

“The Holy Land: Recent History and the Quest for Peace” User’s Guide

Preparing for the Presentation

1. Read over the notes pages in advance, and refer to the resources below as needed.
2. Print the two-page handout that includes 20th - 21st C. Holy Land History and *Peace Not Walls* “How You Can Help.” You can duplicate these back-to-back.
3. Have Bibles available.

Discussion Questions

1. What surprised you in the recounting of the Holy Land’s ancient and recent history? How does this history continue to affect tensions today?
2. Read and discuss these passages in light of what you’ve just seen in the presentation:
 - promise of land in Genesis 12:7, 15:7
 - issue of borders in Joshua 1:2-4 and Deuteronomy 34:1-4
 - other inhabitants in Judges 1:21
 - a. Is the Bible relevant for today’s geopolitical conflicts?
 - b. If so, how might these biblical passages help to determine Israel’s boundaries?
 - c. What do you think in general about the use of sacred texts for governing nation-states? (The Qur’an in Iran, Pakistan, and Afghanistan; the Ten Commandments in US courthouses, etc...)

Read aloud these words from Israeli Jewish scholar and peace activist, Yehezkel Landau: “If both Jews and Palestinians can be brought to see, and to know deeply, that the Land belongs to God alone, and that by the grace of God both peoples belong to the land (see Exodus 19:5-6), then a new political vision can be generated on this spiritual foundation.” (*How Long O Lord?: Christian, Jewish, and Muslim Voices from the Ground and Visions for the Future in Israel/Palestine*, ed. Maurine and Robert Tobin [Lanham, MD: Cowley Publications], 236)

And these from Palestinian Lutheran Bishop Munib Younan: “For Palestinian Christians, there is no other land for us than this land. It has molded our identity. The future of the Christian presence is in a just peace, not in occupation and war. We believe that we represent the continuity of the Old Testament and the New Testament peoples’ existence on the land. This is not merely an emotional attachment, but one that has geographical, historical, traditional, cultural, and social, as well as spiritual roots.” (Munib Younan, *Witnessing for Peace: In Jerusalem and the World* [Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2003], 64)

3. Discuss what you learned from the presentation about Palestinian Christians.
4. What are some ways the United States government might promote peace and reconciliation among Israelis, Palestinians, and the neighboring countries?

5. What are some concrete steps you and your fellow church members could take toward this goal and toward improved inter-religious relations in North America?

Additional Resources

1. See Holy Land historical background and other *Peace Not Walls* educational resources at www.elca.org/peacenotwalls

2. Learn more about Judaism and Islam by reading the online resource, “Windows for Understanding,” at <http://www.elca.org/ecumenical/interreligious/windows.html>, or watching the video “Understanding Islam” at <http://www.elca.org/peacenotwalls/educate/index.html>

3. Consider sharing these handouts at www.elca.org/peacenotwalls

Peace Not Walls resources

Peace Not Walls news sources

Bookmarks

2008 reproducible color flyer, “Many Walls Stand in the Way of Peace”

20th/21st Century Holy Land History

Middle East history goes back 5000 to 7000 years

Europe in Dark Ages: Persians, Arabs, and Jews, advances in medicine, math, astronomy, philosophy

400 years Ottoman Turkish Empire: varied experience for indigenous Muslims, Christians and Jews

Post-World War I

- Muslim Ottoman Turks on losing side; map redrawn by Britain and France
- France: Syria and Lebanon, independence in mid-1940s
- England: Egypt (1882), Palestine (both Transjordan and Cisjordan), Iraq, Kuwait, Gulf, W. Arabia
- Britain's Hashemite allies against Turks set up as kings:
 - Jordan, Iraq, W. Arabia (taken by Saud family in 1924, united in 1932)
- 1947-49: UN partitions Cisjordan for Arabs and Jews, with Jerusalem international; war; armistice

Problematic results of 20th C. legacy of outside control (leading to many of today's conflicts)

- 1) artificial boundaries
- 2) secular governments based on western -- not Arab or Islamic -- models, e.g. limited monarchy (Great Britain), parliament (France)
- 3) Arab-Israeli-Palestinian conflict

