



The Other Israel

Newsletter of the Israeli Council
for Israeli-Palestinian Peace

November-December, 1983

№ 4-5

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Introduction

The Likud won Israel's general elections in 1981 on the strength of two false promises. Prime-Minister Begin toured Israel, addressing large rallies and promising a quick, military victory in which mighty Israel would smite the evil Arabs. At the same time, Finance-Minister Yoram Aridor promised that the war would not entail a war-economy: we would invade Lebanon while buying new cars, and colonize the West Bank in luxurious villas. It took only a month or two of war in Lebanon for Begin's lie to be exposed; Aridor's took about a year longer.

Even the enormous aid which the U.S. is continuing to pour into Israel is no longer enough. The Israeli government has no choice but to present the bill for its expansionist policies, in both Lebanon and the West Bank, to the citizens of Israel. This is the root of the deepening economic crisis facing Israel in recent months.

It is easy, even for the most unsophisticated person, to understand that the death of soldiers in Lebanon is the direct result of their having been sent there by the government; it is far more difficult, however, to understand that economic difficulties are also a result of the same war, and the government encourages the public to see its foreign policy and its economic policy as totally unconnected. Many Israelis tend to attribute economic failures to the personal incompetence of the finance minister, without realizing that there is a question of policy involved. Thus, after the stock-market crash of October, many people

transferred their money to real-estate, including the government-subsidized real-estate in the West Bank settlements; and the Israeli public accepted without protest the appointment of a West Bank settler, Yig'al Cohen-Orgad, as the new finance minister.

In this situation, the Israeli peace movement faces the difficult problem of convincing the workers who are being laid off and whose wages are being cut, the poor who are paying more for basic foodstuffs, and the university students whose tuition fees are being increased, that their troubles are inseparable from the war and from settlement policy. The new "Alternative" party made a start in this direction, which is described fully in this issue.

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One of the side-effects of the economic crisis has been the steep increase in the publishing costs of **The Other Israel**. Some prices have soared by almost a hundred percent within a few months, yet our income lags far behind.

In the past, we have sent hundreds of free copies all over the world, and we did so gladly, because the primary function of this publication is to spread a message of peace, not to make money. The present conditions, however, are forcing us to cut our mailing list drastically. If you want to continue to receive **The Other Israel**, and at the same time help us in our struggle - please take out a subscription. This appeal is directed particularly to friends from all over the world, who sent us encouraging letters of solidarity, but failed to subscribe. Your letters have warmed our hearts, but we can't pay our bills with them!

The Editor

A HISTORIC MEETING IN CAIRO

As this issue of **The Other Israel** was going to press, we learned of the historic meeting between PLO chairman Yasser Arafat and President Mubarak, in Cairo.

We congratulate the PLO leader, whose courage and leadership have once again been demonstrated in the battle of Tripoli, upon taking this significant step. By meeting the Egyptian president, Arafat reaffirmed his adherence to the policy of consistently striving towards a political solution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Now that Syria has shown itself to be an enemy of the Palestinian people, and its insignificant Palestinian lackeys - to be mere Syrian agents, we hope that Arafat would demand and get the approval of the PLO decision-making institutions, where his policy has always enjoyed the support of the majority. After the evacuation of Tripoli and the defection of the Palestinian dissidents, a two-thirds majority, in accordance with the PLO constitution, should enable Arafat and his supporters to launch a vigorous policy, aiming at the establishment of an independent Palestinian State in the West Bank (including East Jerusalem) and the Gaza Strip, next to and in peace with Israel. (Arafat could have taken this step in the past, but refrained, for the sake of unanimity.)



CHRONICLES OF THE PEACE STRUGGLE

This section chronicles the struggle for peace going on in Israel in all its forms: demonstrations, lawsuits, political art, etc. It includes the actions of both regular peace organizations and non-political individuals and groups, as well as some positions taken by members of the political and military establishment.

As the Israeli government draws a large part of its support from Jewish communities outside Israel, the Israeli peace movement has been obliged to be active there as well. Some such activities are chronicled here. *

The present chronicle covers the period from the beginning of October to the middle of December.

**We will be obliged to readers if they send us further information on such events occurring in their countries.*

● 1/10 – A day of study is held in Be'er-Sheba. The participants visit beduin encampments and a beduin town, and meet with their inhabitants who are constantly harassed by the authorities. The event was organized by Shasi ("Israeli Socialist Left") – a small left-wing organization.

● 4/10 – The Supreme Court grants an order nisi to the Human and Civil Rights League ordering the police to show cause why they have forbidden the League from demonstrating in Upper Nazareth against racism.

Upper Nazareth is a Jewish town built during the fifties on land expropriated from residents of Arab Nazareth. In recent years, many Arabs have come to live there because the ministry of housing is not building new houses in Arab Nazareth. A racist organization, headed by Alexander Finkelstein, demands the expulsion of Arabs from Upper Nazareth.

– "Peace Now" calls upon Defence Minister Arens to arrest and prosecute Rabbi Levinger, head of the extremist Hebron settlers, for assaulting soldiers.

– Ya'akov Peter, a reserve sergeant, is jailed for 28 days for refusing to serve in Lebanon. He is the 100th soldier so jailed.

● 5/10 – Yuri Pines, an immigrant from the USSR whose parents were active there in the illegal Zionist movement, is jailed for the second time for refusing to serve in Lebanon. Pines is a regular soldier, and the pressures put upon him are much stronger than on a reserve soldier in the same position.

– About 200 people attend a meeting of the Peace List to the Jerusalem municipal elections.

● 6/10 – Dany Bar-Tal, a psychologist from Tel Aviv University, presents to an international conference a work on the psychological side of the

The main Israeli peace organizations mentioned here:

Peace Now – Israel's largest protest movement, follows a moderate line and seeks to extend its influence into the political center.

CSBU/CAWL – The Committee for Solidarity with Bir-Zeit University / The Committee Against The War in Lebanon – a protest movement following a more radical line and ready to demonstrate even on very unpopular issues.

"Yesh Gvul" (there is a border/there is a limit) – A group of reserve soldiers who refuse to serve in Lebanon (see article in this issue).

"Parents Against Silence" – an organization of parents whose sons serve in Lebanon.

ICIPP – The Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace – our own organization, which specializes in legitimizing contacts with the PLO.

"Campus" – a Jewish-Arab student movement

Women Against Occupation (WAO) – a feminist organization, which is active in pointing out the connection between occupation in the West Bank and Lebanon and the inequality of women in Israeli society.

The International Center for Peace in the Middle-East (ICPME) – An Israel-based organization, active in North America and Western Europe. Its positions are close to those of the Labor Alignment's doves.

Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The work analyses how both sides are driven to misunderstanding and hatred. He presents ways in which they could overcome these difficulties and understand each other.

– On the 10th anniversary of the Yom-Kippur War, a new book by a young Israeli author, Moshe Oren, appears. The book realistically describes the life of soldiers in a distant Israeli outpost in that war.

This book is part of a strong new trend in Israeli art and letters which more and more frequently deal with the problem of war and its consequences. This trend manifests itself in many forms, ranging from the first works of young authors and artists to a new production by Ha-Bima ("The Stage" – Israel's National Theater) of Euripides' "Women of Troy" – the world's oldest anti-war play.

● 7/10 – The Haifa Theater presents "Battle Shock", a play dealing with soldiers who suffered battle shock and a doctor who tries to heal them so they can go back to the front.

– WAO members demonstrate in front of the Neve-Tirtza women's prison, where the Palestinian prisoners have been severely punished for refusing to cook for their guards.

● 8/10 – A solidarity delegation visits the Druze villages in the Golan Heights whose inhabitants, in 1982, defied Israeli annexation with a general strike that lasted several months. The visit was initiated by the Communist Party, and people from several other organizations joined it.

● 9/10 – Hundreds of Jaffa Arabs participate in a protest prayer at the Hasan-Beck Mosque, whose minaret toppled several months ago in mysterious circumstances. They demand an end to bureaucratic procrastination in repairing the minaret. The



ministry of religious affairs threatens to fire the Imam of Jaffa for his participation in this protest.

— "Parents Against Silence" demonstrate in Jerusalem, saying "don't turn South Lebanon into Israel's North Bank!"

● 10/10 — Four soldiers are jailed for refusing to serve in Lebanon.

● 11/10 — Ha-Bima Theater presents "Bunker", a play about soldiers in a bunker who have to go out under fire to retrieve the body of a dead comrade.

● 12/10 — Two soldiers, Ya'akov Shein and Amir Masarik, are jailed for refusing to go to Lebanon. (For more about Ya'akov Shein, see also the article on "Yesh Gvul".)

● 15/10 — The "Jewish-Arab Action Committee for the Arabs of Jaffa" organizes a one-day work camp in a Jaffa Arab neighborhood neglected by the municipality.

● 16/10 — At the initiative of the ICPME, a "Jewish-Arab Educational Council" is formed. Its purpose is to bring together Israeli teachers, both Arab and Jewish, who believe that the Middle East conflict is to be solved through mutual recognition of the right to self-determination.

