# Oxford Ramallah Friendship Association & Oxford Ramallah Twinning

**ORFA Registered Charity Number: 1155620** 

# **Annual Report April 2022 to March 2023**



## **ORFA and ORT AGMs**

# Tuesday 16th May 2023 7pm Oxford Town Hall





This Annual Report covers the period up to 31<sup>st</sup> March 2023. Events after this date will appear in next year's Annual Report.

**Thank you** to **all** our friends and contacts in Palestine who continue to support our friendship and twinning link and welcome us so warmly in Palestine. And a big thank you **to all** the many organisations, individuals and groups in Oxford who help in so many ways to ensure that our work continues.

Thank you to our funders who made our projects possible this year and those funders who have enabled us to carry forward money for delayed projects, which will now take place in June/July 2023: Palestine Unlocked, Unite the Union Cowley Car Factory Branch, Oxford District Trade Union Council and our many individual supporters.

Thank you to our ORFA Patrons who have continued to offer their advice, active support and to share their experience with us. For our small organisation this is key to our confidence going forward.

#### Information about Oxford Ramallah Friendship Association (ORFA)

**Patrons:** Iain Chalmers, Mahmoud Hawari, Karma Nabulsi, Sir Stephen Sedley, Avi Shlaim and Yasmin Sidhwa.

**Trustees:** Barbara Schofield (Treasurer); Tony Richardson (Chair); Joe Carter (ORT joint Secretary).

**Meetings:** Monthly – every third Tuesday of the month 6.00 pm to 6.45pm at Oxford Town Hall or on Zoom. Subgroups work together on projects.

**Contact:** Via the website **www.oxford-ramallah.org**, email: orfa\_info@yahoo.co.uk

Oxford Ramallah Friendship Association has been working since 2003, and became a registered charity in February 2014

**Information about Oxford Ramallah Twinning (ORT)** In March 2019 the official Twinning Agreement between Oxford and Ramallah was signed by the mayors of Oxford and Ramallah in the presence of the Palestinian Ambassador Husam Zomlot.

Oxford Ramallah Twinning has a partnership agreement with ORFA. It is part of Oxford International Links and works closely with the City Council Twinning office. **Contact:** www.oxford-ramallah.org, email via: orfa\_info@yahoo.co.uk

**Trustees:** Tony Richardson (Chair); Barbara Schofield (Treasurer); Joe Carter and Avril Alexander (Secretaries)

**Meetings:** Monthly – every third Tuesday of the month 6.45pm to 7.30pm at Oxford Town Hall or on Zoom. Subgroups work together on projects.

Cover photo: Oxford Ramallah Twinning Banner

#### Summary of the year

**April 2022:** ORFA and ORT hosted a public meeting where the Mayor, Cllr Mark Lygo, talked about his recent twinning visit to Ramallah. (page 4)

**July 2022:** ORFA members visited Ramallah to accompany Mandala Theatre group from Oxford. (pages 5-8)

**July 2022:** Professor Mazin Qumsiyeh, Director of the Palestine Institute for Biodiversity and Sustainability at Bethlehem University and the Palestine Museum of Natural History, was an invited speaker at celebrations for the 400th anniversary of the Oxford Botanic Garden. (p8)

October 2022: Sheldonian Twinning Event: ORT/ORFA participated in the Oxford International Links (OIL) event at the Sheldonian Theatre, which had been delayed for two years. The aim of the day was to raise awareness of twinning through the presentation of films, music, talks and other arts. (p10)

**December 2022:** members of ORFA were guests at a meeting of Oxford Trades Union Council to speak about their visit to Ramallah.

Throughout the year ORFA/ORT participated in events and ran stalls.

We have had a busy and productive year.

#### Coming up

This Summer from 29<sup>th</sup> June to 10<sup>th</sup> July 2023 seven visitors from Al Am'ari Refugee Camp are hoping to visit Oxford for a cultural exchange. We will be collaborating with the Multaka Project at the Pitt Rivers Museum and the Palestinian History Tapestry. The visitors include experienced embroiderers, a young artist and a school leader who is part of the youth council. The group will share their experiences of living under occupation in Palestine.

We are looking forward to celebrating 20 years of ORFA in 2024. This anniversary will coincide with Mandala's planned International Youth Festival to be held in Oxford. The Festival will host our friends from the Ashtar Theatre in Ramallah, Palestine. We will be working closely with Mandala Theatre Director, Yasmin Sidhwa, to support this project.

