Examining Identity, Nationality, and Resistance Among Israel's Palestinian Minority in khulud khamis' Haifa Fragments

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Introduction

Most representations and journalistic reports on Palestine are often limited to the discussion of those Palestinians who underwent geographic displacement and currently are confined to the West Bank and Gaza, and those who have been forced to seek refugee status in neighbouring countries. The lives of Palestinians who fell under Israel's control in 1948 (colloquially referred to as the '48 Palestinians) also merit critical attention. The collective identity of the Palestinian minority within the nation-state of Israel is shaped by multiple social

forces deeply rooted in historical, political, and social contexts. Despite being legal citizens of the State of Israel, systemic discrimination and racial marginalisation create a conflict between their cultural identification as Palestinian and their Israeli citizenship.

khulud khamis' novel *Haifa Fragments* (2015) highlights the unique situation of Palestinians inside Israel. It revolves around the life of Maisoon, a young, queer, Christian, Palestinian woman who resides in Haifa, and who feels burdened by an ever-increasing sense of non-belonging to her own homeland. She feels alienated not only by the Zionist/Colonial discourse, but also by the discursive formulations of mainstream Palestinian nationalism. This paper examines the contradictions within the collective identity of Palestinian nationalism creating fragments around ethnicity, sexuality, gender, and class. Partha Chatterjee's idea of the 'fragment' as theorised in *The Nation and Its Fragments* (1993) has been employed as a primary analytical tool as it emphasises how anticolonial nationalism too often subordinates marginalised experiences to a dominant and homogenous nationalist discourse.

khamis' narrative also highlights the paradoxical situation of Israeli Palestinians, as their desire to gain political rights involves their participation in the Israeli political system which is also a source of their subordination to the Israeli State. Thus, this paper also explores

the unique strategies adopted by Israeli Palestinians in khamis' novel to counter Zionist and nationalist hegemonies, as a means of personal and collective preservation. Ultimately, this paper argues that khamis' characters, by navigating between many forms of alliances and divisions, hold up a 'fragmented' lived reality that cannot be adequately expressed through totalising discourses.

Historical Context

One of the dominant public discourses surrounding the nation-state of Israel is that it is the sole country which guarantees "democracy" to its citizens, supposedly in a region where neighbouring nation-states have failed to grant their inhabitants the same. However, the constant identification of Israel as a Jewish state by its leaders, and the implementation of laws which privilege Jewish citizens over non-Jewish people, deeply contradict this myth (White 2012, 80-85). Makkawi (2008) characterises the condition of Israel's Palestinian minority within the framework of a colonial-apartheid regime. While addressing the commonly drawn parallels between the Israeli regime and South Africa's apartheid system, he emphasises the unique aspect of Palestinian displacement, contrasting it with the native population of South Africa who remained in their homeland. Furthermore, he highlights the absence of a comprehensive constitution in Israel that adequately addresses the rights and relationships of both Jewish and non-Jewish citizens,

including Palestinian refugees seeking repatriation (23-24). Another dominant myth propagated by the Israeli national(ist) discourse, which augments the legitimation of the Zionist nation-state, is that Israel is "a land without a people for a people without a land" (Nasser 2005, 38-39). In *Haifa Fragments*, Maisoon finds the state's attempts to erase any past traces of her people, her own "personal permanent deletion by rewriting history" to be "kafkaesque" (khamis 2015, 65)— "it terrified her. She's filled with a desolate feeling that they want to delete her permanently- delete all signs of her memory, of her ever being here" (65).

Depoliticising the 'Everyday'

At the beginning of the novel, Maisoon, a jewellery designer, makes an anxious trip to the Israeli border checkpoint, to pick up a sick Palestinian child from the West Bank, to reach a hospital inside Israel. Though he had already attained a special permit for the visit, the child was still denied entry inside Israel by the border security, on the pretext that he had "the wrong permit" (15). This proves to be one of the episodes in the novel when Maisoon registers the vast chasm that exists between the lives of Palestinians on either side of "the green line" (22), i.e. the border between Israel and the West Bank. Maisoon could see the child "on the other side of the fence. The whole time—three hours—he was just looking at our side of the world." (16)

When Maisoon relates the incident at the checkpoint to her partner, a Muslim Palestinian, Ziyad, the latter refuses to partake in any discussion relating to politics: "he doesn't want anything to do with the other side of his world" (22). In a study which had as its subject the everyday lives of Palestinian refugees in a Jordanian refugee camp, Luigi Achilli (2014) addresses the "puzzling absence of political participation" (234) among the Palestinian camp dwellers. Achilli sees this dissociation from nationalist politics on the part of the refugees as the result of the tension between "the effort of living an ordinary life" and the "nationalistic struggles of an exiled and marginalized community" (242).