— Using the slogan "settlement is inseparable from inflation", members of "Peace Now" demonstrate in front of the Prime Minister's office during a cabinet meeting. They erect a symbolic "Settlements Altar" on which are "sacrificed" bread, olive oil, milk, margarine, a book symbolising education and a first-aid box symbolising health. "Peace Now" hopes the message will reach the Israeli Workers, who on the same day are holding a nation-wide two-hour strike to protest the government's economic policies.

● 17/10 — After winning its case in The Supreme Court (see October 4th), the Human and Civil Rights League holds a demonstration in Upper Nazareth. Jewish and Arab demonstrators call "no apartheid here!". The police prevent members of the racist group from assaulting the demonstration.

● 19/10 — Poet and singer Yehonatan Gefen publishes a new book, in which many of the poems have anti-war themes.

— "Parents Against Silence" hold a large meeting in Tel Aviv.

— "Ha-Ohalim" ("The Tents"), a movement of Jerusalem slum dwellers which is running in the Jerusalem municipal elections, holds a demonstration to protest recent austerity measures. At a rally, their leaders attack the settlements policy and the Lebanon War.

Among the Oriental Jews of the Jerusalem slums, where the great majority supports the Likud, there has existed since the early seventies a nucleus of radical people who can be considered a part of the peace movement. Unfortunately, this nucleus, manifesting itself in various movements, has not been able to grow beyond a few thousand at the most, or to extend itself to slums in other cities. Nevertheless, its continued survival in a difficult milieu is to be appreciated.

● 20/10 — The Supreme Court rejects an appeal against the ICIPP. Two Arabs are arrested in Haifa for meeting PLO leaders. (See ICIPP activities).

● 22/10 — In the evening "Yesh Gvul" members demonstrate in front of the military prison where their comrades are held. While most of the

demonstrators stand in front of the prison gates and call the imprisoned soldiers' names, a few climb on a mountain overlooking the prison, and spell the slogan "Yesh Gvul" with fire.

● 22-23/10 — The annual meeting of the AICIPP takes place in Washington (see ICIPP activities).

● 25/10 — In the Jerusalem municipal elections, the Peace List headed by Ya'akov Arnon wins about a thousand votes. (See separate article.) Ha-Ohalim (see October 19th) wins about 1600 votes, most of which can be considered to be from the Likud's constituency. Also, the slum leader Dede Ben-Shitrit, who supports "Peace Now" (see The Other Israel N° 2, chronicles for June 22nd), is elected to the municipal council in Teddy Kollek's list.

— A soldier is jailed for 35 days for refusing to serve in Lebanon.

● 26/10 — About a hundred people demonstrate in front of the American Embassy to protest Reagan's invasion of Grenada.

● 27/10 — After many public protests, the Arabs arrested on October 20th are released, but are immediately placed under "town arrest" (see ICIPP activities).

— The heads of the Kibbutz movements meet with Defence Minister Arens ask him not to send their members serving in the Nahal to pioneer "Gush Emunim" settlements. The Nahal ("Fighting-Pioneering Youth") is a special kind of military service, in which the soldiers spend half their time in pioneering new settlements, which are later taken over by civilians. It was founded by the kibbutzim themselves, during the fifties, but is now being used by the Likud government for its own purposes. The heads of the kibbutz movements are under pressure from their members in the army who do not care to do this service for "Gush Emunim". Arens, however, refuses to give the kibbutz leaders any definite promise.

● 29/10 — About 200 people participate in the first meeting of the new party, "Alternative" (see separate article).

— A general strike is held in the Arab town Kafr-Kasim to mark the 27th anniversary of the 1956 massacre there.

● 31/10 — A military doctor is jailed for 35 days for refusing to serve in Lebanon.

— In Neve Tirtza women's prison, prisoners protest the confiscation of their library by guards. In retaliation, tear gas is pumped into their cells, all windows are closed, and the prisoners are forbidden to leave the cells for several days.

● 1-3/11 — In elections for the student union at the Technion in Haifa (not to be confused with the Haifa University), "Campus" increases its representation.

● 2/11 — At a rally, organized by the new student union at Tel Aviv University to protest the intended rise in tuition fees, the head of the Arab Students' Union says: "25 per cent of the settlement budget, or the cost of 20 days of Israeli occupation in Lebanon, will be enough to solve all the problems in the university". Many students cheer him, but some claim this kind of argument will prevent right-wing students from participating in the student union's struggle.



● 2/11 – The Ramla dance theater, in which Jewish and Arab dancers participate, presents a dance called “Via Dolorosa”, whose theme is the life of refugees. The dancers emphasize that they mean to portray all refugees, not just Palestinian ones. During the dance, they use colored strips of cloth, which contain the colors of both the Israeli and Palestinian flags.

– Tel Aviv Mayor Shlomo Lahat, of the Likud, surprisingly comes out against the Lebanon War. The shift in Mayor Lahat’s public position since July ‘82 (when he was one of the chief speakers at a giant pro-war rally, held in front of the municipality building) is a reflection of a shift in public opinion. Opportunist Lahat will never stray far from what he believes the public wants to hear.

● 4/11 – The first news of the atrocity at Neve-Tirtza is brought by the prisoners’ lawyer to a demonstration of Palestinian women at the International Red Cross offices in East Jerusalem. Members of the WAO and women members of the Israeli Communist Party also participate.

● 5/11 – A CSBU delegation visits the Daheishe refugee camp.

● 6/11 – “Parents Against Silence” holds a demonstration in front of the defence ministry in Tel Aviv, to mark the passing of another month since the beginning of the war.

● 7/11 – An article in “Pi-Ha’aton”, the newspaper of the Jerusalem student union, reveals new details of the police investigation of the Emil Grunzweig murder, showing that the police ignored important evidence.*

– In the Druze village Beit-Jan, the funerals of five soldiers who were killed in Lebanon are held. During the funerals, much bitterness is voiced against the government, which is conscripting Druze youths into the army while maintaining the same discriminatory policies towards Druze villages that it has towards other Arab villages.

● 7-17/11 – “Yesh Gvul” members hold a vigil in front of Prime Minister Shamir’s home, demanding Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon and the release of their imprisoned comrades.

● 8/11 – As Prime Minister Shamir tours Lebanon and meets with soldiers, he encounters a soldier who says: “I feel here like a Soviet soldier in Afghanistan or a German soldier in World War II. I hope many soldiers will refuse to serve here and you won’t be able to stand the pressure!” Shamir’s reply is: “This soldier represents only a vocal minority. Most of our boys in Lebanon are good, loyal soldiers”. The whole episode is shown on Israeli Television.

● 8-11/11 – Members of the CAWL collect signatures, in Tel Aviv’s main street, on a petition calling for the return of Israeli soldiers before any more are killed. They get many new signatures from people with no previous connection to the peace movement.

● 11/11 – WAO members demonstrate in front of the “Neve-Tirtza” prison (see October 31st, November 4th).

– An ICPME team, headed by Dedi Zucker, publishes the results of an inquiry into conditions in the occupied territories. Among other revelations, their report shows that from the salaries of workers from the occupied territories, the same deductions are made as from those of Israeli workers – but the Arab workers do not receive the social benefits that Israelis receive.

However, the Zucker team, in an impossible attempt to be “scientifically objective” on a subject that cannot help but be political, has accepted the military occupation as a fixed framework, without addressing the political side of the Palestinian question at all. Thus the team could end up supporting annexation in order “to give the Arabs civil rights”, a dangerously mistaken position taken by some groups.

● 12/11 – “The Progressive Movement of Nazareth”, the major opposition faction in the town council, which includes some of the leading figures among Israeli Arabs, convenes a rally to express solidarity with the legitimate leadership of the PLO, now under siege in Tripoli. Hundreds of people from Nazareth, as well as Arab mayors and public figures from Galilee villages, take part in the rally, which sharply condemns the aggression of the Syrian regime and the Palestinian separatists against the PLO leadership of Arafat and his colleagues. Uri Avnery, member of the ICIPP secretariat, reiterates the ICIPP’s position (see ICIPP activities).

– The Communist Party, which had for several months held a vacillating line of “neutrality” towards the Tripoli events, is forced by strong grass-roots pressure from its Arab members to take a firm stand. It also convenes a meeting in support of Arafat, in Haifa.

● 13/11 – “Peace Now” puts up posters with the slogan “cut settlements – not health and education!”

● 13 – 16/11 – “Yesh Gvul” collects signatures on its petition, asking the Defence Minister not to send the signatories to Lebanon. Several hundred new signatures are collected in three days.

● 14/11 – A soldier, Michael Warszawski, is jailed for the second time for refusing to serve in Lebanon. (He was first jailed on September 16th.)

– “Peace Now” holds a public meeting in Jerusalem, about the necessity of withdrawing from Lebanon. Unfortunately, out of a desire to demonstrate wide political support, the speakers invited are mostly from the political center and the Labor Party, and some express satisfaction with what they regard as the “end” of the PLO. Also, “Peace Now” itself retreats from the slogan “get out of Lebanon now”, used at its June 6th demonstration, and adopts a far more vague formulation about “implementing a timetable for withdrawal”. However, it must be remembered that “Peace Now” has passed through similar periods in the past, and the pressure of events has always forced it to adopt a more radical position.