Arab-Israeli-Palestinian conflict

- long history of European persecution of Jews; late 1800s Zionism

1917 British Balfour Declaration

1947-49 UN partitioning, war, armistice

1967 Six Day war; Three No's of Khartoum; UN resolution 242

1970 Jordan renounces Palestinians (Black September)

1973 Yom Kippur War

1978 Camp David Peace Treaty and return of Sinai Peninsula (land for peace)

1987 first *Intifada*

1993 Declaration of Principles/ Oslo (land for peace plan)

1994 Palestinian authority; Gaza, Jericho; Peace Treaty with Jordan

1995 Rabin assassinated (Netanyahu, Barak and Arafat)

2000 Camp David II; second *Intifada* begins

to 2007 "road map"; security barrier; Arafat, Sharon gone as leaders; Hamas; Israeli unilateralism

Some Current Issues

- military occupation and fate of the proposed two-state solution
- violence (including terrorism, retaliation, and vilification of the "other")
- Israeli annexation, settlements, security (separation) barrier, closures
- intra-Palestinian and intra-Israeli diversity/conflict/extremism
- U.S., European, and other international interests
- status of Palestinians and Israeli Arabs and "return" of Palestinian refugees
- Gaza crisis and what kind of Palestinian state?
- water access
- Jerusalem

Jerusalem's Religious Significance

- holy to Jews as David's city and Temple Mount
- holy to Christians as site of Jesus' death and birth of Christianity
- holy to Muslims as city of prophets Abraham and David, first *qibla*, and site of Muhammad's night journey (Dome of the Rock)



Ways You Can Help

ELCA Churchwide Strategy for Engagement in Israel and Palestine

What's happening in your region?

Action needed in

- Congregation
- Local community
- Conference
- Synod
- Region

Ways you can help

Awareness

- Share PNW in home congregation, conference meetings and synod assembly
- Promote use of PNW website via bulletin inserts, newsletter blurbs, etc.
- Send us "best practices" stories
- Put a human face on our Palestinian Lutheran partners
- Educate others about the lives and aspirations of both Israelis and Palestinians

Accompaniment

- Promote Holy Land immersion trips
- Distribute ELCJHL schools brochures
- Distribute MOHP brochures
- Invite ELCJHL visitors to your synod
- Consider youth exchanges

Advocacy

- Sign up for E-Advocacy and MENET at www.elca.org/peacenotwalls
- Promote grassroots networks
- Support EAPPI (World Council of Churches ecumenical accompaniers)
- Learn about and promote sale of products from Palestine

Visit www.elca.org/peacenotwalls or call 800.638.3522 ext 6466

Visit www.elca.org/advocacy

“The Holy Land: Recent History and the Quest for Peace” Script

1. Title slide

Please join us for a brief survey of Holy Land history and current peace efforts. You may follow along on the handout, or simply save it for future reference.

3. Map of region during Exodus time

History and culture in the land we call the Middle East extends back five to seven thousand years. Here’s a map of the region during the time of Moses and the Exodus.

Centuries later, when Europe was in the midst of the Dark Ages, Persians, Arabs, and Jews in this area were making advances in medicine, math, astronomy, philosophy, architecture, and trade.

4. 1914 Ottoman Empire map

For 450 years, the region was under the control of the Ottoman Turkish Empire. Under Muslim rule, the experience of the Jewish and Christian minorities varied from full participation to occasional persecution – but conditions were generally much better than for minorities governed by Christian European empires.

This map shows the extent of the Turkish Empire in green, just to the east of the Mediterranean.

5. Post World War I

During World War I, the Turks fought with Germany against the victorious Britain and France. The Ottoman Empire was broken up, with the Turks keeping what is today Turkey. Britain, which had been aided by various Arab princes during the war, gained mandate control over what would eventually become Israel, Jordan, Iraq, Kuwait, and portions of Saudi Arabia. France gained mandate control over Syria and Lebanon. “Mandate control” means that Britain and France were intended to be caretakers until the re-configured countries were stable enough to become independent.

6. 1914 and 2007 maps

This comparison map demonstrates how parts of the Turkish Empire became modern states as they gradually gained their independence during the 20th Century. The shape and demographics of these states was determined by Britain and France, not the people who lived there.

7. Problematic Results

The decades of control and the characteristics of the countries created by Britain and France led to problems that still influence the region today.

