

Jerusalem and Gaza: Making Sense Out of it All
OST Lunch and Learn
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1. Center

The Real Dispute Driving the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

As the U.S. moves its embassy to Jerusalem, and the tragedy at the Gaza border escalates, Israelis and Palestinians continue to contest each other's rights not just to that city, but to legitimacy itself.

On April 30, Mahmoud Abbas, head of the Palestinian Authority, provoked an international uproar when he delivered a speech before the Palestinian National Council in which he blamed the Holocaust on Jewish "social behavior" like greedy banking practices. The European Union promptly denounced Abbas; former Secretary of State John Kerry tweeted that there can be "no excuses for antisemitism" [sic]; the dovish Jewish organization J Street warned that "diatribes like this" undermine legitimate Palestinian aspirations; and a New York Times editorial called for his resignation. In fact, Abbas's contempt for Holocaust historicity was hardly new: His 1982 doctoral thesis trafficked in outright Holocaust denial, questioning the number of victims and claiming that Zionists collaborated with the Nazis.

Abbas's "Zion denial" explains much about why the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians remains so intractable. If Israel is merely a colonialist project, rather than the fulfillment of an exiled people's longing to return home, then it is illegitimate. You don't make peace with colonialism—you destroy it. Seventy years after the founding of the Jewish state and the beginning of the Palestinian tragedy, peace remains as elusive as ever—in large part because of the pervasive denial, both within Palestinian society and throughout the Middle East, of Israel's legitimacy, and the hardline response that denial evokes among Israelis.

Abbas's speech only confirmed for many Israelis that this conflict isn't primarily about redressing the Palestinian grievances over the consequences of the events of 1967—the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza—but of 1948: the creation of Israel. Even if we were to uproot every last settlement and withdraw to the 1967 lines, some Israelis say, it won't bring us any closer to peace, because the real Palestinian grievance is Israel's existence.

This week, as the U.S. embassy is moved to Jerusalem and Palestinians observe the 70th anniversary of the nakba, or the "catastrophe" that saw the expulsion of some 700,000 Palestinians from their homes in 1947 and 1948 by Israelis, violence in the region will almost certainly intensify. The ongoing war over 1948 is being played out on Israel's border with Gaza, where tens of thousands of Palestinians have been gathering over the last month, in attempts to storm the fence that separates the two. In response, the Israeli army has used live fire and killed dozens of Palestinians. Leaders of the extremist group Hamas, which controls Gaza and is organizing the demonstrations, have declared that the "march of return" is the beginning of the end of the Jewish state.

In conversations over the years with many Palestinians and Arabs, I've been told some version of: We have nothing against Jews as a religious minority. You lived in Arab lands for centuries. But we cannot accept your redefinition of yourselves as a people, let alone a sovereign nation. That rejection of Israel's

legitimacy ignores that many Jews have always defined themselves as a people with a religious identity, nurtured by the hope of one day restoring their sovereignty in their lost homeland.

I know Palestinians who reject that assault on the Jewish narrative and are prepared to accept the indigenoussness of the Jewish people in the land we share. But voices affirming the legitimacy of the Jewish story are excluded from the official Palestinian discourse.

The international community has tended to downplay or ignore altogether this deep-rooted denial of the Jewish story. But the impact on the Israeli public has been profound. Zion denial is one of the most effective arguments of the Israeli right, which portrays the greatly diminished left as hopelessly naive.

It could have been different. By the early 1990s, many Israelis were beginning to come to terms with the ruinous consequences of the occupation on their own society. The turning point occurred during the First Intifada, the five-year Palestinian uprising that began in 1987. I served then as a soldier in the Gaza refugee camps and, like many of my generation, concluded that we had to find another way. Many Israelis, including on the right, came to realize that ruling over another people was a long-term disaster for Israel. The teenagers confronting armed soldiers with rocks proved that Palestinians were no less willing to sacrifice for their sovereignty than we were.

This realization was a historic departure from the mainstream Israeli denial of the legitimacy of Palestinian national identity. “Palestine denial” was notoriously summed up by Golda Meir, the former prime minister of Israel, who in 1969 said that, under the British Mandate, Jews and not Arabs had been called Palestinians and that, in effect, there was no such thing as a Palestinian people. For Meir, Palestinian nationalism was merely a ruse invented by the Arab world to undermine Israel.