For members of a nation-state whose cultural identity is in conflict with their national identity, participation in political action may entail a question of alliance and produce "adversarial positions" (Achilli 2014, 242). Such a question always threatens to exacerbate the conditions which limit access to resources and opportunities for Palestinians— "any assertion of Palestinianness is perceived… as a manifestation of disloyalty… political dissent is often seen as an expression of Palestinianness" (242). Within this framework of understanding, Ziyad's staunch desire to keep politics out of his everyday life, to avoid "anything that had to do with checkpoints and little sick kids" (khamis 2015, 33), assumes a political character, as it develops in response to Israeli State politics. His non-political identity may be understood as "an inherently political act of depoliticization of a given po-

litical reality" (Achilli 2014, 244). Rejecting involvement in anything generally regarded as political allows him to constitute a "new space of subjectivity and agency" (244) which lies outside of the dichotomy of choices between refusing any form of integration in the public life of the country, and abandoning his Palestinianness. This space allows him the possibility of safety, comfort, and an escape from traumatic memories.

However, Ziyad's everyday is deeply marred by racist encounters in the workplace and the public space, along with the presence of armed personnel in 'ordinary' spaces like public transport—all these serve as reminders of his "other" status within the Zionist regime. Armed personnel also serve as symbols of State violence— a very potent threat constantly looming over the lives of Palestinian citizens. In the professional sphere, Ziyad's life has made little progress despite his qualifications because "most Jewish companies didn't want an Arab employee" (khamis 2015, 34). On the other hand, he also fails to find any recourse within the Arab community, where success depended on kinship ties and personal friendships: "you had to have the right connections, the right family name and, sometimes even the right religion" (34).

Media, Customs, and Split Loyalties

Like Ziyad, Maisoon's father, Majid, also displays an eagerness to distance himself from politics. Majid belongs

to a generation "today called the subservient. Those who never dared raise their heads. Those who grew up under military rule; fear becoming an inseparable part of their very essence" (40). Like Ziyad, Majid tries to fill his life with 'ordinariness'. However, try as he might to settle into the fabric of everyday life, memories keep gnawing "at [his] mind . . . [His] sanity" (165-166). On top of that, he knows his ability to participate in the public life of his country is restricted, "[b]ecause his name was Majid" (40). Maisoon has always derided her father's meekness. To her, he had always been an:

> obedient citizen, making an effort to be as inconspicuous as he could be with his choice of clothes, behaviour, the radio stations he listened to in the car. Or the way he lowered his voice when pronouncing his name. Very rarely, when he felt extra brave, he'd put on Fairouz but he would turn it off when they neared a public space with security guards. (40)

However, Maisoon discovers that this was not always the case. In his youth, Majid had been an active participant in the resistance movement against Zionist colonisation and had even served time in prison. Back then, he exclusively wrote poetry about land and rootedness, infused with "Images of the ancient olive tree in an ancient land. Refusal to leave. Resistance" (44). Repeated defeats, imprisonment, internal strife, and fear of collaborators

caused him to become greatly disillusioned with the Palestinian Nationalist Movement. His painful experiences crushed all his idealism, turning him into a thoroughly resigned and docile citizen.

Much has been written on the influence of religion in shaping individual and collective political identities of Palestinians. As the struggle of Palestinians was against political Zionism— the idea that geographical Palestine belongs exclusively to Jewish people— and because the majority of Palestinians identify as Muslims, it was inevitable that religion would become inextricably tied with the anti-Occupation movement. Over time, several nationalist factions began drawing on a range of symbols and concepts pertaining to the Islamic tradition, particularly the notion of "Jihad" to define the anti-Occupation struggle. Failure of secular nationalist factions to secure statehood rights also resulted in the rising popularity of factions which aligned Palestinian nationalism with Islam (Lybarger 2007, 5). This not only resulted in the marginalisation of Christians and other non-Muslim groups within the nationalist discourse but also lent a religious character to the Palestinian national identity in the global context. Jihad— a highly contentious term that may be variously interpreted to mean struggle against both external (military) threats or internal (moral) conflicts against temptations— has been used in multiple contexts in the Middle East to self-characterise coups, recoups, and anti-colonial movements. In Western me-

