

A large crowd of people, many wearing headscarves, with some making peace signs. The image is overlaid with a semi-transparent white box containing the title and a smaller white box containing the subtitle.

A JUST VISION FILM

NAILA AND THE UPRISING

DISCUSSION GUIDE

WWW.JUSTVISION.ORG

DEAR FRIENDS,

We are delighted that you're interested in organizing a screening of *Naila and the Uprising*. This feature-length documentary chronicles the remarkable journey of Naila Ayesha and a courageous community of women organizers whose stories weave through the most vibrant, nonviolent mobilization in Palestinian history – the First Intifada in the late 1980s.

Using evocative animation, intimate interviews and exclusive archival footage, *Naila and the Uprising* brings out of anonymity the courageous women activists who have remained on the margins of history – until now. While most images of the First Intifada paint an incomplete picture of stone-throwing young men front and center, this film tells the story that history overlooked – of an unbending, unarmed women's movement at the head of Palestine's struggle for freedom.

While the First Intifada provides the backdrop for *Naila and the Uprising*, its lessons transcend that particular time and place. Through the experience of countless women engaged at all levels of society, we learn what is possible when women take the lead in struggles for rights and justice – from a movement's inception to peace talks – and what we lose when they are stripped of their roles. In *Naila and the Uprising*, we see how women-led nonviolent resistance can stir the masses, generate creative strategic thinking, put pressure on power holders and drive social and political change.

Naila and the Uprising was created by Just Vision, a team of filmmakers, storytellers, journalists and human rights advocates that highlight the power and reach of Palestinians and Israelis working to end the occupation and build a future of freedom, dignity and equality for all. Our previous films include *Encounter Point*, *Budrus* and *My Neighbourhood*. We also co-founded and co-publish the Hebrew-language news platform, *Sikha Mekomit* (*Local Call*, in English), together with 972 Advancement of Citizen Journalism.

This discussion guide is designed to help you host your own screening of the film and lead a conversation that will allow your audience to learn more about women's leadership, unarmed civil resistance and grassroots organizing in the Israeli-Palestinian context. Because this guide is intended for audiences from diverse backgrounds belonging to different age groups, not all questions will be suitable for every audience. We have provided a list of discussion questions that may be useful starting points for key topic areas. Of course, it is up to you to select which questions are best suited to the group and to the particular conversation you are leading.

The questions offered in this guide are grouped thematically and designed to encourage a constructive discussion on a variety of issues raised in the film. You will also find more information about the protagonists, a guide to facilitation and support materials including further reading, frequently asked questions and answers (FAQs) and a glossary. We encourage you to use this guide alongside the resources on Just Vision's website, which includes maps, historical background and a comprehensive glossary of terms related to the Israeli-Palestinian context.

Best of luck with your screening,
The Just Vision Team

“
Through the experience of countless women engaged at all levels of society, we learn what is possible when women take the lead in struggles for rights and justice.
”

Order the *Naila and the Uprising* DVD through our website at www.justvision.org/store.

We invite you to follow us on Facebook and Twitter and check out our website to stay up-to-date with our latest resources: www.justvision.org/resources.

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FILMMAKERS' STATEMENT



From the First Intifada to the present moment, it's clear: women's leadership in civil society organizing is vital.



For over a decade, whenever we've asked Palestinian grassroots leaders about the models of inspiration that they draw on, they've consistently pointed to the First Intifada. We knew after years of filmmaking in the region that, despite the First Intifada's immense status among Palestinians, it remained misunderstood internationally, shaped by a dominant narrative steeped in a law-and-order frame that largely overlooked the daily grassroots organizing at the core of the uprising. When the Just Vision team decided to conduct our own in-depth research, we came to grasp just how much of the story had been obscured. **The First Intifada was not only a vibrant, strategic and sustained nonviolent civil resistance movement; for months, it was also led by a network of Palestinian women who were fighting a dual struggle for national liberation and gender equality.**

We knew we wanted to bring this story to light by producing a documentary that could provide insight and wisdom from the veteran women activists of the First Intifada to today's rising leaders. We felt it was crucial to provide a more holistic account of that time, illuminating how Palestinians have historically engaged in unarmed resistance efforts, underscoring the power of civil society in creating change and elevating the role of women in movement building.

The lessons of *Naila and the Uprising* are as relevant today as they were in 1987. Women across the globe are continuing their struggle for basic freedoms and dignity. From the First Intifada to the present moment, it's clear: women's leadership in civil society organizing is vital. But too often, their work is sidelined or ignored. That's a troubling trend, particularly as a number of academic studies have demonstrated that movements that support women's leadership positions are more likely to employ nonviolent tactics.¹ And those that employ unarmed civil resistance are much more likely to achieve their goals.² This research resonates strongly with what Just Vision has observed in Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories for over

15 years, including in the successful struggle against the separation wall waged by Budrus – a village in the West Bank and the subject of our 2009 film – in which women and girls played a central role.

Our research on the First Intifada made it clear that the women in Budrus were drawing from a deep legacy. **Women have consistently been a part of influential social movements coming out of the Middle East, but time and again, the cameras focus on armed men, leaving us with a narrative that not only erases women, but also misrepresents the struggles themselves, as well as the demands behind those struggles.** *Naila and the Uprising* calls attention to those movements, in real time and historically, so that the courage and creativity of women can be amplified and leveraged. The film is also a cautionary tale for what happens when women and grassroots organizers are stripped of leadership roles and excluded from ongoing struggles.

When the team at Just Vision first embarked on *Naila and the Uprising*, we knew that surfacing this history was important. But we didn't fully anticipate exactly how timely the film would be. The women in *Naila and the Uprising* are not only role models for the rising generation of Palestinians and Israelis struggling for justice, freedom, dignity and equality. They also illuminate lessons and legacies for communities around the globe who are demanding more of their political leaders as they organize for the rights and well-being of all.

We were privileged to connect with dozens of women while making this film. They demonstrated incredible courage and resilience – in their ongoing resistance and as they step forward to tell their stories. It is our hope that their experiences will inspire and inform audiences worldwide just as they have moved and educated us.

¹Victor Asal, Richard Legault, Ora Szekely and Jonathan Wilkenfeld, "Gender ideologies and forms of contentious mobilization in the Middle East," *Journal of Peace Research*, 2013, 50: 305-318.

²Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan, *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolence Conflict*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), Chapter 8.

WHO'S WHO

BRIEF BIOS OF THE FILM'S PROTAGONISTS



NAILA AYESH



ZAHIRA KAMAL



AZZA AL-KAFARNEH



NAIMA AL-SHEIKH



SAMA AWEIDAH



RONI BEN EFRAT



JAMAL ZAKOUT



MAJD ZAKOUT



OREN COHEN

Naila Ayesah was an activist and student organizer in the years leading up to the First Intifada and became a leading figure in the uprising. She later became General Director of the Gaza-based Women's Affairs Center, a non-profit devoted to advancing women's leadership and participation in political and public life.

Zahira Kamal has been at the vanguard of the women's movement and national liberation movement in Palestine since the 1970s. Today, she serves as the General Secretary of the Palestinian Democratic Union Party – FIDA, the only female leader of a major political party in Palestine.

Azza al-Kafarneh was one of the founders of the Union of Palestinian Women's Committees in Gaza during the First Intifada through the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and was involved in student activism at Birzeit University before the uprising. She traveled between the West Bank and Gaza during the Intifada to ensure that actions were coordinated across the Occupied Palestinian Territories. She continues her work in Gaza today.

Naima Al-Sheikh was a student activist with the Fatah-affiliated Young Students Movement at the Islamic University in Gaza and an active member of the Union of Women's Committees for Social Work when the First Intifada broke out. As an organizer, she became especially active in the women's struggle. After the creation of the Palestinian Authority, she became part of the General Union of Palestinian Women and continues to fight for gender equity in the Occupied Palestinian Territories today.

Sama Aweidah was an active organizer in Jerusalem during the First Intifada. She was the Secretary-General of the Executive Office of the Palestinian Federation of Women's Action Committees (FPWAC), one of the largest women-led initiatives operating during the First Intifada with more than 10,000 members. She has been the Director of the Women's Studies Society in Jerusalem since 1998.

Roni Ben Efrat was a journalist and activist during the First Intifada, reporting on human rights violations in the Occupied Palestinian Territories. She was one of the founding members of the Israeli human rights group, Women in Black, in 1987. She wrote for a Hebrew biweekly, *Derech-Hanitzatz*, which was shut down by the Israeli government during the uprising. Roni spent nine months in jail for her involvement with the publication.

Jamal Zakout, Naila's husband, was a member of the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising (UNLU). He was involved in drafting "Leaflet #2," the first leaflet that mentioned the UNLU. Jamal was deported from the Occupied Palestinian Territories by the Israeli authorities in 1988.

Majd Zakout, Naila's son, was an infant when he spent six months in prison with his mother during her detainment in 1988, the first year of the Intifada. He currently lives in Canada where he studies international law.

Oren Cohen was the Gaza correspondent for the Israeli newspaper, *Hadashot*, during the First Intifada. Oren broke the story of Naila's initial detention by the Israeli secret service in 1987, defying a gag order issued by Israeli authorities for Naila's case.



Rabeha Diab was the head of the Association of Women Committees for Social Work, a grassroots Fatah organization supporting women's leadership during the First Intifada. As a prominent leader in the women's movement, Rabeha was responsible for overseeing major decisions regarding the direction of the First Intifada. She later became the Minister of Women's Affairs for the Palestinian Authority. Sadly, Rabeha passed away shortly after we met her for initial interviews in the making of this film, though her role in the uprising cannot be understated. We are deeply grateful for the wisdom and insights that she shared during her interviews with us.

TIMELINE

*This timeline provides an overview of key events and developments relevant to the storyline in *Naila and the Uprising*. It is not a complete history of Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories. For reading materials that provide additional context, please see **Appendices B and C**, as well as the glossary at the end of this discussion guide.

1948

War of 1948. Leads to founding of the State of Israel in British Mandate Palestine. As a result, hundreds of thousands of Palestinians are displaced and made refugees, an episode referred to by Palestinians as *al-Nakba* (the catastrophe, in English). *Naila's parents are among the displaced.*

1967

War of 1967. Israel begins its decades-long military occupation of East Jerusalem, the West Bank and Gaza Strip, placing over one million Palestinians under its direct control.

1969

Israeli government demolishes Naila's father's home.

1980

Naila studies abroad in Bulgaria and meets her husband, Jamal.

December 1986

Naila and Jamal are married in Ramallah.

February 1987

Naila is detained for political activities and tortured in Israeli prison. She is released after one month.

December 9, 1987

First Intifada begins, sparked when an Israeli army vehicle collides with two cars in Gaza, killing four Palestinian civilians.

January 4, 1988

Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin introduces the Iron Fist policy, which includes deportations, home demolitions, curfews and suppression of political and cultural institutions. A less formal but widely implemented policy encourages soldiers to "break the bones" of protestors.

January 10, 1988

"Leaflet #2" is drafted and distributed, the first of dozens issued by the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising (UNLU).

January 1988

The UNLU becomes the chief organizing body of the Intifada in the Occupied Palestinian Territories.

February 20, 1988

Naila gives birth to her son, Majd.

March 8, 1988

Women's committees organize a women-led march for International Women's Day

July - August 1988

Jamal, along with seven other activists, is arrested and deported from the Occupied Palestinian Territories. He settles temporarily in Cairo, Egypt.

October 1988

Naila is detained for the second time and spends six months in prison with her infant son.

Starting in 1988

Female leaders step into key leadership positions in the UNLU.

December 30, 1989

More than 4,000 Palestinian, Israeli and international women march on Jerusalem demanding an end to the occupation.

October 1990

Naila and her son Majd join Jamal Zakout in Cairo.

September 1991

President Bush withholds US loan guarantees to Israel through 1992 to urge a peace agreement between Israelis and Palestinians.