First, it was Britain and France that decided how to carve up these former Turkish provinces into separate countries. Often these two powers made decisions supporting their own

strategic and economic interests, rather than taking into account the needs and desires of the local inhabitants.

Second, not surprisingly, they set up governments based on their own models. Thus, countries like Iraq and Jordan had limited monarchies as in Britain; Syria and Lebanon followed France's parliamentary form. However, these western European models have not always been compatible with the leadership styles from Arab history and culture. Finally, the mid-20th C. saw the creation of the modern state of Israel, a very positive outcome for Jews. But the continuing conflict and 40-year occupation have been tragic in many ways for the Palestinian residents of this former Ottoman province and British mandate.

8. Israel in History

At this point we need to go back into biblical history to note that Israel was a nation exclusively ruled by Jews during some of the 1000 years, from the time of King David to that of the Roman occupation. But after the Roman arrival and before the birth of Christ, the region was ruled by a series of external powers.

9. The Jewish Presence in Palestine

During the Roman Empire many Jews left biblical Israel ("Palestine" to the Romans) for economic reasons and as refugees from Roman military action against Jewish resistance. The Romans destroyed the second Jewish temple in 70 C.E.

A thousand years later the Christian Crusaders expelled the Jews. When the Muslims recaptured Jerusalem, they lifted the ban, allowing Jews to return and to visit the city's holy sites.

10. The Jewish Presence in Europe

Many Americans mistakenly believe that widespread persecution of Jews happened only in the last century's Holocaust. Sadly, such persecution, often inspired by distorted Christian theology, dates back to the time of the Roman Empire. In the 14th century, Europe's bubonic plague killed one-third of the population. The Jews were blamed in Germany, and many were burned at the stake, despite the Pope's attempts to defend them. Spain's 1492 Edict of Expulsion forced both Jews and Muslims to convert to Christianity or leave the Iberian Peninsula.

For centuries Europe's Jews were pressed eastward. The Zionist movement of the 1880s even considered forming a homeland in Ghana as an alternative to the ghettos of Poland. Peaceful migration to Palestine began at the end of the 19th century.

11. Arab Christians and Muslims in the Holy Land

According to Acts 2:11, Arabs were among the people in Jerusalem who witnessed the Holy Spirit's arrival on Pentecost and heard Peter's preaching at the dawn of Christianity. By the 4th C., Bethlehem was almost exclusively Christian. Thus, some of today's Palestinians can claim a Christian family heritage stretching back 2,000 years.

Over time after the Arab Muslim conquest of Palestine in the 7th C., many Christians converted to Islam and thus are among the ancestors of today's Palestinian Muslims. Some in

the local population also remained Christian, with protected minority status under Muslim rule. Some of these Arab Christian communities have continued to the present day. The arrival of Anglican and Lutheran missionaries in the mid-1800s led eventually to the development of Palestinian Protestant churches.

12. Developments after WW I

Britain's Balfour Declaration in 1917 further opened the doors to Jewish immigration. It read in part that Britain "views with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people . . . it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done to prejudice the . . . rights of the existing non-Jewish population in Palestine. . . ." Note the inherent conflict of giving another people their own nation without "prejudicing" the rights of those who already lived on the land.

In 1918, the Arab population was 500,000; the Jewish population, 66,000. Britain's mandate control over the region became more difficult as the Jewish population increased and militant Zionist Jewish and Palestinian Arab groups fought each other. A United Nations partition plan, giving the Jews 55% and the Arabs 45% of the former Turkish province, was, not surprisingly, rejected by the Arabs and their neighboring states. At that time Muslims and Christians were 2/3 of the population and owned 94% of the land; the Jewish population was 1/3 and Jews owned 6% of the land.

The subsequent war yielded a Zionist victory and creation of the state of Israel on 78% of that territory. In the 1967 War Israel captured the additional areas that had been governed by Egypt (the Gaza Strip), Jordan (the West Bank of the Jordan River), and Syria (the Golan Heights). Most significant for a future Palestinian state are Gaza and the West Bank.