dia, the term is increasingly used synonymously with "terrorism" (Shaw 2023, 397-399). Thus, the use of the notion of "Jihad" on the part of Palestinian Fedayeen to describe their struggle against Zionist encroachment backfired as it allowed Western media to appropriate the term and portray the Palestinian freedom struggle as terrorism (i.e. illegitimate military action as opposed to the legitimate military action of the nation-state of Israel) and to situate them as part of the global threat of 'Islamic terrorism' (398).

Majid acknowledges to himself that the Palestinian resistance "is a struggle over home. Religion has nothing to do with it" (khamis 2015, 88). However, the splintering of loyalties over religion has penetrated his everyday life as well: he cannot accept his daughter's relationship with a Muslim Palestinian. Through Majid's character, khamis addresses the many cultural intersections which shape the process of personal and collective identity formations among the '48 Palestinians'. Emphasising the competing social forces that might be inherent in one's cultural identity, Calhoun (1994) writes:

> ... every collective identity is open to both internal subdivision and calls for its incorporation into some larger category of primary identity. This is not only an issue for alternative collective identities, but for individuals who are commonly treated in this discourse as though they were unitary and internally homogenous. The capacity for an internal dialogicality is erased. (27)

Majid's disdain for Ziyad's religion persists despite his allegiance to the Palestinian anticolonial movement. This not only dismantles a homogenous conception of social identity but also brings into focus how cultural hegemony within anticolonial nationalist movements gives rise to hostilities among social groups, creating 'fragments'. According to Partha Chatterjee (1993), a 'fragment' may be any form of expression which provides "resistances to [the] normalizing project" of hegemonic anticolonial movements which seek to create a homogenous national identity and culture (13). Majid's attitude towards Ziyad invokes the contradictions within the collective Palestinian national identity which emerge as a result of the attempt to impose an essentialist and dominant 'national culture'.

Gender and the Nation

As a queer woman, Maisoon too experiences these contradictory social forces. She is hostile to those aspects of her culture which is dominated by a hetero-patriarchal ideology. She views marriage as a "shackle" (khamis 2015, 45) much to Ziyad's chagrin, and cannot accept that the lives of women in the villages of West Bank are often dependent on the whims of men. As with the geographic landscape of urban Israel, she experiences even the domestic home-space as one which demands "careful navigation": "There are moulds already made for her;

their clearly defined boundaries are not to be crossed under any circumstances. For those who do—the price is always too high to pay"(21).

When Maisoon expresses her desire to visit a nargila place frequented by Ziyad and other Palestinians, she is told that it is "closed" to women (50), but she is adamant about going. Inside the club, she is made to feel like an "invader" (51) by the men but she decides to stay on. One of the men begins to narrate stories from his time in prison, when "all of a sudden [it] turned into a tale of women and sexual journeys" (51).

One recurring motif in Palestinian literature is the theme of returning. Traditionally, this return to the lost homeland has been portrayed as an exclusively male endeavour in fiction produced by male writers. The land that was lost is often personalised as a mother or a lover yearning for her beloved, leading to a symbolic association between land and woman, casting Palestinian national subjectivity in exclusively male terms (Zalman 2002, 17-19).

Maisoon finds this practice of excluding women from both cultural narratives and physical spaces appalling. However, her desire for cultural transformation within her community co-exists with her identification with Palestinian culture. She experiences her subjectivity both as a colonised subject of the Israeli nation-state as well

as a Palestinian woman who operates within these interconnected social paradigms of ethnicity, class, and gender. She cannot relate to the confusion of her father's generation "about everything: loyalties, identities, politics, forced detachment from the rest of our people" (khamis 2015, 74).

Maisoon longs for a sense of cultural belonging predicated upon the unity and inclusion of all Palestinians, geographically divided they may be. She believes people on "both sides of the green line" are the same people separated by an "artificial division" (79). However, the episode at the checkpoint and subsequent encounters with people from the West Bank alter her outlook.