● 15/11 – “Campus” members demonstrate in front of the Knesset against the proposed increase of tuition fees in the universities. They demand the settlements budget be cut instead.

– Anat Saragosty, a Haolam Hazeh photographer, is detained by the army in the West Bank town of Tulkarm, while interviewing the

* Emil Grunzweig is the “Peace Now” activist murdered in an attack on a demonstration. The police have been unable to find the killers.



families of two youths killed by Israeli security forces during a demonstration.

● 16/11 – In an interview with Koteret Rashit, Amir Peretz, the Labor mayor – elect of the “development town” Shderot in the Negev, declares his opposition to settlements and the Lebanon War, and his support for “Peace Now”.

He was elected on local issues, and these views were not part of his campaign (though he didn't hide them). Many of his voters had voted for the Likud in the Knesset elections. Nevertheless, this is one more indication that the peace movement has some support, even in what are considered right-wing strongholds, such as the predominantly Oriental-inhabited “development towns”.

● 17/11 – The military doctor jailed on October 31st is re-imprisoned immediately upon his release.

● 18/11 – The WAO holds a protest meeting in Tel Aviv against the maltreatment of Neve-Tirtza women prisoners.

● 19/11 – The Communist Party, now anxious to prove its support for Arafat, holds four simultaneous meetings in different Arab villages and towns.

● 19 - 20/11 – “Peace Now” delegates address a meeting of the “Friends of Peace Now in North America”, held in Boston.

● 20/11 – The CAWL, the WAO and “Yesh Gvul” hold a joint demonstration in front of the Prime Minister's office in Jerusalem.

● 21/11 – The ICIPP holds a press conference in Tel Aviv (see ICIPP activities).

– The CSBU holds a joint press conference in Jerusalem with the inhabitants of the Daheishe refugee camp to expose details of army maltreatment there.

● 21/11 – The ICPME, jointly with “Peace Now”, holds a public symposium in Jerusalem, in which leaders from several Jewish communities speak out. The phenomenon of Diaspora Jews refusing to toe the Israeli Government's line greatly infuriates right-wing speakers in Israel.

● 22/11 – Representatives of the ICIPP, “Yesh Gvul”, “Parents Against Silence”, the CAWL and “Netivot Shalom” (religious doves) meet with the ICPME delegations from abroad.

● 23/11 – “Yesh Gvul” members demonstrate in Jerusalem in front of the prison where Michael Warszawski is held. (By the new army policy, refusers are kept in separate prisons and isolated from each other).

● 25/11 – Ha'aretz prints an interview, obtained by telephone, with Abdallah Frangi, the PLO representative in West Germany.

– In an Israeli television interview, the mother of one of the POW's released by the PLO says: “I have always been a Likud supporter – Begin was my idol. Our leaders always told us they (the PLO) are terrorists, murderers . . . but they are just human beings. . . they treated my son well.” Several of the returning POW's themselves also talk about the good treatment they received, but the army soon takes them to an isolated camp with no contact with the outside. Within a few days, the ex-Chief-of-Staff, Rafael Eitan, opens a public campaign against the returning POW's, calling for them to be court-martialled for “cowardice”. He is joined by other right-wing ex-generals, and also by President

Haim Herzog, while speakers from the peace movement defend the POW's.

● 26/11 – A rally in support of Arafat takes place at the Beduin town Rahat, in the Negev. (The Negev Beduins, who until recently held no loyalty beyond the tribal level, were forced by Israeli dispossession and forced urbanisation to develop a political and National consciousness.)

● 28/11 – Members of “Parents Against Silence” rise early to demonstrate at Ben-Gurion Airport. There, at an early hour, Prime Minister Shamir and Defence Minister Arens are leaving for the U.S.A. As the Ministers' cars pass, the demonstrators shout: “Return our sons from Lebanon!”

– The president of Haifa University decides to remove three political pictures from an exhibition of paintings by the University Faculty of Creative Arts. He claims the pictures, painted by artist Avishay Eyal after he served as a guard at the Al-Ansar prison camp, “might cause unrest and disturbances among students”. The creative art teachers say they will close down the exhibition unless the pictures are returned.

● 29/11 – Members of the “Israeli Committee for Solidarity with the Chilean People” demonstrate at the Museum of the Diaspora in Tel Aviv when the Chilean Foreign Minister visits it. They brandish signs condemning Israeli cooperation with the Pinochet regime, which gives refuge to Nazi war criminals.

– Members of “Working and Studying Youth”, a youth movement connected with the Labor Party, demonstrate and demand immediate withdrawal from Lebanon.

– “Yesh Gvul” holds a poetry reading in Tel Aviv, on the anniversary of the U.N. decision to partition Palestine between a Jewish state and an Arab state. Many poets, Jews and Arabs, read their anti-war poems to a tightly packed hall.

● 30/11 – The Hebrew Writers' Association devotes a whole issue of its organ, Moznaim (“Scales”), to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, including poems and stories by Israeli and Palestinian authors dealing with the conflict.

– “Yesh Gvul” appeals to the Supreme Court against new army regulations. (See separate article.)

– In Paris, polarization within the Jewish community manifests itself during a lecture by the Israeli ambassador. As Ambassador Sofer refers to the Palestinian POW's released from Al-Ansar as “terrorists” (in fact, some of them were soldiers and most of them-ordinary civilians), about a third of the audience leave the hall in protest. (The date of this event is uncertain. Israeli newspapers reporting it gave several dates.)

– A “Peace Now” delegation meets with the commander of the army central command, demanding that he take steps to evict the “Gush Emunim” settlers from Joseph's Tomb in Nablus. The settlers received, two years ago, permission to stay in the tomb during the day, but not at night. Now, in defiance of the limitation, they stay over night as well, clearly intending to turn this into a full-scale settlement, as they did in Hebron. Also as in Hebron, they start a campaign of intimidation against the local population.

● 1/12 – Leading “Peace Now” members come to Joseph's Tomb. In a debate later shown on Israeli



Television, they tell the settlers to clear out. Meanwhile, "Peace Now" calls upon its supporters to be ready for a big demonstration at Joseph's Tomb the day after.

● 2/12 – Though indignant at the "ultimatum", as they call it, the settlers decide to postpone their Nablus plans, and restore the status-quo (that is, they stay at the tomb during the day only.) "Peace Now" decides to be content with this partial victory and calls off the intended demonstration.

– The Tel Aviv Municipality refuses to permit artist Ilan Molcho to put up his new poster named "Judaea Capta". It is based on a Roman coin issued after the Roman conquest of Judea, substituting an Israeli soldier and an Arab woman for the victorious Roman soldier and the captured Judean woman shown in the original. The Tel-Aviv Municipality claims the poster is "too big, beyond the regulation size for municipal bill-boards".

● 3/12 – An ICIPP delegation visits the deposed mayor of Nablus (see ICIPP activities).

– Thousands of "Yesh Gvul" supporters demonstrate in Tel Aviv. The Israeli Television completely ignores this event, despite the fact that two days earlier it covered a small demonstration against "Yesh Gvul" by the semi-fascist organization "Tzlil".*

– Contemporary politics creep into a historical get-together at kibbutz Ramat-Hakovesh, intended to commemorate the 40th anniversary of a 1943 British raid on the kibbutz. Kibbutz veterans tell the story: how the kibbutz was surrounded by British troops and police, how all males were concentrated in a big compound, how kibbutz women threw stones at the British soldiers, how a kibbutz member was beaten to death . . . The comparison with present events in the occupied territories becomes inevitable. Though Ramat-Hakovesh is a kibbutz with a hawkish tradition, many of its youth do not hesitate to compare the Ramat-Hakovesh of 1943 with the Daheishe refugee camp of 1983.

● 4/12 – At a meeting in Tel Aviv, members of several organizations and parties decide to found a new "Committee Against Racism", which will initiate public struggle against the Upper Nazareth racists and their ilk .

● 7/12 – "Campus" holds a big meeting at Tel Aviv University in support of Ya'akov Shein, who is

** Because the Israeli Television has only one channel, anything broadcast has enormous political impact, and every second of air time is hotly contested. The Israeli Broadcasting Authority, in theory a public and not a governmental agency, has a directorate composed according to the composition of the Knesset. The pro-government majority in this body, together with the government-appointed chairman, do their best to turn the television into a government mouthpiece. Nevertheless, the television is not yet completely muzzled and once in a while a news item critical of government policy slips in, as for example on October 25th. Such cases never fail to send Ariel Sharon and his ilk into paroxysms of rage, crying: "The media serve the PLO!"*

The ICIPP wins legal recognition for its emblem

The ICIPP emblem, consisting of the interlocked flags of Israel and Palestine, (it is shown at the top of page) has long been a source of bitter controversy. Right-wingers, infuriated by the sight of it, sought to make use of the notorious article 4(G) of the Prevention of Terrorism Act. Arab citizens of Israel have been jailed, for flying the Palestinian flag and even for singing Arab Nationalist songs. The police, seeking to apply this article to wearers of the ICIPP emblem as well, arrested several of them, and at the May 31st.

a "Campus" member. (See December 24th.) The chief speaker is Prof. Yeshayahu Leibovitz.

