Meditations on a Middle-East Pilgrimage: Impasse, Memory, Hope/Promise

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Recommended Citation
Forster-Smith, Lucy (2009) "Meditations on a Middle-East Pilgrimage: Impasse, Memory, Hope/Promise," Macalester International: Vol. 23, Article 15.
Available at: http://digitalcommons.macalester.edu/macintl/vol23/iss1/15

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The human community yearns for a home, for place, for a “storied space,” as Biblical scholar Walter Brueggemann says, where meaning is attached to a place “because of the history lodged there.”¹ This yearning is no more evident than in the daily reality of those living in Israel and the Palestinian Occupied Territories. For Christians, Muslims, Jews, and Baha’is who live in this region and those drawn to it as a pilgrimage destination, it is a place where the power of history and the impasse of the present weigh upon the pilgrim’s stride. Often the assumption for those from lands beyond the Middle East is that by leaving their home community and going to seek the sacred in a holy place, they will strengthen or restore their faith. Yet many times those who come from far-off places to seek the holy in the Holy Land encounter the pilgrim spirit in those who long for home, those whose pilgrim’s way longs for a homeland, but hits walls, stumbles on slippery slopes, is snared by economic challenges—and their faith falters as they locate their story in the painful quest for the Holy Land. The pilgrim way heeds impasse, memory, and hope. In my encounter with this land, I also navigated the complex pilgrim’s way through the eyes of university students, faculty members, administrators, and workers for peace.

I became fascinated with Dr. Henry Carse’s description of the multiple engagements of a pilgrim’s encounters. Dr. Carse is Director of Special Programs at St. George’s College in Jerusalem, and oversees the Kids4Peace Program. An expert on the ethical dimensions of pil-
grimage, Dr. Carse noted that people come to Jerusalem seeking a spiritual experience, looking for particular connections with religious sites. What many discover is that the impinging realities of the conflict in the Middle East and the interaction with that conflict take pilgrims to sites and ways to see that they didn’t expect. He said, “The gaze of the pilgrim is a flexible gaze,” conditioned by attitudes. His question, “Where does the gaze of the pilgrim rest?,” is one that challenged my own assumptions, both in assessing whether I was a pilgrim and how this journey was shaping and challenging my assumptions as a Christian and as a Chaplain at Macalester College. As I explored the interplay between politics and its embeddedness in religious traditions with scholars, students, colleagues at universities, and those working within peace groups, I began to see that pilgrimage—those who are on a journey toward a home—has resonance and also deeply challenges the realities of life in Israel and the Palestinian Occupied Territories.

The pilgrimage of those of us on the Faculty Development International Seminar was centered on the particular peoples in a specific landscape and with a specific history. It demanded that we listen intently to convictions between Palestinians and Jews that are at odds with each other; that we analyze nationalist politics that lead to acts of inhumanity; that we be impacted by the commitments of many to work for change and to implant hope even if it leaves only imprints of sorrow, fear, and hopelessness. I was brought to my knees in this pilgrimage with questions like: What happens if the ground under one’s feet becomes shifting sand? What happens if the deepest desire of these two communities is to be placed, to have a home, to claim a rooted history—and it comes to an impasse? What can I say of a land called “promised” that in its current condition has little promise for anyone? The pilgrimage I encountered took me to the ethical edge that led my gaze to impasse, to markers of memory, and to see what is invisible to anything but the eyes of faith: hope and promise.

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In any pilgrimage there are many obstacles. The contemporary pilgrimage in Israel and Palestine has been set off course by obstacles and led to an impasse in moving toward the promise, which is a “landed” promise, that is, the destination of a land of peace and prosperity for the people. At its essence, the conflict in this region of the world is about land. Everywhere we went, every lecture we heard, every
dimension of our seminar’s discussions was infused with the reality that it is land, with all of its consequent meanings, literal, psychological, and, I would argue, theological, that is at the center. The mantra that underlaid the Israeli perspective, “a land without a people for a people without a land,” left me speechless in its truth and its lie. Yes, there is a people without a “land,” a “home,” a place that is safe; and no, the land that has been given/taken was a place, a location, and an occupied zone where people had lived for millennia in relative peace.