"ORFA works in tandem with Oxford Ramallah Twinning and raises awareness through bringing groups and individuals from Palestine to share their stories with residents of Oxford. City twinning is an act of city diplomacy which aims to give citizens the chance to engage with their respective cultures and foster friendship, understanding and networks." Middle East Monitor 2019.

#### Public meeting with the Mayor of Oxford

ORT hosted a meeting in the Town Hall in April 2022 to hear Cllr Mark Lygo speak about his recent visit to Ramallah. Sharing stories about the people he met, he said he wanted to encourage an exchange of cultures between Ramallah and Oxford, with further visits from both sides. He told members of Mandala Theatre Company, who would visit Ramallah in July, that they could help change the narrative through story telling.



Avi Shlaim, ORFA Patron, spoke at the meeting, briefly giving some political and historical background about the situation for people in Palestine. He said 'the only hope for Palestinians lies in law, politics and civil change. Palestinians are normal people who want what normal people everywhere want, which is to live in peace and dignity'

Yasmin Sidhwa, also an ORFA patron, spoke about her vision for bringing young people of Oxford and Ramallah together through theatre. She said she was very excited that Mandala Theatre would be going to Ramallah to take part in the International Drama Festival in July.

During his visit, Mark received, on behalf of Oxford City Council, a beautiful hand embroidered logo for the Oxford Ramallah Twinning, made by stitchers in the Womens Centre at Al A'mari Refugee Camp. [pictured below, held by Avi Shlaim and Yasmin Sidhwa].



# Connecting with Al Am'ari Camp and Palestinian Trade Unions and Workers Organisations - July Visit 2022

In July 2022 two ORFA/ORT (self-funded) members visited Ramallah during the period of the Mandala visit (see below). As well as linking with the Ultra Art Festival they reconnected with friends and contacts in Trade Unions, Workers Organisations and the Women's Program Centre, Al Am'ari Refugee Camp.

They received a warm welcome from everyone they met. They visited Al Am'ari Camp and had discussions and a planning meeting for the forthcoming visit to Oxford in June 2023.



They were also welcomed by: FIDA - Democratic Left Party, the Women's General Secretariat and the International officer of the General Union of Palestinian Workers and the Democracy and Workers Rights Centre (a democratic left research and organising centre).

They fed back on their visit to a well-attended Oxford and District Trades Council meeting in December 2022. The main points from the talk are given below:

People we met in Ramallah told us that working to organise is difficult in Palestine. Like Trade Unionists here in UK these organisations are fighting for worker's rights with their own government (Palestine Authority) and employers but every institution and individual also has to face the corrosive impact of the Occupation.

FIDA and the GUPW are focusing empowering women in politics to develop social and economic links to national level structures.

The GUPW Women's Secretariat were upset on the day we visited the office as the previous day a social activist had died in an Israeli prison. Sadia Fareji (Matar) was 68 years old and died due to medical neglect. (We were told that this is now a hidden policy and 230 prisoners have died due to lack of care). They are pressing for this to be investigated. Apparently she was arrested when a Settler beat her as she crossed the road and he claimed she tried to stab him. She was then badly beaten by the Occupation forces on her arrest. The Geneva convention is not enforced.

Most of Gaza is now living below poverty line. According to the DWRC - Unemployment in Gaza is now 67% and in the West Bank (WB) 40%. Much work is part time and insecure. There are less hours so no legitimacy at work. There is no social security except for those extremely poor and half of this money is from donor countries.

We were told that there was money from EU in the budget but this was cut when there was an accusation made that Palestinian textbooks were anti-semitic. This was investigated by the EU Parliament and found not to be true and the EU reinstated their contribution to this budget.

The Occupation is about land so the Agriculture sector is the most impacted. In the Jordan Valley Israeli settlement and farms have now taken much of this fertile land. The Aquifiers take the water and sometimes, in the villages that are left, they do not have water for weeks. Amnesty International figures on water consumption are: Palestinians in the WB – 70 litres per person per day and Israeli Settlers in WB – 369 litres per person per day.

There is a rise in Israeli Agriculture outposts – areas are just taken over and if Palestinians protest they get shot at. Of course, Palestinians need to work on these farms as there is no other employment. The conditions are weak.