October-November 1991

The Madrid Peace Conference convenes Israeli, Syrian and Lebanese delegations and a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, the first time that Israel enters into negotiations with the Palestinians.

April 1992

The Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) in Tunisia and Israeli officials begin secret back-channel negotiations that eventually lead to the Oslo Accords, sidestepping grassroots leaders who had been running the First Intifada and engaging in public negotiations with Israeli officials since Madrid.

September 13, 1993

Israel and the PLO sign the Oslo Accords.

1994

As part of the Oslo agreement, several PLO leaders return from exile, taking over leadership positions previously held by women activists. *Jamal, Naila and Majd are among the returnees.*



ACRONYMS

OF POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS REFERENCED IN THE FILM

*Please refer to the glossary at the end of this discussion guide for more on each entry.

PLO
Palestine Liberation Organization, the main umbrella organization for several secular Palestinian factions and recognized as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

FATAH
A Palestinian political faction and the largest member of the PLO. A reverse acronym for "Harakat al-Tahrir al-Watani al-Filistani" or "Palestinian National Liberation Movement."

PFLP
Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. A member organization of the PLO.

DFLP
Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. A member organization of the PLO.

PCP
The Palestinian Communist Party which later became the PPP (Palestinian People's Party). A member organization of the PLO.

UNLU
Unified National Leadership of the Uprising. The clandestine and loosely organized grassroots leadership of the First Intifada, made up of four major political factions based in the Occupied Palestinian Territories: Fatah, the PFLP, DFLP and PCP.

HAMAS
A Palestinian political faction inspired by the Muslim Brotherhood. Founded in late 1987 after the start of the First Intifada. It operated independently from the UNLU. An acronym for "Harakat al-Muqawamah al-Islamiyya" or "Islamic Resistance Movement."

MAP

OF ISRAEL AND THE OCCUPIED PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES

**This map is meant to help audiences familiarize themselves with the region and does not include other layers of geopolitical complexity, such as shifts in political boundaries, land control or settlement growth and infrastructure.*



- Green Line
- Occupied Palestinian Territories
- Israel



BACKGROUND ON THE FIRST INTIFADA

IN December of 1987, the Palestinian population rose up in a spontaneous uprising that came to be known as the Intifada - literally, “the shaking off” in Arabic. The movement was a response to Israel’s military occupation of East Jerusalem, the West Bank and Gaza which began after the 1967 war, as well as decades of dispossession and displacement that preceded and followed the 1948 war. The mass mobilization was led by a loose coalition of organizing bodies called popular committees, established in the early 1980s. While the vast majority of the mainstream media at the time paid close attention to stone throwing youth facing off against Israeli soldiers, the reality behind the headlines was far more complex.

The uprising mobilized hundreds of thousands of Palestinians from every walk of life: laborers, teachers, police officers, students, nurses and farmers. They took to the streets using all the hallmarks of nonviolent civil resistance, including labor strikes, mass rallies, refusal to pay taxes and self-sufficiency efforts that included the boycott

of Israeli products. Palestinians employed unique forms of civil resistance as a response to Israel’s military occupation, including underground classrooms to educate students when the Israeli army imposed curfews or closed schools, “victory gardens” to grow local produce and build economic independence and citizen-run mobile clinics to treat the sick and injured. According to the Israeli Army Spokesperson’s Unit, less than 1% of all recorded incidents during the First Intifada involved arms.³ Nevertheless, armed incidents did occur, particularly toward the end of the uprising.

The First Intifada stood out in the history of Palestinian civil resistance for the high degree of national unity and collective purpose it held. The Palestinian national movement, like similar ones around the globe, was made up of several competing political factions and they didn’t always agree on tactics or a political program. But in 1987, the four major factions with membership in the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) – Fatah, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) and the Palestinian Communist Party (PCP) – united under one political program and set of strategies. Within months, they had formed the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising (UNLU), a clandestine guiding body. Their unity came in response to calls from underground popular committees associated with each faction which realized that the need for a shared political program – outlining the Palestinian right to self-determination, the right of return for Palestinian refugees, East Jerusalem as the future capital of a Palestinian state and an end to the occupation – outweighed their political differences.

Another remarkable feature of the Intifada was the means of communicating goals, strategies and tactics. Because the leadership was underground, they communicated via photocopied leaflets, distributed across the Occupied Palestinian Territories. These leaflets became a sort of constitution for the Palestinian people: they outlined the political aims of the uprising, made calls for unity among factions, declared strike days, specified which Israeli products to boycott and generally served to motivate the population

and build cultural pride, among other things. Faction leaders in Gaza got together weeks into the uprising and drafted a political program that became the basis for the first few leaflets and informed dozens of leaflets that followed, including the most prominent leaflets issued by the UNLU. Leaflets were written, printed and distributed secretly to shield the leadership from Israeli authorities. Individual factions, including those that were not part of the UNLU, also issued their own leaflets, though their influence was not as widespread.

The Intifada also saw the birth of Hamas, formed in late 1987 as an Islamist movement and political faction, in opposition to the more established secular nationalist and leftist factions. Hamas, which formed a loose coalition with Islamic Jihad, issued its own leaflets. While they quietly supported the UNLU’s tactics toward the beginning of the uprising, Hamas diverged in both message and means in later years.

Women’s leadership blossomed during the First Intifada, shaping the trajectory and outcome of the uprising. Within months of the uprising, dozens of male leaders had been imprisoned, killed or deported, creating a leadership vacuum that threatened to derail the movement. But a network of women activists - many who had been heading up civil society organizations like labor unions and community centers - stepped in to fill the void. Rabeha Diab, for example, served as the de-facto leader of Fatah, the largest Palestinian faction, for 18 months. Zahira Kamal was one of the most senior on-the-ground leaders of the DFLP. Several other women became instrumental leaders, guiding nonviolent tactics and strategies and working alongside their male colleagues to sustain and grow the uprising.

The Intifada drew the attention of the international community and put pressure on Israel to recognize the Palestinians as a people with the right to self-determination. Upon the urging of President George H.W. Bush and his Secretary of State, George Baker, Israel entered into negotiations with the Palestinians for the first time. When negotiations began in 1991 in Madrid, women made up a central core of the Palestinian delegation.

The women leaders of the Intifada carried the torch of a national struggle for self-determination and an end to the occupation while simultaneously demanding gender equality in their own society.

The legacy of these women is long and pervasive today. But their efforts were nearly erased when the leadership of the then exiled PLO and the State of Israel signed the Oslo Accords in 1993, marking the official end of the First Intifada. The internationally-mediated Oslo Accords stripped women and others at the grassroots of their influential roles and replaced them with men tied to the PLO as they returned from exile. This quick dismissal after years of service and leadership serves as a cautionary tale.

Today, a new generation of women leaders is carrying the torch, inspired by their forebearers and drawing from a long legacy of Palestinian-led and Israeli-supported nonviolent resistance. We encourage you to learn more about their ongoing efforts on the film’s resources page: www.justvision.org/nailaandtheuprising/resources.

³Wendy Pearlman, *Violence, Nonviolence, and the Palestinian National Movement*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011, 106.

GUIDE TO FACILITATION



Set a respectful tone

Remind the group that this is meant to be a conversation rather than a debate



Outline the discussion topics

Use your own judgment about which questions work with your audience and when to move on to another topic.



Review the topics ahead

Based on time constraints, highlight certain questions you feel are most relevant.

The facilitator or discussion leader should set a respectful tone to open the discussion. Remind the group that this is meant to be a conversation rather than a debate and ask that people use active listening rather than prepare mentally to make their own points. You may want to set basic ground rules (“**Suggested Ground Rules**” are located on the following page) or ask participants to suggest their own, such as keeping comments to less than two minutes to allow others time to speak.

You may want to pose the following questions to your audience before or after watching the film. These questions will not be answered or discussed, merely considered privately. This is also a useful technique for defusing a potentially charged conversation while acknowledging the strength and legitimacy of people’s reactions to the film.

It can be helpful to develop a clear outline of the questions you intend to ask your audience, along with the sequence in which you plan on asking them, prior to the discussion. You may want to briefly outline the discussion topics for your audience before opening the floor to comments, whether you work with the group as a whole, or break participants down into pairs or small groups. As the discussion leader, you should use your own judgment about which questions work with your audience and when to move on to another topic.

As the facilitator, you should review the discussion question topics ahead of the event and, based on time constraints, highlight certain questions you feel are most relevant. If your audience includes groups and individuals that may have divergent views on this issue, we encourage you to ask questions that ensure the participation of everyone while also allowing participants to engage authentically from their lived experience.



What are your beliefs about this conflict? What values, prior history or experiences contribute to your beliefs and perspective?



What would you want others to know about your beliefs about this conflict?



What are some of the things you question about your own beliefs on this issue?



What support would you need to explore your doubts about your own beliefs on this issue?

PRE-SCREENING PREPARATION



If you're in touch with your audience ahead of the screening, you may want to encourage them to familiarize themselves with the recent history and developments surrounding the Israeli-Palestinian context. Consider directing viewers to www.justvision.org/resources for online resources including maps, media outlets and information on organizations working in the field. For post-screening discussions that are meant to dive further into the history and developments of the First Intifada, it may be useful for your audience to do some advanced reading, including excerpts from the suggested reading list offered on [pages 34-37](#).

You may also ask participants to go over recent media coverage of the conflict. Ask them to explore a range of outlets including American, Israeli, Palestinian and international sources. You can find suggested outlets on our media page: www.justvision.org/resources/media. Ask them to consider the following while they are reading the news:

- ⦿ What stands out for them?
- ⦿ What seems to be emphasized?
- ⦿ What seems to be missing?

Naila and the Uprising can provoke strong emotional reactions from viewers. It is a good idea for discussion leaders to think about their own relationship to the Israeli-Palestinian context before leading a discussion. Consideration of the following questions may help organizers explore their own biases and prepare to facilitate an open discussion among participants:

- ⦿ What are my own beliefs about the Israeli-Palestinian context?
- ⦿ What are my assumptions about communities living in Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories?
- ⦿ Am I open to recognizing that my own experience and knowledge on this topic may be limited?
- ⦿ Am I open to new information, narratives and experiences on this topic?

Before starting the film, consider having participants discuss their connection to the issues raised in *Naila and the Uprising* and to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict more broadly:

- ⦿ What brought them to this screening?
- ⦿ What makes this topic important to them?
- ⦿ What are the sources of their interest in or connection to the conflict?

You may want to let participants know that *Naila and the Uprising* has challenged a variety of audiences in different ways. Most audience members, regardless of their background, are surprised by some aspect of the film. It is worth urging participants to consider how communities other than their own might react to *Naila and the Uprising*.

To learn more about the wide range of audience reactions we have encountered, please refer to the **FAQ** located in **Appendix D** on [pages 38-49](#).

SUGGESTED GROUND RULES

Establishing the following ground rules with your audience prior to the discussion may help create a safe and supportive environment for your discussion.

ACTIVE LISTENING.

Pay attention, listen carefully and try to understand what the speaker's message is.

USE "I" STATEMENTS.

Draw from your own experiences, values and perspectives, and speak on behalf of yourself rather than in the form of "we." Refrain from using "you" statements, which can cause others to be on the defensive.

BE RESPECTFUL.

Assume everyone in the group is doing their best to express their opinions, given their prior knowledge and experiences. Engage with ideas and opinions, but do not make personal attacks.

BE HONEST.

Start by being honest with yourself and the group about your experiences, beliefs and values and where they come from. This honesty often helps create a space where others feel comfortable sharing their experiences.

TAKE SPACE, MAKE SPACE.

Remember to balance active participation ("taking space") in the discussion with active listening to others ("making space"). When speaking and listening, ask yourself how you are contributing to the conversation and whether you are supporting the participation of others.

MAKE THOUGHTFUL INTERVENTIONS.