Palestine denial remains pervasive within the Israeli right. But there are also those Israelis who have long since come to terms with the right of the Palestinian people to self-definition—a prerequisite for achieving the right to self-determination.

The widespread Israeli awakening during the First Intifada led to the election of Labor Party leader Yitzhak Rabin as prime minister in 1992, followed by the Oslo peace initiative, which was initially supported by a majority of Israelis. The premise of Oslo was a rejection of the old Israeli attitude conveyed by the Hebrew adage, *Ein im mi l’daber*—there’s no one to talk to, no partner for compromise.

But that hopeful moment vanished in 2000 with the Second Intifada, four years of suicide bombings that turned Israel into a nation of shut-ins, afraid to congregate in public places. No less traumatic than the terrorism was the fact that it followed Israeli overtures to end the occupation. We tried to make peace, many Israelis concluded, and in return suffered the worst wave of terrorism in our history. Whether or not one accepts that normative Israeli version of why Oslo failed, Israel today cannot be understood without grasping the impact of the Second Intifada. Many Israelis remain convinced that the Palestinian leadership’s rejection of peace in 2000 was an inevitable consequence of its rejection of Israel’s right to exist. The conviction that “there is no one to talk to” returned with full force.

Palestinian media, schools, and mosques routinely reinforce the message of denial. According to the prevailing Palestinian narrative, the Jews are pathological liars who have invented their history, thieves without rights to any part of the land—"a foreign body," as Abbas put it. Among the fabrications in this narrative: that there was no ancient Jewish presence here—that's a Zionist lie, too; the massive archeological findings attesting to that presence were all faked; no temple stood on the Mount; and the Holocaust was a Zionist invention intended to extort Western support for a Jewish state.

The most significant political divide in Israel today is no longer between right and left, but between right and center: right-wingers who believe that there is no partner for peace and so Israel should settle and annex the West Bank, and centrists who believe that there is no partner for peace but Israel still needs to try to extract itself from the occupation, even unilaterally if necessary. Neither camp believes in the possibility of reconciliation with the Palestinians any time soon.

Israelis and Palestinians are caught in what could be called a "cycle of denial." The Palestinian national movement denies Israel's legitimacy, and Israel in turn denies the Palestinians' national sovereignty. The cycle of denial has defined this shared existence since the creation of Israel 70 years ago.

No matter how vigorously the international community condemns the occupation, it won't move the Israeli public—including those who see the occupation as a long-term threat to Israel as a Jewish and democratic state—so long as Israelis believe that no matter what their country does, the other side will continue to see its existence as illegitimate.

According to polls, a majority of Israelis believe two things about the conflict. The first is that ending the occupation is an existential necessity for Israel itself. The second is that, given the denial of Israel's legitimacy within the Palestinian national movement, a Palestinian state will likely be irredentist and itself a potential existential threat to Israel.

The key to ending the occupation, then, is beginning a new conversation on peace between Palestinians and Israelis—not only about the technical details of an agreement, but about the intangible issues of legitimacy and rootedness of two indigenous peoples fated to share the same tortured land. The international community can help by expressing its vigorous opposition not only to Israeli settlement building, but also to the Palestinian campaign that portrays the Jewish return home to any part of the land as a colonialist affront.

Yossi Klein Halevi, "The Real Dispute Driving the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: A cycle of denial has defined the shared existence of neighboring peoples for seven decades," *The Atlantic*, May 14, 2018.

2. Right Gaza's Miseries Have Palestinian Authors

For the third time in two weeks, Palestinians in the Gaza Strip have set fire to the Kerem Shalom border crossing, through which they get medicine, fuel and other humanitarian essentials from Israel. Soon we'll surely hear a great deal about the misery of Gaza. Try not to forget that the authors of that misery are also the presumptive victims.

There's a pattern here — harm yourself, blame the other — and it deserves to be highlighted amid the torrent of morally blind, historically illiterate criticism to which Israelis are subjected every time they defend themselves against violent Palestinian attack.

In 1970, Israel set up an industrial zone along the border with Gaza to promote economic cooperation and provide Palestinians with jobs. It had to be shut down in 2004 amid multiple terrorist attacks that left 11 Israelis dead.