The countryside is being taken over and this stops internal and international tourism. Eg We were told that there was a Valley where people used to hike and stop at a Palestinian café and swimming area but this area is now used regularly by armed Israeli settlers and there is nothing the owner can do.

In construction there is a skilled experienced Palestinian workforce (eg Stone Masons.) For these workers Health and Safety is weak, wages are low, few have good full time contracts. Many need to work in Israel. The problems are: long commutes/checkpoints/ usually no proper facilities at work for the Palestinian employees such as showers or places to sit which are out of the sun. Israeli workers are paid more for exactly the same job on the same sites. The occupation is deliberately making commuting more difficult for Palestinians and it is extremely long and tiring and stressful and getting worse and worse. This is recognised as Apartheid.

Trade Unions are continuing to strike and hold actions for what they need: Implementation of the minimum wage, contracts, full salaries for teachers, equal pay for women, Health and Safety.

WE WERE ASKED TO: Work in the Labour Party to raise issues, if it is possible to arrange a TU visit to Oxford, to press for Human Rights, for Trade Unionists to visit Palestine

#### WE WERE TOLD:

"We need justice and hope to face the Occupation. Losing hope is a risk."

"We need international support and solidarity."

### Mandala Theatre Company visit to Ramallah

In July 2022, ORFA and ORT supported Mandala Theatre Company's visit to Ramallah, to participate in <u>Ultra Art</u>, the sixth international youth theatre festival organised by Palestinian theatre company and non-profit <u>ASHTAR</u>. During the festival, Mandala Young Company had the opportunity to perform their show *Rhinoceros*, watch performances from all the international and local groups, participate in daily workshops and join a conference on freedom of expression, and enjoy many social and cultural activities.

The festival was supported by the British Council, Arab Fund for Culture and Arts (AFAC) and Erasmus+ and was in partnership with Ramallah Municipality, Palestinian Performing Arts Network, Al Kasaba Theatre and Mandala Theatre Company. ORFA and ORT supported Mandala by advising during the planning period and many of the Mandala group attended the feedback meeting on the Mayor of Oxford's visit. Two representatives from the ORFA/ORT committee travelled to Ramallah at the same time as Mandala to support the visit.

The trip was hugely significant in nurturing and strengthening friendships and understanding between the young people from Oxford and Ramallah, as well as the other Palestinian and international groups who participated in the festival. The young people from Mandala Theatre Company have shared how the relationships they created and their first-hand experiences of life in Ramallah, had a transformative impact on their understanding of the realities experienced by Palestinians and their sense of connection to the situation there. It was a reminder of the importance of physically visiting a place and forming personal bonds, and how this changes the degree to which you are impacted when you hear about a place and its people in the news, for instance. Theatre and the arts more widely were harnessed as powerful tools for bringing people together, bridging barriers such as language differences, raising awareness and educating, and sharing culture, stories, and feelings.



One of the Oxford-based individuals who travelled with Mandala to Ramallah has become very involved with ORFA and ORT as a result of the trip. This is both because the visit deeply affected and educated them on the

situation in Ramallah and because they learnt about ORFA's work and how they could get involved through meeting the ORFA representatives during the visit. This is an example of the how the visit has broadened ORFA's reach and enhanced links between Mandala and ORFA/ORT, which will continue enriching future collaborations, such as the international arts festival Mandala is planning for Summer 2024 with participation from individuals and groups from Ramallah, that ORFA/ORT also intend to support.

#### Quotes from Mandala Young Company reflecting on *Ultra Art* festival:

"I've learnt that no matter how much you read or come across information on social media, seeing it, breathing it, experiencing the specific surroundings, and personally hearing stories and seeing the Palestinians perform what they experience is completely different. ULTRA ART really opened my eyes to what it is like to live here [in Palestine]. The community of Palestinian artists were kind and caring, they are always up for teaching, learning, sharing and altogether generously open."

"Being part of ULTRA ART showed me how human resilience and hope can be shown through art. I am honoured and amazed by how the Ashtar artists are so talented, humble, and welcoming despite everything. It was inspiring to be around so many artists from around the world and to meet Palestinians and hear their stories and create theatre with them.

"ULTRA ART is more than a festival, it's a community – a community which is caring, creative, compassionate, open, loving and accepting. Being with the Palestinian artists and being part of a community with them, a community that faces important and trying challenges and circumstances but stays connected throughout. It is an experience unlike any other."