● 9/12 – Uri Avnery visits Karim Khalaf, the deposed mayor of Ramallah (See ICIPP activities).

● 10/12 – Members of the new "Alternative" party demonstrate in front of Finance Minister Cohen-Orgad's villa in a West Bank settlement.

– The ICIPP celebrates its 8th birthday.

● 12/12 – Yuri Pines again refuses to serve in Lebanon. This time, in a particularly malicious move, he is sent to a prison located in Lebanon.

– Policemen without a warrant break into the home of a CAWL activist in Haifa, claiming they saw a Palestinian flag on her roof.

● 13/12 – The "Children and Youth Theater" presents "White, Black and Gray", a play in which two youths, a Jew and an Arab, are hospitalised after a road accident. In the hospital, they constantly play chess, symbolising Israeli-Arab wars.

● 15/12 – "Yesh Gvul" members demonstrate in front of the Defence Ministry in Tel Aviv.

– A film on the Algerian struggle for independence is shown in Tel Aviv. Many critics point out, in reviewing it, the similarities between the FLN and the PLO. Some of them also reach the conclusion that Palestinian independence is inevitable, as Algerian independence was – and that the president of independent Palestine might, one day, be received as a guest of honor in Israel, as the Algerian president is today received in France.

● 17/12 – In Nazareth, Jews and Arabs from a wide range of political and social organizations gather for a meeting of the new "Committee Against Racism and For Coexistence". They all agree on the need to act firmly against racism. Afterwards, they go to visit an Arab family in Upper Nazareth that is being harassed by racist hooligans.

– Members of the CSBU come to the Daheishe refugee camp, and start paving a road within the camp, as an act of solidarity with the inhabitants. Large army forces evict them, arresting two.

● 18/12 – The entire population of kibbutz Nir-Oz demonstrates for a whole day at the Prime Minister's office and demands withdrawal from Lebanon. Only a few members stay behind on the kibbutz to take care of small children and livestock.



memorial meeting for Issam Sarawi confiscated the emblem displayed.

In response, the ICIPP sent a letter to the attorney-general, asking him to instruct the police to desist. His reply, though it is couched in complicated legal terms, has a clear import: the wearing of the ICIPP emblem does not, in itself, constitute a criminal offence, unless there are "added circumstances" (that is, unless the wearer also takes actions that clearly indicate his identification with the PLO). This is a significant victory, enabling the ICIPP to extend activities and removing one of its opponents' weapons. Of course, we will continue to strive for the complete repeal of all the anti-democratic laws and regulations existing in Israel.

ICIPP ACTIVITIES

On October 20th, the ICIPP won an important legal battle, when the Supreme Court decided to reject the appeal of Yedidia Be'ery, a right-wing activist. Be'ery had petitioned the Supreme Court for an order nisi against the attorney-general, ordering him to explain why he refused to prosecute Matti Peled for treason, on the grounds of Peled's participation in a joint press conference with the late Issam Sartawi. The Supreme Court completely rejected Be'ery's appeal, and even ordered Be'ery to pay legal fees to Amnon Zichrony, Peled's lawyer. During the hearing, the attorney general reiterated his position that political meetings with the PLO do not constitute a criminal offence. *

On the very same day, however, an Arab lawyer, Muhamad Miary of Haifa, and a student, Maisra Sayed of Acre, were arrested by the police because of their meetings with PLO leaders during the U.N. conference in Geneva. They were even forbidden to meet with their attorney, "for security reasons". This was a new manifestation of the discriminatory practices of the Israeli authorities, who in many cases arrest Arabs accused of the same offence for which Jews go free.

The ICIPP, naturally, found this attitude intolerable, and immediately published a sharp protest. The members of the ICIPP delegation to Geneva also signed a joint protest with all the other Israeli participants * and published it in *Ha'aretz*. Other persons and organizations joined the protest, among them the president of the Israeli Bar Association, David Liba'ai, a member of the Labor

* The Attorney General, Itzhak Zamir, often voices his reluctance to prosecute for any offence of a political nature. On November 30th, he refused to prosecute the racist leader Alexander Finkelstein, who called for the expulsion of all Arabs from Israel. In this case, Zamir used much the same arguments he used when refusing to prosecute Peled. Unfortunately, Zamir's tolerance extends only to Jews of all political shades of opinion. Arab citizens of Israel are being regularly prosecuted for offences of a political nature.

Party. Because of this public pressure, and because there was, in fact, no real case against Miary and Sayed, the authorities were forced to release them after a week.

Nevertheless, another way to harass the two was found: the anti-democratic emergency regulations of 1945 (originally enacted by the British colonial authorities against the Jews during their struggle for independence) were invoked against them. The commander of the army's northern command placed both of them under town arrest. This regulation stipulates that for half a year the accused cannot leave his town, must report three times a day to the local police station, and must remain at home during the night. This kind of penalty can be legally imposed on any citizen of Israel, without trial and without bringing any specific charges against him. Actually, it is used only against Arabs.

The ICIPP strongly condemned this vicious act, and Uri Avnery visited Miary to express our solidarity. The ICIPP is also considering other actions, such as holding a meeting in Haifa and inviting Miary to attend.

As the situation in Tripoli worsened, more and more of the ICIPP's attention focused upon events there. In the face of a general feeling, voiced by Israeli public opinion, that Arafat was finished *, the ICIPP reiterated its positions: that Arafat is not "finished" because the entire Palestinian People is behind him; that Israel has no interest in Arafat's demise, because he is willing to make peace while the Syrian agents fighting him are extremists; that Israel is not a passive spectator in the Tripoli events, but an active participant, whose navy is blockading Tripoli from the sea, complementing the Syrian land siege; and that the naval blockade is an act of infamy, which must cease forthwith. In order to publicize these points among Israelis, Palestinians and world public opinion, the ICIPP held a press conference and published advertisements in several newspapers (see text in this issue); Matti Peled and Ha'im Bar'am twice confronted right-wing speakers in debates shown on Israeli television; Matti Peled also engaged in a debate with right-wing columnist Amos Carmel in *Yediot Aharonot*; and Uri Avnery addressed a large meeting of Arabs in Nazareth, making the same points. (See chronicles, November 12th.)

The course of events in Tripoli seems to have vindicated the ICIPP's position, while many "Orientalists" have been proven wrong.

* We take this opportunity to correct our report of the Geneva conference in *The Other Israel* No 3: besides the ICIPP, the CAWL and the Communist Party, whom we mentioned, the organizations from Israel who participated also included the WAO, the International Movement of Conscientious War Resisters, the "Friends of The Prisoner in Israel" and the Um-El-Fahem Cultural Center. The last two are connected with the Iba El-Balad ("Sons of The Village"), an Arab nationalist movement.

* Sadly, this opinion was voiced not only by "hawks", but even by many "fair-weather doves", who hoped that the demise of Arafat would free them from the unpopular task of having to talk with the PLO.



talists" and "Arabists" had to swallow their confident predictions. Another event which vindicated the ICIPP's positions was the exchange of POW's between Israel and the PLO. ICIPP members were instrumental in the exchange, raising the question in various meetings with PLO representatives. Ar'ye'h Eliav, a member of the ICIPP, was even commissioned by the government as an official negotiator. But the main benefits were indirect: positive proof that successful negotiations between Israel and the PLO can take place, and did in fact take place — even if only on a limited subject; the good treatment accorded to the Israeli POW's by their Palestinian captors; the obvious discipline and high morale of the Al-Ansar prisoners, grudgingly admitted even by right-wing journalists — all these make it harder for the Israeli government to depict the Palestinians as "two-legged animals". It can be no coincidence that in the last few weeks three different Israeli journalists published interviews with PLO officials (see chronicles).

However, this process suffered a grave setback on December 6th, when a PLO spokesman took responsibility for a bomb attack on Jerusalem bus, in which six Israeli civilians, including three children were killed. Not only was this an act as barbaric and inhuman as the Israeli air force's bombings of civilian populations — it also did great harm to the Palestinian cause itself, and gave a great boost to the Israeli government's positions.

Fortunately, some of the damage was repaired by five Palestinian leaders from the occupied territories: Karim Khalaf, the deposed mayor of Ramallah; Mustafa Abd-Al-Nabi Natshe, the deposed mayor of Hebron; Anuar Nusaibeh, an important East Jerusalem leader; and Hana Seniora and Paul Ajluni, editor and publisher of *Al-Fajr* ("The Dawn", an East Jerusalem newspaper). In an unprecedented step, the five published a condemnation of the terrorist attack.