In 2005, Jewish-American donors forked over \$14 million dollars to pay for greenhouses that had been used by Israeli settlers until the government of Ariel Sharon withdrew from the Strip. Palestinians looted dozens of the greenhouses almost immediately upon Israel's exit.

In 2007, Hamas took control of Gaza in a bloody coup against its rivals in the Fatah faction. Since then, Hamas, Islamic Jihad and other terrorist groups in the Strip have fired nearly 10,000 rockets and mortars from Gaza into Israel — all the while denouncing an economic “blockade” that is Israel's refusal to feed the mouth that bites it. (Egypt and the Palestinian Authority also participate in the same blockade, to zero international censure.)

In 2014 Israel discovered that Hamas had built 32 tunnels under the Gaza border to kidnap or kill Israelis. “The average tunnel requires 350 truckloads of construction supplies,” The Wall Street Journal reported, “enough to build 86 homes, seven mosques, six schools or 19 medical clinics.” Estimated cost of tunnels: \$90 million.

Want to understand why Gaza is so poor? See above.

Which brings us to the grotesque spectacle along Gaza's border over the past several weeks, in which thousands of Palestinians have tried to breach the fence and force their way into Israel, often at the cost of their lives. What is the ostensible purpose of what Palestinians call “the Great Return March”?

That's no mystery. This week, The Times published an op-ed by Ahmed Abu Artema, one of the organizers of the march. “We are intent on continuing our struggle until Israel recognizes our right to return to our homes and land from which we were expelled,” he writes, referring to homes and land within Israel's original borders.

His objection isn't to the “occupation” as usually defined by Western liberals, namely Israel's acquisition of territories following the 1967 Six Day War. It's to the existence of Israel itself. Sympathize with him all you like, but at least notice that his politics demand the elimination of the Jewish state.

Notice, also, the old pattern at work: Avow and pursue Israel's destruction, then plead for pity and aid when your plans lead to ruin.

The world now demands that Jerusalem account for every bullet fired at the demonstrators, without offering a single practical alternative for dealing with the crisis.

But where is the outrage that Hamas kept urging Palestinians to move toward the fence, having been amply forewarned by Israel of the mortal risk? Or that protest organizers encouraged women to lead the charges on the fence because, as *The Times's* Declan Walsh reported, "Israeli soldiers might be less likely to fire on women"? Or that Palestinian children as young as 7 were dispatched to try to breach the fence? Or that the protests ended after Israel warned Hamas's leaders, whose preferred hide-outs include Gaza's hospital, that their own lives were at risk?

Elsewhere in the world, this sort of behavior would be called reckless endangerment. It would be condemned as self-destructive, cowardly and almost bottomlessly cynical.

The mystery of Middle East politics is why Palestinians have so long been exempted from these ordinary moral judgments. How do so many so-called progressives now find themselves in objective sympathy with the murderers, misogynists and homophobes of Hamas? Why don't they note that, by Hamas's own admission, some 50 of the 62 protesters killed on Monday were members of Hamas? Why do they begrudge Israel the right to defend itself behind the very borders they've been clamoring for years for Israelis to get behind?

Why is nothing expected of Palestinians, and everything forgiven, while everything is expected of Israelis, and nothing forgiven?

That's a question to which one can easily guess the answer. In the meantime, it's worth considering the harm Western indulgence has done to Palestinian aspirations.

No decent Palestinian society can emerge from the culture of victimhood, violence and fatalism symbolized by these protests. No worthy Palestinian government can emerge if the international community continues to indulge the corrupt, anti-Semitic autocrats of the Palestinian Authority or fails to condemn and sanction the despotic killers of Hamas. And no Palestinian economy will ever flourish through repeated acts of self-harm and destructive provocation.

If Palestinians want to build a worthy, proud and prosperous nation, they could do worse than try to learn from the one next door. That begins by forswearing forever their attempts to destroy it.

Bret Stephens, "Gaza's Miseries Have Palestinian Authors," *The New York Times*, May 16, 2018.

3a. Left

As a proud Israeli I want peace. Killing Gazans won't bring that.

Commentators have again reached for the word "tragedy" to describe Monday's clash at the Gaza border fence, which resulted in the highest death toll in a single day since the end of the 2014 war between Israel and Hamas. But "tragedy" is the wrong word. Tragedies are inevitable catastrophes, like natural disasters; and it was not inevitable that more than 50 people had to die on Monday. The word signifies a wider problem: by repeatedly asserting that nothing can be done to

change things for the better, we are allowing the next round of violence and bloodshed to take place.