Father Elias Chacour, Archbishop of Galilee of the Melkite Greek Catholic Church, says in his book, We Belong to the Land, “I knew of the suffering the Jewish people had experienced in Europe during the Second World War, how they had been without a homeland for nearly nineteen hundred years, and that our land of Palestine had been home to them before the Romans drove them out, but I also knew other things:

• That my Palestinian ancestors had been in this land before the Iraqi Gentile Abraham arrived twenty centuries before Christ;
• That Jews and Gentiles alike had been in this land when Jesus of Nazareth lived here, easily noted in all the gospel accounts;
• That my ancestors, like the Jews, had loved and cherished this land, planting their olive and fig trees…
• And that we as Palestinians had not been responsible for the suffering of the Jews in Europe, yet we were the ones who were chased out of the land… .”

Walter Brueggemann challenges us to understand, although the “fundamental dream of Israel is about land,” that the “theological experiment [is] in alternative land management…The God of Israel is a God who gives the land and Israel is a people that hold land in an alternative way.” Brueggemann helpfully distinguishes between “space” and “place” in his thesis that the roots of the deepest human hunger are about rootlessness and not meaninglessness. According to Brueggemann:

Space means an arena of freedom without coercion or accountability, free of pressures and void of authority. Space may be imaged as weekend, holiday, avocation, and characterized by a kind of neutrality or emptiness waiting to be filled by our choosing…but ‘place’ is a very different matter. Place is space that has historical meanings, where some
things happened that are now remembered and that provide continuity and identity across generations...Place is indeed a protest against the unpromising pursuit of space...It is a declaration that our humanness cannot be found in escape, detachment, absence of commitment, and undefined freedom.”

In the ancient biblical narrative, land was given as a gift to be received that binds the people to the giver. The land requires remembering whose it is, that is, the Giver of Life. The land has within it “seductive power” that draws one to reduce land to “serene space apart from mystery.” Here the temptation is to forget the Source (Yahweh) and to strive for security. Brueggemann states it well, “The land (historically) tempts Israel to escape from history with Yahweh, to substitute for the vitality and precariousness of history the sureness, same-ness and closedness of dull existence in secure land without decision, without promise, without word, without mystery.”

In continuously trying to probe the drivenness of the Israeli settlers who unrelentingly seek another hilltop to claim, another well to plug, another cave dwelling of Palestinian shepherds to close, it is absolutely clear that land-holding/grabbing/claiming is essential to these people without regard for the human price being paid. But it is also clear that this is one extreme, just as suicide bombers are also an extreme. The complex of multiple claims was expressed by one person with whom I spoke: “Where can the Jewish nation claim a place to call home that will be a devoted space that honors their need for safety with their post-Holocaust memory; and how can Palestinians also stake out their place, their historic land, and lay claim to a vibrant national economy, leadership that truly respects its people’s needs, and resettle those displaced in 1948 and 1967 with their human rights assured?” One-State solution? Two-State solution?

Dr. Ali Jarbawi of Birzeit University offers a compelling “unconventional alternative” to the Two-State solution. “We [Palestinians] don’t want a state. We have resigned ourselves to the fact that nothing is going to change.” His suggestion that the Two-State solution should be abandoned and a One-State solution pursued might push Israel to make up its mind about a resolution to the impasse. His assessment that a Two-State solution cannot be imposed and co-existence cannot be coerced leads him to think that the only way out is to cross over, to do something shocking, and in so doing ease restrictions that are biting the fingers of both cultures. The proposed alternatives to end
the conflict have led not to a way out but squarely to an impasse. The groaning in travail continues in both worlds. Israelis are armed in fear of losing what they have. Their young people in military service in the West Bank and Gaza are often cut off for months from their families. Palestinians are armed in fear as well, but in their case a fear of having no future, of swimming in hopelessness. As David Shulman so clearly states, “The transparent truth is that either both sides win or both sides lose. Most people here probably recognize this on some level.”9 “I only hope my children’s lives will be better than mine,” said a professor at one of the universities. “My children attend college in the States and we hope they will come back with a restless yearning for making changes here [in Palestine].”

Impasse not only manifests itself in the politics of land but also in religious and social engagement. It arises in populations feeling immobilized where they are. In a remarkably frank conversation with two Christian students at Al Quds University, where Christians are a tiny portion of the 10,000-student population, they described their situation as “stuck.” As Christians they saw themselves as immobilized: Israelis on one side, Muslims on the other side. “We are trapped in the middle,” one of them said. “That is why so many Christians are immigrating. It is so hard to live here. Muslims say Christians are open and should go with Israelis; and Israelis say they are Arabs, they should go with Muslims.”