Uri Avenery visited Khalaf in Jericho (where he was exiled two years ago by the military authorities) and gave him our regards and thanks for this brave gesture. This gesture is a clear indication that the occupied territories leaders, as well as many Palestinians outside them, have realised the importance of Israeli public opinion. They no longer regard Israel as a hostile monolith, but as a pluralistic society where peace forces exist. This is a notable achievement, for the Israeli peace movement as a whole and for the ICIPP in particular.

At the time of writing, the Tripoli crisis seems to be near resolution (though in the Middle East, nothing but death is certain). The process of occupation and oppression in the West Bank, however, continues unabated. The town of Nablus was invaded by settlers, who clearly intend to repeat there the disastrous course of events already enacted in Hebron. (See *The Other Israel* No 2). On December 3rd, an ICIPP delegation visited the deposed mayor of Nablus, Basam Shakah, to express solidarity with the city's population.

Besides responding to current events, the ICIPP is preparing to launch a new project: a monument to Issam Sartawi, a martyr of peace, to be placed near the seashore of Acre, his birthplace. This project, planned by artist Yig'al Tumarkin, will require a lot

of international support. We hope to bring you full details in our next issue.

Our American sister-organization, the America-Israel Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace (AICIPP) has also been active. The advisory Council of the AICIPP met in Washington D.C. on October 22-23 for its annual meeting. Also invited and attending were representatives of the Ithaca based "Support for Israeli Peace Groups", the Montreal-based "Le regroupement pour un dialogue Israelien-Palestinien", and Washington area "Jews for Israeli-Palestinian Peace". In addition, several Washington area residents, some Jewish and some Palestinian, took part in the discussion of plans for the coming year. There was an enthusiastic consensus on working together and cementing ties between all groups and individuals represented. The Advisory Council elected a new board of directors and officers for the coming year. *

We hope that a worldwide network of organizations, all working for Israeli-Palestinian peace, will eventually be formed. It is our belief that a war-torn Middle East is a danger to the whole world, and that it is in the direct interest of people of good will everywhere to help in defusing this powder-keg.

One such person is the writer of the following letter.

** Readers interested in contacting the AICIPP can write to: Mary Appelman, 4816 Cornell Ave., Downers Grove, Illinois 60515, U.S.A.*

A letter from Brazil.

Dear Editor

Thank you for your prompt answer to my telegram requesting permission to reproduce and distribute the ICIPP Newsletter which I include here. (Her copies are excellent — better than the originals).

I organized myself a file of the names of people who signed a manifesto against the war in Lebanon and mailed the first issue of the Newsletter to them, and intend to do the same with the second. I sent a copy of the file to three of the organizers and I hope the Newsletter will stir them up again to some kind of activism. I also distributed the newsletter at the congress of the Socialist International, which was held in Rio de Janeiro.

I suggest that if you have a network of people around the world who have facilities to reproduce it at no cost, like I can do, this would help the movement.

Martha Pimenta De Moraes Streithorst
Rio de Janeiro
Brazil

We deeply thank Ms. De Moraes Streithorst for her endeavours and pass her suggestion on to our readers. As the primary function of this publication is to spread our message, we hereby invite anyone sympathetic to that message to help spread it further by reproducing our newsletter. We freely waive our copyright, provided only that the copy is faithful to the original and doesn't change or distort it in any way.



Alternative, a new Israeli Party

Since the electoral failure of the Shelli party in 1981, and since that party's subsequent split in March 1983, ICIPP members, like many others in Israel, found themselves without an effective political party. The ICIPP, being a one-issue organization, could not fill this need, which is felt most acutely at times like the present when public attention is focused on economic matters. Thus, it is not surprising that many ICIPP members – along with people from other political backgrounds – have taken part in an initiative aimed at creating a new Israeli party – the “Alternative” party. After several months of discussion, a manifesto was published, signed by a hundred people, some of them well-known veterans of political struggles, while others were young newcomers to the political arena. On October 29th, a preparatory meeting was held in

Tel Aviv, at which more than 200 persons participated. Several committees were elected, and they have been active ever since, organizing the new party and drafting a comprehensive program, which will detail a vision of a different Israel. A draft program is to be presented within three months to the party's founding conference.

On December 10th, “Alternative” members demonstrated in front of Finance Minister Cohen-Orgad's villa, in the West Bank settlement Ariel, symbolising the connection between settlements and the economic crisis. The confrontation with the minister-settler, shown on Israeli Television, drew large public attention. The new party is not intended, in any way, to replace the ICIPP, but rather to operate in different areas and with different methods (though of course they will cooperate where possible). The **Other Israel** will continue to bring you news on the progress of both.

A different Israel – The “Alternative” manifesto

The State of Israel is facing the deepest crisis in its history, a crisis threatening its very existence.

The collapse of the economy; the outbreak of chauvinism and religious fanaticism; oppressive occupation and bloody wars; growing poverty beside parasitic riches; the growing erosion of working people's salary; discrimination against Oriental Jews, against Arabs and against women; the growing religious coercion; breaks in the rule of law; the growing disregard for human rights and human dignity – all these are but different manifestations of the one total crisis which is threatening our future.

The Lebanon War is but one in a lengthening series of wars, in which Jewish and Arab blood is uselessly shed. This war was waged to make the occupation and dispossession of the Palestinians permanent, a process inevitably leading to oppression, to pogroms, and perhaps to mass deportation as well.

We see Israel turning before our eyes into an apartheid state, in which a “master race” rules over toiling “natives” who are denied national, civil and human rights, who live under arbitrary rule by military governors.

The settlers in the occupied territories are the advance guard of the so-called “National Consensus” which includes the coalition and the “opposition”, the Likud and the Labor Party, the religious establishment and those who call themselves “secular”. **In the face of this consensus, a true alternative must be presented.**

A true Israeli party * must be built, a party that will struggle for a different Israel – an Israel that is independent, humanistic, democratic, secular,

pluralist, seeking peace and social justice; a state belonging equally to all its citizens, women and men, Orientals and Europeans, Jews and Arabs, secular and religious, holders of all views and beliefs.

The fury of those who protest the oppressive occupation; the bitterness of those who are discriminated against and being thrust to the fringe of society; the just grudges of those who are dispossessed of their liberty and their land – all this will be useless if it is not manifested in a militant political party.

We call upon all those who can't bear the existing situation, who can no longer remain silent, to participate with us in building the Alternative party, which will struggle –

● For the existence, independence, security and well-being of the State of Israel – all of which can be safeguarded only by peace.

● For the creation of a democratic constitution, which will safeguard human rights and civil liberties without sexual, national or communal discrimination; which will defend the individual against government arbitrariness, and the minority – against the tyranny of the majority; which will safeguard the freedom of speech and the freedom of association. The written constitution will empower the Supreme Court to annul government resolutions, laws enacted by a casual majority, arbitrary regulations and emergency laws – when these contradict a democratic regime and the rule of law.*

● For direct negotiations between Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), for the creation of a Palestinian State side-by-side with the State of Israel, in its June 4th, 1967, borders. For negotiations for a comprehensive peace between Israel and all its neighbors, in the context of which Israel will give back the territories occupied in 1967. For unconditional Israeli

* Many members of “Alternative” contrast “Israeli” (as meaning all citizens of Israel) with “Jewish”. What is meant here is that existing parties are not true Israeli parties, but Jewish parties, in which Arabs (if admitted at all) can take only subordinate positions.

* As can be clearly seen from the context, the phrase “rule of law” does not mean the sanctity of any law, by virtue of its being a law, but rather the principle of a government which is bound by laws and can't act arbitrarily.



withdrawal from the territories occupied in the Lebanon War.

● For the creation of a progressive, just and creative society, which will be self-supporting and maintain an economic democracy; which will prevent an economic take-over by giant concerns and give the working and creative people a true share in economic decision-making; which will ensure a just distribution of national resources and safeguard fair living conditions to any man and woman in Israel.

● For the liberation of Israeli culture and education from narrow chauvinism and backward religious bigotry; for a restoration of the freedom of creation and of educational pluralism; for the upholding of humanitarian values and for an open-minded approach towards different cultures * both inside and outside Israel.

● For political and economic non-alignment of Israel with foreign powers, of either West or East; for Israeli non-involvement in the struggle of world

**The plural is a clear affirmation that within Israeli society several cultures exist, and that all of them deserve equal recognition and encouragement.*

Anyone who wishes to know more about the "Alternative" party can write to P.O.B. 31109. Tel Aviv.

BETWEEN TRIPOLI AND TULKARM*

The following is the text of the resolution adopted by the ICIPP executive in its November 15th session, and published as a paid ad in *Ha'aretz*, the *Jerusalem Post* and *Ha'olam Ha'zeh*.

In view of the general rejoicing in Jerusalem at Syria's attempt to annihilate the independent Palestinian national movement;

In view of the unlimited support given by Washington to the extreme hawks in Israel, and by Moscow to the Syrian regime;

In view of the increasing repression of the Palestinian population in the occupied territories by the Israeli military authorities;

In view of the Labour Alignment's expectation of an alliance of Israel and Jordan against the Palestinian people;

The Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace addresses itself to all who believe in peace, both in Israel and abroad:

If the Syrian army, with the active connivance of the Israeli navy, had succeeded in eliminating the responsible and moderate leadership of the PLO, this would not have solved the Palestinian problem, nor removed it from the world's agenda.