Positive contributions to a discussion do not always take the form of agreement; it is okay to intervene with an opposing view or encourage people to think about issues in a new way. Be sure to present your intervention with respect for difference of opinion and experience.

FIND UNDERSTANDING.

The goal is not necessarily to agree, but to learn from and understand new perspectives and others' experiences. Consider how those perspectives and experiences interact with your own.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

The discussion questions in this section are intended for use among a wide range of audiences and within various facilitation formats. Some facilitators may choose to incorporate the issues raised in Naila and the Uprising over the course of an entire semester, some may allow the film to serve as the focal point of a day-long workshop and still others may hold a local community screening and hour-long discussion afterward. Because the film reaches a diverse range of audiences, you should feel free to choose the most appropriate questions for your audience. We have compiled a list of abridged discussion questions in Appendix E at the end of this guide.

Discussion Questions by Theme: General Reactions • Media and Storytelling • Women's Leadership • Unity Across Palestinian Society • Nonviolent Resistance in Action • Israeli Civil Society Participation During the First Intifada • Israeli Government and Military Actions • International Response and Negotiations • Why Does this Matter Today? • Personal Reflections • Take Action



- 🎯 Based on what you knew about the Israeli-Palestinian context before the film, what did you learn?
- 🎯 How did you feel watching the film? Do you connect your reactions to any personal experience or belief related to the Israeli-Palestinian context?
- 🎯 What scenes were particularly moving or interesting to you? Why?
- 🎯 How did you feel after the film? Did you find the film hopeful or discouraging? Why?
- 🎯 Did the film raise any new questions for you about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict? What do you wish you knew more about?
- 🎯 What, if anything, surprised you about the story?

GENERAL REACTIONS



MEDIA AND STORYTELLING

- 🎯 How does this story fit into your broader understanding of the Israeli-Palestinian context? Why do you think the filmmakers decided to focus on this particular story?
- 🎯 The film captures a number of different visuals of nonviolent resistance tactics, including scenes of women's cooperatives, underground schools, pop-up clinics, sit-ins, boycotts and marches. How does this imagery compare with the kinds of images you've seen in mainstream reporting on the Israeli-Palestinian context?
- 🎯 *Naila and the Uprising* focuses on the story of one woman's experiences rather than a comprehensive history of the First Intifada. Do you think this approach was effective?
- 🎯 *Naila and the Uprising* uses several types of media, including animation, archival footage and documentary interviews. How did the format of the film affect your overall understanding of and reaction to the story? Do you have any ideas about why the filmmakers chose to use various media formats?
- 🎯 Did the film affect how you view the current context in Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories? How?
- 🎯 We learn in the film that Naila's son, Majd, did not know the depth of his mother's involvement in the First Intifada until the making of the documentary. Why do you think she didn't share this story with him? What impact do you think the sharing of this story has on her? On him? On others?



What images do you typically see of women in the Israeli-Palestinian context? In the Arab world? Had you previously heard stories of women's leadership in the Israeli-Palestinian context? What is the significance of looking at this history through the lens of women at the frontlines?



We see Palestinian women stepping into leadership positions in the Intifada as men are jailed, deported and killed. What challenges did the women face in these positions? How did they address these challenges?



At one point in the film, Naima Al-Shaikh says: "Publicly the women's committees were known for their social work. But in reality, and covertly, it was all political organizing." What does she mean by this statement and what, if anything, does it reveal about the role of women's leadership during the First Intifada?



Through Naila's story, we get a glimpse into the impact that her activism has on her personal life. What choices is she forced to make? What choices might you make if you were in her position?



In the film, Zahira Kamal speaks about engaging multiple spheres: "Direct confrontation with the occupation [involves] engagement on the world stage and engagement with the Israeli stage." In reference to the women's march in Jerusalem, journalist and organizer, Roni Ben Efrat, says: "We wanted to raise a call among [Israeli] women. From one woman to another, how can you stand idly by when something like this is happening?" What do you think was the goal of the march? Was it effective? Why or why not?



As the Oslo Peace Process began, many women were stripped of the roles they had gained during the uprising. Can you think of other social movements across the world in which women played a prominent role but were dismissed or ignored, either in real time or by history?



Women were involved at all levels of the uprising, from political decision-making to running medical clinics, underground schools and agricultural collectives. What impact do you think women had on the movement overall?



Women have long participated in movements for social change but we often do not learn about their work. Why do you think their stories are forgotten or sidelined? Do you see this showing up in contemporary movements?

WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP



UNITY ACROSS PALESTINIAN SOCIETY



As Naila's son, Majd, explains in the film: "There was involvement from all segments of society: young people, families, unions, universities, the politicians and non-politicians, all people." What was it about the First Intifada that enabled broad participation across Palestinian communities?



The film portrays Palestinian factions coming together to form a unified political program for the First Intifada. How important do you think this unity across political factions was to the strength of the movement? Why?



One activist in the film says that the leaflets were considered "sacred" and that Palestinians complied with them widely. Why do you think they held such a status?



Based on what you saw in the film, do you believe that unity is a necessary component of a successful movement? Why or why not?



How did different members of Palestinian society contribute to community organizing during the First Intifada? Did diversity in roles allow for greater inclusion and participation? Why or why not?



What is the significance of broad participation in a movement as seen in *Naila and the Uprising*? Why do you think inclusion and participation are important in movement-building?

- ① What are some of the conditions that Palestinians were responding to through their organizing during the First Intifada? What challenges did organizers face and how did they overcome them?
- ① There were dozens of grassroots committees in place prior to the First Intifada, including labor unions, student organizations and cultural clubs. What role did they play when the uprising broke out?
- ① What are some of the community organizing tactics that Palestinians used during the First Intifada? What were the aims of each of these tactics? What impact do you think they had on the larger movement?
- ① Consider the types of activities shown in the film – boycotts, marches, underground schools, gardening and other coordinated actions. How do these tactics reflect the conditions facing Palestinian communities? If you were in the Occupied Palestinian Territories at the time, what activities might you have participated in?
- ① What effect did the creation of parallel institutions (e.g. underground schools and mobile clinics) and the provision of basic services have on Palestinian communities during the Intifada? Did these institutions and services impact participation in and the momentum of the Intifada?
- ① Based on what you learned in the film, what were some of the goals of the First Intifada? Were Palestinian communities successful in achieving any of these goals?
- ① How do the activities during the First Intifada relate to other civil resistance movements that you are aware of?
- ① Do you know of any strategies or tactics used by Palestinians during the First Intifada that are still in use by Palestinians today? Why have some of the strategies and tactics remained the same? Why have some changed?

NONVIOLENT RESISTANCE IN ACTION



PHOTO CREDIT: ACTIVESTILLS

ISRAELI CIVIL SOCIETY PARTICIPATION DURING THE FIRST INTIFADA

- ① Based on the film, were the Palestinians interested in communicating with Israeli society? How do you know? What do you think they wanted to communicate?
- ① What roles did you see Israeli civil society playing in the film? From journalists to activists, what was the significance of these roles?
- ① In the film, journalist Oren Cohen plays a pivotal role in exposing the story of Naila's arrest. What was at stake for him in covering this story?
- ① During Naila's arrest, her husband seeks help from Roni Ben Efrat, an Israeli journalist and activist. Why do you think he chooses to go to Roni?
- ① What were the outcomes of Roni's and Oren's actions and interventions into Naila's arrest? What would you have done if you were in their place?
- ① During the march, Naila appeals to Israeli women for support. Why do you think she makes this appeal? What message do you think she hopes to convey? Did her message resonate with you? Why or why not?

- ◎ How did the Israeli military respond to the uprising? Were their actions surprising?
- ◎ Naila's father's home was demolished when she was a child, sparking her activism from a young age. How do you think a similar event in your life might affect you?
- ◎ Naila, along with several other characters in the film, spend time in prison. In one news clip we learn that anything from attending a meeting of more than ten people to being a member of a political faction, could be a jailable offense. How might this have affected Palestinian families and society?
- ◎ Naila's husband Jamal, along with dozens of other men, was deported from the Occupied Palestinian Territories. What do you think the purpose of these deportations was? What impact did they have on Palestinians and the uprising as a whole?
- ◎ In the words of Yitzhak Rabin, the Defense Minister at the time, Israel was, "determined to impose order, even if the steps are painful," a reference to his "broken-bones policy" used to quash the uprising through violent means. How does this policy show up in the film? How did Palestinians respond?
- ◎ Israel's Prime Minister, Yitzhak Shamir, initially refused to enter negotiations with the Palestinians, despite US pressure. Why do you think he changed course and eventually sent an Israeli delegation to the negotiating table?

ISRAELI GOVERNMENT AND MILITARY ACTIONS



PHOTO CREDIT: ACTIVESTILLS



INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE AND NEGOTIATIONS

- ◎ Based on the events shown in the film, were the Palestinians interested in communicating with the international community? How do you know? What do you think they wanted to communicate?
- ◎ The Madrid peace conference was a breakthrough in negotiations between Palestinians and Israelis. What role did the United States and other countries play getting the parties to the negotiating table?
- ◎ We learn in the film that President H.W. Bush withheld loan guarantees to Israel for the first time in the history of US-Israel relations. What was the significance of this move? Why do you think we haven't seen similar political actions since?
- ◎ Do you believe that the nonviolent popular resistance of the First Intifada put pressure on Israel and the international community to get to the negotiating table? Why or why not?
- ◎ How are the Oslo Accords portrayed in the film? Does this portrayal differ or introduce anything new to your previous understanding?
- ◎ Eventually, Israel and the PLO negotiated through secret channels in Oslo, without the input of those who had led the uprising or taken part in earlier negotiations in Madrid. What impact may this have had on the outcome of those negotiations?
- ◎ Do you think that international opinion toward the Israeli-Palestinian context changed as a result of the First Intifada?

- What value is there in telling the story of a movement that happened 30 years ago? Does this feel relevant today? What can we learn from re-visiting a historical narrative like this one?
- The reality on the ground has shifted significantly since the Oslo Accords with Palestinians experiencing more deeply entrenched structural inequalities as well as increased repression, isolation and separation. How might this affect the strategies and tactics of resistance they employ today?
- Around the time of the release of the film, thousands of Palestinians gathered in Jerusalem to safeguard their right to pray at the Al-Aqsa mosque, and later, weekly protests during the Great Return March mobilized wide segments of Gaza's population. Do you see parallels in today's organizing – in Gaza, Jerusalem and beyond – and the organizing you saw in the film?
- At the beginning of the film, Naila's son Majd explains that his mother's role in the First Intifada has remained a "puzzle" for him. Why might his parents – and other protagonists in the film – have been reluctant to share their stories from the First Intifada? What are the possible risks – or benefits – of doing so.
- The types of organizing that we see in the film are representative of nonviolent tactics and strategies that have been employed in social movements around the globe, from the civil rights movement in the US to the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa. Why do you think the First Intifada has not been recognized alongside these iconic nonviolent civil resistance movements?
- Israeli civil society has, in recent years, faced an increasingly shrinking space to voice dissent, including government attacks on human rights organizations, activists and journalists. What do you know of Israeli organizing for civil and human rights today? How might the strategies and tactics have changed since the First Intifada?

WHY DOES THIS MATTER TODAY?



PHOTO CREDIT: ACTIVESTILLS



PHOTO CREDIT: MAIKE SCHULZ

PERSONAL REFLECTIONS

- If you could summarize the film in a sentence to a friend, what would you say?
- If you could show this film to one person, who would it be? Why?
- What can *Naila and the Uprising* contribute to the broader conversation on the Israeli-Palestinian context?
- Is there anything you would have added to the film? Anything you would have left out?

TAKE ACTION

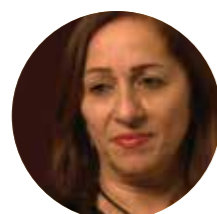
- Now that you've watched *Naila and the Uprising*, what are you curious to learn more about? What steps might you take to get further information?
- Did *Naila and the Uprising* move you to take any action? Is there anything you plan to start doing differently? Anything you plan to stop doing?
- What organizations or groups do you know working on this issue today and do any of them inspire you to action? Why or why not?