When asked why people stay, a student explained, “I stay because this is my country. I will never leave it. My family is here.” The other student replied in frustration, “I am stuck here because my father is very old. We have a souvenir shop in the old city. If we leave, no Christians will be here. And if we stay, we don’t have a life…and I’ll be honest, if there was a Muslim guy sitting here, I wouldn’t be able to say this.”

Both students agreed that they don’t have many rights as Christians. During Ramadan they have to observe the prohibitions on eating and drinking like everyone else. “If someone sees you drinking water they threaten you. My Christian friends went outside the wall to drink water,” he said. He went on, “A Christian guy here was wearing a cross, and the professor said, ‘Why are you wearing a cross here? This is a Muslim school.’” The teacher made him go outside. The students ended the interview with these words: “So we are trapped between Israelis...we are trapped in school. We are trapped in this place.”
Impasse...obstacles...and how to find the way out or through or around them is a major challenge.

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Memory is another dimension of pilgrimage that serves to orient the people and sustain the journey. It can also serve, at times, to disorient, when it functions to sidetrack the pilgrim in cliffhangers or walled-off places. The mired history of this region of the world, set at the crossroads of cultures, brings with it thousands of years of occupation in a setting where intra and inter religious conversancy strains under political and social agendas. These are but a few of the constituting realities. If the heart of the Arab-Israeli conflict “results from the claim of two peoples to the same piece of real estate,” then the contribution of memory is recounting the history of connection with the land, the historical moments of pain and anguish, as well as joy and merriment, and the roots of the history in promises, broken and kept.

As I spoke with people in the Middle East, I found myself continuously struck by the power of memory in their lives. There is grave danger in losing one’s memory. Jewish liberation theologian Marc Ellis states the point: “In our liberation, our memory of slavery is in danger of being lost. This loss would allow us to forget what it means to be oppressed. Yet to forget one’s own oppression is to open the possibility of becoming the oppressor.” This certainly applies also to Palestinian Christians and Muslims. The act of remembering is important because it ties a community to its own identity. However, as people of faith, remembering in and of itself is not enough. In faith communities remembering who we are and also who has claimed us—that is, God—is essential. Walter Brueggemann writes, “Remembering Yahweh is not simply an act of religious devotion. It is confessing a relation that keeps life historical, that assures that newness comes from outside us, that life is not at our disposal, that gifts can be given, that amazement and gratitude are possible.” In other words, memory can serve as an agent of transformation.

One instance of this kind of memory was our engagement with Dr. Albert Aghazarian. Once a history professor at Birzeit University, Dr. Aghazarian now lives in the Armenian Quarter of Jerusalem. He spoke with us on one of the first days our group was in Jerusalem. His topic, “A Socio-Cultural and Historic Introduction to Jerusalem,” moved from a sweep of some of the historic realities of Jerusalem to his
own perspective on the current situation and his own motivations for involvement with the political and social realities. At one point in his lecture, with great emotion and passion, he said, “Why am I involved in the problems that besiege this part of the world? When my children and grandchildren ask, ‘What did you do?’, I want to reply, ‘I did my best.’” Later in the conversation, he spoke of Zionism as a project that was intended to have ethics and justice at its heart. From his perspective, that hasn’t happened. In considering how we might assess what is ethical and just he said, “Don’t wonder about the fruit on the tree, wonder what happens in the soil.” This analogy precisely leads from the deep roots of history outward to its manifestation in the capacity to provide the rich humus of the future.

Aghazarian frames this memory in the context of Jerusalem itself. The city has many narratives that are built upon 17–22 archaeological layers. One of the challenges that drives the conflict in that setting is the question, “Who was here first?” Memory must not be romanticized. Memory may fuel conflict. The questions of who determines the meta-narrative and which narrative is privileged move to the heart of political and social unrest and at times violent conflict. Every culture has a narrative. Every narrative must wrestle with the question, “Where does the story start?” In recalling the narrative, in telling the story, memory awakens and the future is formed. But the narrative, memory, and future for that matter are not static realities. All of them are informed by the possibility that in retelling the story, in hearing it again, in drawing out of the well of deep memory, an impossible possibility of goodness might emerge. Aghazarian ended his presentation with this reminder: beginning with the impossible may bring a surprise to the center of the situation. And surprise has the potential to heal the memory and allow it to transform us in untold ways.