The extremist positions of Abu Saleh and Abu Moussa — aided and abetted by the Syrian regime — which call for the destruction of Israel, can lead only to a renewal of the terror and the continued shedding of both Israeli and Palestinian blood.

** Tripoli is the north Lebanese seaport where PLO forces under Arafat were besieged by Syria. Tulkarm is a West Bank town, where two Arab youths were killed by Israeli security forces, during a demonstration in support of Arafat.*

power-blocks; for Israeli solidarity with the liberation struggle of oppressed peoples.

We are determined to build, according to these principles, a new party, the "Alternative" party.

During the last few months, discussions have taken place between various groups and individuals about building this party. We seek to build a party that will unite women and men in a common struggle for the solution of real problems, without letting ideological differences become a barrier to common political activity. * We will seek to create in this party new avenues of political activity and will seek to ensure internal democracy.

We call upon each man and woman in Israel to participate with us in building the new party.

**The word "Zionism" has been deliberately omitted from this manifesto, and the founders of "Alternative" include people who consider themselves Zionists, others who consider themselves anti-Zionist, and still others who consider themselves non-Zionist. The same is true of "Socialism". All these people have found no difficulty in working together harmoniously and accepting this manifesto.*

The Shi'ite population in southern Lebanon, previously sympathetic to Israel, has, since the invasion of Lebanon, become a dangerous new factor which could set off a major war in the region. Only an immediate Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon can prevent this from happening.

Meanwhile, the systematic harassment of the Palestinian population in the occupied territories by the Israeli settlers keeps inflaming the already incendiary situation, and perpetuates hostility and strife. The settlements are also a considerable drain on the Israeli economy, thus increasing the difficulties of large sectors of the Israeli public.

At such a time, all of us — in Israel and abroad — who believe in peace must demand a halt to the headlong race to destruction.

The Israeli government must announce its willingness to make a just peace, based on the following principles:

— Reciprocal recognition by Israel and the Arab countries;

— Israeli recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to an independent state on the West Bank (including East Jerusalem) and in the Gaza Strip — alongside Israel, and at peace with her;

— The evacuation of the territories occupied by Israel in the 1967 war, within the framework of a general peace treaty with all the Arab states, as well as the PLO, which is the Palestinian people's recognized and independent leadership.

As a first step, the government of Israel should immediately stop all further settlement in the occupied territories, desist from suppressing the Palestinian population, and remove the naval blockade of Tripoli.



“Yesh Gvul” under attack

Few movements in the stormy political history of Israel have aroused as much controversy, over so many fundamental issues, as “Yesh Gvul” (translated as both “There is a Border” and “There is a Limit”).

More than a hundred members of “Yesh Gvul” have so far been imprisoned for refusing to serve in Lebanon, during their reserve military service (there were others imprisoned for refusing to serve in the West Bank). Those imprisoned, however, are but the tip of the iceberg. For every soldier resolute enough to face imprisonment, there are dozens who get a medical discharge and hundreds who do go to Lebanon, feeling bitterness toward the government and respect for those imprisoned.

Among all sections of Israeli society, the impact of “Yesh Gvul” has been felt most deeply within the kibbutz movements. The kibbutzim have a long tradition of service, dating back to the pre-1948 Jewish militia, the “Haganah” (“Defence”), out of which arose the Israeli army. Kibbutz youth are educated to volunteer for elite combat units and to seek officer’s training, in what they are taught is an army of defence, an instrument to be used only in cases of dire need, when there is no other choice – and to be used as humanely as possible even then.

The contradictions between what they are taught and the army’s actual role as an instrument of occupation and oppression is deeply felt by many kibbutzniks. Some of them turn to active political protest; a larger number simply become alienated within the army, and refuse to accept responsible positions or embark upon officers’ training. The feeling of alienation is increased by the fact that the right-wing Likud government is, ideologically and politically, hostile to the kibbutzim, and many of its spokesmen have made no secret of this hostility.

There are, on the other hand, many kibbutzniks who continue to uphold the sanctity of military service. They do so for different reasons: some, particularly in the United Kibbutz Movement (UKM), are hawks who support annexationist policies; a greater number oppose government policies, but sincerely believe that their duty is to be on the spot, in influential army positions, where they can stop or at least reduce incidents of abuses. In the heated controversy raging within the kibbutzim, the name “Yesh Gvul” crops up again and again: a rallying-call for some, a red rag for others.

It was inevitable that the growing importance of “Yesh Gvul” would turn it into the target of a counter-offensive, and this is what has occurred in recent months. There are some indications that Defence Minister Arens, who outwardly keeps a poker face and usually refrains from making extremist statements, is in fact personally orchestrating the anti-“Yesh Gvul” campaign.* The

attack is being carried out simultaneously on several fronts.

The first of these fronts is within the army. New army regulations, enacted for the express purpose of crushing “Yesh Gvul”, make it possible for the army to summon a soldier for a new term of service in Lebanon immediately upon his release from prison, and thus re-imprison him again and again. Further, these new regulations make it mandatory for the army units to summon the soldier again and again, even if they have no military need of his services at the time. One soldier, Ya’akov Shein, was visited during his first prison term by several senior commanders and by a psychologist, each of whom threatened that if Shein didn’t desist in refusing to serve, he would spend the rest of his life in prison.

While the army is concentrating on a small group of soldiers, calling them up again and again, it has become lenient towards new refusers, preferring not to imprison them and thus keep the number of “Yesh Gvul” prisoners small.* Formerly, the army used to send all the prisoners to one prison, where they formed a compact, organized group which strongly influenced and sometimes converted ordinary prisoners; now, the army has started dispersing the prisoners among different military prisons, isolating them from each other.

At the same time, various individuals and organizations are conducting a public campaign against “Yesh Gvul”.

The semi-fascist organization “Tzvil” (“Youth for Israel”, or “Patriotic Youth”) has demonstrated, carrying cardboard targets marked “Refuser”, and its leader, Israel Katz (former head of the right-wing student union in Jerusalem University) declared that “refusing to serve in Lebanon is worse than murder”. So far, this organization has attempted no actual violence, perhaps because it lacks manpower (only a few dozens turned out for its anti-“Yesh Gvul” demonstrations, though they received wide coverage in the media).

Columnist Dan Margalit, who claims to be a liberal and supporter of the peace movement (in June ‘82, when the Lebanon War seemed popular and successful, he warmly supported it), wrote an article in Ha’aretz charging “Yesh Gvul” with no less than “undermining the anti-war struggle” and even “paving the road to fascism”.

In the kibbutzim, there is a group of extreme hawks that tries (so far, unsuccessfully) to implement various sanctions against refusers, such as

Ha’olam Ha’zeh on November 16th. The article was the result of extensive research, using several independent sources.

** Some “Yesh Gvul” members claim this is not the result of a concerted army policy, but because unit commanders do not care to publicize the fact that they have a “troublemaker” in their unit. Also, some commanders are themselves opposed to the Lebanon War. There are some indications of differences of opinion among senior army officers. For example, the former commander of the central command, Ory Orr, wrote in a circular to unit commanders: “Ignore them. . . they want to go to prison; don’t give them what they want”.*

** Most of the information on behind the scenes moves within the political establishment is taken from an article by Haim Bar’am published in*



banning them from teaching jobs within the kibbutzim. Col. (res.) Dan Sarig, of Kibbutz Beit Hashita, called upon the UKM to expel refusers altogether, and upon the army to give them long prison sentences. More importantly, the official leadership of all the kibbutz movements opposes "Yesh Gvul". Israel Galili, the influential leader of the UKM, published a letter condemning refusal to serve in Lebanon, and the secretariat of Mapam's "Hakibbutz Ha'artzy" movement adopted a resolution condemning refusal as "dangerous to state security".

Defence Minister Arens hopes to forge all these disparate forces into a united front. Secretly, he is lobbying Labor M.K's, trying to gain their support for a bi-partisan resolution condemning "Yesh Gvul", and possibly for new legislation against it as well. In this, however, he has been unsuccessful so far: even many Labor hawks refuse to lend their support to what they regard as a smokescreen intended to hide the government's failures.

In the face of these attacks, "Yesh Gvul" is fighting back. Soldiers imprisoned for the second or third time are not weakening, and "Yesh Gvul" continues to demonstrate in front of the prisons. On November 30th, it appealed to the Supreme Court to rule the new army regulations illegal. A large number of artists, writers and actors, political and academic figures, either actively support "Yesh Gvul" or are to some degree sympathetic to it. Massive support for "Yesh Gvul" was shown by the large turnout for its rock concert on September 29th (see *The Other Israel* N° 3). It was shown again at a series of meetings and demonstrations (see *Chronicles* for November 29th, December 3rd, and December 7th). Above all, "Yesh Gvul" is beginning to create a new Israeli myth, the myth of the idealist willing to suffer for his convictions — a worthy counterpart to the old myth of the pioneer who makes the wilderness blossom, much used and abused by "Gush Emunim". This intangible contribution of "Yesh Gvul" might continue to influence Israeli society and politics when the Lebanon War is long forgotten.