#### Mazin Qumsiyeh visits Oxford Botanic Gardens

We were delighted that Professor Mazin Qumsiyeh was invited to attend the Twinned Cities event at the Botanic Gardens. Mazin is Founder and Director of the Palestine Museum of Natural History and the Palestine Institute for Biodiversity and Sustainability at Bethlehem University, where he teaches.

From the Oxford Botanic Gardens website [accessed 23/4/2023]:

"On Saturday 16th July, representatives from each of Oxford's Twinned City Botanic Gardens convened at Oxford Botanic Garden in celebration of the 400th anniversary. Representatives from Grenoble, Bonn, Padua, Leon, Ramallah, Leiden and Wroclaw presented posters on the research, conservation, teaching and horticultural work being undertaken at their botanic gardens and arboreta.

It was a special day that reaffirmed relationships and identified possibilities for collaboration among the world's botanic gardens and arboreta in support of their shared goal to conserve the world's flora."



Picture of the group at the Botanic Garden with Mazin Qumsiyeh sitting in the centre.

#### **Palestinian History Tapestry**

ORFA continues to work in partnership with the Palestinian History Tapestry. We will be working together during the ORFA/ORT 2023 Summer Visit. One of the visitors has worked on several tapestries for the Project. The following is an extract from the PHT's 10th Annual Project Report - June 2022 to April 2023:

**From the co-chairs**: We are delighted to announce that the Palestinian History Tapestry project was recently featured in an article on BBC Culture entitled *The 'New Bayeux Tapestries' Revealing Hidden Histories*. The article explores how the world-renowned embroidery of the Norman Conquest has inspired communities around the world to weave their own histories, with a spotlight on our project and South Africa's Keiskamma Art Project, both of which our founder, Lady Jan Chalmers, was involved in. We are thrilled to receive this recognition and are grateful to Lady Chalmers for her ongoing dedication to our cause.

We are also excited to share that our upcoming e-shop, Mansoja, is currently well underway. The website is currently under construction, and we have started the process of shortlisting our product designs for commission. We cannot wait to showcase the stunning embroidery created by our talented artisans and offer a platform for people to purchase these unique pieces and help support the Palestinian women and the project more sustainably. We are working hard to ensure that the e-shop will be ready to launch very soon.

We appreciate your continued support and interest in our mission to preserve Palestinian history and culture. Thank you for being a part of this journey with us, and we look forward to sharing more updates with you soon.

Jehan Alfarra and Ibrahim Muhtadi: Co-Chairs, Palestinian History Tapestry

#### **Book chapter**

Another important PHT event was the launch of the book: *Our Vision for Liberation: Engaged Palestinian Leaders & Intellectuals Speak Out.* PHT contributed to this important book, a



publication authored by Ramzy Baroud and Ilan Pappé.
On behalf of the Project, contributors Jehan Al Farrah and Jan Chalmers jointly wrote the chapter 'Through the Eye of the Needle: stitching the Palestinian History of Resistance and Sumud'. In the introduction, the authors highlight Oxford's Friendship and Twinning link with Ramallah and how this "celebrates many years of grassroots friendship between people in the two cities".

Image: A refugee camp, a military watchtower, and the apartheid wall

New tapestry inspired by art created by Palestinian artist Rani Sharabati, of Hebron

#### **Twinned Cities Event in Oxford**

Oxford Ramallah Twinning linked with Oxford Dabkeh Group, Palestinian History Tapestry and Mandala Theatre to join together for an event on 1<sup>st</sup> October 2022. The day was organised by Oxford International Links who produced a great event. They supported the Dabkeh Group to perform and also funded the new banner (shown on the front cover of this Annual Report).

The event was held in the beautiful Sheldonian Theatre. It was very exciting for Ramallah, Palestine to be represented at the Sheldonian with the Palestinian flag, Dabkeh, displays of the Mandala Theatre visit, PHT panels and traditional embroidery. Members of the public, along with supporters of Oxford Ramallah Twinning and Oxford Ramallah Friendship Association, joined in with enthusiasm as Oxford Dabkeh Group taught them some Dabkeh dance steps.