QUOTES FOR DISCUSSION



“The women’s organizations and unions worked in lieu of a full government that organized people’s lives. All of it. We were on the road to freedom.”

Activist *Azza al-Kafarneh*



“We can’t be free as women unless we’re in a free country. And even if we are free of the occupation, we can’t know freedom as long as we are subjugated in our own society.”

“Palestinian women were in the streets in large numbers. That was unprecedented.”

Activist *Sama Aweidah*



“There was something special about the First Intifada. There was involvement from all segments of society: young people, families, unions, universities, the politicians and non-politicians, all people.”

Naila’s son, *Majd Zakout*



“Publicly the women’s committees were known for their social work. But in reality and covertly it was all political organizing. Nurseries, sewing workshops, teaching women how to knit, cook, etc. All that was window dressing.”

“Women represent 50% and occasionally more in society. So if 50% of the population isn’t participating in the decisions, that means it’s a society that is half-paralyzed...half-paralyzed!”

Activist *Naima Al-Sheikh Ali*



“We were proud that the Palestinian delegation (in Madrid) included women, and this made us stand out.”

Activist *Zahira Kamal*



“In those days, any political organizing was punished. Merely being a member of a student union was considered a crime.”

“There is only one solution, and that is to end the occupation. The occupation won’t end if we are submissive and stay at home.”

Activist *Naila Ayesh*



“Our relationship inside the prison was really strong, like sisters. If we didn’t build those ties, we’d lose our humanity. Our strength was our unity.”

Activist *Terry Boullata*



“When they signed the [Oslo] agreement, no one knew when Israel was going to withdraw from the territories, or when there would be Palestinian independence. No parameter in the agreement was defined, and that was a disaster.”

“Inside Israeli society there were many people in solidarity with the Intifada. We had an absolute convergence of interests with the people in the territories who wanted to live in freedom.”

Journalist and activist *Roni Ben Efrat*

SUPPORT MATERIALS

This guide was made possible thanks to the generous input and expertise of a range of professors and educators including Fida Adely, Marie Berry, Benjamin Naimark-Rowse and Jennifer Olmsted. We are grateful for their time and attention. We also value your feedback and would love to hear any questions, suggestions or stories from the field as you use this resource. You can reach us at: info@justvision.org. We look forward to hearing from you.

ABOUT JUST VISION









Just Vision highlights the power and reach of Palestinians and Israelis working to end the occupation and build a future of freedom, dignity and equality for all. Our overarching goal is to contribute to fostering peace and an end to the occupation by rendering Palestinian and Israeli grassroots leaders more visible, valued and influential in their efforts.

We drive attention to compelling local role models in unarmed movement-building and demonstrate to journalists, community leaders, public intellectuals and students – in the US, Israel, Palestine and beyond – what is possible when leaders at the grassroots choose to act. We tell their under-documented stories through award-winning films, digital media and targeted public education campaigns that undermine stereotypes, inspire commitment and galvanize action.

We are a team of human rights advocates, journalists and filmmakers that has a reputation for leadership, credibility and excellence. Based in East Jerusalem, New York and Washington DC, our team reaches tens of thousands of people in direct programs and screenings, moving fluidly from refugee camps and villages to high-level talks with the world's top decision-makers. We touch millions more through TV broadcast and international press coverage.



ENGAGE WITH JUST VISION'S RESOURCES

-  Learn more about the First Intifada and other nonviolent resistance movements by exploring our resources in Appendices B and C and at: www.justvision.org/nailaandtheuprising/resources.
-  Show *Naila and the Uprising*, or one of our other documentary films including *Encounter Point*, *Budrus* and *My Neighbourhood* (www.justvision.org/films) in a class or workshop and lead a conversation using our discussion guides and other resources (www.justvision.org/resources). To have a Just Vision speaker join your event, please contact: events@justvision.org.
-  Follow our Hebrew-language news platform *Local Call* (www.mekomit.co.il) (launched in partnership with 972 - Advancement of Citizen Journalism) for fresh perspectives, critical analysis and investigative reporting on issues of civil and human rights and grassroots activism in Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories. A selection of articles from *Local Call* have been translated to English and published on *+972 Magazine* (www.972mag.com/c/local-call).
-  Include an inspiring quote from this guide or from one of the Palestinian and Israeli grassroots leaders profiled on our website in an upcoming sermon or lecture or incorporate their interviews into your research, classroom or workshop (www.justvision.org/interviews).
-  Connect your community with the various Palestinian and Israeli grassroots organizations and individuals profiled on our website. Consider partnering with them if you are local or connect with them on your next trip to the region (www.justvision.org/resources/organizations).
-  Explore a range of international, Israeli and Palestinian media outlets that provide coverage of the region, as well as numerous special resources on the topic, to get new perspectives (www.justvision.org/resources/media).
-  Visit our Video Library to see a range of trailers, film clips, interviews and other speaking engagements with Just Vision's team to learn about the myriad ways we highlight stories of Palestinian and Israeli grassroots leaders (www.justvision.org/resources/video-library).
-  Attend a local Just Vision event near you and invite your friends and family to join you (www.justvision.org/events).

FIRST INTIFADA

READING LIST AND RESOURCES

The First Intifada is a rich and complex movement and historical period that has been the subject of numerous research studies, articles, books, films and other resources. While this list is not comprehensive, we've included a number of resources below that may provide useful context and information to deepen your understanding of the First Intifada. The resources below do not necessarily represent the perspective of Just Vision.

BOOKS

- Hiltermann, J. R. (1991). *Behind the Intifada: Labor and women's movements in the occupied territories*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- King, M.E. (2007). *The Quiet Revolution: The First Intifada and Nonviolent Resistance*. New York, NY: Nation Books.
- Kurtzer, D. (2017). *The Peace Puzzle: America's Quest for Arab-Israeli Peace 1989-2011*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Khalidi, R. (2006). *The Iron Cage: The Story of the Palestinian Struggle for Statehood*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Lockman, Z. and Beinin, J. eds (1989). *Intifada: the Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation*. Boston, MA: South End Press.
- Mishal, P., & Aharoni, R. (1994). *Speaking Stones: Communiqués from the Intifada Underground*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- Pearlman, W. (2014). *Violence, Nonviolence, and the Palestinian National Movement*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Nassar, J. R., & Heacock, R. (1991). *Intifada: Palestine at the crossroads*. West Bank, Palestine: Birzeit University.
- Sabbagh, S. (1998). *Palestinian Women of Gaza and the West Bank*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Sacco, J. (1996). *Palestine*. Seattle, WA: Fantagraphics Books.

ARTICLES

- Abdulhadi, R. (Dec. 1998) **The Palestinian Women's Autonomous Movement: Emergence, Dynamics, and Challenges**. *Gender and Society*. 12(6), 649-673.
- Abu-Amr, Z. (Fall 1988) **The Palestinian Uprising in the West Bank and Gaza Strip**. *Arab Studies Quarterly*. 10(4), 384-405.
- Fleischmann, E. (1990). **Education in the West Bank during the Palestinian Intifada**. *The Radical Teacher*. (38), 27-30.
- Frisch, H. (Apr. 1993) **The Palestinian Movement in the Territories: The Middle Command**. *Middle Eastern Studies*. 29(2), 254-274.
- Helman, S. (March 2009). **Peace Movements in Israel**. *Jewish Women: A Comprehensive Historical Encyclopedia*. Jewish Women's Archive.
- Hussein, Y. (2005). **The stone and the pen: Palestinian education during the 1987 intifada**. *The Radical Teacher*. (74), 17-22.
- Nassar, J. (Summer 1997). **The Culture of Resistance: The 1967 War in the Context of the Palestinian Struggle**. *Arab Studies Quarterly*. 19(3), pp. 77-98
- Pearlman, W. (March 2012). **Precluding Nonviolence, Propelling Violence: The Effect of Internal Fragmentation on Movement Protest**. *Studies in Comparative International Development*. 47(1), 23-46.
- Roy, S. (Autumn 1987). **The Gaza Strip: A Case of Economic De-Development**. *Journal of Palestine Studies*. 17(1), 56-88.
- Olmsted, J. (1996). **Thwarting Palestinian Development**. *Middle East Report*. (201), 11-18.
- Sabbagh, S. (1991). **What Did the Palestinians Achieve in Madrid?—Two Views**. *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*. 14.

FILMS/VIDEOS

- Al Jazeera World. (2014). *Stories from the Intifada*. Al Jazeera.
- Shomali, A. and Cowan, P. (2014). *The Wanted 18*. Intuitive Pictures.
- Alexandrowicz, R. and Atzmor, L. (2013). *The Law in These Parts*. Roco Film International.
- York, S. (1989). *Letter from Palestine*. PBS.

STRATEGIC CIVIL RESISTANCE AND WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION READING LIST AND RESOURCES

There is a long history of movements that have employed nonviolent civil resistance tactics to further social and political change, including the First Intifada. Below are a number of resources that shed light on the strategy, practice and use of civil resistance, with a focus on women-led movements across the globe. The resources below do not necessarily represent the perspectives of Just Vision.

BOOKS

Boyd, A., Mitchell, D. O., Abujbara, J., & Taminato, M. (2018). *Beautiful Rising: Creative Resistance from the Global South*. Toronto, ON: Between the Lines.

Chenoweth, E., & Stephan, M.J. (2013). *Why Civil Resistance Works: The strategic logic of nonviolent conflict*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Dudouet, V., & Ashour, O. (2015). *Civil Resistance and Conflict Transformation: Transitions from armed to nonviolent struggle*. Oxfordshire, England: Routledge.

Nepstad, S. E. (2011). *Nonviolent Revolutions: Civil resistance in the late 20th century*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Sharoni, S. (1995). *Gender and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The Politics of Women's Resistance*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Sharp, G., Miller, C. A., & Paulson, J. (2005). *Waging Nonviolent Struggle: 20th century practice and 21st century potential*. Manchester, NH: Extending Horizons Books.

ARTICLES & REPORTS

Aziz, S.F. (June 8, 2013). **Democracy, Like Revolution, Is Unattainable Without Women**. *United States Institute of Peace* brief 152.

Barsa, M., Holt-Ivry, O. and Muehlenbeck, A (March 2016). **Inclusive Ceasefires: Women, Gender, and a Sustainable End to Violence**. *Inclusive Security*.

Chenoweth, E., & Stephan, M.J. (January 18, 2016). **How the world is proving Martin Luther King right about nonviolence**. *Washington Post*.

Ganz, M. and McKenna, L. (June 2017). **The Practice of Social Movement Leadership**. *Mobilizing Ideas*.

Moosa, Z., Rahmani, M. and Webster, L. (November 2013). **From the Private to the Public Sphere: New Research on Women's Participation in Peace-Building**. *Gender and Development*. 21(3), 453-472.

O'Reilly, M. (October 2015). **Why Women? Inclusive Security and Peaceful Societies**. *Inclusive Security*.

O'Reilly, M., Súilleabháin, A. Ó, & Paffenholz, T. (2015). **Reimagining Peacemaking: Women's Roles in Peace Processes**. *International Peace Institute*.

Principe, M. A. (February 2, 2017). **Women in Nonviolent Movements**. *United States Institute of Peace*.

Stephan, M.J. (Summer 2006). **Fighting for Statehood: The Role of Civilian-Based Resistance in the East Timorese, Palestinian, and Kosovo Albanian Self-Determination Movements**. *Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*. 30(2), 57-79.

VIDEOS/FILMS

Bacha, J. (2016) **How women wage conflict without violence**. TED.com.

Chenoweth, E. (2013) **The success of nonviolent civil resistance**. TED.com

Riahi, A.T. (2013) **Everyday Rebellion**. Golden Girls Film Production.