As this issue goes into print, the news reached us that the Supreme Court has rejected the appeal of "Yesh Gvul". "Yesh Gvul" is determined to continue its struggle, despite this setback.

A peace list in Jerusalem's municipal elections

Elections to the municipal councils in Israel were held on October 25th, 1983, in an atmosphere of general indifference. During the election campaign, the problems of peace and war were not at the focus of public attention, which was occupied by Israel's grave economic crisis. Even some of the doves in Jerusalem had difficulties in understanding the pertinence of political questions in the municipal elections. There were those who stressed the fight against religious coercion, which has

always been a real problem in Jerusalem. Still others saw in the defeat of the Likud candidate the main issue: the prevention of a right-wing coalition from coming to power.

The more radical doves in Jerusalem saw in the Teddy Kollek-Likud fight a distortion of the true problems confronting the city. Of course, there are differences between Labor and the Likud, even grave ones, but they both are of the opinion that Jerusalem must remain united under Israeli rule. The truth is that in the 17th year of the occupation, East and West Jerusalem are not unified; their national populations are almost completely segregated in their separate enclaves, and constant unrest is always at a simmer. In short, it is a potential Belfast, exploding from time to time and returning again to its subterranean agitation. Finally, the radical doves are adamant in their opinion that the problem of Jerusalem should not prevent any eventual peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinians.

In light of the above, people from the ICIPP, from the CSBU, and from "Yesh Gvul" decided to participate in the municipal elections campaign in Jerusalem. A slate of 26 people (the Jerusalem municipal council consists of 31 members) headed by Dr. Ya'akov Arnon, former director general of the Israeli finance ministry, was submitted under the name "Peace List". This was done on the assumption that the success of the campaign will be measured not by the number of votes cast for The Peace List but by the extent of its propaganda and the resultant public debate.

It should be stressed that the Peace List informed the public from the beginning that it would not call upon the Palestinians to vote for it, as it respected their decision not to participate in elections under Israeli occupation. (There were approximately 70,000 Palestinians entitled to vote in the Jerusalem elections out of a total of 270,000 voters, and only about 17 per cent of these did exercise their right).

The campaign of the Peace List was on the whole quite successful, taking into account its almost purely political program, its complete negation of the unilateral unification of Jerusalem (thus breaking what is, perhaps, the biggest taboo in Israeli politics), the general apathy of the public in the elections, and the very moderate financial means at its disposal. Nearly one thousand votes were cast for this list.

Many doves still preferred to block a Likud takeover of Jerusalem, and voted for Teddy Kollek's list. On the whole, the elections were a complete victory for Teddy Kollek, now in his 19th year as mayor of Jerusalem. It was an astounding defeat for the Likud, and even more so for the most extreme chauvinistic party, "Ha-Tehiya", which didn't get a single seat on the council. One should also note the participation of a list from the poorer areas of the city, some of whom embraced our slogan: "Money for the inner city, and not for the settlements".

Israel Loeff

Israel Loeff, a resident of Jerusalem, played a central role in the formation of the Peace List.



THE TRIPOLI SIEGE AND THE PALESTINIAN INDEPENDENCE OF DECISION

The following is a translation of an article by Yossi Amitai, published in the Hebrew edition of the East Jerusalem paper *Al-Fajr*, on November 9th. The period since it was written was very eventful. Arafat and his men successfully withstood the Syrian onslaught; the PLO made an important political gain by getting U.N. protection for the evacuation of its fighters; the Israeli naval blockade of Tripoli turned from a secret known to few (the ICIPP was the first to publish it in Israel) to a bald threat openly flaunted by arrogant ministers. Despite all this, it was not necessary to revise the article — in contrast to the many articles written both in Israel and abroad, whose writers regarded the “end of Arafat” as a *fait accompli*.

During the past months, thousands of Palestinian fighters have been besieged in the Lebanese seaport of Tripoli. The besiegers are strong Syrian forces, and in their shadow — members the Abu-Musa - Abu-Salah group, and of Ahmed Jibril's Popular Front / Central Command. To the west of Tripoli, ships of the Israeli navy patrol, imposing a naval blockade. This blockade is a manifestation of the cynical partnership existing between Israel and Syria. These two sworn enemies have found common ground, in seeking to destroy the Palestinian independence of decision.

This independence of decision, known in Arabic as *istiqlaliyat al-qarar al-Falastini*, is a key term in understanding the entire history of the Palestinian National Movement. Since the beginning of that movement, in the first years after World War I, two opposing tendencies have existed within it: one emphasized Palestinian uniqueness (because no other Arab nation was directly exposed to the Zionist challenge) while the other one advocated reliance on the other Arabs (as the Palestinians were too weak to face Zionism on their own).

Throughout the history of the Palestinian National Movement, these two tendencies contended with each other, each having its ups and downs. Towards the end of the British Mandate, the “Reliance” tendency became stronger, because of the growing weakness and disintegration of the Palestinian society. As a result, the Arab states took over the Palestinian cause. Foremost among them was the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, which annexed the major part of the Palestinian territory that remained outside the borders of Israel. Other Arab states also took part in this process.

The Palestinian people, broken and dispersed, seemed to accept this Arab tutelage. Some radical young Palestinians found consolation in enthusiastic activity in various Pan-Arab movements, but were quickly disillusioned.

The creation of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) in May 1964 was no more than a gesture. At that time, the PLO was not much more

than a puppet in the hands of various Arab states, notably Nasser's Egypt. The Fatah movement, operating half underground, did call for Palestinian independence of decision and an end to Arab patronage (*wissaya*), but it was too weak to actually implement this ideal.

This situation changed in the aftermath of the Six Day War. While the Arab states' prestige had fallen, following their humiliating defeat, the Palestinian organizations appeared the only ones still fighting. As a result, the Fatah was able to take over leadership of the PLO, and Yasser Arafat, head of the Fatah, became the PLO chairman as well. Since then, the “Palestinian Independence” tendency has grown stronger and stronger, and won significant gains for the Palestinian people, such as when the 1974 Arab summit in Rabat recognised the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

It should be noted that the Palestinian Independence tendency manifested itself not only in armed struggle against Israel (in which Palestinian organizations affiliated with various Arab regimes also took part) but also in the political initiative, manifested in the Paris meetings between the late Dr. Sartawi and members of Israeli Peace groups. The brave decision to open a dialogue with the Israeli Peace Movement was an exercise of the Palestinian independence of decision and Sartawi was a representative of this tendency.

Despite the Rabat resolutions, some Arab regimes never truly accepted the Palestinian independence of decision. The Syrian Ba'ath regime has always striven to make the Palestinian National Movement subservient to its control and interests, and to make that movement accept its basic ideology. In 1976, this was tragically manifested in the Syrian intervention in the Lebanese Civil War. The Syrians intervened on the side of the Falangist Right, against the PLO and the Lebanese Left, and the Tel A-Za'atar massacre was one of the results.

The 1976 Labor government in Israel was as pleased with this Syrian intervention as the present Likud government is with the Syrian siege of Tripoli. Then, as now, Israel complemented Syrian land operations with a naval blockade. The Rabin government was not opposed to the participation of Palestinians in peace negotiations as such, but to their participation as an independent delegation, and always demanded that they be members of other Arab delegations. This policy, still shared by both Israel's present Likud government and its Labor opposition, is the real cause of their refusal to negotiate with the PLO, and the reason why they gladly participate in Arab efforts to crush Palestinian independence.

At the Palestinian National Council's 16th session in Algiers, in February 1983, the PLO leaders faced a difficult dilemma: the Palestinian



independence of decision, for which they have striven so long, came into conflict with Palestinian unity, which was also very important to them. Giving precedence to unity would have meant, in effect, giving veto power to Palestinian organizations that represent the interests of various Arab regimes — but preferring the independence of decision might have meant an immediate split, to the delight of every enemy of the Palestinians.

In the event, Arafat and his colleagues decided to make far-reaching concessions to keep Palestinian unity, thus gravely compromising the independence of decision. Sadly, this did not prevent the split, which apparently was inevitable. It only came under conditions less favorable to Arafat and his men. Nevertheless, I feel sure that the Palestinian independence of decision is an irreversible historical trend, even if its adherents suffer some temporary setbacks. Arafat's personal bravery, in endangering himself and slipping through the Israeli blockade to join his besieged men, has not gone unrewarded: the Palestinian people, in all its far-flung diaspora (including even in Damascus itself) has clearly demonstrated its support for

Arafat, whom they regard as the embodiment of the Palestinian independence of decision.