Israel is my home and the conflict has affected every aspect of my life, from the 1991 Gulf war that burdened my childhood; through the second intifada that cast its shadow over my school years with buses exploding regularly in my home town of Tel Aviv; to the 2008-2009 Gaza war that I experienced in the Israel Defense Forces, which I enrolled in for three years as part of my national service and where I served as a journalist and presenter in the official forces radio station. I do not need any convincing about the role that Hamas has played in escalating the crisis in Gaza that led thousands of desperate Palestinians towards the border fence during Monday's fatal clashes. Life in the Gaza Strip under Hamas rule is defined by despair and scarcity.

There is a credible argument that Hamas is responsible for Gaza's poor conditions. Gazans make do with only a few hours of electricity a day, very limited access to drinking water and no jobs. Instead of investing in education and infrastructure, Hamas appears to prioritize spending on arms and ammunition. But the Israeli government, the Palestinian Authority and Egypt are all responsible for the strangulation of Gaza with an 11-year blockade that prevents all exports and restrains imports to a limited supply of humanitarian goods. But while the responsibility for Gaza's situation does not lie with Israel alone, as some suggest, there is no valid argument that the only options for the Israeli army are either to do nothing or use live fire.

The truth is that Monday's events have been on the cards for at least two years. The chief of the Israeli Military Intelligence Directorate, Herzi Halevi, had warned the Israeli government in February 2016 that the worsening humanitarian situation in Gaza could lead to a conflagration with Israel. The IDF chief of staff, Gadi Eisenkot, echoed Halevi's warnings a year later, and said that additional deterioration could bring the prospect of a confrontation between the two sides closer.

Why have these warning signs been ignored? Politics. The celebration of the new US embassy in Jerusalem was nothing but an opportunity for both Donald Trump and Benjamin Netanyahu to score points with their hard-right supporters – evangelicals in the US and settlers in Israel. While Israeli and US officials were sipping champagne at the opening of the new embassy in Jerusalem, just an hour's drive away more than 50 people, many of them unarmed, had been shot dead. There is a cost to Trump. We are seeing it now in Gaza

The following morning, rocket alarm sirens were heard in Gaza border communities in southern Israel. Netanyahu may have thanked Jared Kushner for his "pursuit of peace", but the new embassy in Jerusalem will push the possibility of peace further away.

Israel's rightwing politicians claim to be the only ones who can be trusted with the country's security, yet they show a reckless disregard for the dangerous consequences of their policies. Though Netanyahu's government only has a majority of six seats, in the absence of a well-functioning opposition, he is still seen by Israelis to be the only leader who can provide them with security. The chair of the Knesset defence committee, Avi Dichter, said he isn't worried about the prospect of a border

breach because “the IDF has enough bullets for everyone”. The deputy foreign minister, Tzipi Hotovely, said that the events in Gaza have nothing to do with the transfer of the US embassy to Jerusalem. As a proud Israeli who wants my homeland to be safe and secure, these hollow and simplistic statements just won’t do

The Israeli government, which leads a state founded by Jewish refugees from all over the world 70 years ago who chose to take their fate into their own hands, is saying that the status quo is the only option. Meanwhile Palestinians are paying for the lack of brave leadership with their blood.

Even if – for the sake of argument – all those who were killed on Monday had been terrorists, and the soldiers had no other choice, what next? What is the Israeli and Palestinian leadership doing to avoid the next round of violence and avoid further loss of life? If our leaders have no answers to these questions, then we need new leaders.

Maya Ilany, “As a proud Israeli I want peace. Killing Gazans won’t bring that,” *The Guardian*, May 16, 2018.

3b. Another Left

Daniel Sugarman, “I said Israel should be ashamed – now I am the one who is ashamed,” *The JC*, May 17, 2018

From May 15, 2018

“Every bullet Israel fires, every life Israel takes, makes this situation worse. There are ways to disperse crowds which do not include live fire. But the IDF has made an active choice to fire live rounds and kill scores of people. You cannot tell me that Israel, a land of technological miracles which have to be seen to be truly believed, is incapable of coming up with a way of incapacitating protestors that does not include gunning dozens of them down. But no. In front of the entire world, Israel keeps shooting, and protestors, including very young protestors, keep dying. You may tell me that Hamas wants these deaths, wants to create martyrs, wants to fill the hearts of the people of Gaza with rage against Israel because the alternative is for people to look at their lives in Gaza and rage against Hamas. But if you tell me that, why are you not asking yourselves why Israel is so willingly giving Hamas exactly what it wishes?”