Arrow, R. (2011). **How to Start a Revolution**. The Big Indy.

Just Vision. (2009) **Budrus**. Just Vision.

Reticker, G. (2008) **Pray The Devil Back to Hell**. Fork Films.

York, S. (2002) **Bringing Down A Dictator**. WETA.

York, S. (1999) **A Force More Powerful**. WETA.

FREQUENTLY ASKED QUESTIONS

WHAT CAN I DO TO HELP?



HELP US SPREAD THE WORD

👍 @JustVision

🐦 @JustVisionMedia

✉️ info@justvision.org

📷 justvisionmedia

Urge your friends, family and colleagues to do the same.



EVENTS & SCREENING

We'd be delighted to work with you to bring *Naila and the Uprising* to your community. If you know students, educators, faith leaders, women's organizations, thought leaders, journalists or other influencers who may be interested in organizing an event, [please connect us](#).

For more information, please email events@justvision.org. And for a full list of upcoming screenings, please visit www.justvision.org/events.

+ What is Just Vision?

Just Vision is a nonprofit organization that increases the power and reach of Palestinians and Israelis working to end the occupation and build a future of freedom, dignity and equality for all. Our team is made up of Palestinian, Israeli and North and South American filmmakers, journalists, storytellers and human rights advocates.

While there is an abundance of media coverage of militarism, violence and politicians in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, there is little attention given to grassroots leaders who are trying to challenge cultures of violence and bring about an end to the conflict and occupation without arms. Through award-winning documentaries, independent journalism and other multimedia storytelling, Just Vision brings attention to grassroots organizers and their efforts, filling an important gap in coverage of the region.

+ When was Just Vision formed?

Just Vision launched in October 2003 following two years of in-depth research. We are a relatively small team, and are based in East Jerusalem, Haifa, Tel Aviv, Gaza, Washington, DC and New York City.

+ How was *Naila and the Uprising* funded?

We received funding from several dozen individuals and private family foundations, based primarily, but not exclusively, in North America. These funders support work in any of the following areas: film, journalism, conflict resolution, human rights, women's rights, the arts, film for social change, peace in the Middle East, Arab or Jewish communities, Israel/Palestine and/or nonviolent movements. We have received in-kind donations, including legal representation. We retained full editorial control of the film and did not accept funding from anyone who wanted a say in the editing process.

+ Why did you create *Naila and the Uprising*?

While touring with our two most recent films, *Budrus* (2009) and *My Neighbourhood* (2012), we heard a common refrain: are nonviolent resistance efforts in Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories new? We also heard from young Palestinian and Israeli activists and organizers who looked to the First Intifada as one of the most iconic periods of unarmed popular resistance in the region, but who didn't feel like they had access to the strategies and tactics that sustained the uprising and enabled it to be such an effective movement.

We knew from our years working in the region that contemporary nonviolent resistance efforts in the Israeli-Palestinian context were hardly new – in reality, they drew from a long and rich tradition. We also knew that it would be important to capture the lessons learned of the strategic thinking, courage and unity of that time while the veteran leaders were still alive to tell their stories.

By telling a story from the First Intifada, we hope *Naila and the Uprising* offers complexity to the conversation about movements for equality, freedom and dignity in Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories. We also aim to draw a clear line connecting contemporary struggles in the region with their historical precedents and to uplift a significant legacy that hadn't been made widely accessible to the public, locally or internationally, in order to highlight what can be learned for the future.

+ Who made *Naila and the Uprising*? What is the connection of the filmmakers to the context and the region?

Naila and the Uprising was made by Just Vision, a team of filmmakers, storytellers, journalists and human rights advocates. It was directed by filmmaker and Just Vision's Creative Director, Julia Bacha, and executive produced by Suhad Babaa, Executive Director of Just Vision. It was produced by Rula Salameh, a journalist and Just Vision's Director of Education and Outreach in Palestinian society, together with Rebekah Wingert-Jabi who also edited the film with Flavia de Souza. Co-Producers include Ronit Avni (Founder of Just Vision), Jen Marlowe (Just Vision's Communications Associate), Fadi Abu Shammalah, Suad Amiry, Anya Rous, Jessica Devaney and Nava Mizrahi. For more information about the filmmakers, please visit: www.justvision.org/nailaandtheuprising/about/filmmakers.

The filmmakers have a personal relationship to the region, and many of Just Vision's staff and the team behind *Naila and the Uprising* have either grown up or lived in the Middle East for a substantial period of time. Some of our families are Israeli or Palestinian and have lost loved ones, homes and freedom to conflict. We are all committed to promoting nonviolent efforts to resolve the conflict, end the occupation and build a future that is rights-respecting, equal and free for all.



PHOTO CREDIT: JEN MARLOWE

WHAT CAN I DO TO HELP?



GET INVOLVED IN LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

Just Vision's efforts are part of a diverse field of organizations, institutions and campaigns working to further freedom, dignity and equality in the Israeli-Palestinian context. Whether through direct action, political advocacy or media and storytelling, there are many ways you can get involved. For a list of organizations, visit: www.justvision.org/resources/organizations.



HELP US RAISE MONEY TO CONTINUE OUR WORK

We are a small nonprofit organization, and we provide our films and other materials to Israelis and Palestinians for free. We rely on the generosity of people like you to continue our work. You can make a tax-deductible donation online at www.justvision.org/donate or by mailing a check made out to 'Just Vision' to us at 1250 H Street NW, Ste. 300 Washington, DC 20005.

+ When did you begin work on this film? Who shot the footage?

In 2013, our team began extensive research into the events that took place during the First Intifada and interviewed dozens of Palestinian and Israeli organizers, journalists, and lawyers who were active during that time.

The first phase of research included interviews with Palestinian leaders who were exiled at the time for their involvement with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and members of the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising (UNLU), which was comprised of local leaders. We also interviewed Israeli journalists and editors who covered the uprising and hired an independent journalist to conduct an analysis of Israeli media coverage to understand how the story was reported to the Israeli public. Finally, we interviewed historians who chronicled the First Intifada and the negotiations that followed.

When we first embarked on the project, we didn't know that women would emerge as the central protagonists. Our research soon revealed that a clandestine network of women, working through formal and informal networks, was fundamental to the sustenance and achievements of the Intifada. The research also showed that the unarmed nature of the First Intifada was largely missed in Israeli and international media coverage from the period. The more we learned, the more evident it became that this was the story we needed to tell. Our production team then interviewed over two dozen Palestinian women as well as several Israeli activists, journalists and human rights attorneys who were active during the uprising.

Because much of the story of the First Intifada hadn't been told, one of the greatest challenges was finding footage, particularly from the grassroots perspective. With a team of Palestinian, Israeli and American archival researchers, we reviewed hundreds of hours of footage and countless pages of archival materials. The vast majority of mainstream coverage of the Intifada did not capture the story of daily popular resistance efforts nor the role of women's leadership in the movement. However, we were fortunate to find some archival news footage from outlets whose reporting from the field more accurately reflected what was taking place on the ground.

We were also delighted to draw from a Finnish documentary about Naila's life by Iikka Vehkalahti called *Amal, Inam, Naila* which became a central source of footage in illustrating the story captured in *Naila and the Uprising*.

+ Why did you use this style of animation?

As we worked to piece together a limited visual archive of the First Intifada with intricate personal histories from the protagonists, we ultimately decided to bring in animation to fill some gaps in archival materials. This enabled us to weave together the narrative of the film drawing on multiple forms of media including archival news footage, documentary footage of Naila's life during the uprising, contemporary interviews and animation.

Given the sensitive nature of the animated scenes, which document moments of torture, miscarriage and other intimate experiences,

identifying an animation style that enabled audiences to seamlessly immerse themselves in the story was crucial. We worked closely with our Directors of Animation, the Montreal-based duo Dominique Doktor and Sharron Mirsky, who use a technique called Under-Camera animation. Through this style, we hope to have created a subtle and evocative visual experience that brings viewers closer to the story by inviting them to use their own imagination to fill in the blanks.

+ Where has *Naila and the Uprising* been shown?

Naila and the Uprising premiered in November 2017 at DOC NYC, followed by its international premiere at the International Documentary Filmfestival Amsterdam (IDFA) and its Middle East premiere at the Dubai International Film Festival (DIFF). *Naila and the Uprising* has since screened at dozens of festivals internationally, played for tens of thousands of audience members and won Audience and Jury Prizes around the globe. In March 2019, *Naila and the Uprising* is set to air nationally on the US's Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) as part of the acclaimed Women, War and Peace II series in partnership with Fork Films and WNET/THIRTEEN.

Naila and the Uprising premiered in the Occupied Palestinian Territories in December 2017 to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the First Intifada and in Israel in October 2018 to coincide with the online broadcast of the film on *Local Call*, the Hebrew-language news outlet Just Vision co-founded and co-published with 972 Advancement of Citizen Journalism. In March 2019, *Naila and the Uprising* aired nationally on the US's Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) as part of the acclaimed Women, War & Peace II series, in partnership with Fork Films and WNET/THIRTEEN.

To date, *Naila and the Uprising* has screened nearly 150 times, in more than 65 cities and villages across the globe, for more than 20,000 individuals. Some highlights include:

- Festival premieres at packed theaters worldwide including our world premiere at DOC NYC, international premiere at the International Documentary Filmfestival Amsterdam (IDFA), Middle East premiere at the Dubai International Film Festival, California premiere at the San Francisco Jewish Film Festival, London premiere at the Human Rights Watch Film Festival and beyond
- Our Palestinian premiere in Ramallah with over 800 Palestinians in attendance from across the region, including community organizers from Hebron, Budrus, East Jerusalem and beyond, as well as women leaders from the First Intifada and today
- Our Israel premiere in Tel Aviv-Jaffa with over 250 journalists, human rights advocates, Members of the Knesset, veteran organizers and young activists in attendance
- Our Gaza premiere with over 300 Palestinians in Gaza City, followed by screenings with universities, cultural centers and NGOs to reach youth, women, students, educators and activists across Gaza from Khan Younis to Beit Lahia



PHOTO CREDIT: MAIKE SCHULZ

WHAT CAN I DO TO HELP?



FOLLOW OUR HEBREW-LANGUAGE NEWS PLATFORM LOCAL CALL

Launched in partnership with 972 Advancement of Citizen Journalism, Local Call provides fresh perspectives, critical analysis and investigative reporting on issues of civil and human rights in Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories. It has reached over 3 million unique readers to date and is hailed by top media makers as one of the most important outlets in Israel. You can read articles from Local Call in English on +972 Magazine here: www.972mag.com/c/local-call/.



USE OUR RESOURCES

Organize a screening of one of our films in your community, school or congregation and work with us to make it a meaningful event. Write an op-ed or blog post about Just Vision, Naila and the Uprising or the Israeli and Palestinian grassroots leaders we profile. Reference our database of interviews at www.justvision.org/interviews.

- A screening at the United Nations Headquarters in New York with civil society leaders, policy makers, journalists and international actors
- Multiple screenings at top educational institutions across the United States including Harvard University, Columbia University, New York University, Yale University, Bard College, Willamette University, Duke University, American University, Kenyon College and others
- Screenings in Israel with activists, students, women's groups, educators and youth including engagements in Tel Aviv, Nazareth, Be'er Sheva, Sderot, Haifa and more
- Screenings across the West Bank, East Jerusalem and Gaza at public schools, cultural centers, women's groups and other community venues from Jenin, Bethlehem and Tulkarem to Rafah City, Qalqilya and Jericho
- Screenings hosted by the Arab Network of Human Rights Film Festivals (ANHAR) in Tunisia, Jordan and Algeria
- Screenings together with women leaders in the racial justice, immigration and LGBTQ rights movements at convenings like the Seattle Women's March Day of Action and the Pulitzer Arts Foundation in St. Louis

For a full list of our past and upcoming screenings, please visit: www.justvision.org/events.