In some instances, memory transforms a person’s perspective by enlarging it and seeing one’s place more clearly. In other cases, remembering calls forth a personal efficacy of power and anger that fuel strength to call the injustice into question and to move into action. I observed this in a very startling and inspiring interview with students at one university and one young man in particular.

One of the students revealed that his grandfather, who is a Christian, was married for many years to his Christian grandmother. At some point, his grandfather had a relationship with a Muslim woman, who became pregnant, so he married her as well. As we probed relationships between Christians and Muslims at Bethlehem University,
the student became very agitated. He made very forceful proclama-
tions that he thought religion was the block to peace in the Middle
East. Though he grew up Christian, he had rejected it and thought
of himself as a humanist. To quote him, “Differences between people
makes conflict. And these become blocks between other people and
that is a problem. Don’t make those blocks between them and me. I am
against differences.” As the conversation progressed, I asked him if
his family experience had influenced his thinking on religion. He said,
“Yes…I am against all religion because of this experience of conflict in
my own family. My Christian and Muslim uncles don’t speak to each
other. My Muslim cousin has a Muslim first name and a Christian last
name (because he had his Christian grandfather’s last name). When
he goes to school his teachers and friends ask his whole name, they
ask him his whole name over and over again, and they make fun of
him. He gets made fun of because of that. Then he has to explain and
is forced to lie to say that his grandfather converted to Islam. Religion
protects lies. He has to explain his name and hide the mixed religious
marriage of his grandfather…He feels shame. This is humiliating.” He
went on, “People are ignorant. Just imagine that Palestine is not a place
of three holy religions. Would it be peaceful? Some say yes, some say
no…just imagine that Palestine is a place with no holy (monotheistic)
religions. It would be peaceful.”

Memory here functions on two levels. There is the remembering
of the incident with this young man’s cousin. Remembering the pain
of that moment when he was humiliated, when he was put to shame,
was a remembering with heartache at its essence. But the remembering
is exacerbated by the source of the shame, which is remembering the
family’s deep distress and having the social, political, and educational
systems militate against peace within the family and also peace within
this young cousin, who carries the pain in his very identity, his very
name. The student’s description of the complex and troubled engage-
ment between Christians and Muslims results in a remembering that
prompts one to lie, to hide, to duck from the social blows. For that
student there was a critical edge, a clear sense that something must
change, something needs to be done.

The third instance of powerful memory came in an interview with
an Israeli woman working with a peace group in Jerusalem. The power
of remembering was associated with her family and was an amazing
illustration of Walter Brueggemann’s statement: “Remembering is a
historical activity. To practice it is to affirm one’s historicity.” In our
conversation she spoke of herself as a secular Jew raised in a secular Israeli Jewish family. She noted that in contrast to herself, all three of her sisters had become religious in their adult life. She explained the reasons this way: “When my grandparents arrived in Palestine, most of those who came left families behind in Europe. Those who stayed in Europe were religious. They lived in shtetls, which were religiously practicing, close communities. Those who came to Palestine broke off, became Zionist, and therefore were secular. However, my grandmother decided to have her parents join her in Palestine. They came and lived close to my grandmother, which meant my father grew up, had old-fashioned religiously observant grandparents. My father was made to learn Talmud… I think he was attached to religiosity, though we were raised secular.”

One of her sisters went into the army and was a tour guide. She was unhappy with her lifestyle. She met a man when she went to Yeshiva and she became orthodox. But she is not the conservative orthodox, the Hasidim, but is one of the “opposers.” She has eight children. Another sister went to school in Japan and met an Israeli man who had gone to Japan to study the martial arts. She fell in love but she wondered whether she should marry him because he discovered spirituality in Japan and embraced Judaism because that is what he had grown up with. Her sister married him. She wasn’t religious before, but she became religious.