From May 17, 2018

But what really affected me the most was yesterday, when a Hamas operative went on television and claimed that, of the 62 people killed in the last two days, fifty were Hamas operatives. Islamic Jihad claimed three more, meaning that over 80 percent of the people who were killed while trying to breach the border were members of terrorist organizations whose direct aim is to bring death and suffering into Israel. And I opened my eyes and saw what I had done. I had fallen into the trap I had always been convinced I would not fall into. I had condemned Israel for defending itself.

4. Center

13 Inconvenient Truths About What Has Been Happening in Gaza: The reality is much messier than the partisan echo chambers would have you believe

The cacophony that accompanies every upsurge in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict can make it seem impossible for outsiders to sort out the facts. Recent events in Gaza are no exception. The shrillest voices on each side are already offering their own mutually exclusive narratives that acknowledge some realities while scrupulously avoiding others.

But while certain facts about Gaza may be inconvenient for the loudest partisans on either side, they should not be inconvenient to the rest of us. To that end, here are 13 complicated, messy, true things about what has been happening in Gaza. They do not conform to one political narrative or another, and they do not attempt to conclusively apportion all blame. Try, as best you can, to hold them all in your mind at the same time.

1. The protests on Monday were not about President Donald Trump moving the U.S. Embassy to Jerusalem, and have in fact been occurring weekly on the Gaza border since March. They are part of what the demonstrators have dubbed “The Great March of Return”—return, that is, to what is now Israel. (The Monday demonstration was scheduled months ago to coincide with Nakba Day, an annual occasion of protest; it was later moved up 24 hours to grab some of the media attention devoted to the embassy.) The fact that these long-standing Palestinian protests were mischaracterized by many in the media as simply a response to Trump obscured two disquieting realities: First, that the world has largely dismissed the genuine plight of Palestinians in Gaza, only bothering to pay attention to it when it could be tenuously connected to Trump. Second, that many Palestinians do not simply desire their own state and an end to the occupation and settlements that began 1967, but an end to the Jewish state that began in 1948.

2. The Israeli blockade of Gaza goes well beyond what is necessary for Israel’s security, and in many cases can be capricious and self-defeating. Import and export restrictions on food and produce have seesawed over the years, with what is permitted one year forbidden the next, making it difficult for Gazan farmers to plan for the future. Restrictions on movement between Gaza, the West Bank, and beyond can be similarly overbroad, preventing not simply potential terrorist operatives from traveling, but families and students. In one of the more infamous instances, the U.S. State Department was forced to withdraw all Fulbright awards to students in Gaza after Israel did not grant them permission to leave. Today, official policy bars Gazans from traveling abroad unless they commit to not returning for a full year. It is past time that these issues be addressed, as outlined in part in a new letter from several prominent senators, including Bernie Sanders and Elizabeth Warren.

3. Hamas, which controls the Gaza Strip, is an authoritarian, theocratic regime that has called for Jewish genocide in its charter, murdered scores of Israeli civilians, repressed Palestinian women, and harshly persecuted religious and sexual minorities. It is a designated terrorist group by the United States, Canada, and the European Union.

4. The overbearing Israeli blockade has helped impoverish Gaza. So has Hamas's utter failure to govern and provide for the basic needs of the enclave's people. Whether it has been spending its manpower and millions of dollars on subterranean attack tunnels into Israel—including under United Nations schools for Gaza's children—or launching repeated messianic military operations against Israel, the terrorist group has consistently prioritized the deaths of Israelis over the lives of its Palestinian brethren.

5. Many of the thousands of protesters on the Gaza border, both on Monday and in weeks previous, were peaceful and unarmed, as anyone looking at the photos and videos of the gatherings can see.