To organize a screening or event in your community or school, please e-mail: screenings@justvision.org.

+ What kind of media coverage has *Naila and the Uprising* received?

Naila and the Uprising has received outstanding media coverage in the American, Israeli, Palestinian and international press. The *New York Times* called *Naila and the Uprising*, "an invitation into the world of real heroic people who persevere when all hope is lost," and CNN's Christiane Amanpour said the film delivers "a really important message, especially right now." *The Jerusalem Post* wrote that *Naila and the Uprising* is "a film that advocates non-violent resistance, and the price paid for trying to realize it," and editor-in-chief of *Rai Al-Youm* Abdel Bari Atwan said the film captures "true stories of real people who challenged and confronted the occupation with their sheer will and determination." The film has been featured multiple times in top print, TV and radio outlets including: *The Washington Post*, *Ha'aretz*, Ma'an, Channel 2 News in Israel, *The Jerusalem Post*, Amanpour & Company, *Galatz*, CNN, London & Kirschenbaum, PBS, *The New York Times*, Al Jazeera, *Yedioth Ahronoth*, NPR and more. To see a full list of press coverage in English, please visit: www.justvision.org/press/nailaandtheuprising.

+ How are you reaching out to Palestinian and Israeli audiences?

Just Vision has been working closely with Palestinian and Israeli community leaders, educators, youth groups and NGOs since we launched in 2003. Our previous films, *Encounter Point*, *Budrus* and *My Neighbourhood* toured extensively within both societies.

Currently, Just Vision's Palestinian and Israeli team members organize screenings, hold follow-up discussions and conduct outreach to students, journalists, educators, activists, refugees and women's groups. *Naila and the Uprising* has screened in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Ramallah, Haifa, Khan Younis, Jaffa, Nazareth, Sderot, Jericho, Tulkarem, Gaza City, Bethlehem, Abu Dis, and Be'er Sheva. In the fall of 2018, we launched our intensive community and educational campaign, including a 5-week online broadcast of the film for Israeli and Palestinian audiences. We will continue to share the film with communities across the region in the coming years.



+ When did the First Intifada take place and what is the significance of this era today?

The First Intifada began in December 1987 and continued until the signing of the Oslo Accords in September 1993. The First Intifada was extraordinary in that it unified Palestinian society across gender, class, political party and generation and used many of the hallmarks of classic civil disobedience and popular resistance movements, including marches, tax strikes, sit-ins, boycotts and more. However, the unarmed efforts of the time (which comprised the vast majority of organizing, particularly during the first 18-months of the uprising), were largely overshadowed by the images that dominated the nightly news at the time: Molotov cocktails, stone-throwing youth, military incursions and political maneuverings.

We created *Naila and the Uprising* to fill in the gaps of this historical narrative by offering a story that provided a more holistic account of the events that took place 30 years ago. After intensive research, we learned that it wasn't just grassroots organizing that had been rendered invisible. Women had played a crucial role in that organizing and their stories had yet to be told. Our aim was to capture some of the lessons of the time while veteran leaders were alive to tell their stories first-hand and share them with Palestinian, Israeli and international communities grappling with how best to build sustainable, inclusive and effective movements today.

We also couldn't have anticipated the political climate we'd be in when we launched the film in November 2017. As communities around the globe take to the streets to demand more of their political leaders and women take the helm of visionary movements for change the world over, the resonance of *Naila and the Uprising* across contexts has been astounding. The film has been used as a tool for shared learning and action among communities and across generations, and we hope it continues to be a resource for fostering conversations on how movements for justice can thrive and achieve their aims. For more information about this period, please see our Background on the First Intifada on [pages 12-13](#).

+ Are similar organizing efforts as those seen in the film taking place in the region today?

Unarmed campaigns continue today in dozens of Palestinian villages in the Occupied Territories in places such as Bil'in, Ni'lin, Nabi Saleh, Khan al-Ahmar, Al-Walajah, Mas'ha, Jayyous, Hebron, East Jerusalem and Gaza. Many of the organizers in the village of Budrus, featured in our 2009 film, reference the First Intifada and the women leaders of the time as a source of inspiration for their own nonviolent organizing. Those protests have, like those during the First Intifada, attracted and welcomed Israeli and international allies and in several cases have included women leading the charge at the front lines. Likewise, ongoing protests take place within Israel in places like the Negev (in Arabic, the Naqab), where Palestinian Bedouin communities face internal displacement and demolition, and in cities like Tel Aviv, West Jerusalem, Haifa and beyond calling for an end to the occupation and siege in Gaza.

While some of these efforts have gained traction, they are also facing mounting challenges, primarily due to increasingly forceful crackdowns by the Israeli army and deepening structural inequalities. Palestinian leaders of nonviolent movements are frequently arrested and sentenced to months or years in prison, while Israelis who voice dissent face growing restrictions on freedom of expression and access to villages where protests take place. The level of force used by the Israeli military at demonstrations has also escalated, leading to fatalities and severe injuries among unarmed protestors during demonstrations, as well as journalists who are there to cover these developments. Despite these challenges, creative nonviolent resistance continues even as new strategies are developed.

Many of the women featured in the film remain active today, working as human rights advocates, politicians, civil society leaders or educators. For example, Zahira Kamal served as the Minister of Women Affairs in the Palestinian Authority (PA) and went on to become the first female head of a Palestinian political party while Sama Aweidah serves as the General Director of the Women's Studies Centre in Jerusalem. Naila Ayesh is an advisor for numerous local and international human rights organizations and continues to share her personal story to bring visibility to the Palestinian women's movement and inspiration to audiences around the globe.

+ How did the Israeli military and government respond to the First Intifada?

The Israeli military responded to the activities of the First Intifada with swift and harsh repressive measures. Yitzhak Rabin, who was the Israeli Defense Minister at the start of the Intifada, encouraged the military to use, "force, might, and beatings" against Palestinians in order to quell the uprising. Rabin was known for his "iron fist" policy in responding to Palestinian demonstrators as well as his order to "break their bones," which resulted in Israeli soldiers breaking the limbs of thousands of Palestinian civilians with clubs and rifle butts. The United Nations criticized Israel's use of lethal force and the United States government under President Reagan condemned Israel for "harsh security measures and excessive use of live ammunition."

In addition to the use of force, the Israeli government imposed curfews on much of the Occupied Palestinian Territories, closed schools and universities for extended periods, demolished or sealed thousands of homes, deported hundreds of activists, created severe restrictions of movement for entire communities and targeted the livelihoods of many Palestinians, including the uprooting of tens of thousands of olive trees. Security forces arrested Palestinians en masse, holding thousands without charge for months or even years.

It was in part because of these repressive measures that Palestinians developed ever more creative tools to sustain the uprising. For example, when schools were closed, underground classrooms led by ordinary Palestinians emerged; when checkpoints and curfews cut people off from their communities, mobile clinics came in to provide essential services; and when the economy was disrupted, communities set up "victory gardens" to feed families and build economic independence.

Ultimately, in response to the First Intifada and under pressure from the US government, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir entered into negotiations with the Palestinians in 1991 as part of the Madrid Conference. Israel and the PLO later launched secret negotiations in Oslo, effectively undermining the negotiations in Madrid, which led to the signing of the Oslo Accords in 1993.

+ What did Israeli organizing and activism during to the First Intifada look like?

Israeli activists played a meaningful role in the First Intifada, marching in solidarity with Palestinians, defending Palestinian organizers when they were arrested and detained, reporting stories that were largely missing from mainstream media coverage and organizing within their own society. Advocacy groups that are active in Israel today, including B'Tselem, Women in Black, Gush Shalom (Israeli Peace Bloc) and Shalom Achshav (Peace Now), either grew out of the First Intifada or broadened their scope as a result of organizing during that time. Some Israeli journalists also played a vital role in holding the government to account and providing crucial context, including Roni Ben Efrat and Oren Cohen, featured in the film. In some cases, Israeli activists and journalists took personal and professional risk to get to the core of what was happening during the uprising, such as breaking government gag orders or running stories counter to their editors' wishes. For example, Roni Ben Efrat, featured in *Naila and the Uprising*, served time in prison as a result of her writing.

The First Intifada also represented a period with deep support by Israeli women for the efforts driven by Palestinian women. For example, spurred by the First Intifada, Women in Black began weekly vigils in 1988 to take a stand against the occupation and human rights violations faced by Palestinians more broadly, and their work continues today. Women were key players in human rights organizations founded during this period. Some Israeli women participated in nonviolent direct action led by Palestinians in the West Bank and East Jerusalem, while several Israeli lawyers, notably Felicia Langer and Leah Tsemel, defended Palestinian activists in Israeli courts, including some of the women featured in the film. For those interested in learning more about the role of Israeli women during the First Intifada and other key historical moments, please visit: www.jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/peace-movements-in-Israel.

+ Why do you not provide more context in the film?

Naila and the Uprising is a film about the role of women during the civil resistance movement of the First Intifada and the lessons that can be learned for future generations. It is by no means intended to be an exhaustive account of the history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict or even a complete account of the First Intifada. With only 75 minutes to tell the story, we decided early in the course of production that the role of Palestinian women would be the primary focus of the film, given their invisibility in the wider discourse around the uprising and the crucial lens they offer in understanding that time and the trajectory of events since. We believe this focused approach afforded us the best opportunity to fill in historical gaps while contributing constructively to a broader discussion about the role of women in nonviolent civil resistance and the power of grassroots organizing.



PHOTO CREDIT: ESPERANZA MORENO

Nearly every sequence in the film revolves around the direct experiences of Naila and other women activists who were involved in her life during a particular timeframe, focusing on their organizing efforts and the lessons they learned. For that reason, while referenced in the film, we did not provide context on defining historical moments like the 1948 war, during which Israel was formed and hundreds of thousands of Palestinians were made refugees, nor did we address influential regional factors like the rise of the PLO and its shifting relations with neighboring Arab countries. It is our hope that the film sparks further exploration and discussion of these and other important elements of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

+ Why is the role of Hamas not addressed in the film?

Naila and the Uprising centers on the women activists of the First Intifada. While researching the women's movement, we came across dozens of women who had been grassroots leaders in Fatah, the PFLP, DFLP and PCP, but very few who were members of Hamas. The role of Hamas in grassroots organizing differed from the popular resistance efforts covered in the film. Hamas was established after the First Intifada began, and along with Palestinian Islamic Jihad, formed an Islamic Bloc that attracted several thousand members, predominantly in the Gaza Strip. In the first few years of the uprising, their activities focused mostly on promoting Islamic social values, though they also organized protests and strike days. Because women did not play significant roles in Hamas leadership at the beginning of the uprising and because women members of Hamas opted not to be interviewed for security reasons, they did not feature in the film.

+ Does the film gloss over the violence that took place during the uprising?

One of our goals with *Naila and the Uprising* was to tell a story that had yet to be told. The media at the time of the First Intifada offered a strong depiction of "law-and-order" incidents – stone-throwing, Molotov cocktails, military incursions and more. Those are images that many people associate with the region more broadly and with the notion of Intifada specifically, but they tell only part of the story. Such images reinforce a dangerous narrative that, at best, makes unarmed civil resistance invisible and, at worst, lends itself to justifying the arrest, criminalization and squashing of grassroots movements for change in the region. Our aim in telling this story was not to gloss over instances of violence during this period, but rather to fill in the blanks by looking at the impressive and pervasive nonviolent organizing taking place every day in the shadow of the headlines. *Naila and the Uprising's* emphasis on unarmed resistance also more closely captures the reality of the time: according to the Israeli Spokesperson's Unit, less than 1% of all recorded incidents during the First Intifada involved arms.

+ What is the relationship between the First Intifada, peace talks in Madrid and Washington and the Oslo Accords? Why were the women in the film critical of the Oslo process?