United by Culture, Separated by Occupation

At a Palestinian wedding, Maisoon meets Shahd, a young woman from the West Bank whose special permit expired before she could return. Taking Shahd in her car, Maisoon dangerously navigates around the checkpoints and finds herself "on the other side" (22). At the wedding, Shahd and Maisoon were simply fellow Palestinians, united by the same customs and traditions, but once inside the West Bank, their realities began to sink in. Maisoon realises:

> I'm not welcome in this part of the world. I'm not one of them. I'm a citizen of the state that occupies

their land. I have a blue ID in my wallet. I'm a traitor. I have running water and I don't need to worry that my home could be demolished at any moment, or that soldiers could raid my house in ungodly hours of the night. (22-23)

Walking into a Palestinian home for the first time, she wonders if they would accuse her of "betraying our people? Our land?" (23). Until this point her interactions with Palestinians outside of Israel have been quite remote, primarily involving communication through checkpoints or occasional community celebrations. All such encounters retrospectively appear to her to have been tainted by an inherent power imbalance. She realises that all this time she might have been perceived as the privileged individual extending aid to the "helpless" (23). Shahd's family greets her with stiff politeness and she is informed about how the restrictions placed on West Bank residents seeking employment in Israel have economically jeopardised their lives. Shahd talks about her friend Qais, who, like Maisoon and Ziyad, is a resident of the 'Triangle'- an area in the central part of Israel predominantly populated by Arab citizens. While Qais has the privilege of moving to Europe to pursue higher education, Shahd has to put her dreams on hold till the socioeconomic condition of her family improves.

Maisoon's anxieties about her identity are reiterated when Majid reminds her that there is no longer a "col-

lective we" (79). His speech succinctly presents the unique challenges encountered by Palestinians like Maisoon, and the grounds on which Shahd and Maisoon will always be divided:

> To live in a country that doesn't have your name on its flag. To keep having to spell out your name to clerks. To be looked at with hatred whenever you say something in a language that is not yours. To read signs in a language you didn't read at home. To be reminded that this land, the land your family tilled for hundreds of years, is not yours any more. To feel exiled in your own land. Not wanted. These are our struggles. (79)

Deeply impacted by the things her father tells her, Maisoon increasingly begins to ponder over her own identity. The battle of her family was for a "normal existence" (80). But in a country where her identity has been highly politicised, where one has to be cautious about what one wears, what language one speaks in the public space, where the public space is populated with "kids with machine guns"(84), and when images of violence still saturate one's memory, any assimilation into the normal fabric of life seems impossible.

Construction of Individual and Collective Identities

Writing on the nature of collective identities, Chantal Mouffe (2005) emphasises that identities are always a

result of identification processes which in turn are always in flux. The 'we/they' opposition which grounds identity formation processes does not represent fixed, essentialist entities. What is represented by the "they" provides the conditions upon which the construction of the "we" depends "We" represents the "constitutive outside" of the "they" (18-19). The essentialist 'We/They' discourse of the Israeli State, coupled with the traumatic memories of her parents, colour Maisoon's encounters with Jewish Israeli citizens. In most of her encounters with them, Maisoon is made to feel "[the] wall between their worlds" (khamis 2015, 38). Her meetings with her Jewish employer, Amalia, are all tacitly underscored by their conscious perception of each other as members of two ethnically distinct groups whose identities are highly politicised in the context of their country's history.

The contradictory desire to subvert and maintain difference is displayed by Maisoon's decision to pick an attire that wouldn't look "too Arab", nor something which would make her appear as someone who was "trying to shed her identity" (29). As Chatterjee (1993) points out, any display of essential difference in the political domain on the part of the colonised serves to reinforce colonial discourse which is predicated on that difference, yet paradoxically, contestation of that discourse also entails the invoking of an essential or 'cultural' difference by the colonised, so as to proclaim sovereignty over the "private" domain (10).