6. Hamas manipulated many of these demonstrators into unwittingly rushing the Israeli border fence under false pretenses in order to produce injuries and fatalities. As the New York Times reported, "After midday prayers, clerics and leaders of militant factions in Gaza, led by Hamas, urged thousands of worshipers to join the protests. The fence had already been breached, they said falsely, claiming Palestinians were flooding into Israel." Similarly, the Washington Post recounted how "organizers urged protesters over loudspeakers to burst through the fence, telling them Israeli soldiers were fleeing their positions, even as they were reinforcing them." Hamas has also publicly acknowledged deliberately using peaceful civilians at the protests as cover and cannon fodder for their military operations. "When we talk about 'peaceful resistance,' we are deceiving the public," Hamas co-founder Mahmoud al-Zahar told an interviewer. "This is peaceful resistance bolstered by a military force and by security agencies."

7. A significant number of the protesters were armed . . . Widely circulated Arabic instructions on Facebook directed protesters to "bring a knife, dagger, or gun if available" and to breach the Israeli border and kidnap civilians. (The posts have now been removed by Facebook for inciting violence but a cached copy can be viewed here.) Hamas further incentivized violence by providing payments to those injured and the families of those killed. Both Hamas and the Islamic Jihad terror group have since claimed many of those killed as their own operatives and posted photos of them in uniform. On Wednesday, Hamas Political Bureau member Salah Al-Bardawil announced that 50 of the 62 fatalities were Hamas members.

Contrary to certain Israeli talking points, however, these facts do not automatically justify any particular Israeli response or every Palestinian casualty or injury. They simply establish the reality of the threat.

8. It is facile to argue that Gazans should be protesting Hamas and its misrule instead of Israel. One, it is not a binary choice, as both actors have contributed to Gaza's misery. Two, as the BBC's Julia MacFarlane recalled from her time covering Gaza, any public dissent against Hamas is perilous: "A boy I met in Gaza during the 2014 war was dragged from his bed at midnight, had his kneecaps shot off in a square and was told next time it would be axes—for an anti-Hamas Facebook post." The group has publicly executed those it deems "collaborators" and broken up rare protests with gunfire. Likewise, Gazans cannot "vote Hamas out" because Hamas has not permitted elections since it won them and took power in 2006. The group fares poorly in the polls today, but Gazans have no recourse for expressing

their dissatisfaction. Protesting Israel, however, is an outlet for frustration encouraged by Hamas.

9. In that regard, Hamas has worked to increase chaos and casualties stemming from the protests by allowing rioters to repeatedly set fire to the Kerem Shalom crossing, Gaza's main avenue for international and humanitarian aid, and by turning back trucks of needed food and supplies from Israel.

10. A lot of what you're seeing on social media about what is transpiring in Gaza isn't actually true. For instance, a video of a Palestinian "martyr" allegedly moving under his shroud that is circulating in pro-Israel circles is actually a 4-year old clip from Egypt. Likewise, despite the claims of viral tweets and the Hamas-run Gaza Health Ministry that were initially parroted by some in the media, Israel did not actually kill an 8-month old baby with tear gas. The Gazan doctor who treated her told the Associated Press that she died from a preexisting heart condition, a fact belatedly picked up by the New York Times and Los Angeles Times. In the era of fake news, readers should be especially vigilant about resharing unconfirmed content simply because it confirms their biases.

11. There are constructive solutions to Gaza's problems that would alleviate the plight of its Palestinian population while assuaging the security concerns of Israelis. However, these useful proposals do not go viral like angry tweets ranting about how Palestinians are all de facto terrorists or Israelis are the new Nazis, which is one reason why you probably have never heard of them.

12. A truly independent, respected inquiry into Israel's tactics and rules of engagement in Gaza is necessary to ensure any abuses are punished and create internationally recognized guidelines for how Israel and other state actors should deal with these situations on their borders. The United Nations, which annually condemns Israel in its General Assembly and Human Rights Council more than all other countries combined, and whose notorious bias against Israel was famously condemned by Obama ambassador to the U.N., Samantha Power, clearly lacks the credibility to administer such an inquiry. Between America, Canada, and Europe, however, it should be possible to create one.

13. But because the entire debate around Israel's conduct has been framed by absolutists who insist either that Israel is utterly blameless or that Israel is wantonly massacring random Palestinians for sport, a reasonable inquiry into what it did correctly and what it did not is unlikely to happen.

Yair Rosenberg, "13 Inconvenient Truths About What Has Been Happening in Gaza: The reality is much messier than the partisan echo chambers would have you believe," *Tablet*, May 16, 2018.