The First Intifada exerted significant pressure on both Israel and the international community, leading directly to the initiation of peace talks in Madrid and Washington, DC in 1991-1992. This represented a breakthrough in Israeli-Palestinian relations, marking the first time that Israel and the world recognized the Palestinian right to self-determination. When the Oslo Accords were signed the following year, however, responses and outcomes were mixed.

For those who believed that any diplomatic agreement was a step in the right direction, the Oslo Accords represented an opportunity. However, many, including those who were leading at the grassroots and involved in the Madrid or Washington talks, saw flaws in the Oslo process from the start. As depicted in the film, when Oslo emerged from secrecy it rendered the two years of talks in Madrid and Washington obsolete. The Oslo process sidelined both the women who were involved in the earlier negotiations as well as Palestinian grassroots leadership more broadly. Much of the dissatisfaction with Oslo at the time related to concerns around transparency and representation: the PLO, which had been in exile during the First Intifada, took the lead role in Oslo negotiations without consulting with communities on the ground. And because the negotiations were done in secret, grassroots organizers felt that the Oslo Accords could not and did not represent them.

The concerns of the grassroots leadership proved to have merit. Ultimately, Oslo did not halt the occupation or implement the proposed plan for peace – instead, Israeli settlements expanded rapidly, new military checkpoints

curtailed freedom of movement and lopsided economic agreements made the Palestinian economy even less autonomous. At the same time, the newly formed Palestinian Authority, made up mostly of the PLO cadre who had not been part of the uprising, stripped women of their leadership positions and reversed social gains made during the uprising. As analysts and leaders today reflect on the costs of Oslo, *Naila and the Uprising* offers perspective on what is lost when women and the grassroots are cut out of negotiations and underscores how vital their participation is in building lasting and just peace in the region.

+ The context on the ground has changed dramatically. Are lessons from the First Intifada applicable today?

The political and structural reality on the ground has indeed changed substantially since the First Intifada and the signing of the Oslo Accords. The occupation is, in many ways, more entrenched and the presence of the Israeli military and settlements has significantly increased. As a result, the level of mobility, coordination and nonviolent organizing at the community level that was so essential to the success of the First Intifada has been severely constrained. Still, despite these changes, and in some ways because of them, there are numerous lessons that remain not only relevant but crucial for those organizing today.

Many of the underlying concerns and values that drove the popular resistance efforts during the First Intifada – an end to the occupation, the right to self-determination, economic independence and the realization of dignity and equal rights for all – remain core demands today. Examining the successes and shortcomings of the uprising can equip new generations of Palestinians and Israelis, as well as activists in struggles around the world, with valuable tools and lessons. The way Palestinians organized across political, social and cultural divides, for example, demonstrates the power of unity and collective purpose in movement-building. The ability of organizers to respond to the Israeli military and government's repressive measures with ever-more creative tactics to undermine control of the Occupied Territories speaks to the creativity necessary to build sustained, effective movements. Likewise, the exclusion of grassroots leaders and women activists from the final negotiations that made up the Oslo Accords offers a warning about the costs of negotiations in the absence of those most directly impacted by inequality and conflict.

Naila and the Uprising aims to shed light on the organizing of the First Intifada and the process of negotiations that followed in part so that those working at the grassroots, as well as through political and diplomatic channels, can learn from this period as they aim to effectively lead change on this issue today.



PHOTO CREDIT: ACTIVESTILLS

+ How have audiences responded to *Naila and the Uprising*?

The response from audiences to *Naila and the Uprising* has been overwhelmingly positive. It has garnered awards at international film festivals, has drawn sold-out crowds around the world and has been reviewed positively in dozens of media outlets. Most audiences are surprised that they hadn't known the extent of women's organizing during the First Intifada or the strategic tactics they employed. Countless audience members have shared how moved they were by the story, regardless of their political beliefs.

One Israeli man who served in the military during the First Intifada, shared that seeing the film led him to re-examine his involvement and to question the efficacy of military intervention against civil resistance of an occupied population. After our premiere in Gaza, a young Palestinian woman remarked on how the film connected her to her history and compelled her to take a more active role today. Several Palestinians who were active during the Intifada expressed how powerful and inspiring it was to see their experiences, as they remembered them, portrayed on the big screen for the first time. Numerous social justice activists who are involved in myriad struggles around the globe, have shared that they saw themselves and their communities in this story and that the film offers both emotional connection and concrete tools for organizing.

At the same time, *Naila and the Uprising* can be a challenging film, and audience members have expressed the difficulties and concerns that came up for them while watching it. Some Israelis feel that the film glosses over incidents of violence that they remember from the time. Others have felt that the film does not adequately document Israeli women-led civil society efforts around the First Intifada. Some Palestinian audience members expressed that our focus on Naila Ayesh's story places overdue attention on the DFLP, which was, and still is, a relatively small political party. Others feel that the film overstates the role of Israelis supporting the uprising, or that the film doesn't portray the extent of violence inflicted on Palestinians by the Israeli government at that time.

Ultimately, we believe that one of the purposes of film is to challenge ingrained preconceptions by presenting audiences with a narrative that cannot be easily dismissed. We recognize that no film can cover every aspect of a movement and historical period as rich and complex as the First Intifada, nor will it satisfy everyone on this sensitive issue and iconic historical period. Still, we are proud that *Naila and the Uprising* has been received positively by many Palestinian, American, Israeli and international audiences of all backgrounds, ethnicities, nationalities and religions, and that far more often than not, it has sparked a productive and forward-looking discussion. We hope the film will continue to catalyze conversation, spur reflection and generate learning both for those who lived through this period and for the rising generation of activists and organizers working for the rights, freedom and dignity of everyone.

+ What impact is *Naila and the Uprising* having on the ground?

While measuring the impact of a film is a difficult task, we have seen several promising developments as a result of our screenings and the attention generated by the film. Although the First Intifada was a significant historical event for both Palestinian and Israeli communities, most people shared that the story of women's leadership and the scale of the unarmed civil resistance during the time was unknown to them. In this way, the film has unearthed aspects of the uprising that have inspired audience members, particularly young people, to shift their perspectives and think critically about their roles in working toward a just and equal future.

Following our premiere in Ramallah, the Minister of Culture shared that the screening was the most diverse gathering of Palestinian communities he had seen in over a decade, creating space for reflection that was truly unique. The film has since continued to spark conversations within villages, universities, women's organizations, refugee camps and cultural centers, in particular creating connections between veteran organizers who were involved during the First Intifada and the rising generation.

Israelis who have seen the film through *Local Call* or at community events have shared that it served to reframe the activities of the First Intifada and Palestinian nonviolent organizing in a way that was both informative and inspiring.

Some expressed that the discrepancy between what they understood about the uprising before and what they saw in the film was so significant that it has motivated them to think more critically about how events in the Occupied Territories are covered by the media and discussed today.

Finally, the film has been seen by policy makers, journalists, faith leaders, cultural influencers and academics working on this issue from across the political spectrum. It has been part of meaningful conversations about the role of women in social movements and the impact of unarmed civil resistance in the Israeli-Palestinian context and beyond, helping to shape the discourse on this issue.

+ How can I purchase a copy of the film?

We'd be delighted to work with you to bring *Naila and the Uprising* to your community. You can find more information about purchasing the film and appropriate licenses on our website: www.justvision.org/store. If you know students, educators, faith leaders, women's organizations, thought leaders, journalists or other influencers who may be interested in organizing an event, please connect us.

To book a screening, please email events@justvision.org. And for a full list of upcoming screenings, please visit www.justvision.org/events.

+ What's next for Just Vision?

We will continue to tell the stories of grassroots leaders and community organizers who are voicing dissent within their communities and the challenges they face in today's political environment. As with all our films, we will lead a multi-year public engagement campaign around *Naila and the Uprising* to ensure this story reaches strategic audiences and venues around the globe. Our Hebrew-language news site, *Local Call*, will continue to cover human and civil rights issues through daily reporting and investigative journalism within the Israeli-Palestinian context. We are currently in research and development for future storylines and projects.



PHOTO CREDIT: MAIKE SCHULZ



We knew we wanted to bring this story to light by producing a documentary that could provide insight and wisdom from the veteran women activists of the First Intifada for today's rising leaders.



APPENDIX E ABRIDGED DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

PHOTO CREDIT: LUISA MORGANTINI

General Reactions

- Based on what you knew about the Israeli-Palestinian context before the film, what did you learn?
- What scenes were particularly moving or interesting to you? Why?
- How did you feel after the film? Did you find the film hopeful or discouraging?

Media and Storytelling

- How does this story fit into your broader understanding of the Israeli-Palestinian context? Why do you think the filmmakers decided to focus on this particular story?
- The film captures a number of different visuals of nonviolent resistance tactics, including scenes of women's cooperatives, underground schools, pop-up clinics, sit-ins, boycotts and marches. How does this imagery compare with the kinds of images you've seen in mainstream reporting on the Israeli-Palestinian context?

Women's Leadership

- Women were involved at all levels of the uprising, from political decision-making to running medical clinics, underground schools and agricultural collectives. What impact do you think women had on the movement overall?
- Women have long participated in movements for social change, but we often do not learn about their work. Why do you think their stories are forgotten or sidelined? Do you see this showing up in contemporary movements?

Unity Across Palestinian Society

- The film portrays Palestinian factions coming together to form a unified political program for the First Intifada. How important do you think this unity across political factions was to the strength of the movement? Why?
- How did different members of Palestinian society contribute to community organizing during the First Intifada? Did diversity in roles allow for greater inclusion and participation? Why or why not?

Nonviolent Resistance in Action

- What are some of the community organizing tactics that Palestinians used during the First Intifada? What were the aims of each of these tactics? What impact do you think they had on the larger movement?
- Based on what you learned in the film, what were some of the goals of the First Intifada? Were Palestinian communities successful in achieving any of these goals?
- Do you know of any strategies or tactics used by Palestinians during the First Intifada that are still in use by Palestinians today? Why have some of the strategies and tactics remained the same? Why have some changed?

Israeli Civil Society Participation During the First Intifada

- What roles did you see Israeli civil society playing in the film? From journalists to activists, what was the significance of these roles?
- During the march, Naila appeals to Israeli women for support. Why do you think she makes this appeal? What message do you think she hopes to convey? Did her message resonate with you?

Israeli Government and Military Actions

- In the words of Yitzhak Rabin, the Defense Minister at the time, Israel was, "determined to impose order, even if the steps are painful," a reference to his "broken-bones policy" used to quash the uprising through violent means. How does this policy show up in the film? How did Palestinians respond?

International Response and Negotiations

- Do you believe that the nonviolent popular resistance of the First Intifada put pressure on Israel and the international community to get to the negotiating table? Why or why not?
- How are the Oslo Accords portrayed in the film? Does this portrayal differ from your previous understanding?
- Do you think that international opinion toward the Israeli-Palestinian context changed as a result of the First Intifada?

Why Does this Matter Today?

- What value is there in telling the story of a movement that happened 30 years ago? Does this feel relevant today? What can we learn from re-visiting a historical narrative like this one?
- Around the time of the release of the film, thousands of Palestinians gathered in Jerusalem to safeguard their right to pray at the Al-Aqsa mosque, and later, weekly protests during the Great Return March mobilized wide segments of Gaza's population. Do you see parallels in today's organizing – in Gaza, Jerusalem and beyond – and the organizing you saw in the film?

Personal Reflections

- If you could summarize the film in a sentence to a friend, what would you say?
- What can *Naila and the Uprising* contribute to the broader conversation on the Israeli-Palestinian context?

Take Action

- Now that you've watched *Naila and the Uprising*, what are you curious to learn more about? What steps might you take to get further information?

GLOSSARY

OF TERMS

We recognize that this brief glossary cannot encompass the entire range of nuances, narratives and historical events from the Israeli-Palestinian context given the rapidly shifting political landscape of the region. Some definitions may require updating. We therefore invite you to use this glossary as a starting point and encourage you to continue your exploration of this topic through further research.