However, khamis never fails to remind us that Pales-tinians are subordinated not merely within a discursive framework but also by the threat of violent State repres-sion. For Maisoon, the simple act of picking the colour of her scarf becomes one which demands careful atten-tion: "in this place… every colour was weighed down with history and meaning" (29); blue and green connote politicised associations. She laments how her favourite, the black and white Keffiyeh— a globally recognised symbol of the Palestinian liberation movement— was "forbidden" to her; she can only wear it when she's alone and taking it off feels like she is leaving behind "part of her identity" at home (29). While returning home from work one evening, she sees graffiti in He-brew which says "DEATH TO ARABS"- "She is used to seeing such hate filled graffiti but never in her own neighbourhood" (60). These everyday encounters with hegemonic violence, which remind her of her 'outsider' status, force Maisoon to reflect on her social identity. She did not always feel "wholly Falasteeniya" but "ve-hemently refused the adjective 'Israeli' that was forced upon her" (108). Despite her distaste for patriarchal cus-toms, she feels a deep love for the material aspects of her culture: objects, music, and gestures that "make her feel part of something warm, ancient" (58). The smell of Kahwa, her mother's finjan, and music that is distinctly Palestinian, all offer her with subversive potential. They symbolise her refusal to be integrated into the Israeli or the "Arab Israeli" identity. Adorning herself with kohl,

and embracing Palestinian music and dance, all represent Maisoon's "greater need to preserve the distinctness of one's spiritual culture" (Chatterjee 1993, 6). While dancing, Maisoon years to find—

> her roots in the liquid music that has become her body. Landless. Language-less. Reaching out for something to hold on to—anything to keep her from shrinking into a crumpled piece of a discarded history book. (khamis 2015, 65)

Shahd echoes Maisoon's desire to immerse her life with aspects of Palestinian culture. She is unhappy with the limited role prescribed to women in her village but feels a deep attachment to her customs and traditions- "It doesn't matter how much we've become modern, how much we've changed, or how much of our oppressive traditions we've shed on the way; there are things we just refuse to let go of" (123). For both Shahd and Maisoon, resistance consists of developing an identity that stands up to Israeli models of development, or 'Westernization'. For them, the latter does not represent a liberatory model but symbolises an encroachment of land, rights, and identity. Maisoon's queerness, her gender identity, and her 'Palestinianness'- all encompass elements of her identity. She refuses to affirm one aspect of her identity while shedding another.

Modalities of Resistance in Contemporary Times Among the Palestinian Minority

The paradoxical situation of Palestinians in Israel is pointed out by Majid who believes that Maisoon's involvement in social activities, which provide aid to Palestinians in the West Bank, actually "strengthens the occupation" (88). Applying for permits and cooperating with border security personnel suggest willing participation in the Israeli state apparatus. These acts contribute to the legitimisation of Israeli State regulations, which discriminate between the Jewish and the non-Jewish populaces. It provides an illusion of helping Palestinians while reinforcing Israel-Palestine state relations on Israel's terms, obfuscating the roots of the problem. Majid resents that Maisoon is "patching up individual bruises" (88). It is antithetical to the armed struggle Palestinians of Majid's generation once pinned their hopes on.

Maisoon's position, however, is significantly different from Majid's. The relationship between the Israeli state apparatus and the Palestinian minority has undergone vast transformations in the last couple of decades. As a result, Maisoon has to devise new modes of resistance.

In his essay, 'An Ideology of Difference', Edward Said (1985) underlined the futility on the part of Palestinians to wish to return to a former past untainted by Zionist politics. He sees community with Israeli Jews as the only

possible choice left to Palestinians; he emphasises the need to develop new logics which would not be bound by "either unacceptable stagnation or annihilation" (57). Elsewhere, Said (1995) remarks on the need for Palestinians to develop their own sense of cultural and political individuality to enter into real "dialogue" with Israel or Western discourses. He sees both the rejectionist attitude and servility to the West as "a reproduction of the colonial relationship between a weaker and a stronger culture" (98).

The idea that Said essentially articulates is that the presence of Jews— both Zionist and non-Zionist— in Palestine/Israel is a reality that Palestinians must come to terms with. For Maisoon and her family, weddings, festivals, and harvests, take the shape of counter-spaces to 'official' public spaces in the Israeli nation-state which are dominated by ethnically exclusivist discourse. Therefore, Maisoon's decision to invite Amalia to one of her family's Christmas gatherings naturally provokes scepticism and discomfort. But her invitation represents an attempt on her part to enter into critical dialogue with hegemonic narratives and to counter them with her own; it symbolises an attempt to diffuse the assumption that there exists between her and Amalia any "essential" difference that assigns them to groups with supposedly opposing interests. Through her interactions with Maisoon, Amalia learns that there are "other narratives of history" (khamis 2015, 156). The interrelation between

the identities of the Jewish and non-Jewish citizens of the State is emphasised when Amalia confesses to Maisoon, "you have changed my history by telling me yours" (156). Their interaction also challenges the belief that any "essential" difference must be maintained for anticolonial nationalism to be fruitful.