14. Developments 2000-2008

Time does not permit describing all the important events between 1967 and the present decade. For more information see the online resources at the Peace Not Walls website and the ELCA's primer on Judaism and Islam, "Windows for Understanding," at <http://www.elca.org/ecumenical/interreligious/windows.html>

Despite periods of terrorist violence by Palestinian militants and harsh military reprisals by Israel, there have been interim peace agreements in recent years, such as the Oslo Accords, that gave Palestinians limited autonomy in some areas. Initiatives by the United States, Europe, Russia, the United Nations, and Arab states have led to a broad consensus on a "land for peace" approach to create a viable, independent Palestine and a secure, recognized Israel at peace with its regional neighbors.

The death of Yasser Arafat, the illness of Ariel Sharon, the 2006 Hamas election victory, the summer 2006 war between Israel and Hezbollah in Lebanon, and the June 2007 take-over of Gaza by Hamas are some of the events that have weakened both the government of Israel and the Palestinian Authority, stifling initiatives toward peace.

Further complicating life for the Palestinians is Israel's construction of the separation barrier on Palestinian land, ostensibly to protect innocent Israeli civilians from suicide bombings that escalated with the start of the 2000 Palestinian uprising or *intifada* (in-tee-FAH-dah). Although many believe this barrier has saved Israeli lives, several factors have contributed to a decline in such terrorist attacks. You will hear more about this barrier later.

15. Some Current Issues

Today there is not time to discuss all of the issues that must be resolved before a final status peace agreement can be implemented, but we will begin with the occupation and the city of Jerusalem.

Although some Israelis and their supporters believe Israel should have all the land between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River, the international consensus is that Israel must end its occupation of the West Bank and allow creation of an independent, contiguous, viable Palestinian state in Gaza and the West Bank. “Contiguous” means that West Bank Palestine must be one expanse of land and not unconnected islands of territory surround by Jewish settlements as some have proposed.

Read if time permits:

Permanent Israeli occupation of this territory was opposed by one of Israel’s founding fathers, Abba Eban, a scholar, ambassador, and Knesset member. After 1967, Eban quickly voiced opposition to Israeli rule over Gaza and West Bank and support for a Palestinian state. In a 1995 *Jerusalem Post* article, Eban expressed concern about the separation barrier and called instead for attitudinal and political changes to help create a new, open Middle East.

16. Jerusalem at Sunset

Here is Jerusalem at sunset, as a group of Lutheran visitors approached the Old City in January 2007.

17. Jerusalem’s Religious Significance

Jerusalem is holy to Jews as David’s city and as site of the First and Second Temples; and to Christians as the site of Jesus’ death and resurrection and of the birth of Christianity. For Muslims it is the third holiest city after Mecca and Medina in Saudi Arabia. Islam reveres the Hebrew prophets Abraham and David; the prophet Muhammad initially had followers pray by facing Jerusalem.

The original UN plan for the land saw Jerusalem as an international city, not part of either nation. The ELCA and our ecumenical partners in Churches for Middle East Peace call for Jerusalem to be the capital of two states, Israel and Palestine, with equal access and rights in the city for Jews, Christians, and Muslims.

Read if time permits:

Especially helpful is this comment from Israeli Jewish scholar and peace activist, Yehezkel Landau, “If both Jews and Palestinians can be brought to see, and to know deeply, that the Land belongs to God alone, and that by the grace of God both peoples belong to the land (see Exodus 19:5-6), then a new political vision can be generated on this spiritual foundation.”(*How Long O Lord?* p. 236)

18. Western Wall and Dome of the Rock

For Jews this stone wall is a revered remnant of the ancient wall that supported the Temple Mount. For Muslims the Dome of the Rock shrine marks the spot from which the Qur’an says the prophet Muhammad ascended into the heavens on a spiritual night journey to meet with Jesus, Moses and other prophets, hence its place as the third holiest in Islam.

19. Church of the Holy Sepulchre

Christians for centuries have visited the 4th C. Church of the Holy Sepulchre, believed by many to stand on the location of Jesus' crucifixion and resurrection. In Byzantine times it was called the *Anastasis* or "Resurrection."

21. Peace Not Walls logo

The 2005 ELCA assembly endorsed the Churchwide Strategy for Engagement in Israel and Palestine. In response, the Peace Not Walls campaign seeks to work with ecumenical and interfaith partners to break down the many walls associated with this conflict and to promote a peaceful resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

22. Strategy for Engagement in Israel and Palestine

This commitment to Middle East peace has a long history in the predecessor churches that formed the ELCA, as well as in the many actions by Churchwide Assemblies and the Church Council since 1989.