In explaining her reasons for becoming religious, one of her sisters said she felt like she had a black hole inside of her and, in her search to fill it, she found religion. My interviewee responded to this comment, “I didn’t feel that and felt no need to fill it up.” She went on to reflect:

But I can generalize something. Zionism really didn’t fulfill the expectation… my parents tried to find an answer in Zionism. For a while it offered what they hoped for and I think that by the first generation it was less fulfilling and the dark sides were surfaced… having to expel the people who lived there in order to have the land. And if there is war you can be very nasty… So by the time you get to my generation, we don’t have an aim and a target and a blueprint to live according to. Lots of people go to the army and have a very bad experience, especially the men, who are sent to the West Bank to police the civilian population and that is not a nice thing to do… not a moral thing to do. And so you become immoral, and how do you live with yourself when you are immoral? They travel abroad, they get 40,000 people a year to go to
India, for example, and they do drugs…you get the feeling they don’t know where they are heading. Religious life is an alternative and religious communities are anxious to get people in and it becomes attractive. I see this in Islam as well. People in Lebanon were secular Muslims. But the political piece gives way to religious because it is a search for meaning in a secular world.”  

Memory takes one on a pilgrim pathway, rooted in the past but calling on the power of the past to engage, challenge, oppose, and guide one into clarity and claiming identity, gaining perspective on the choices one makes. Memory is powerful, particularly at border places between past and future, between disappointment and possibility. And this leads squarely to prospects for hope and promise.

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The pilgrim’s journey through the abrupt reality of impasse, the look over the shoulder with longing or the connection with memory, may find surprise, even delight, in a capacity to see the journey through the eyes of hope, even a “dark hope,” as David Shulman describes it. Over the course of our time in Israel and the Palestinian Occupied Territories, I found myself plunged into deep despair, as so many of the people we spoke with exhibited a dramatic sense of hopelessness for their lives and the future relationships between Israelis and Palestinians. After a while I found myself asking questions like “How do people endure this kind of pain? What sustains hope in the midst of what appears to be no future—a very bleak, dark situation, especially for Palestinian people? Where is the promise in the ‘promised land’?”

Two particular instances left me marveling at hope and promise in the face of despair. The first was a visit I had arranged to some colleges that were on the outskirts of Jerusalem. In order to get to the colleges, we navigated a huge back up at a checkpoint. When I inquired about how long it was taking, my host informed me that if the roads were open and there were no walls or checkpoints, it would take ten minutes, but with walls and checkpoints it would take an hour to get to the school. We finally arrived at the driveway of the college. Instead of the ivy covered walls and carefully manicured lawns that are so typical of U.S. private colleges, we drove though a broken fence that was barely hanging on its hinges, barbed wire on top of the walls, and at the edge of the administration building was a 20-foot wall that had been built
recently by the Israeli government. On top of the wall was a watch-tower with an armed soldier surveying the courtyard.

We met with the president of this college, a wonderful man, who told of how challenging it is to educate students who have to navigate checkpoints to get to school and arrive at the college hassled and harried. When they finally get through the gates of the college and try to simply connect with each other, the armed soldiers in the tower right above their heads are watching them. “You never escape the reality,” he said. And almost before I realized it, I asked the question that had been so on my mind, a question that came out of my own despair, probing the depth of my own questions of human existence: “What gives them hope? How do the students keep hopeful?” The response from my host and the president broke through my despair with wisdom: “This is what education is about, to help them see what they can’t see in their daily lives…to give them a vision of a world that can be if they refuse to give up, if they refuse to give in to violence, if they absolutely trust that God is with them even in these times. Yes, that is why, even if it seems crazy, that we keep our doors open and keep doing what we are doing.”

A second signal of hope I encountered was the Kids4Peace (K4P) program of St. George’s College in Jerusalem. This interfaith education-for-peace program was founded in 2001 as a response to the outbreak and escalation of terrible violence. Much of this was the victimization of unarmed Palestinian and Israeli people, including children. The K4P program involves equal numbers of Israeli Jews, Palestinian Muslims, and Christian children, and their families. It is a nonpolitical program. It doesn’t promote a political ideology or “recipe for peace.” The children meet over the course of the school year to prepare them for a journey to one of up to thirty host summer camps in the U.S., Canada, European countries, and Australia. Realizing that all children are damaged by the conflict, the program provides a place where they won’t have to remain enemies with one another in systems that de facto are designed to keep kids apart in every aspect of their lives, except in conflict situations. Though Dr. Carse acknowledged that politics underlie every moment of the life of every family and child involved, this program provides relief from all these issues with hopes that people will find other ways to conceive of each other. “I felt as an educator that St. George’s should be a meeting place for Israeli and Palestinian young people, whose identity is grounded in two commonly held values: peoplehood and land.”16
Dr. Carse’s assessment is that the efforts toward peace in the Middle East don’t take into account religious assumptions about what it means to be a people, with historic identity, or that land is not defined by borders or boundaries but by “deep rootedness.” “[Land] is about belonging to a particular place and not about borders…not so much about state-like sovereignty…and belonging is about peoplehood…rooted in a sacred text, a sacred tradition, a sacred place and in a land…If given a chance to encounter each other outside of politics, identity, and nationalism, Jews and Arabs find a common language in peoplehood and land.”