Yossi Amitai
Kibbutz Gvulot

Postscript: As this issue of *The Other Israel* goes into print, Arafat and his men prepare to embark on the Greek ships, which will take them out of Tripoli under the U.N. flag. Unless the Israeli government (or some other unpredictable factor in this most unpredictable region) manages to sabotage it, the evacuation will be complete within a week. The PLO leadership will then have to decide on its future course of action. It is to be hoped that they will maintain and strengthen the Palestinian independence of decision — and that they will exercise it to decide on a new peace initiative.

As Israelis, we believe that the true interest of Israel lies in supporting the Palestinian independence of decision, not in suppressing it. Only a truly independent Palestinian decision to make peace will lead to the kind of peace that we seek: a true and lasting peace, a peace that will heal the wounds of a century of conflict.

Comment

A HASTY CAPITULATION

An organization identifying itself as the "American-Israeli Civil Liberties Coalition, Inc." (AICLC) has happily been offered a generous matching grant from the Ford Foundation and is now soliciting further contributions. All this might have gone unnoticed by ICIPP, except that this organization claims to be working for a cause which interests us very much, namely, "promoting the peace and security of the State of Israel and its neighbors", to quote a recent, undated circular, signed by its International Coordinator, Shulamit Koenig.

Upon reading the circular one finds some commendable proposals for improving the internal situation in Israel, such as the need for a constitution, freedom from religious oppression, the enforcement of law and order, etc. But what should cause concern is that the opening statement regarding "peace and security" presupposes some interest in Israeli foreign and defence problems, regarding which the circular is studiously silent. Or is it?

There is a reference there to the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, as two territories in which the "Arab inhabitants" enjoy no civil rights, or rather do not enjoy those rights guaranteed to all Israelis by Israel's Declaration of Independence. Now this oblique reference to the Palestinian problem as merely one of civil rights is no longer an innovation in Israel. Some of the most ardent supporters of Israel's policy of annexation, some of the fiercest opponents of the Palestinian struggle for political independence, are suggesting that we stop treating the problem as a political one and start discussing it

in terms of civil rights due to all citizens of Israel, including its "Arab inhabitants". The designation owes its origin to Begin's plan of autonomy for the "Arab inhabitants" of the annexed territories, now used as a euphemism for anti-Palestinianism.

The danger with such terminology is that it is very tempting.

There are people and groups in Israel who are tired of what seems an endless uphill fight against odds, and have for some time looked for a decent way back into the comfortable fold of the "national consensus": rather than fight for a political solution to the Palestinian problem, turn it into a civil rights issue as, for instance, happened in East Jerusalem, where the "Arab inhabitants" are no longer Palestinians but "inhabitants" who may enjoy the right to vote in municipal elections (but not in elections to the Knesset). Needless to say, this is not what the Palestinians are fighting for. It is clear that even in these trying times they are not anxious to surrender their political rights in return for civil rights granted to them as individuals belonging to an oppressed nation. Aside from any other argument, the experience of their fellow-Palestinians who became Israelis back in 1948 is far from enviable.

Some of the individuals whose names appear on the stationary of the AICLC should have known better than to lend their credibility to a move which in effect announces the unwarranted suspension of the struggle for a just and durable solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Matti Peled
Jerusalem

On December 14th, after this article was already written, Defence Minister Arens declared in a Knesset debate: "The only way to improve the human rights situation in Judea and Samaria is to impose the laws of Israel there" (that is, annex these territories).



A Mother's Plea

Mrs. Samecha Khalil is a well-known public figure in the occupied West Bank. She was a member of the "National Steering Committee", a body that included most of the political leaders in the occupied territories. When that committee was outlawed by the Israeli government, many measures of harassment and intimidation were taken against its members: each member was forbidden to leave his or her place of residence ("town arrest"), making it impossible for them to meet, and the mayors who were members were deprived of their office. The plight of Mrs. Khalil, described in the following appeal, is part of this campaign of intimidation.

I, the undersigned, Samecha Khalil, 60 years old, a mother of five children, , and the head of In'ash El-Ustra Women's Society in Al-Bireh, on the occupied West Bank of the Jordan River, appeal to all mothers and all those concerned with human rights to help me see my children.

On August 7, 1980, town arrest was imposed on me for two and a half years, during which time I was denied the right of seeing my children who live in Amman, Jordan.

Immediately after the order for my town arrest was removed, I was allowed to cross the bridge only once and was able to see my children. Later on when I tried to travel to Jordan, on April 7, 1983, to visit my children, the Israeli military authorities refused to provide me with a permit to travel. Ever since I have been trying, through all possible means, to obtain a permit to cross the bridge, but to no avail.

I then tried to obtain permits for my children to visit me, but the authorities once again refused to provide me with such permits. Since denial of permits to visit is not subject to condition or time limits, this effectively means that years may pass without the possibility of seeing my children.

This denial of the right of a mother to see her children contradicts the most basic international human and legal rights.

Therefore, I appeal to all mothers and those concerned with the protection of human rights, all over the world, to help me obtain the required permit to travel and visit my children, and the permits for them to visit me in Al-Bireh.

Samecha S. Khalil
31/10/1983

We call upon our readers to send letters to: Mr. Moshe Arens, defence minister, Ha-Kiriah (government sector), Tel Aviv, Israel, calling upon him to let Mrs. Khalil have regular contact with her children. Copies of such letters should be sent to the ICIPP, P.O.B. 956, Tel Aviv, Israel, and to Mrs. Samecha Khalil, P.O.B. 3549, Al-Bireh, West Bank (via Israel). Organizations are asked to further circulate this appeal among their membership.

Racism and the polarization of Israeli society

Recent months have seen an alarming spread of the incidents of racism in Israel. In Upper Nazareth, a racist organization is active under the slogan "Don't sell your flat to an Arab!", using violence in its efforts to expell Arabs from the town; in Jaffa, some Jewish residents of a newly-built house opposed the sale of flats to Arabs, and were backed publicly by a rabbi, Ephraim Zalmanovich, who claimed that segregation is ordained by Jewish religious law; at Ya'ara, a Galilee settlement where Beduins have been living side-by-side with Jews for over thirty years, some Jews suddenly claimed that "they have too many children and are becoming too numerous - something must be done about them"; a Jewish underground calling itself T.N.T. has planted grenades in a West Bank Arab village and in Muslim and Christian institutions in Jerusalem; the Muslim cemetery of Jaffa was desecrated; and when a boy from Haifa was murdered and sexually mutilated, the right-wing press and some senior police officers were quick to accuse the Arabs, on no more evidence than that the body was found near an Arab village. Nor were Arabs the only victims of racism: in the western part of the town of Safad, a

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THE OTHER ISRAEL
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The Sender

PRINTED MATTER
0197 1977

"Neighborhood committee" was organized to oppose the entry of black-skinned Ethiopian Jews, because of their "primitive culture" and "primitive mentality"; the authorities continue to pester the "Black Hebrews", a harmless religious sect whose members — unlike most American Jews — care enough about Israel to want to come and live here; and in a fashionable Tel Aviv pub, the gate-keepers have been instructed not to admit anyone with an Oriental appearance.

Of course, racism is not a new phenomenon in Israel; indeed, the Upper Nazareth racists were telling the truth in claiming that Ben-Gurion's government, which founded the town in 1956, intended it to be purely Jewish. Nevertheless, there is a big difference: in the last few years, racism is coming more and more into the open, and the racists are no longer trying to hide the true import of their actions.

In part, this can be attributed to the economic crisis; it is well-known, all over the world, that racism is some people's response to deteriorating economic conditions. But this is not the whole answer. It is my opinion that the spread of open, unashamed racism is part of the process of polarization which Israeli society is undergoing.

For many years, the citizens of Israel have been taught, and most of them sincerely believed, that Israel seeks peace with its Arab neighbors, and that if peace doesn't come, it is only because the Arab side doesn't want it. As a result, occupation in the West Bank or discrimination against the Arab citizens of Israel were regarded as a regrettable necessity "for security reasons", a temporary phenomenon that will disappear when the desired peace is at last achieved.

After Egypt has clearly demonstrated that peace is possible, and after the Likud government embarked on its policy of mass settlement in the occupied territories, this kind of thinking is no longer possible. The citizens of Israel realize that their country is standing at the crossroads, and must make its decision. Some people, faced with a clear-cut choice, opt for abandoning all hope or desire for peace, and for either creating a South-Africa type apartheid state, deporting all the Arabs to create a "pure Jewish state", or a combination of the two (for example, deporting all the Arab leadership and intelligentsia and retaining the broken remnant as a cheap workforce).

In a way, these outright racists serve a usefull purpose: the television appearances of Alexander Finkestein and other Upper Nazareth racists have horrified many Israelis belonging to the political center, who for the first time realised the true depth of the abyss into which racism can plunge them. This was reflected in wide public support for the new "Committee Against Racism and For Coexistence", even from conservative organizations who usually stay far from radical politics.

In the long run, the racists can't win. In the second half of 20th. century, a society such as they envision cannot endure. Before they are defeated, however, they can cause a lot of suffering, to Arabs and Jews alike. Fighting them is one of the most important tasks of the Israeli peace movement.

Adam Keller
Tel-Aviv