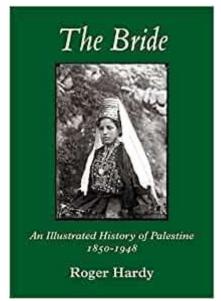


# **Oxford International Links Twin City Sign**

The twin city sign was unveiled next to Carfax Tower in November 2022, by the Lord Mayor, Cllr James Fry. The sign shows a photo and text from all the twin cities and includes Ramallah in the West Bank. This is a positive addition from the City Council that allows visitors to the city centre to see the council's support for Oxford Ramallah twinning.



#### Talk by Roger Hardy: 'A History of Palestine in Twelve Photographs'



On 15<sup>th</sup> November, Roger Hardy, a former Middle East analyst for the BBC World Service and resident of Oxfordshire, gave a highly informative and interesting talk to ORFA and ORT supporters in the Council Chamber of Oxford Town Hall. Using twelve extraordinary, high-quality historical photographs and eye-witness accounts from Arabs, Zionists and Britons of the time, Roger brought to life the story of Palestine from 1850 – 1948. He encouraged his audience, when viewing images such as these, always to ask the question, who took the photograph and why. What was the political and social context? For the discerning viewer and reader, these important photographic and written records of life in Palestine before the Nakba, vividly bring the past to life and add new dimensions to the way we understand Palestine's past and current reality.

We thank Roger Hardy for his stimulating talk and for sharing his impressive research with us. Professor Avi Shlaim, one of our patrons, chaired the meeting, introducing our speaker and contributing his own expertise to the valuable Q&A /discussion session which followed Roger's presentation. We thank Avi again for his help and support. We are grateful too for all the assistance given by the Town Hall IT and security staff who contributed to the success and smooth running of the event.

All copies of Roger Hardy's recent book, 'The Bride: An illustrated History of Palestine 1850 – 1948' on sale at the end of the event were quickly snapped up, testimony to the quality of the talk's material and to Roger's most engaging speaking style.

# **British Palestine Friendship and Twinning Network**

We continued to work with the National Twinning Network. <a href="www.twinningwithpalestine.net">www.twinningwithpalestine.net</a> This included getting and giving reports of activities. The Network has resources, and their links with the Balfour Project have provided good information. Some twinning groups, including the Sheffield group, hold open zoom meetings with their friends in Palestine.

This year the Network reinstated a physical national meeting in Derby, with Palestinian reps on zoom. This was again useful for information, as to what is possible.

The Twinning Network AGM was held by zoom, this elected officers, and hopefully will organise funding to continue having a full-time organiser. There are plans to try to increase Trade Union participation. All the work we do is to gain support for Palestine, and this clearly needs national organisation, through the linking of groups work. If any of our members would like to work with national twinning, then please say so.

#### **ORT and ORFA stalls**

We ran stalls and linked with Palestine Solidarity Campaign and Palestinian History Tapestry at different events. We had stalls at Leveller's Day in Burford, The Green Fair in Oxford Town Hall and the Student Day of Action held at Mansfield College, Oxford University (organised by the Arab Society).

#### **Working Towards School Links**

On a visit in summer 2022, ORFA members were asked by the Headteacher of Al Am'ari UNRWA Girls' School if we could help them to set up a link with a school in the UK. The Al Am'ari Girls' School has 560 pupils, aged from 6 to 15. She hoped that contact with children in UK schools would help her pupils develop skills in spoken English and literacy. With high levels of unemployment, they need these skills for job interviews, and also for university study as many books and materials are in English.

Just as importantly, knowing that adults and children in the UK are interested in their lives and culture would be good for their self esteem.

ORFA has been looking for schools in Oxford that would like to make links. One primary school in Oxford has shown interest so far.

# **Annual Financial Report April 2022 - March 2023**

#### **ORFA Accounts:**

Financial period start: 02 April 2022 Financial period end: 01 April 2023

#### Income and expenditure:

Carried forward: £8765.07

Income: £1526.84 Spending: £7629

Total (balance) on 1 April 2023: £2662.91

#### Main points:

Most donations are received now through Localgiving (gift aid automatically processed, this year mostly through direct debit): £1234.34

- 1. Most of LG donations was made through direct debit payments: £757.89
- 2. Donations were received by ORFA to support the 2023 summer visit: £476.45
- 3. Other donations: £292.50
- 4. Charity Commission Annual Return 2022/2023 to be submitted with the figures as shown here.
- 5. ORFA continues to hold ringfenced funds to support Dabkeh in Oxford; £200 from last year's accounts and a further £200 from Oxford International Links (see 2022/23 accounts).
- 6. The transfer of £3400 to the Women's Centre on 28/04/22 was money raised in the previous financial year for repairs to the kindergarten/Centre.