“Kids4Peace brings us back to Genesis, the Garden of Eden potential,” Carse said. “Yes, we know conflict exists but we can provide a safe place for encounter that is not nationalist or triumphalist. We are developing a theology of interfaith dialogue for these very young children which I believe is something quite new…our particular contribution is focused on the faith aspect of life. And that is sidelined in other programs. And I understand why. If people don’t have the right tools or strong confidence in their faith traditions and a totally open mind, then they don’t have right tools.”

The heroes in the program are at the grassroots level, the parents and teachers who engage the children on a regular basis and travel with them to camps and speak to them about their faith traditions in their native languages. For example, one father of a child in the program was driving a bus when a suicide bomber blew himself up on it. The father was very badly wounded and is still in the process of recuperation and healing. One of the first things he did when he got out of the hospital was to try to contact the parents of the dead suicide bomber. He wanted to find out what it was like for them to lose the child and also know what motivated their child to do this act. When he went to the police for help in locating the family, they told him that it was impossible to do this and they could not allow it. The driver/father is Jewish. Carse said, “So here is a practicing Israeli Jew, who was faced with this dilemma that he had personally suffered and he refused to transfer his upset into anger or hatred. Outside of those two options there was no way to deal with this experience. He joined K4P because he decided he wanted his daughter to meet children and families from the side of the enemy. He never had that opportunity. As an adult, for his own sanity, for his own spiritual growth, he had to reach across the lines. Society doesn’t provide him the chance to reach across the lines. He wants his child to have the chance to do this.”
Henry Carse reminded me of something Albert Einstein once said: “You can’t solve a problem with the same mind that conceived it.” Carse reflected on this, “Minds scarred with victimhood, nationalizations, ‘my suffering is bigger than your suffering’ modes are trapped in these paradigms and everything in their societies reinforces victimizations, fear, prejudice. To counter it from ground up takes a lot of courage. I am filled with admiration for these children, for their families, for the advisory staff that works with them. They are creating a new reality. It is an amazing thing to see.”

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Many times during this pilgrimage I thought of Christian theologian Jurgen Moltmann’s reflections on the role of promise in a “theology of hope.”

Man’s hopes and longings and desires, once awakened by specific promises, stretch further than any fulfillment that can be conceived or experienced. However limited the promises may be, once we have caught in them a whiff of the future, we remain restless and urgent, seeking and searching beyond all experiences of fulfillment, and the latter leave us an aftertaste of sadness. The ‘not yet’ of expectation surpasses every fulfillment that is already taking place now.17

As a person of faith, I am convinced that the only hope—though it is a complicated hope, a dark hope—is hope that is hitched to a radical faith that won’t shrink back from the problems of the world or from the challenges of our lives, but deeply trusts that even when we are faced with what seems to be a hopeless situation, we are met by the living God.

Following the seminar, I returned home with my heart broken by the conflict but also with a strong dedication that my pilgrim gaze is settled on seeking to understand more fully the complexities and embrace a vocation to alleviate the suffering of the people on all sides of the Middle East conflict. I experienced personally what Dr. Henry Carse described at the end of our conversation: “a marriage between the pilgrimage ethos which has to do with leaving your home community and going to seek the sacred in a holy place and the ethical edge of pilgrimage which has to do with returning home and vowing not to rest until you have done something to bring justice and peace
and some measure of joy and respite from conflict to the people of this
land.”

Notes
1. Walter Brueggemann, The Land: Place as Gift, Promise and Challenge in Biblical Faith
2. Elias Chacour, We Belong to the Land (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame
4. Ibid., p. 4.
5. Ibid., p. 50.
6. Ibid., p. 54.
7. David Shulman, Dark Hope: Working for Peace in Israel and Palestine (Chicago: Univer-
10. Naim Stifan Ateek, Justice and Only Justice: A Palestinian Theology of Liberation
114.
13. Ibid., p. 50.