23. Strategy Emphases

The Peace Not Walls campaign to implement this strategy has three main emphases:

- awareness-building,
- accompaniment, and
- advocacy.

24. ELCJHL Ecclesiastical Ministry

All three of these foci are related to the ELCA's companionship with the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Jordan and the Holy Land (ELCJHL). With six congregations and eight educational ministries, the ELCJHL is the only indigenous Lutheran church in the Arab world.

25. Bishop Munib Younan

Bishop Munib Younan is head of this 2000-member church and is a leader in interfaith collaboration among Israeli Jews, Palestinian Muslims and Christians.

He warns that the difficult conditions of occupation are spurring out-migration of Christians. Thus, the living church in the Holy Land is in danger of becoming a museum for tourists, rather than an integral force in shaping a healthy, democratic Palestinian society. He has consistently spoken out against violence from both sides in the conflict.

26. Ramallah souk January 2007

One of the Lutheran churches he shepherds is in Ramallah, the current economic and political center for Palestinians in the West Bank. This is the street market or *souk* for fruits and vegetables.

27. Al Raja dance troupe

Here are some of the young folk dancers in the Al Raja dance troupe that toured the U.S. during summer 2006. These youth from the Evangelical Lutheran School of Hope in Ramallah performed in 50 American cities to audiences totaling 52,000.

Many of them are from Muslim families who appreciate having their children educated in a system that stresses mutual respect and peaceful living among Christians, Muslims, and Israeli Jews.

28. Map of barrier around Jerusalem

A key issue in the future of Jerusalem and the West Bank is the current Israeli closure regime of roadblocks, checkpoints, and the separation barrier.

Here, around Jerusalem, we see how the barrier goes far to the east of the 1967 Green Line into the West Bank, surrounding Israeli settlements (in purple) to permit room for their future expansion. The red line is the already completed concrete wall; the black line is the proposed route for the remainder.

29. Suicide bombing scene

The Israeli government defends the barrier as a necessary protection against terrorist attacks such as the one shown here.

During a recent ELCA staff visit, both Palestinians and Israeli human rights workers acknowledged Israel's right to protect its citizens. What they questioned was the need to build the wall deep into Palestinian land, so that numerous checkpoints and the barrier divide Palestinians from their farmlands, jobs, schools, hospitals and churches.

If completed, the barrier will be twice as long as the Green Line and will take another 10% of Palestinian land beyond what has already been confiscated for Israeli settlements and roads. According to the UN Office of the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, over 40% of the West Bank is inaccessible to Palestinians because it is made up of settlements, Israeli-only settlement roads, and military and other infrastructure.

30. Bethlehem near Rachel's Tomb

In some places the barrier is an electrified fence that separates Palestinian farmers from their fields. In the urban areas around Jerusalem, Ramallah and Bethlehem, which is the territory of our partners in the ELCJHL, it is a 30-foot high concrete wall.

This intersection in Bethlehem used to be part of the main road connecting the city to Jerusalem. Now a huge portion of the wall blocks that road and surrounds Rachel's Tomb so that only Israeli pilgrims have access to the site, and it is completely separated from the local Palestinian population. Another result is that many Palestinians are separated from their neighbors and families.

31. Gate 25 at Jayyous

Gate 25 at Jayyous is an example of a place where an electrified fence divides Palestinian villagers from their crop lands. Those fortunate to get a permit may pass through the gate during three 15-minute openings each day.

Here ELCA visitors are talking with Ecumenical Accompaniers from the Ecumenical Accompaniment Programme for Palestine and Israel of the World Council of Churches. They are volunteers who monitor and report violations of human rights and international humanitarian law and who offer nonviolent protection and presence among Palestinian

civilians and Israeli peace activists. The ELCA has scholarship money to assist members who wish to volunteer for this three-month service.

32. Destroying the Two-State Solution

During the recent ELCA staff visit, all the Palestinians, including a lawyer for the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) and Mustafa Barghouti, a progressive leader in the Palestinian Legislative Council, recognized Israel's right to defend its citizens against terrorism.

But they also asked why the current expansion of the barrier, checkpoints, roadblocks, and settlements should be allowed to take more and more of the land that could make possible a just and peaceful two-state solution.