DATE		CREDIT	DEBIT	BALANCE
31/03/2022	Payment for stitched logos - Women Centre Sewing Project		401.04	8765.07
13/04/2022	Donation through localgiving	98.84		8863.91
27/04/2022	Donation through localgiving	11.15		8875.06
28/04/2022	Payment for Oxford City Council for use of LCD equipment		60	8815.06
28/04/2022	Payment for NM - transfer to Women Centre		3400	5415.06
05/05/2022	Donation through localgiving	44.15		5459.21
11/05/2022	PHT Project Donation for ORT Logo Panel	200		5659.21
19/05/2022	Donation through localgiving	55.3		5714.51
26/05/2022	Donation through localgiving	22.3		5736.81
09/06/2022	Donation through localgiving	14.69		5751.5
16/06/2022	Donation through localgiving	44.15		5795.65
29/06/2022	Donation through localgiving	14.71		5810.36
15/07/2022	Donation through localgiving	44.15		5854.51
20/07/2022	Donation through localgiving	11.15		5865.66
17/08/2022	Donation through localgiving	55.3		5920.96
14/09/2022	Donation through localgiving	55.3		5976.26
10/10/2022	Localgiving membership fee		96	5880.26
12/10/2022	Donation through localgiving	44.15		5924.41
26/10/2022	Donation through localgiving	11.15		5935.56
16/11/2022	Donation through localgiving	44.15		5979.71
23/11/2022	Donation through localgiving	11.15		5990.86
22/12/2022	Donation through localgiving	55.3		6046.16
17/01/2023	PayPal Fund - donation (2 cheques: £25+£67.50)	92.5		6138.66
18/01/2023	Donation through localgiving	43.65		6182.31
25/01/2023	Donation through localgiving	11.15		6193.46
15/02/2023	Donation through localgiving	43.65		6237.11
01/03/2023	Britain Palestine Friendship and Twinning Network (subs)		35	6202.11
01/03/2023	Donation through localgiving	11.15		6213.26
15/03/2023	Donation through localgiving	11.2		6224.46
21/03/2023	Flights - Summer visit 2023		4038	2186.46
29/03/2023	Donation through localgiving	476.45		2662.91
		1526.84	7629	1

1526.84 7629

#### Through the Charity Commission ORFA charity is classified as:

- Working in the area of education and training, arts/culture/heritage, human rights/religious or racial harmony or diversity.
- Working with the general public/mankind.

ORFA's Charitable Objects are copied below as adopted: (CONSTITUTION ADOPTED 18 OCT 2011 AS AMENDED ON 19/11/2013)

- 1. To promote human rights (as set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and subsequent United Nations conventions and declarations) by all or any of the following means:
- raising awareness of human rights and humanitarian issues relevant to the Israeli Palestinian conflict in general;
- researching and monitoring abuses of human rights and infringements of human rights law;
- educating the public about human rights and human rights law;
- promoting public support for human rights and the observance of human rights law;
- working to eliminate abuses of human rights and infringements of human rights law;
- working to obtain and promote redress for the victims of human rights abuses and their families and infringements of human rights law.
- providing support to and relieving need among the victims of human rights abuses and infringements of human rights law and their families.
- 2. To advance the education of the public in the UK and Palestine, in particular in Ramallah and its environs by all or any of the following means:
- to provide extra-curricular education to improve the educational standards of the local people, inhabitants and refugees;
- to focus on improving the educational resources available to those in need, especially the youth and refugees.
- to assist in providing directly or indirectly educational teaching material, books and tools to contribute to the education or professional development of the youth and refugees.
- to support community based education through the support of community based projects and resources.
- to help the community build sustainable and locally managed educational resources.
- to bring people from the community based projects to oxford to further their education in a way that improves their skills and opportunities at home and abroad.
- to present material in various forms to educate people in Oxford about the culture and ordinary lives of the people of Ramallah.
- to send groups and delegations from Oxford to Palestine and in particular to Ramallah and its environs to improve their awareness and to build community based / individual contacts between Oxford and Ramallah.