these stores and allow Palestinians to return.
- 4 Established in 1983, Beit Romano settlement is made up of a Yeshiva school and an IDF military camp.
- 5 The settlement, located on a hilltop overlooking Hebron's Old City, was built when a group of seven settler families placed portable caravans on the hilltop, calling it the Admot Yishai neighbourhood in 1984. In August 1998, following the death of one of the residents, Rabbi Shalom Ra'anan, the construction of permanent buildings was approved by the Israeli government.
- 6 "Israeli settlement activity illegal under international law: UN." *Press TV*, August 29, 2017. <http://www.presstv.ir/Detail/2017/08/29/533383/Israeli-settlements-international-law-UN> (accessed August 29, 2017).
- 7 Youth Against Settlements. "Settlements in Hebron." <https://hyas.ps/hebron/settlements-in-hebron/> (accessed July 17, 2017).
- 8 Located between Kiryat Araba and the Old City settlements, Beit Ha Shalom, the latest settlement in Hebron, was established in 2014. In 2007, some 100 settlers occupied the building claiming it was bought from its Palestinian owner. After the court ordered a temporary eviction of the settlers and they left the building in 2008, the court ruled in favor of the purchase in 2014.
- 9 Szremksi, K. "Lessons from Shuhada Street." *American Muslims for Palestine*, February 23, 2017. <https://www.ampalestine.org/blog/lessons-from-shuhada-street> (accessed August 23, 2017).
- 10 Wiles, R. "Remembering the Ibrahimi Mosque massacre." *Al Jazeera*, February 24, 2014. <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/inpictures/2014/02/remembering-ibrahimi-mosque-ma-2014223105915230233.html> (accessed August 2, 2017).
- 11 Avraham Avinu, the largest settlement inside Hebron, was built in the early 1980s with the support from the Israeli government between Shuhada Street and the main street of the *Casbah* and the original synagogue. With the closure of the adjacent wholesale market in 1994, settlers occupied parts of the market.
- 12 B'Tselem. "17 years after Goldstein Massacre, Hebron city center paralyzed." March 3, 2011. [http://www.btselem.org/hebron/20110303\\_hebron\\_17\\_years\\_after\\_goldstein\\_massacre](http://www.btselem.org/hebron/20110303_hebron_17_years_after_goldstein_massacre) (accessed August 23, 2017).
- 13 B'Tselem. *Ghost Town: Israel's Separation Policy and Forced Eviction of Palestinians from the Center of Hebron*. 2007. [http://www.btselem.org/publications/summaries/200705\\_hebron](http://www.btselem.org/publications/summaries/200705_hebron) (accessed August 30, 2017).
- 14 BADIL Resource Center for Palestinian Residency & Refugee Rights. *Basic Factsheet on Hebron*. 2016. <https://jewishvoiceforpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/BasicFactsheetHebron.pdf> (accessed August 27, 2017); Amro, I. "The Writing on the Wall: Signs of Occupation in Hebron." *Forward*, August 29, 2017. <http://forward.com/opinion/381264/the-writing-on-the-wall-signs-of-occupation-in-hebron/?attribution=author-article-listing-1-headline> (accessed September 6, 2017).
- 15 Hebron Rehabilitation Committee. *Hebron's Old City: Preservation and Revitalization Master Plan*. 2014. <http://www.hebronrc.ps/images/stories/MP%20English.pdf> (accessed September 1, 2017).
- 16 OCHA. "The Isolation of Palestinians in the Israeli-controlled area of Hebron city continues." *Monthly Humanitarian Bulletin*, April 13, 2017. <https://www.ochaopt.org/content/isolation-palestinians-israeli-controlled-area-hebron-city-continues> (accessed August 3, 2017).
- 17 *Ibid*.
- 18 Direct communication with Jamal Maraqua, March 9, 2014 and February 14, 2017.
- 19 OCHA. "The Isolation of Palestinians in the Israeli-controlled area of Hebron city continues." *Op. Cit*.
- 20 Hass, A. "Hebron 2017: Fewer Palestinians, More Checkpoints." *Haaretz*, April 19, 2017. <http://www.haaretz.com/israel-news/.premium-1.783918> (accessed August 4, 2017).
- 21 OCHA. "The Isolation of Palestinians in the Israeli-controlled area of Hebron city continues." *Op. Cit*.
- 22 Hebron Rehabilitation Committee. *Annual Report: The journey towards integrated cultural heritage goes on*. 2015.

- 23 Sherwood, H. "A Ghost City Revived: The remarkable transformation of Hebron." *The Guardian*, June 29, 2015. <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2015/jun/29/hebron-old-city-west-bank-palestinian-ghost-city-revived-transformation> (accessed September 6, 2017).
- 24 Hebron Rehabilitation Committee. *Annual Report: The journey towards integrated cultural heritage goes on*. *Op. Cit.*; Direct communication with Emad Hamdan. *Op. Cit.*
- 25 Hebron Rehabilitation Committee. *Annual Report: The journey towards integrated cultural heritage goes on*. *Op. Cit.*
- 26 Direct communication with Emad Hamdan. *Op. Cit.*
- 27 Hebron Rehabilitation Committee. *Annual Report: The journey towards integrated cultural heritage goes on*. *Op. Cit.*
- 28 Direct communication with Emad Hamdan. *Op. Cit.*
- 29 *Ibid.*
- 30 Sherwood, H. "A Ghost City Revived: The remarkable transformation of Hebron." *Op. Cit.*
- 31 Hebron Rehabilitation Committee. *Annual Report: The journey towards integrated cultural heritage goes on*. *Op. Cit.*; Direct communication with Emad Hamdan, *Op. Cit.*
- 32 Direct communication with Emad Hamdan. *Op. Cit.*
- 33 Field research in Hebron, March 2014 & August 2016.
- 34 Field research in Hebron, March 2014 & February 2017.
- 35 Direct communication with a shop keeper, February 14, 2017.
- 36 Direct communication with Emad Hamdan. *Op. Cit.*
- 37 Kershner, I. "Unesco Declares Hebron's Core as Palestinian World Heritage Site." *New York Times*, July 7, 2017. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/07/world/middleeast/unesco-hebron-world-heritage-site-israel-palestinians.html?mcubz=0> (accessed August 20, 2017).
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- 41 Direct communication with Issa Amro, February 14, 2017.
- 42 *Ibid.*
- 43 Levinson, C. "Nearly 100% of All Military Court Cases in West Bank End in Conviction, Haaretz Learns." *Haaretz*, November 29, 2011. <http://www.haaretz.com/nearly-100-of-all-military-court-cases-in-west-bank-end-in-conviction-haaretz-learns-1.398369> (accessed September 1, 2017).
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- 48 Youth Against Settlements. "PA Preventive Security Office Arrests Issa Amro, Co-founder of Youth Against Settlements." September 4, 2017. [http://www.yashebron.org/issa\\_amro\\_arrested\\_by\\_the\\_pa?utm\\_campaign=issa\\_arrest\\_pa&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=wpj](http://www.yashebron.org/issa_amro_arrested_by_the_pa?utm_campaign=issa_arrest_pa&utm_medium=email&utm_source=wpj) (accessed September 4, 2017).
- 49 Communication from Youth Against Settlements, September 8, 2017.