1948 War

Commonly referred to as the “War of Independence” by Israelis and “Al-Nakba” (Arabic for “the catastrophe”) by Palestinians. The war was fought between Israel, on the one hand, and Jordan, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Egypt, on the other. It lasted from the time of the passage of the United Nations (UN) Partition Plan on November 29, 1947 until July 1949, by which point Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan and Syria had each entered into individual armistice agreements with Israel. The war resulted in an expansion of the territory of the State of Israel in Mandatory Palestine beyond that allocated under the Partition Plan, including West Jerusalem. Jordan took control of the West Bank and East Jerusalem, and Egypt took control of the Gaza Strip. As a result of the war, hundreds of thousands of Palestinians were expelled or fled, creating a refugee crisis that continues to this day. Today, there are more than four million Palestinian refugees, many of whom continue to live in UN-administered refugee camps in Gaza, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and the West Bank.

1967 Borders/Green Line

More accurately termed the pre-June 1967 border. Also referred to as the “Green Line.” Refers to the internationally recognized 1949 Armistice Line following the War of 1948 between Israel on the one hand and Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq and Egypt on the other. It is often used to denote the boundary between territory recognized as part of the sovereign State of Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories, comprising East Jerusalem, the West Bank and Gaza.

1967 War

Commonly referred to as the “June War” or “Al-Naksa” (Arabic for “the setback”) by Palestinians, and the “1967 War” or “Six-Day War” by Israelis. The war was fought between Israel on the one hand and Egypt, Jordan and Syria on the other. The war lasted six days, during which Israel captured the Sinai Peninsula, East Jerusalem, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and the Golan Heights.

Administrative Detention and Political Arrests

The practice employed by the Israeli military of detaining people indefinitely based on an administrative order, without charges or trial. Israel has placed thousands of Palestinians under administrative detention over the years, many for prolonged periods of time. During the First Intifada, Israel held its highest number of Palestinians in administrative detention over the four-year uprising: by some estimates, more than 5,000 people. Though some forms of administrative detention are permitted under international law under very strict circumstances, human rights groups have decried Israel’s widespread use of administrative detention as a violation of human rights and of the protections of due process enshrined in both Israeli and international law.

Civil Administration

Established by Israel in 1981 by military order as a part of the Israeli Defense Ministry, the Civil Administration was set up to govern the lives of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza. Since 1994, many of its functions were transferred to the Palestinian Authority for civil matters in Areas A and B. Today, the Civil Administration is responsible for all administrative functions that shape the daily life of Palestinians in Area C and several functions in the rest of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, including issuing travel permits, work permits for Palestinians entering Israel, and construction permits in Israeli settlements and on Palestinian land.

The Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP)

The Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine is a Palestinian political party founded in 1969 as an offshoot of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). The DFLP is a member of the PLO and maintains a Marxist-Leninist ideology. In 1991, the DFLP split, leading to the founding of the Palestine Democratic Union (FIDA). Zahira Kamal took leadership of FIDA in 2002, serving as the only female leader of a Palestinian political party.

Fatah

Arabic for “victory” and a reverse acronym for “Harakat al-Tahrir al-Watani al-Filistini” or “Palestinian National Liberation Movement”. The largest Palestinian political party, Fatah currently governs the West Bank and is the dominant faction of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Yasser Arafat, along with other Palestinian leaders, founded Fatah in 1959 as a secular Palestinian national liberation movement. It assumed the leadership of the PLO in 1968. During the Oslo Process, it became identified as the chief proponent of a negotiated, two-state solution and formed the most prominent party in the Palestinian Authority (PA). In the 2006 elections, Fatah lost a significant number of seats to its rival political party, Hamas. As a result, Fatah assumed political leadership of the West Bank and Hamas controlled the Gaza Strip. Fatah and Hamas have signed several reconciliation agreements but implementation has stalled.

First Intifada

Arabic for “shaking off.” The First Intifada commonly refers to the Palestinian uprising against Israeli military rule from 1987 to 1993. It came to an end when Israel entered into negotiations with the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) and they co-launched the Oslo Peace Process.

Hamas

Arabic for “zeal” and an acronym for “Harakat al-Muqawamah al-Islamiyya” or “Islamic Resistance Movement.” Hamas is a Palestinian political party and Islamist national movement currently in control of Gaza. Ideologically and organizationally modeled after the Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt in 1987, Hamas is comprised of a militant wing responsible for armed operations, a political bureau and a social services branch. In 2006, Hamas’s victory in the Palestinian legislative elections resulted in the end of Fatah’s long-standing political dominance. The events that followed resulted in the division between Fatah and Hamas. Members of the international community, including Israel, the United States and the European Union, designate Hamas as a terrorist organization and do not recognize it as a legitimate government. Hamas signed multiple reconciliation agreements with Fatah though none have been meaningfully implemented.

Israeli

Refers to a citizen of Israel, but when used on its own, most commonly refers to a Jewish citizen of Israel. Palestinians living in Israel who hold Israeli citizenship are usually referred to as Arab-Israelis, Palestinian-Israelis, 1948 Palestinians or Palestinian citizens of Israel. Palestinians do not usually identify themselves solely as “Israelis.”

Leaflets

The leaflets, or communiqués, were a series of directives issued by various factions and bodies during the course of the First Intifada. They provided both moral guidelines and directives outlining the tactics, strategies and goals of the uprising. Each faction distributed their own leaflets, with the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising (UNLU)’s leaflets holding the greatest strategic importance for Palestinians. Leaflets included guidelines on topics ranging from health and education to transportation, agriculture and commerce. They included clear directives like when to strike, which Israeli goods to boycott, where demonstrations would take place and how to maintain studies in the context of frequent school closures. In addition to clear guidelines around prohibited and permitted activities, they also offered encouragement by listing the achievements of the uprising. Functionally, the leaflets held the force of a constitution in the absence of a state and affirmed the unity of the Palestinian people during the First Intifada.

Madrid Conference

Also known as the Madrid Peace Talks or Madrid Summit. Refers to the international peace conference held in Madrid, Spain in 1991, following the Gulf War. Co-sponsored by the United States and the Soviet Union, it was the first time that Palestinians (via a Jordanian delegation), representatives from Israel, and representatives from Arab countries came together to discuss the prospects for peace in direct negotiations. Israel initially refused the inclusion of Palestine Liberation Organization representatives, albeit as part of the Jordanian delegation, and joined talks only after significant pressure from the US government. The talks were based on United Nations Resolutions 242 and 338 as well as the Camp David Accords of 1978, accepting the "land-for-peace" formula for resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict. Negotiations met with few results until overtaken by the revelation of the Oslo Process between Israel and Palestinian representatives in August 1993.

Occupation

The occupation refers to Israel's military, infrastructural, economic and political control of the West Bank, East Jerusalem and Gaza Strip since June 1967. Occasionally, it is also used to refer to Israel's occupation of the Syrian Golan Heights.

Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT)

Also known as the "Territories," "the West Bank, East Jerusalem and Gaza," or the "Occupied Territories." The term generally refers to the land captured by Israel following the War of 1967. They comprise the territory slated to be the basis for an independent Palestinian state and are generally considered occupied by the international community and under international law. Some members of the Israeli government refer to the Occupied Palestinian Territories as "disputed territory," while many Israelis consider the territory an integral part of biblical Israel (as Judea and Samaria) and, thus, part of modern political Israel.

Oslo Accords

Also referred to as the Oslo Agreements, or, simply, "Oslo." The Oslo Accords are a series of agreements that launched the Oslo Process, aimed at achieving a comprehensive peace treaty between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). It was preceded by a series of secret, backchannel meetings between Palestinian and Israeli representatives in Norway that ultimately sidelined the public negotiations taking place in Madrid and Washington. The accords led to the creation of the Palestinian Authority (PA) and called for a phased peace process that would lead to a permanent settlement to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict based on United Nations Resolutions 242 and 338. The agreement did not, however, directly address any of the key "permanent status" issues: refugees, Jerusalem, settlements and borders. Instead, it set up a structure for them to be negotiated after a five-year period. Final status talks failed over several rounds of negotiations in the late 1990s and early 2000s. For some, Oslo represented a diplomatic breakthrough and an opportunity for peaceful relations between Israelis and Palestinians. For others, Oslo entrenched and deepened structural inequalities already in place in the Occupied Palestinian Territories and ultimately failed to secure a just and lasting peace in the region.

Palestinian

Refers to someone of the primarily Arabic-speaking people who live or trace their cultural and/or geographic heritage to pre-1948 historic Palestine, and which is now the area comprising the territory of Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories.

Palestinian Communist Party (PCP)/Palestinian People's Party (PPP)

Founded in 1982 as the Palestinian Communist Party by several prominent Palestinian communists in the Occupied Palestinian Territories. It was renamed as the Palestinian People's Party after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. The PCP became a member of the PLO in 1987 and formed one of four factions in the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising (UNLU) during the First Intifada, playing a large role in mobilizing grassroots involvement. The party was a supporter of the Oslo Accords. It denounces the peace process today but still advocates for a two-state solution.

Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)

An umbrella political organization and the primary body of the Palestinian national movement. Founded in 1964, the PLO is made up of several Palestinian political factions, including Fatah, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), and the Palestinian Communist Party (PCP; now the Palestinian People's Party, PPP). In 1969, Yasser Arafat, representing the Fatah movement, became the chair of the organization, a position he held until his death in 2004. The PLO first gained international legitimacy when Arafat addressed the United Nations General Assembly in November 1974 and the organization was granted observer status to the United Nations. From the early 1970s through the early 1990s, the PLO operated politically and militarily from bases in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and Tunisia. In the 1993 Oslo Accords, the PLO received recognition from Israel as the representative of the Palestinian people, leading to the return of many PLO members who had been living in exile. In return, the PLO recognized Israel's right to exist.

The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)

Founded in 1967, the PFLP combines secular Arab nationalist and Marxist-Leninist ideologies. The PFLP and its offshoot, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, historically advocated the creation of a secular democratic Palestine as a precursor to a broader revolution within the Arab world. The PFLP was one of a number of Palestinian parties opposed to the Oslo Peace Process. Although the PFLP came to accept a two-state solution, in 2010 it called for the PLO to end its negotiations with Israel, arguing that only a one-state solution for Palestinians and Jews was possible.

Settlement

Refers to a Jewish community in the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and prior to 2005, the Gaza Strip. Those ideologically in support of them do not call them "settlements," and may often refer to them as "communities" or "neighborhoods." The settler movement began following the War of 1967, when Israel occupied the West Bank, East Jerusalem, Gaza, the Golan Heights in Syria and the Sinai in Egypt. Many proponents of the settler movement claim that settlement of these lands is a divine right, mandated by religious texts. Other less theological proponents regard settlements as a security necessity for Israel. Still others choose to live in them primarily because of economic incentives and subsidies provided by the Israeli government. Opponents argue that settlements illegally expropriate Palestinian-owned land and predetermine the final status before a negotiated agreement has been reached between Israelis and Palestinians. International law prohibits occupying powers from transferring citizens from its own territory to occupied territory. Thus, the international community generally regards Israeli settlements as illegal under international law. Settlements receive Israeli government funding and/or military and infrastructural support.

Unified National Leadership of the Uprising (UNLU)

The Unified National Leadership of the Uprising (al-Qiyada al-Wataniya al-Muwahida) was a coalition of local Palestinian factions who formed in the early months of the First Intifada in 1988. It was made up of members and committees from Fatah, the DFLP, the PFLP and the Communist Party and formed a quasi-government that helped sustain and manage daily life for Palestinians during the First Intifada. The UNLU provided guidelines of prohibited and permitted behavior through leaflets that many Palestinians described as having the force of a constitution. The UNLU coordinated with the PLO abroad and attached the PLO's name to their leaflets, though they often acted independently of PLO supervision. Several UNLU leaders were arrested or deported at the beginning of the uprising, forcing the organization underground. Women played a significant role in the decision-making and organizing of the UNLU.

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