If the post-1967 Green Line were observed, a future Palestinian state would have 22% of historic Palestine. Following the current route of the concrete barrier and electrified fence, such a state will get only 12%.

33. Augusta Victoria Hospital and the Mount of Olives Housing Project

For many years there have been Lutheran ministries on the Mount of Olives. Since 1948, Augusta Victoria Hospital (at the top of the hill) has provided care for all Palestinians, including many kidney dialysis patients. It is the only hospital to provide radiation therapy for cancer patients in the Palestinian Territories.

Just below the hospital, olive orchards have been cleared to make way for a housing project for Palestinian Christians. Recently there has been much media coverage of the flight of Christians from Palestinian territories to Europe and the U.S. Now Christians make up less than 2% of the population of the West Bank. Church leaders estimate that Jerusalem Christians number less than 10,000; and when the Israeli separation barrier is completed, they will be only about 5,000 of the city's 700,000 inhabitants. In 1948 Christians were approximately 20% of the city's population. Too often we hear the false claim that systematic persecution of Christians by the Palestinian government and/or Palestinian Muslims are causing them to leave. It is true that both Christians and Muslims are threatened by the rise of Islamic extremism. But Lutheran Christians tell us that the stresses of the occupation, the closure regime, and economic deprivation are the main causes for emigration. A partial solution is this plan to build 84 housing units near Augusta Victoria Hospital.

34. Mark Brown and Bishop Harold Usgaard

Here Lutheran World Federation Jerusalem director Mark Brown explains the Mount of Olives Housing Project to a group of visitors, including Southeast Minnesota Bishop Harold Usgaard. The apartments here will be leased to Christian couples and families at subsidized rates, providing an affordable housing solution within Jerusalem.

The total capital investment needed for the project is \$8,265,000. The ELCA has raised over \$500,000 towards our \$2 million goal for the construction of the project, and the Church of Sweden has pledged 30 million Swedish kronor (~\$4.6 million). You can make a donation through the ELCA Foundation and by visiting elca.org/giving

35. Recess at Lutheran School of Hope School in Ramallah

Visits to the Holy Land can cause us to think about what's normal and not normal about life for our friends in the Palestinian Lutheran Church and their Muslim neighbors, and for Israeli Jews who live in places vulnerable to suicide bombers or rocket attacks from Gaza. Some severe realities affect daily life for these Palestinian children at recess in Ramallah:

- The per capita GDP for Israelis is \$18,000; for Palestinians it is \$800, yet they share the same shekel-based economy.
- Annual water use per Israeli is 2400 cubic meters; for Palestinians it is 100 cubic meters.

Both these populations stand to gain in safety and security and prosperity if the current conflict can be transformed into two viable states living side by side and participating in a regional open economy.

36. Christmas Lutheran Church in Bethlehem

Is there any hope for an end to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict? This is Christmas Lutheran Church near the place of Jesus' birth in Bethlehem. Its ministries, led by Pastor Mitri Raheb, symbolize the trust in God and determination one often witnesses among both Palestinian and Israeli peace activists.

Another sign of hope is the Council of Religious Institutions in the Holy Land. Bishop Munib Younan of the Palestinian Lutheran church is one of the founders of this group of Muslim, Jewish, and Christian leaders. They meet monthly to work together on such matters as protection of Holy Sites, responses based on mutual consultation when these sites are attacked, education for mutual respect and understanding, and discussion with government officials on the perception of each other's community in their respective educational materials.

A reason for hope here in the United States is the recent work of the National Inter-religious Leadership Initiative for Peace in the Middle East. ELCA Presiding Bishop Mark Hanson is active in this group of leaders from more than twenty-five national organizations: Jewish, Christian and Muslim. These NILI ("NEE-lee") leaders have met several times with Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and State Department officials to urge the Administration to make Arab-Israeli-Palestinian peace a top priority of U.S. policy. Their expressed goal is two states living side by side in peace, and a stable region with Israel living in peace and security with its Arab neighbors.

It is indeed a hopeful sign that American and Israeli peace groups are reaching consensus that a permanent, just peace is worth the difficult concessions and compromises each side must make.

37. How can you help?

Please see the handout "Ways You Can Help" for some specific ideas.