Furthermore, khamis brings to light the dependence of the Israeli national identity on the construction of the "Israeli Arab" identity. One way of constructing the Zionist narrative is to omit any reference to historical Palestine in official or academic documents. The Israeli school curriculum aimed to cultivate a distinct "de-Palestinized" ethnic identity of the 'Israeli-Arab'. The history of 'Israeli-Arabs' was presented as consonant with the history of Israel. It integrated teachings of the Koran, the New Testament, the Hebrew Bible, and Hebrew literature, fostering a bilingual, bicultural populace, who would constitute an obedient subject of "Israeli democracy". Despite this, Arab citizens faced systematic deprivation of land, welfare, jobs, and housing, undermining their socio-economic opportunities (Kimmerling 2001, 134). Israelis like Amalia are brought up to believe that "those who remained in Israel after 1948 were Israeli Arabs. Not Palestinians" (khamis 2015, 156). khamis does not portray every Jewish character as callous or chauvinist; Amalia's indifference to the plight of Palestinians is shown to be a product of state indoctrination. Mutual dialogue leads to the liberatory possibilities of alliances

between Palestinians and Jewish citizens. It represents the potential to subvert myths perpetrated by Zionist as well as hegemonic nationalist discourses.

Alliance with the 'Enemy'

Towards the end of the narrative, Maisoon is faced with the difficult choice of accepting a partnership offer with Amalia. While this presents an opportunity to fulfil a life-long personal goal for her, her decision is complicated by apprehensions over how news of her working with "a Yahuddiya"- a Jewish person- would be received by members of Shahd's village (158). Personal choices are not personal but a result of negotiations between politics of inclusion and exclusion. Ultimately, Maisoon decides she does not have to "compromise her art" (160). She comes to a realization about the distance between her world and Shahd's— "United by tradition, history, language, heritage. Divided by Occupation. There was always this pull, this tension between the here and the there. But she belonged here, in Haifa. And there was a reality here" (159).

For Maisoon, art has always served as a vessel for self-assertion. As a jewellery designer, her inspiration comes from Palestinian art and architecture, preferring pieces which looked like they "held a secret story", over the more modern abstract ones (30). Designing this particular style of jewellery— whose meaning is known only

to her— provides her with a sense of assurance "that she wasn't betraying herself, whatever the consequences" (30).

Her decision to accept the business partnership offer with Amalia is accompanied by a resolve to continue to make jewellery designs "with Palestinian history" (160). Given the restrictions imposed on her by the Zionist State, this is the only means to counter the erasure of her people's history and culture. She finds a means to assert her presence in the public life of the State, without undergoing forced social integration.

Conclusion

Haifa Fragments revolves around two interconnected issues: the alienation felt by Palestinians towards their national identity (not only as a result of the State's implementation of racist policies, but also on account of the ever-present antagonism between the Jewish citizens and the non-Jewish Arabs), and the enduring impact of Israeli state formation on the lives of Palestinians on either side of Israel's borders, resulting in insurmountable social differences between the two groups. The identities of millennial and post-millennial Israeli-Palestinians are shaped by a constant tension between a desire to find greater opportunities to participate in the public life of their country and the demand imposed upon them to

de-Palestinize themselves. The struggle for greater political rights in the Israeli system is tied to the demand for social assimilation. The purported freedom offered by urban life in Israel is coloured by racist power relations. Moreover, Palestinians marginalised across religion, gender, sexuality, race, and class, have to grapple against the subordination of their voices by the mainstream nationalist discourse. In the space of their hyphenated existence, young Palestinians like Maisoon and Ziyad attempt to construct personal models of resistance and self-affirmation. While Ziyad asserts his agency through political disengagement, Maisoon channels her yearning for a culture to call her own into her art. Both struggle against the stifling feeling of being exiled in their own homes, but both arrive at an understanding that looking towards the future need not happen at the expense of forgetting the past—

> We want to live. And in order to live, we can't afford to wallow in the dust of history. We have to get busy and build something tangible. No, we haven't forgotten history but we go on (145).

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